

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

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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

ON CORRECTLY INTRODUCING THE SUB-WORKTEAM MANAGEMENT SYSTEM AND ON EFFECTING A NEW UPSURGE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Concluding Speech at the National Conference of Agricultural
Workers, *February 14, 1968* 10

A LETTER OF CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL THE WORKERS AND OFFICIALS IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

February 16, 1968..... 26

LET US EDUCATE AND TRAIN PUPILS AND STUDENTS TO BECOME LOYAL RESERVE FORCES FOR THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Speech Delivered before Workers in Education, *March 14, 1968* 34

ON SOME MEASURES FOR THE RECLAMATION OF TIDELAND IN A WELL-DEFINED FRAMEWORK

Speech at a Consultative Meeting of Land Management
Officials, *March 19, 1968* 61

ON MAKING GOOD PREPARATIONS FOR WAR SO AS TO COPE WITH THE PREVAILING SITUATION

Speech before the Deputy Department Directors and Higher-ranking Officials of the Party Central Committee, and the Chief Secretaries of the Provincial Party Committees, <i>March 21, 1968</i>	69
ON COMBATING EPIDEMICS MORE EFFECTIVELY	
Talks with Senior Officials in the Ministry of Public Health, <i>March 26, 1968</i>	91
ON DRAFTING “INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT REGULATIONS”	
Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Drafters of the “Industrial Management Regulations”, Workshop Managers and Workteam Leaders of Industrial Establishments, <i>April 1, 1968</i>	103
YOUTH MUST BECOME THE VANGUARD ON ALL FRONTS OF THE BUILDING-UP OF OUR ECONOMY AND DEFENCE TO BRING OUR REVOLUTION TO FINAL VICTORY	
Speech to the National Youth Meeting for General Mobilization, <i>April 13, 1968</i>	115
TO MARK THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF KOREA	
Speech Delivered to the Ministers, and the Instructors and Higher-ranking Officials of the Party Central Committee, <i>April 16, 1968</i>	147
1. On Rallying the Masses Closely around the Party by Conducting Party Work Well	149
2. On Giving a Greater Impetus to Socialist Economic Construction	161
LET US GO ALL OUT TO HIT THE MAJOR TARGETS OF THE SEVEN-YEAR PLAN IN THE SPIRIT OF CHOLLIMA	
Concluding Speech at the 17th Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers’ Party of Korea, <i>April 25, 1968</i>	169
1. On Some Tasks for the Implementation of the National Economic Plan for 1968.....	172
1) On Giving Priority to the Development of Heavy Industry, a Leading Sector of the National Economy.....	173

2) On Improving the Quality of Consumer Goods and Expanding Their Range and Increasing the Output of Seafood Rapidly.....	189
3) On Increasing Grain Output and Developing Animal Husbandry Rapidly.....	194
4) On Making Innovations in Capital Construction.....	205
2. On Making Good Political and Ideological Preparations to Cope with War	209

**LET US FURTHER DEVELOP THE CHOLLIMA WORKTEAM
MOVEMENT, A GREAT SPUR TO SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION**

Speech Delivered at the Second National Meeting of the Vanguard Workers in the Chollima Workteam Movement, <i>May 11, 1968</i>	217
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**ON STRENGTHENING THE DIRECTION OF THE PARTY
LIFE OF PARTY MEMBERS AND THE CORRECT
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CADRE POLICY
OF OUR PARTY**

Speech to the Heads of the Organizational and Personnel Departments of Provincial Party Committees, <i>May 27, 1968</i>	246
1. On the Work of the Head of the Organizational Department	247
2. On the Work of the Head of the Personnel Department	255
3. On the Proper Selection and Appointment of Cadres	258
4. On Making Continual Efforts to Educate Cadres	265

**FOR BRINGING ABOUT RAPID PROGRESS
IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY**

Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Fishing Workers in the Eastern Coastal District, <i>June 4-5, 1968</i>	269
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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS	269
1. On Making Changes in Deep-sea Fishing.....	274
2. On the Extensive Development of Small-scale Fishing and Seafood Culture	281
3. On the Radical Improvement of Fish Processing.....	290
4. On Building Up the Bases of the Fishing Industry	298

**ON THE CORRECT IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR
PARTY’S POLICY TOWARDS INTELLECTUALS**

Speech to Intellectuals in North Hamgyong Province, *June 14, 1968* 302

1. On Our Party’s Policy towards Intellectuals 302

2. On Some Revolutionary Tasks Facing Our Intellectuals..... 314

**LET US BRING UP THE CHILDREN OF REVOLUTIONARY
MARTYRS TO BECOME COMMITTED REVOLUTIONARIES**

Speech to the Teaching Staff and Pupils of the Haeju and Nampho
Revolutionary Schools, *September 5, 1968* 334

**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 DPRK, *September 7, 1968* 348

1. Twenty Glorious Years of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea..... 352

2. On Further Consolidating and Developing the Socialist System
in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea 378

3. On Intensifying the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-US Struggle to Crush
US Imperialism, Reunify the Country and Defend World Peace 400

**ON SPEEDING UP CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM
IN THE COUNTRY AREAS AND DEVELOPING THE
COUNTIES ON SOUND LINES**

Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of Chief Secretaries of City
and County Committees of the Workers’ Party of Korea, *September 24, 1968*..... 416

1. On Speeding Up Construction of Socialism in the Country Areas..... 416

2. On Developing the Counties on Sound Lines and Increasing Their Role 429

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 anniversary 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 blossoming 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 invasion of

US 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 decisions 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 Korea and the creative work of our people who were out 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 US 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 People'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 technology, 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 in evidence 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 US imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction, and in waging both guerrilla and conventional 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 the number of our revolutionary cadres, the hard core of the People's Army, has grown considerably. 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 reinforced 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 forces. The revolutionary cadres of the People's Army are the precious, irreplaceable core of our Party and our best agents 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 intellectual competence, having received secondary, technical and higher education, in keeping with the 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, equipped with the most advanced military science and technology and capable of handling all sophisticated, 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 ideology 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 immense task of arming all the people and turning the entire country into a fortress, in addition to strengthening the People's Army in every way. In particular, our many discharged veterans, who have a wealth of combat experience and military skills, 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 cooperative farms, thus guaranteeing the might of our all-people, nationwide defence system more firmly. We can now state with confidence that our defences in the northern half of Korea 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 in the future than we have already done.

We have not yet completed our revolution. US 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 under the occupation of US imperialism. As long as our enemies exist, we must continue our revolution and further strengthen our revolutionary armed forces.

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

The US 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 US imperialists' schemes to start a new war in Korea have already reached a very dangerous stage.

Only recently the US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee 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, assuming a warlike posture and openly clamouring for an invasion of the northern half of Korea.

The intrusion of the *Pueblo* into our territorial waters was a rank piracy, a flagrant infringement of the rights of a sovereign state and a link in the chain of premeditated US imperialist manoeuvres aimed at unleashing a new war in Korea.

If the US 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 US imperialists, return all-out war for all-out war. The US 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 US imperialism.

All the officers and men of the People's Army, all our Worker-Peasant Red Guards men and all the people should increase their revolutionary vigilance against the US imperialists' aggressive machinations and possible ignition 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 set out 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 technology.

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 combat programme more energetically so that all our soldiers may master modern military science and technology and handle up-to-date weapons and other combat and technical equipment skilfully. Given 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 Guards men and all our people should be armed and should become well-versed in military matters and diligently 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 wholeheartedly help them to acquit themselves better in their military duties.

The US imperialists are in a state of delirium at present, but the general situation is still favourable to the revolutionary cause of our people. The intensifying aggressive activities of the US imperialists, far from testifying to their strength, only go to show that they are in an ever more untenable situation. US imperialism is already on the decline. On the other hand, the ranks of the peoples fighting against US imperialism are constantly expanding in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world. No amount of machinations by the US 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

US 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 great trust and expectations our Party and people have placed in them.

On this 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 cadres and members of the People's Army, with special mention to 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 execution of their military combat duties; to the good health of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards men, who are scoring great successes 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 anniversary with us; and to the militant solidarity of the socialist countries.

**ON CORRECTLY INTRODUCING
THE SUB-WORKTEAM MANAGEMENT
SYSTEM AND ON EFFECTING
A NEW UPSURGE IN
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION**

**Concluding Speech at the National Conference
of Agricultural Workers**

February 14, 1968

Comrades,

Last year, farming results were excellent all over the country. All the cooperative farmers and agricultural workers made strenuous efforts to increase the per-hectare yield by 500 kgs in accordance with the decisions of the Party Conference and in the spirit of the national conference of agricultural workers held last year. As a result, the grain output increased by 16 per cent as against that in 1966. If it had been not for the damage from a freak flood which swept Pyongyang and North and South Phyongan Provinces, the grain output would have been much greater. This is a really miraculous success in view of the fact that our country is limited in arable land and that our farming is very intensive.

By achieving a remarkable success in agricultural production our cooperative farmers and agricultural workers made a great contribution to the improvement of the people's standard of living, to the development of the national economy as a whole and to the building up of our defence system.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic I should like to express heartfelt thanks to you who are present here and, through you, to the members and managerial officials of the cooperative farms throughout the country, the state agro-stock farm workers and managerial officials and all the officials of state organizations in charge of agricultural guidance including the county cooperative farm management committees, who achieved brilliant successes on the agricultural front under the leadership of the Party.

In particular, I offer warmest congratulations to all the cooperative farmers and agricultural workers in Yonan County, South Hwanghae Province, on their winning of the honoured title of a county which has hit the target of 100,000 tons of grain. Attempts to achieve this target have been made in Yonan County for several years. This county almost reaches the target every year but has not managed to hit it. At last the county achieved the target last year, which was a great success. We are extremely pleased by this.

I also express my deep thanks to all the sub-workteams, workteams and farms which raised the per-hectare yield of aquatic rice to five tons or more, of maize at least to three tons and of other cereals to four tons by rotating two crops a year.

State Farm No. 5 of Ryanggang Province in the Paekmu Plateau which had been designated unfertile land also achieved a remarkable success—1.4 tons of beans and 3 tons of flax per hectare. This is the farm's new record. The Party Central Committee highly appreciates this and warmly congratulates the workers and managerial officials of this farm.

What, then, is the cause of these high yields last year?

First of all, it is due to the firm determination of all the cooperative farmers and management workers and the officials in the agricultural sector to fulfil their important duties in economic construction and in building up our defence system in compliance with the decisions of the Party Conference, and in particular due to the persistent efforts they have made with a revolutionary determination to increase their grain

reserves so as to provide for any emergency. In other words, this success is attributable to the unbending fighting spirit and determined struggle of all our agricultural working people who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and the revolution and afire with a firm resolve to bring about a fresh revolutionary upsurge.

Last year our farmers diligently launched a campaign in part of a nationwide, all-people effort to construct the draining system, pursuant to the Party's agricultural policy. In fact, every year our rice yield incurred a considerable amount of damage as a result of stagnant water. Last year the Party and the Government resolved that the prevention from such damage was an important measure in increasing the grain yields and concentrated efforts on this matter and encouraged the farmers to participate in the campaign with high enthusiasm. All our farmers heartily responded to the Party's call and worked like one man to carry out the colossal draining project in a short period of time. As a result, much of the crop damage from stagnant water was overcome.

To implement the Party's policy of farming along scientific and technological lines our farmers also introduced various scientific farming methods such as land management, the introduction of better strains and better seeds, rational crop distribution to suit the climatic and terrain conditions and the combatting of blight and harmful insects.

Among other things, much has been said, in the course of the conference, of your every effort to operate efficiently the sub-workteam management system which was introduced in our country at the suggestion of our Party and of your convincing demonstration of the advantages of this system. As all of you know, it is only two or three years since the introduction of this system. Frankly speaking, the first two years were spent in gaining experience and it was not given full scope. But last year, all the cooperative farms in our country began to prove the worth of the sub-workteam system and its advantages became obvious.

Last year, not only the farmers struggled through thick and thin to implement the Party's agricultural policy, but also the assistance of industry to agriculture and the support of the working class for the

farmers were active as never before. Especially, the workers of the chemical industry, fully aware of the great political and economic significance of agricultural production in socialist construction and their noble duty to support the farmers, increased the output of good-quality chemical fertilizers and various chemicals for the countryside, and contributed to stepping up the chemicalization of agriculture.

All these factors brought about a new upsurge in our agricultural production last year.

This year, too, you should make another leap in agricultural production.

We have the potential to increase our grain production even further. Last year, through the campaign to increase 500 kgs of grain per hectare many cooperative farms overfulfilled their plans but some of them failed to do so, and quite a few of them suffered flood damage and resultant low yields, even though they had cultivated their crops well.

We cannot say that we have used every resource to the maximum for increasing grain output. If we work a little harder to carry out the Party's policy, we can increase grain output even further.

This year, too, the aim for the agricultural sector is to launch a drive to increase the per-hectare yield by another 500 kgs.

Today, in the name of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I call upon you who are present here, and the cooperative farmers and agricultural workers throughout the country to launch another determined drive to increase the per-hectare yield by 500 kgs this year too.

If you do a good job and carry out this task to the letter we shall not only be able to provide the people with adequate food and a happy life, but also develop stock farming and increase food reserves.

As a matter of fact, if our country is to become more prosperous, it should have at least several million tons of grain in reserve. Only a nation with food enough and to spare can be called a strong and rich country. A country with a large stockpile of food need not be afraid of a possible war.

If we produce a large amount of cereals, we can save foreign

currency and greatly help towards the industrialization of the country. The foreign currency thus saved can be used to import 10 modern machine plants, for instance, every year. These plants will produce a variety of machine products to accelerate the technical reconstruction of our national economy.

Although our country is an industrial state, its machine industry still lags behind that of the highly developed industrial powers. The history of industrial development shows that England carried out the Industrial Revolution 200 to 300 years ago and Japan more than 100 years ago. But our country was an underdeveloped colonial agricultural country for a long time owing to the Japanese imperialist occupation, and only 20 years have elapsed since we began to build a new modern state. To make matters worse, the three-year-long fierce war which was unleashed by the US imperialist aggressors played havoc with our national economy. If we discount the years spent in rehabilitating the devastated economy, only a little more than a decade has been devoted to the making of the machine industry. If we want to catch up with the leading machine industries in the world, we must lace our boots firmly and run on and on. We must redouble our efforts to develop the machine industry still further, without being content with our success in the least, so as to build a powerful industrial state.

Only when we have developed industry will we be able to bring about the rural technical revolution, including irrigation, mechanization, electrification and chemicalization, so as to carry out the historic task of freeing the farmers from drudgery, and to speed up the development of the agricultural productive forces.

We must make every effort to raise the output of grain and other agricultural products as a whole in the next few years to the level required by the Party.

Now that you have studied the document of the Party Conference for one more year than you did last year as well as the new Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic, this year you must be prepared ideologically much better for the task of increasing the per-hectare grain yields by 500 kgs.

The question depends on whether or not you continue to implement the tasks shown in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* and the two sets of ten major tasks which were put forward at the national conference of the agricultural workers last year.

Today I will not take the trouble of repeating these tasks, but will stress several tasks on a priority basis, the tasks which must be implemented by the agricultural sector this year.

First of all, the construction of the drainage system should be completed, the dredging of river beds, embankment and other river improvement projects undertaken on a large scale so that the crops and farmland will not be flooded. This is the first task. Every year we lose a great deal of grain because of damage by stagnant water and floods. In accordance with the plan and the designs which have already been worked out, the project for the drainage system should be accelerated, the dykes damaged by floods should be quickly repaired, and the weak spots in the embankments should be reinforced.

The second important task is to establish a scientific manuring system suited to different soil conditions.

This year the supply of chemical fertilizers will sharply increase; nitrogenous fertilizer, for instance, to 400 kgs for a hectare of aquatic rice, to 300 kgs for maize fields, and 600 kgs for orchards.

It is very urgent, therefore, to establish a scientific manuring system and use fertilizers most effectively.

You should also meticulously organize the prevention of damage by blight and insects. If we prevent the annual loss from these damage, we will be able to increase the grain output by 100,000 to 200,000 tons on a national basis. In view of the sharp increase in the use of nitrogenous fertilizer, we should give particular attention to the prevention of rice-plant fever. Last year, for example, different parts of the country suffered a lot from this disease. The rice fields alongside the highway to Sunan showed all the symptoms of rice-plant fever. The loss from this disease alone will amount to tens of thousands of tons on a national level.

We should organize scientific film shows for the farm members and

the officials in charge of the agricultural sector or arrange the necessary short courses so that we may disseminate information on the prevention of rice-plant fever and all other blight and insects, and get them to prepare agricultural chemicals well in advance, select seeds immune to such diseases and take other preventive measures.

At the same time, you should improve the quality of farmland zealously.

You should first analyse the soil, then determine how it has been utilized, and on the basis of this information, spread new soil where this is necessary, plough deeply where deep ploughing is required, add slag or lime where it is needed, and in such ways improve the soil.

A matter which deserves special attention in soil improvement is to supply the soil with trace elements. Most of our farmland has been over-cultivated since its reclamation, with the result that it no longer contains all the necessary soil elements. For this reason, positive measures are needed for the mass-production and supply of trace elements. If you try to solve this problem merely by spreading slag here and there just as you do now, you will simply add to the volume of freight, without being able to supplement the soil properly with different kinds of necessary trace elements. The Agricultural Commission and the Academy of Agricultural Sciences must ensure as soon as possible the solution of the problem of trace element production.

Next, it is very important to ensure that the agricultural workers develop a greater respect for farm machinery and lands.

At present, farmers do not have much attachment to the land. Our farmers previously waged a long-drawn-out struggle for land, and many of the revolutionary precursors laid down their precious lives for the agrarian revolution. The land now cultivated by our farmers is spattered with the blood of these revolutionary predecessors. This land is the valuable property of our country, a land which should be taken good care of not only for the happiness of our contemporaries, but also for the lasting prosperity of future generations.

Nevertheless, careless land management is much in evidence among the farmers. The senior officials of the agricultural sector should give

great attention to increasing the farmers' attachment for lands.

Sub-workteams and workteams should make every effort to keep their land in good shape, to prevent every single plot from being washed away, and to make it fertile.

We must make great efforts to develop livestock farming, as well as radically increase grain output.

If you develop livestock farming, you will be able to produce quantities of good-quality manure for better farming, improve the diet of the people and save more food.

In order to develop livestock farming, we must first launch a campaign in which every farmhouse produces at least 100 kgs of meat per year. To do this, each farmhouse will have to raise a pig of 70 kgs and another half that weight. This is not a very difficult task. We must see to it that, on the average, each farmhouse raises at least two pigs with a combined weight of 100 kgs.

Communal stock farming, along with that of individual farmers, should be further developed to the level where each workteam produces two to three tons of meat a year. To this end, each workteam should cultivate one hectare of feed crops which are nutritious and high-yielding. I think that you have learnt a great deal from the scientific film on feed crops. We intend sending the film to every province. The film should be shown to all the workteam leaders, sub-workteam leaders and other farm workers in the province.

Some time ago, I told the Chairman of the Agricultural Commission to get each workteam to cultivate one hectare of feed crops. He replied that this year's grain production target is so high that the new task will involve difficulties because, if each workteam commits one hectare to the cultivation of feed crops, tens of thousands of hectares of land would be diverted. He said that he would ensure the production of meat by cultivating maize on a large scale. I advised him that maize yield per hectare was not sufficient to cope with the task of producing two to three tons of meat and that, therefore, other feed crops should be cultivated, crops which are high-yielding and highly nutritious. Those workteams which are not in a position to do this

immediately should experiment and should have feed plots capable of ensuring an output of at least two tons of meat. This alone will amount to a national total of tens of thousands of tons of meat. As they become more experienced, each of the workteams should produce three tons of meat. This means that 90,000 to 100,000 tons will be produced by the workteams. Together with the output from the individual households the total will be in the region of 200,000 tons of meat from the countryside.

It would also be advisable to raise goats and sheep. These animals do not need much feed, and so anyone can raise them without difficulty. The goats' milk will feed children regularly. From now on, you should launch a campaign to let every household raise a goat and a sheep.

The production of vegetables should also be markedly increased. In order to increase their yields, it is necessary to cultivate vegetables where irrigation is available. The Party has emphasized this matter over several years now, but this task has barely been begun. The result has been that last year's autumn vegetable crop failed due to severe drought in some parts of the country. In the future, you should see to it that both autumn and spring vegetables be cultivated in fields which can be irrigated easily, and should be well tended, so as to provide the people with an adequate supply of vegetables throughout the year.

Further, you should organize and manage labour properly. There is a great strain on the manpower situation in our country partly because we are carrying out the colossal Seven-Year Plan and partly because we have to increase our defence capability to cope with the frequent enemy provocations and the consequent tense situation. This compels us to recruit some manpower from the countryside. Under the circumstances, it is particularly important to organize and manage rural labour efficiently.

We must, first of all, give close attention to ensuring that the rural work force settles down.

In view of the strain on the manpower situation in our country, a little labour has to be drawn from the cooperative farms where the cultivated land per head of the working population is not too large. But,

as a matter of principle, no labour should be diverted on any account from those sectors which are short of manpower. Unless this principle is observed, it will be impossible to boost agricultural production.

Neither the chairmen of county people's committees nor the chief secretaries of county Party committees should ever transfer farm workers arbitrarily. You should establish a strict rule for rural labour management and prevent the imprudent transfers of the workers on cooperative farms which are enterprises.

While making the rural labour force settled down, you should organize it in such a way as to concentrate on farming, without dispersing it, in accordance with the policy we put forward when we were directing work at Chongsan-ri.

Nowadays, there are many instances of labour being divided between fruit-growing workteams, construction projects, and so on. I am afraid that things might return to the situation before our directives at Chongsan-ri. This practice should cease. In the hectic farming seasons such as transplanting and weeding, labour should be organized in such a way that members of all workteams and sub-workteams, be it a fruitg-rowing workteam or a construction team, are concentrated on crop farming, and that after finishing this work orchards are tended and construction undertaken. In fact, fruit-growing workteams and other such groups have nothing demanding to do in the transplanting season.

Next, we must consolidate and develop the sub-workteam system of management. I will touch briefly on a few questions since this system has been thrashed out in the report.

I think it is necessary that the advantages of the sub-workteam management system should among other things be made clear.

Some comrades say that this system is good because, as a result of its introduction, work assignments for each farm member have become clear, which in turn increased his sense of responsibility, and gave no room for loafers to get along. But you must not view this matter as simply as that. Some comrades regard the sub-workteam management system simply as a means of stimulating material incentives. This view is also mistaken.

The major advantage of this system is that it is an excellent means of educating farm members in communist ideas and of cultivating their collective spirit.

As you all know, an important feature of communist education is to eliminate selfishness and to get people to lead a sound collective, organizational life. An analysis of the different aspects of the sub-workteam management system over the past two years shows that the members of relatively small-sized sub-workteams got to know each other's characters better, became friendly with each other, and as a result displayed a high degree of collective spirit to help and lead each other forward. All sub-workteam members also had a higher sense of responsibility for the team's production assignments.

All this demonstrates that the sub-workteam management system is not so much a simple means of increasing material incentives as a most rational cell of collective life, which cultivates the farmers' communist ideology.

Of course, this system plays a certain role in stimulating material incentives in production, but its main purpose is to strengthen the farmers' collective life. Working together for development of the communal economy, the sub-workteam members will unite even more firmly and their sense of responsibility and awareness of the communal economy will grow steadily. Therefore, the sub-workteam management system should never be considered as transient; it will remain even after the transition to all-people ownership. This is impressive proof that this system is a very effective means of strengthening the farmers' collective life.

When we first introduced this system, some people thought that a large collective would be preferable. They were more or less uncertain about the effectiveness of this system wondering if its introduction was not a step higher from the workteam model with regard to collective life. But now it is clear to everyone that the sub-workteam management system is an excellent means of cultivating the farmers' collective spirit and improving their collective life.

In the past when production was organized on a large scale with the

workteam as a unit, they appeared to be leading a sound collective life since they worked in a large group, but actually the farmers did not regard the collective economy as their own and their collective life was superficial, because they still remained selfish.

Since the introduction of the sub-workteam management system, however, the farm members have become even more firmly united and their exemplary communist traits have developed to a high level. Just as cells join to form an organism, so cells of small social collectives join to form a communist society. Therefore, the sub-workteam as a cell of the rural collective life will remain in the future, too.

An assessment of the unit of collective life in the countryside is of vital importance either in developing the communal economy or in cultivating the farmers' collective spirit.

At the time when cooperative farms were organized on a small scale in our country, the peasants regarded the communal economy as their own and willingly participated in the collective life. Afterwards, cooperative farms were merged with ri as a unit and workteams were expanded. This measure was necessary so as to carry out the technical revolution, that is, large-scale land development and mechanization. But the communal economy failed to prove its worth because the cell of collective life was not properly organized. With the introduction of the sub-workteam management system, the quality of collective life radically improved. Even now opinions vary as to the best size of a sub-workteam. When the sub-workteam management system was introduced in Hoeyang County in Kangwon Province, some felt that a sub-workteam should be made up of 28 persons at least, for the farming operations are consecutive processes. A sub-workteam may have so many members under special circumstances, but such large sub-workteams are unnecessary in normal conditions. I read the data from the surveys conducted recently by the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee, the Agricultural Commission and the Fourth Secretariat of the Cabinet but we should not draw a conclusion solely on the basis of such data because we have only two years' experience with the sub-workteam management system.

But one thing is clear that the size of a sub-workteam must suit the collective life. In other words, a sub-workteam must be sized properly so that its members unite in ideology, understand each other, and work for the development of the communal economy with concerted efforts. On the basis of the experience gained so far, it would be advisable that a sub-workteam has a membership of 15 to 20.

A woman leader of a sub-workteam of the Jungsokhwa Cooperative Farm in Sunan County who spoke at this meeting had been a workteam leader in Nyongwon County. She said that it was better and easier to direct a sub-workteam than to lead a workteam.

The army's experience, too, seems to disprove the idea of too large a sub-workteam. The many veterans who are present here know all too well that even in the army a squad leader now and then experiences difficulties controlling his ten or so men, even though they lead a highly disciplined organizational life, sharing bed and board together. On a farm where the members live in separated accommodation and in the morning are assigned tasks on an individual basis, each carrying a hoe, it is even less advisable, after all, to organize a sub-workteam of 20 to 30 members.

The size of the sub-workteam in the future may be even smaller than it is at present once the fields have been well laid out and extended and when mechanization has been introduced extensively.

Therefore, the size of the sub-workteam is not unalterable. The report dwelt on the experience in the operation of the sub-workteam management system, but it should be adopted to suit the specific conditions of each farm.

We must continue to develop the sub-workteam management system and give full play to its advantages and vitality.

In order to consolidate and develop that system, we must first build up the ranks of sub-workteam leaders with the rural core elements such as former hired farm hands and poor peasants and the families of those who were killed by the enemy in the war. Those with a high sense of responsibility and enjoying deep trust should be elected sub-workteam leaders.

To develop the sub-workteam management system, it is also necessary to refrain, as far as possible, from transferring its members. You must do away with the practice of assigning a man to one sub-workteam today and transferring him to another tomorrow. Only when people are allowed to settle down and stay at a sub-workteam for a long time, will they become familiar with each other and come to know each other's characters and strengths, ability and qualifications, and will the sub-workteam leaders be able to organize production and political tasks better. Land and farm machinery, too, should be assigned to the sub-workteam on a permanent basis.

What is most important in improving the sub-workteam management system is to equip firmly all sub-workteam members with the Party's policies and its monolithic ideology and maintain the team's unshakable unity of purpose and will. A sub-workteam lacking steadfast unity of purpose based on the Party's monolithic ideology can never become a genuine revolutionary collective, and such a sub-workteam cannot carry out its revolutionary assignments with credit. Therefore, all sub-workteams must intensify training in the Party's policies so that all members may fully absorb our Party's monolithic ideology.

All sub-workteam members should also study up-to-date agricultural science and advanced farming techniques and master their jobs.

Lastly, I will touch on the need for the rural communities to make full preparations against war.

As you all know, recently we captured a US imperialist armed spy ship which had intruded deep into our territorial waters. This is a just self-defence measure. But the Americans are threatening us, raising a fuss. They rave that a small country like ours dared to seize their ship though no one else dared to touch it despite it being engaged in espionage off the coasts of many countries.

This armed spy ship carried a map which contained informations on the military secrets of our country, and the ship's log showed the dates and places of their acts of espionage in our country.

The ship's crew, too, admitted this fact and made written

confessions of their violation of our territorial waters and of their espionage acts. In spite of these overt acts of espionage, the US imperialists, instead of apologizing, are arguing that we should apologize. They doggedly insist that we should return the ship and its crew unconditionally. This is the logic of sheer gangsterism. Can you find such shameless robbers anywhere else in the world?

We cannot accept the arrogant demand of the US imperialists.

We can never allow ourselves to be enslaved by the imperialists. Our people have a bitter experience of many years of colonial slavery imposed upon us by the Japanese imperialists. How can we acquiesce in such a situation? We would rather die in battle than kneel down before the Americans.

We have nothing to be afraid of, even if the US imperialists unleash a war. We say resolutely that we are ready to meet their challenge. No matter how formidable the US imperialists may appear, they will not be able to conquer our people.

We have experience of fighting the US imperialists, and we know well what sort of enemy they are. If they dare to attack us, we will deliver a crushing blow at them.

Our situation now is completely different from that in the years of the Fatherland Liberation War. All our people are under arms, and the whole country has been fortified. The enemies know this, so they dare not attack us. But it does not follow that we can allow us to be relaxed and indolent in a peaceful mood. The enemies may unleash a war at all hazards. Therefore, we must be well prepared to fight and make thorough provision against possible war.

How, then, should the countryside provide against war?

The most important thing is to raise good crops. As has been pointed out in your speeches, the farmers should do even better and increase the output of grain. While increasing the grain output, they must strive to store grain and sell it to the state as much as possible.

Only when they sell a great deal of grain to the state, can we supply enough to the workers, office workers and soldiers and build up an adequate food reserve for the country. In addition to selling a large

amount of grain to the state, the farmers must have a store of provisions for one month or two.

Moreover, they should make full material and technical preparations so that they can continue farming even during a war.

Next, all the children should be provided with winter shoes and cotton-padded clothing.

To do this, the wasteful consumption of fabrics under various pretexts should be curbed, and they should be used to good purpose.

Fur caps should also be produced for the children. This is not a very difficult task. A child's fur cap is said to cost two sheets of rabbit skin. If every farm household in our country raises six rabbits a year, all our children can be provided with fur caps. We must organize a widespread campaign to raise rabbits.

If all our children wear fur caps, winter shoes and padded clothes, we will have no reason for concern, no matter where they are evacuated in case of war.

Furthermore, rural housing construction should be undertaken under a long-term plan. Rural houses must not be built on flat land, but at the foot of mountains so as to form villages of moderate sizes. This will be beneficial partly because cultivated land will not be touched and partly because the villages will be free of pollution since they will be located far from highways.

All the farmers must always maintain a high degree of revolutionary vigilance, closely watch every move of the enemies and completely prevent them from infiltrating our country. In the meantime, we must strongly combat hostile elements who slander us, who are opposed to our system, and who laud the US imperialists and the reactionary system of south Korea.

I firmly believe that all our cooperative farm members and the workers in the agricultural sector as a whole, who are loyal to the Party, will bring about another upswing in this year's farming in line with the course set by this national conference of agricultural workers.

A LETTER OF CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL THE WORKERS AND OFFICIALS IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

February 16, 1968

I warmly congratulate all the workers and officials in the agricultural sector, who, pursuant to the agricultural policy of our Party, have made a great contribution to carrying out the new revolutionary line of the Party on simultaneous economic construction and defence buildup by achieving a brilliant success in agricultural production last year and who are continuing to work devotedly to live up to the Party's expectation and trust by making great new strides in agricultural production this year.

Under the wise leadership of the Party, our working people and officials in the agricultural sector have given definite priority to the ideological revolution and pushed ahead with the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside by following the path clearly shown by the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

As a result, a new change has come about in the ideological consciousness and political and moral qualities of the farmers, and the socialist rural communities have been transformed almost beyond recognition.

Today, our agricultural workers are firmly equipped with the monolithic ideology of the Party, and enjoy a revolutionary stamina devoting themselves to the struggle for the Party and revolution. They

are displaying a high degree of collective spirit by helping and leading each other forward.

Last year a great success was achieved in the rural technical revolution.

As a result of large-scale construction for the transformation of nature, the drainage project in particular, aimed at following up the success in irrigation, solid foundations for attaining high yields at all times have been laid in our countryside.

With the successful implementation of the programme in agricultural mechanization, the number of different kinds of farm machines including tractors and lorries has considerably increased, and the level of mechanized farming operations has risen further still.

The amount of chemical fertilizer used per hectare of cultivated land has increased markedly, the variety has improved, and the supply of agricultural chemicals, too, has expanded.

Last year throughout our country farmers introduced improved farming techniques to raise per-unit-area yields. They selected areas for particular crops suited to the soil and climatic conditions, produced good strains and seeds, and improved the soil.

Thanks to the thorough implementation of the Chongsanri spirit and method in the management of the rural economy, the superiority and vitality of the new system of directing agriculture has been clearly proved. The agricultural management bodies put under unified control the material and technical means which serve the rural economy and improved their direction of the cooperative economy by applying methods used in the industrial sector, so as to ensure a more effective use of the state's material and technical assistance in agricultural production as well as further improve the management and operation of the cooperative farms.

In particular, the introduction of the sub-workteam management system on a wide scale resulted in the more thorough implementation of our Party's agricultural policy in the countryside, brought about a radical change in the management and operation of the cooperative farms and to a great extent increased the farmers' enthusiasm for work.

All the workers and administrators in the agricultural sector worked hard to carry out the decisions of the Party Conference and the two sets of ten major tasks proposed at the national meeting of agricultural workers. Thus, in spite of the very adverse natural and climatic conditions last year, you reaped a bumper harvest, not in a few crops only or just in some parts of the countryside, but in all crops and in all places including the plain and mountain areas.

With the rapid increase in agricultural production and with the growing benefits to the farmers from the Party and the state, the farmers' material and cultural standards have improved considerably.

All the brilliant successes achieved in the rural economy of our country last year were a result of the devoted efforts of our people working in the agricultural sector to implement the honourable revolutionary task given by the Party, pursuant to its correct agricultural policy.

I am extremely satisfied with the patriotic struggle of all the farmers and the officials in the agricultural sector boundlessly loyal to the Party and highly appreciate your brilliant achievements.

We are now faced with an important revolutionary task which is to consolidate our revolutionary base politically, economically and militarily by accelerating socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, accomplish the revolution in the south by supporting the south Korean people and achieve the historic mission of national reunification.

All the workers and administrators in the agricultural sector must continue to work hard on the agricultural front so as to make a significant contribution to accelerating the nationwide victory of our revolution.

This year the agricultural sector is confronted with a very important task.

None of the working people and officials in this sector should ever rest content with last year's success. They should strive to increase the per-hectare yield of grain by 500 kgs by making full preparations for this year's farming.

Another big stride should be made in the struggle to develop the production of crops for the manufacturing industries, vegetables, stock farming and sericulture.

Thus, a great contribution will be made to increasing the nation's economic power and independence, to improving the people's standard of living and to fortifying national defence.

In order to implement the immense revolutionary task in the rural economy, all the working people and officials in this sector should, first of all, make ceaseless efforts to equip themselves thoroughly with the monolithic ideology of the Party and to revolutionize and working-classize themselves.

They should think and act on the intention of the Party anywhere anytime by rallying more closely behind the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, strongly combat all ideas conflicting with the Party policies and advance confidently on the unique path indicated by the Party without the slightest vacillation in any adversity and under whatever ordeals.

They should study in depth and realize the brilliant revolutionary traditions of our Party established in the glorious anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and equip themselves thoroughly with the communist ideology, particularly, the idea of socialist patriotism. They should do away with selfishness and all the other vestiges of outdated ideas, and display the exemplary communist traits which place the interests of the collective above individual interests.

The rural technical revolution is an important means for guaranteeing the provision of powerful modern machines and techniques to the rural economy, for widely introducing the success made by agricultural science so as to develop rapidly the agricultural productive forces, for providing the farmers with a richer life, and for freeing them from arduous labour.

The agricultural sector should improve and reinforce the existing irrigation facilities and make an effective use of them to consolidate the success in irrigation. This year they should complete drainage construction, undertake the improvement of small and medium rivers

and anti-erosion projects on a large scale and conserve water, so as to ward off any damage from droughts and floods.

They must see to it that tractors, trailing implements and various other pieces of farming equipment are maintained and repaired promptly and used more efficiently and that, along with this, small and medium farm implements are adequately prepared, and draught cattle are well taken care of to increase work efficiency.

They must see that electricity finds its way even into the remote mountain villages so that all farm households can have ready access to wireless and cable broadcasting, to say nothing of electric light, and that threshing and fodder cutting and similar tasks are done by means of electric power in all rural communities.

They must ensure that the potency of chemical fertilizers is raised to the utmost by establishing the scientific fertilizing system in accordance with the soil conditions and the characteristics of crops and that the crops are thoroughly protected from damage by blight and insects by making good use of various agricultural chemicals.

They should farm scientifically and introduce new farming techniques. They should conserve land, rearrange the crop fields and obtain new land to the maximum for increased agricultural production. They should distribute crop areas and strains rationally to suit the terrain and climatic conditions, sow early-ripening and high-yielding crops, weed, harvest and thresh in season.

They should dramatically raise grain output by continually increasing the yield of rice and expanding the area planted to maize, a high-yielding crop, and also cultivate soya beans, sesame, wild sesame and other oil-bearing crops on a large scale so as to satisfy the working people's growing demand for cooking oil. Fields which facilitate irrigation should be chosen for the cultivation of different kinds of vegetables, which should be planted in season and well tended so as to increase their yield. In this way the inhabitants will be supplied with an adequate amount of fresh vegetables all the year round.

It is necessary to develop stable sources of feed by cultivating nutritious and high-yielding feed crops on a large scale, to establish a

system of breeding superior pedigree stock and to improve the tending of livestock so as to ensure a sharp rise in the output of animal products. Each of the farming workteams of the cooperative farms should produce two to three tons of meat a year, and each farm household at least 100 kgs.

The large area of orchards which have cost us a great deal in manpower, materials and money as well as chestnut groves should be well protected and carefully tended so that they will yield fruits as soon as possible, and at the same time new orchards should be created under a long-term plan by making effective use of hills and sloping ground.

At the same time, you should take good care of mulberry fields and oak groves and plant castor beans extensively on vacant land to increase cocoon production.

The officials in charge of the rural economy should adopt the Chongsanri spirit and method so as to give full scope to the great vitality and superiority of the new system of agricultural guidance.

They must abandon, once and for all, the bureaucratic and perfunctory style of work, the vestiges of outdated ideas, give priority to political work to stir up the revolutionary zeal and initiative of the masses, bring their leadership closer to the lower echelons and help them solve difficult problems timely in accordance with the Chongsanri method, the traditional revolutionary work method of our Party.

The officials of the agricultural management bodies at the provincial, city and county levels should direct the rural economy more effectively by using the methods applied in the industrial sector, introduce unified and detailed planning and improve the technical guidance in agricultural production.

They should strictly observe the democratic principle of management so as to enlist farmers widely in all managerial activities of the cooperative farms and fully incorporate their opinions. Moreover, they should efficiently organize manpower in such a way as to concentrate their efforts on farming and assess work loads promptly and thoroughly implement the socialist principle of distribution.

The sub-workteam management system should be consolidated and developed further in the rural economy.

The sub-workteam management system which has been introduced in our country in accordance with the original idea of our Party is an excellent organizational model which enables farmers to take an active part in the management and operation of the collective economy; it is a most rational cell of collective life which encourages farmers to display a collective spirit with a high degree of consciousness that they are masters of the communal economy and which cultivates the communist ideology among them.

In order to consolidate and develop the sub-workteam management system whose validity has been proved in theory and in practice, the agricultural sector should determine the appropriate size of each sub-workteam, build up the ranks of the sub-workteam leaders from the people who are loyal to the Party and the revolution. Manpower, land, draught animals and farm implements must remain fixed.

Senior officials should have a correct viewpoint and attitude towards the masses and provide their living conditions in a responsible manner. They should ensure that nurseries, kindergartens, clinics, barber's shops, bathhouses and various other cultural and welfare facilities are built up neatly and run well, that dwelling houses, wells and roads are repaired and maintained on a regular basis, and that general stores and hardware shops in the rural areas offer better service.

The risk of war is increasing in our country because of the intensified aggressive moves of the US imperialists, the ringleaders of world reaction. Under these circumstances, all the workers and administrators in the agricultural sector should always maintain a high revolutionary vigilance, without being infected with a pacifistic mood in the least, and carry out their revolutionary task in a responsible manner by keeping themselves ready and alert.

The agricultural sector should carry through the Party's policy on the economy and increased production, build up adequate reserves of

different kinds of materials and provide well against war in all respects.

The Party's guidance to the agricultural sector should be stepped up, and the Chollima Workteam Movement should be steadily developed so that all our people working in the agricultural sector wipe out all manifestations of conservatism and stagnation, help and lead each other forward and continually make innovations and uninterrupted advance under the slogan, "One for all and all for one".

I firmly believe that the workers and administrators in the agricultural sector will achieve a new brilliant success in the struggle to carry through the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, in accordance with the decisions of the Party Conference and the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic.

LET US EDUCATE AND TRAIN PUPILS AND STUDENTS TO BECOME LOYAL RESERVE FORCES FOR THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Speech Delivered before Workers in Education

March 14, 1968

After the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party last year, in the course of reviewing the work of the Ministries of Higher and General Education, we found there to be serious defects in education work.

One of the grave defects in education work is that education has been conducted simply for education's sake, failing to train communist revolutionaries. Your report pointed out that in the field of education the virus of deleterious ideologies such as the worship of great powers and those of capitalism and feudalism still thrives, the synthesis and analysis of which reveal that, after all, the old bourgeois methods of education have been used in our education uncritically. This by no means signifies that our educational institutions have simply provided a bourgeois education. However, it is hard to say that they have provided an entirely communist education. In short, in many cases our educational bodies provided a hotchpotch education which was neither communist nor capitalist, in other words, an education which drew no clear distinction between the working class and the capitalist class, and between communism and capitalism, that is, an education whose class distinctions were blurred. As a result, the minds of schoolboys and

schoolgirls are filled with erroneous ideas, and those who have been to school are unable to distinguish A from B or C.

In recent years Kim Il Sung University and other institutions of higher and general learning have trained a large number of people who are now playing a significant role in socialist construction. But the educational bodies have failed to bring up many people with a resolute communist outlook on the world. This is not because people with problematic social backgrounds were accepted by the schools. The point is not that people's origins were good or bad, but that the contents of the textbooks were not clear in drawing class distinctions, nor were the teachers fully informed from the class viewpoint.

Our Party put forward a correct educational policy, and the Political Committee of the Central Committee has also several times discussed ways of improving education. But in the past while guiding education work, some people did not present Party policy properly and even distorted it and carried it out as they pleased. Whenever a meeting was held, they claimed that the Party's educational policy was being carried out successfully, and also claimed that the whole field of education and culture was "dyed completely in red". If they were right, how then has it come about that persons appear who act against the Party's ideas, and write things contrary to its aims in the sphere of education?

The neglect of education work in the past shows that our Party failed to exercise its control over this work. This is one of the serious omissions in our Party work.

We should sum up our performance in the field of education during the past 20-odd years, and take steps to improve the work as required by our Party.

In order to build socialism and communism, it is not enough to lay the material basis alone; at the same time, the ideological revolution must be carried out in order to remould people's consciousness along communist lines. It is true that the building of a sound material basis will make it possible to consolidate the victory already won and to prove fully the superiority of the socialist system. However, without the ideological revolution socialism and communism cannot be

realized, no matter how immense the material wealth produced. In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism or communism the acceleration of the ideological revolution after the elimination of the exploiting classes and the establishment of the socialist system, is the most important task facing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After it seizes state power the working class should change the ideology of the whole people according to its own pattern and should make them acquire a working-class and revolutionary consciousness. Only by so doing will it be possible to destroy the virus of capitalist thinking and prevent the restoration of capitalism. That is why we should pay due attention to the ideological revolution.

On a world scale, socialism has triumphed only in some areas and the capitalist system still persists in other places. Moreover, in our country a fierce class struggle is going on, since American imperialism occupies the southern half. Our situation urgently demands that the ideological revolution be further stepped up.

At present, however, our officials are only talking a lot about the ideological revolution but do not advance it vigorously through sufficient organizational work.

In the field of education the tasks of the ideological revolution are also not being carried out satisfactorily. Now our enemies are writing textbooks and teaching students in such a way as to make people meekly obey them and maintain the capitalist society. In direct opposition to them we should of necessity educate and train all pupils and students so that they will hate and fight capitalist society and completely acquire communist ideology. However, workers in education teach in a confused way, instead of endeavouring to implant in the students communist ideology. Worse still, some workers at the Ministry of General Education, while prattling that it is not necessary to teach children revolutionary ideas, maintain that they should be superficially taught only what is red, blue and the like. They advocate, so to speak, naturalistic education. This is sheer nonsense.

It is said that at present some workers in the sphere of higher

education are selling their precious books in order to raise a few pennies. With such people guiding education our students could not help but be imbued with selfishness. Selfishness is, unequivocally, capitalist thinking and has nothing to do with communist ideology.

As we always say, you should learn from the revolutionaries who fought against the Japanese the lofty revolutionary example of resolutely fighting against selfishness and for socialism and communism. In the past the anti-Japanese guerrillas fought for as long as 15 years, climbing up and down mountains and eating the roots of grass. By no means did they do so in order to receive a salary. We fought with singular devotion not for our personal interests but only for the revolution.

However, the practice of thinking only of one's own interests is now widespread among our officials. When their wages are lower than those of others, they do not like that, and even when they write a few pages of an article or give a two-hour lecture somewhere, they take money. We should wage an ideological struggle to eradicate this old way of thinking once and for all.

If the ideological revolution is to be carried out successfully, we should ensure that all organizations are working as actively as possible. In this revolution educational institutions and cultural establishments play a very big role, together with Party and government bodies and working people's organizations such as the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth and the Women's Union.

People are educated at home, at school and in society. Of these the education instilled at home acquires great significance in a society where private ownership of the means of production predominates, but in socialist society this is not the case. True, home education is also important in our society but since our children enter kindergarten and school when very young, they have little time to be taught by their parents. In a socialist society people are educated from childhood at kindergartens and schools, spending much time there and, after school, they are educated in the army and in society, so they are educated

mostly at school and in society. Accordingly, the educational institutions, Party bodies and working people's organizations principally conduct the ideological revolution on the basis of the Party's line and its revolutionary ideas.

An important basis for training people to be revolutionaries should be laid through school education. The educational institutions ranging from kindergarten and primary, secondary and higher technical school to college and university, are one of the basic means of carrying out the ideological revolution. In other words, an educational institution, as a means of directly fulfilling the cultural and educational functions of the state, is an important weapon of ideological education.

Since educational institutions occupy a very important place in the ideological revolution, Party organizations and government bodies should naturally control education work, so that these institutions will be built up properly and teachers will have intimate knowledge of the Party's policies and train revolutionaries and communists. So, as a weapon of the ideological revolution, educational organs should be given a sharp edge.

Above all else, workers in education should be clearly aware of the purpose of education in socialist society. It seems to me that some workers at the Ministries of General and Higher Education are at present not fully aware of the fundamental distinction between the purposes of education in socialist society and capitalist society.

The purpose of education in socialist society is to bring up revolutionaries who will fight to realize the communist principle of "One for all and all for one", in other words, to bring up communists who will struggle against exploitation and oppression and struggle for the good of society, the people and the working class. We should see to it that the younger generation is determined to carry out the revolution for the working class and all other members of society, and that they work for the people and manufacture even one item for the working class and the people as a whole.

All workers in education should, without exception, strive to achieve this aim. If any one thinks that the aim has nothing to do with

him because he teaches mathematics or physics, this is a great mistake. Every science should serve the revolution, and knowledge which is of no service to our revolution is utterly useless.

In bourgeois society, quite unlike socialist society, people are taught to pursue their own interests, such as fame, a career and money and to live a life of comfort and plenty. As a result, people are made to think that if only they live well and are promoted and if money finds its way into their pockets alone, they will be happy, whether or not others live or die. They are also made to devote themselves entirely to becoming capitalists, or well-to-do peasants, or landlords after having achieved the status of middle peasants.

The purposes of education in socialist society and in bourgeois society are thus in fundamental opposition to and a negation of each other. This reflects the contradictions between the working class and the capitalist class and between socialism and capitalism. Therefore, the struggle against old bourgeois educational methods in our education work entails an important ideological struggle against capitalism.

In order to improve education it is necessary to begin by improving pedagogy. At present you refer to pedagogy once too often, regarding it as something mysterious, but, in fact, it is nothing special. It should be formulated from the point of view of the aim of education. Under no circumstances should you try to employ the pedagogy which you learnt in normal schools of past bourgeois society as the pedagogy of socialist society.

The pedagogy of bourgeois society is made to serve capitalism. Therefore, it stresses the fostering of selfishness in order to make people serve the capitalist system, become capitalists through exploiting others, yield to capitalists like docile sheep, and lead a corrupt life dazzled by personal comfort but indifferent to the people, to society and the state.

Our pedagogy should be the diametrical opposite of that. Since we are endeavouring to reunite the country, to accomplish the Korean revolution and to build socialism and communism throughout Korea,

pedagogy should also serve our aims. Our pedagogy should lay emphasis on educating people so that they love work from childhood, cherish common property, enjoy living collectively, hold the interests of the whole dearer than those of the individual and thus serve society and the state, and become convinced that they have a stake in the good of all and can be happy only when all people lead a happy and decent life. We should give all members of the younger generation an education which binds individuals to the collective so that they all become revolutionary, working-class and communist. Persuading people to render active service to society and the people and making them revolutionary, working-class and communist is precisely the principle and the basis of pedagogy in our socialist society. This is also the fundamental meaning of the ideological revolution during the transition period from capitalism to socialism or communism.

At present some comrades are trying to formulate our pedagogy by making use of outdated derivative theories. This is wrong. It is a mistake to prattle on about what is red or blue in reference to child psychology. It is of course necessary to teach children according to their psychology. But on this pretext you should not give an unsystematic education. In every respect, we should bring up the younger generation to be true servants of the people.

The revolutionization, working-classization and communization of people is the basic policy in education which we should pursue vigorously. We should develop methods of education and compile school textbooks to teach pupils and students in accordance with this policy.

Outdated ideologies such as feudalism and capitalism constitute serious obstacles to the instruction in communist ideology which we give the younger generation. The virus of obsolete ideas which persists for hundreds or thousands of years, can be traced not only in the minds of people but also in books and in some of our relics. This virus has permeated deep into the habits and customs of our people as well.

Let me cite an instance. People in our country have a memorial service when some one dies. True, it is impossible to oppose totally the

observation of rituals because people are attached to each other. But of what use is it to burn incense and make an offering of rice-cake to the deceased, though it is a different case if bouquets of flowers are placed in his memory? All this manifests the outdated beliefs and practices of the feudal age.

Vestiges of such beliefs and habits can be traced in everyone. Although you use revolutionary expressions when writing or talking, the outdated thoughts are manifested unwittingly in various aspects of your lives.

The outdated ideologies coincided with the establishment of a class society and have spread since, but the intensification of the ideological revolution will purge these from our future generations. It is impossible to say now when this will happen, whether in the second or third generation or in the fourth or fifth, but anyway it is true that ideological viruses will be eradicated for good. However, they will not disappear of their own accord unless a struggle to eradicate them is waged.

The feudal and capitalist ideological viruses, which still thrive in different forms, cannot be wiped out in a day or two but can only be destroyed after a protracted and determined ideological struggle.

We should not make Right or “Leftist” mistakes in the struggle against retrogressive ideologies.

We are opposed to the ultra-“Leftist” method of summarily purging all outdated beliefs overnight; at the same time we are opposed to the method of “liberalization”, used by the revisionists, which allows everything to go its own way in a careless fashion, without carrying out the ideological revolution.

Advocacy of “liberalization” is, after all, nothing short of the abandonment of the struggle against the bourgeois ideological viruses and of paralysing the dictatorship of the proletariat and laying down the weapon of revolution.

The theory of “liberalization” is a bourgeois theory. Some south Korean pressmen who once came to Panmunjom raved in front of our journalists about “bourgeois freedom”. It was reported that they said,

“In north Korea journalists go to the office every day and can only return home at a set time, after working for eight hours, and they cannot write articles against Party policies, so how can it be pleasant? But south Korean journalists go to the office when they feel like it, can write any articles they like, and when they write a successful article and make a lot of money, they drink wine and make merry to their heart’s content for days on end, without interference from others, so how nice it is!” This is what they call “bourgeois freedom”. If people live such disorganized lives, how can they find life worth living? People should never live in such a way.

A bitter struggle is going on at present between capitalism and socialism, so how is it possible to tolerate bourgeois liberalization? If we were to take the path of “liberalization”, the Yankees would all the more dare to attack us in an attempt to swallow us up.

While guarding against Right and “Left” deviations, we should zealously push ahead with the ideological revolution. However, the question of the actual method of eradicating outdated beliefs is of great importance. First, we should wage a struggle to eliminate outdated beliefs from the basic and central domains and then gradually proceed towards removing the vestiges of antiquity in customs, habits and the like.

We should not act in such a way, on the grounds of opposing the old, as we do not know all that belongs to the past. For us to press forward, we should be aware of the past. For instance, as regards science, its present state can be discussed only after dealing with the question whether in the past it was well directed or not. It is the same in the case of the remoulding of people’s ideological consciousness; the question will be solved only when it is brought home to people that the outdated beliefs are wrong, and they are made to know present ones and taught which path they should take in the future. Therefore, the ideological revolution should be carried out after making the correct decision as to the direction we shall take in the future, while making a critical assessment of what is obsolete.

What should we do concretely to improve education and train the

younger generation to be true communists?

The most important tasks are to write good school textbooks, to correctly assess the books and the heritage of the past and to revolutionize the teachers.

We should produce good textbooks. Not only books on the history of Party policies and communist education, but all textbooks should be well compiled.

It is by no means an easy task to write good textbooks. For instance, writing a history book poses many questions which need to be adequately treated. For example, the issue of patriotism is not a simple one. It is easy to decide what is aggressive and patriotic from historical incidents, but it is difficult to give a clear explanation of the relation between the patriotism of the past and present-day patriotism or between the former and the internationalism we talk about today.

At present some teachers of our schools inform the students that originally the territory as far as the Liaohe valley in Liaodong Peninsula, China, belonged to our country, but it was annexed because of the folly of our ancestors. If the students are taught in this way it will bring about nothing but bad relations between our people and the Chinese people. However, there is no denying the historical fact. You should make a thorough study on how best to treat this question.

Let me give another instance. During the Imjin Patriotic War the people of Ming fought against the Japanese, as the allies of our country. This must also be accurately accounted for. This can never be equated with the relationships we presently enjoy with our internationalist allies. Nevertheless, current history books give only vague clues to these questions.

Most of the books written by our scholars after liberation interpreted historical facts in our favour. True, this has its good points, but it also has bad points from the viewpoint of communist education. Since states and frontiers still remain, people should be encouraged to have great national pride but, in terms of world revolution, they should be given an internationalist education. It is therefore important to effectively combine these two perspectives. We should take all of these

problems into account when we write history books.

Various problems may arise during the writing not only of history textbooks but also of textbooks for all other subjects; in particular, textbooks for the social sciences may pose many problems. We should solve them scientifically.

Textbooks should not remain unaltered after they have been written, but should be constantly supplemented and improved. Recently I looked through the programme for the history of Party policies, which had good points as well as some faults. At any rate, it is a major achievement to have drafted such a programme to compile a book from scratch. It should be improved further through continuous collective discussion.

I looked over the draft regulations of the duties of the workteam leaders at factories drawn up recently by the University of National Economy. While perusing it I inserted many corrections after discussions with ministers and inquiries at the Kangson Steel Plant on various issues, but we cannot be satisfied with this. Frankly speaking, it is impossible to say that any one, be he the author or someone who is actually a team leader in a factory, knows everything. Those working as team leaders at factories have experience but little theoretical knowledge, whereas the authors of the draft regulations may be expressing an impractical subjective scheme because they have no experience as team leaders. Therefore, I intend to hold a consultative meeting and let the authors, as well as exemplary team leaders from different types of factories, participate in order to have an exhaustive discussion. They should consult and discuss in this way a great deal in order to write the book and, while using it, make amendments all the time, and thus complete it step by step.

You should write teaching materials and texts on the basis of wide-ranging discussions with the masses as well. Only the masses are good teachers. There are two ways of writing a teaching material through discussion with the masses. You may write it after putting together practical suggestions obtained through consulting many people first, and, on the other hand, you may sketch it out before

calling together many people and listening to their opinions.

Furthermore, outdated books and historical relics should be properly assessed and dealt with skilfully.

All outdated books should be examined and obscene and undesirable books must be withdrawn. Books which are useful should be recompiled, this time from a critical standpoint. Of the old books the necessary ones may be reprinted, but with an explanation included so that they will be used for communist education.

Judgements passed on outdated books by our scholars, including historians, so far seem too biased in many cases. Especially the theories of the *Silhak* school were too highly regarded. Needless to say, we should not regard the role of this school as not amounting to anything. To deny historical facts and allege that our nation achieved nothing in the past is to manifest nihilism. This would make it impossible to increase the national pride of the people and would be detrimental to the raising of the revolutionary spirit of our people. Nevertheless, events of the past should not be exaggerated. It is important to scientifically assess historical facts in order to give our new generation a correct understanding.

Besides old theoretical books, biographies and journals dealing with individual persons should all be reassessed and then read critically by people.

We should correctly evaluate the individual persons figuring in history. Let me cite Admiral Ri Sun Sin as an example. From the point of view of the age when Ri Sun Sin was active, we can say he was a great man. But we cannot compare him with our contemporaries. How can we compare with Ri Sun Sin the patriots who, during the Fatherland Liberation War, made it possible for their units to break the enemy lines by stopping the embrasures of enemy pillboxes with their own breasts? No matter how extraordinary a character he was, we should approach him critically. If we fail to treat him critically and give him unqualified prominence, that would amount to no more than information work for an aristocratic hero or for careerism. We should rather pay high tribute to the heroes who can provide examples to

follow in our society today than to men of the past such as Ri Sun Sin, and thus promote them for communist education.

While re-examining outdated books, we should assess correctly religions such as Buddhism, Christianity and the like and also Buddhist and Confucian culture.

We can say that in the northern half of our country the question of religion has, to all intents and purposes, already been solved. In south Korea, however, quite a few people practise religion. So, if we are to make sure that some day, after the country is reunified, our people will go into the southern half and successfully combat religion, we should now provide the students with an idea of its nature and its deleterious character.

At present our scholars are incapable of evaluating religion correctly. When we look through books written by scholars, we find that they fail to confirm that religion is evil, but, on the contrary, attempt to prove that it has played a significant role. So they value highly Saint Sosan and other Buddhist priests. In particular, the introduction of Buddhism or Confucianism is regarded as having been greatly conducive to the progress of our culture. We cannot reject all Buddhist or Confucian culture found in the culture of the past. But we should not think that the introduction of religion helped develop our culture. Primarily, they should say that our national culture was greatly impeded in its progress when Buddhism or Confucianism was introduced, but our historians invert this sense. The method of interpreting religious culture is a matter which requires much study from our scholars.

We should assess correctly various aspects of our historical heritage, including Buddhist temples and Confucian shrines which still remain. How to handle the heritage of the past remains an important matter.

The most important task facing us is the problem of revolutionizing teachers. Through the revolutionization of teachers we should train in great numbers those who will write good textbooks, those who will be able to make a proper judgement on the outdated books and historical

relics and those who will educate students well.

At present you choose as teachers people of good social origin, and of course this is also necessary. A son of a landlord may think of restoring the landlord system, but those of worker origin will think otherwise. However, they cannot be presumed to be free from outdated influences or to be revolutionized simply because they are of working-class origin. If people of good social status do not develop their ideological awareness through continual education, they will also become an obstacle to the revolution. Needless to say, whether their social status is good or bad may matter to some degree, but what is important is whether or not they have a clear understanding of communism and possess a revolutionary world outlook.

You should not purge people indiscriminately on the pretext of strengthening educational institutions, but you should educate and revolutionize all people willing to march towards socialism and communism together with us. The question cannot be solved by selecting and accepting people of good social status and purging those of complex origin; the teachers should be revolutionized. If the person in question was given education under our social system and, determined to fight for the revolution, performs his tasks admirably, even if his father was wicked, why should he be purged? If those with problematic social origins are opposed to our system and do not want the revolution, that is another question. We cannot advance with those against us. But we should not have a uniform approach even towards people of problematic social origins. If any one, though his father may have exploited others as a landlord, sets himself against it and, at the same time, affirms that Marxist-Leninist theories are valid, supports communist construction because through it the people prosper, and follows us determined to take part in the revolutionary struggle, we should give him further education in order to accommodate him. Even if he made a few mistakes before, we should test him while allowing him to work and reform him patiently through practices.

In order to revolutionize the teachers, we need people who can educate them. At present, however, we have very few people who are

well-versed in all fields and are sufficiently trained to be able to settle every issue skilfully along communist lines. Neither the workers of the Science and Education Department of the Central Committee of the Party, nor those at the Ministries of General and Higher Education have been so trained. First of all, we should re-educate and revolutionize the senior staff of this department and those ministries so that they themselves will attain the level which would enable them to give teachers a good education. At the same time, teachers should also revolutionize themselves.

Revolutionization is the task set not only before teachers and those who educate them. All our officials should further revolutionize themselves. Among our officials there are few people who can be said to have fully developed a communist world view. Even the workers of the Central Committee of the Party should never regard themselves as fully equipped or think they have the right only to give guidance and have no duty to learn. Everyone, irrespective of his post, should study at all times, settle every matter through consultation with the masses, and revolutionize himself still further.

At present some people simply think that if only they work in factories, they will all become working-class and revolutionary, but this is incorrect. In order to undergo revolutionization, everyone should persistently train and improve himself.

Certain people are against the practice of self-discipline, saying that the only method of revolutionization is through struggle. True, the revolutionization of people is a struggle. But we should not interpret the word “self-discipline” as merely meaning that we should confine ourselves to our rooms so as to read books like the scholars of the past. Self-discipline is an ideological struggle aimed at opposing the obsolete and developing a revolutionary world outlook.

We should intensify the struggle to eradicate the virus of feudal and capitalist ideologies and to acquire an intimate knowledge of the communist world view.

According to the report presented some time ago by the chief secretary of the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee, the

Hamhung City Party organization guided work in the field of education after we visited Hamhung last year, when we called the teachers together and gave them the tasks of rooting out outdated bourgeois ideologies and of revolutionizing themselves. The city Party organization cannot be considered to have provided satisfactory guidance, but, as that report pointed out, many teachers decided that they would continue to carry out the revolution, following our Party, while bringing to light all they had hitherto withheld from their personal files, and criticized all that they had said against Party policies until then. This was a great success in Party work. However, it was no more than a first step and we should not rest content with it. In future we should organize the ideological struggle among teachers with greater care. By the way, the ideological struggle should be aimed not at dismissing someone but at eradicating outdated beliefs.

There are various ways to revolutionize teachers including that of making them go among the masses to gain experiences and strengthening their organizational life. By using every method, we should revolutionize teachers and ensure that they have a well-developed communist world view and see to it that only those possessed of a revolutionary world view write textbooks and educate and train pupils and students.

In order to revolutionize teachers, it is first necessary to urge them to go among the masses. They should have first-hand experience and, while teaching the people, learn from the masses. During this process they should be criticized by the people as well as by their comrades and feel pangs of conscience when they behave wrongly. In my opinion, this method will be extremely beneficial in the revolutionization of teachers.

We have already told Party school teachers to go among the masses. It is best that they divide themselves into two groups, one teaching students at school while the other goes to the villages for one year or two to conduct Party work, undertaking the duties of Party secretary or of vice-secretary in the ri. In the process, they will learn shortcomings in Party work and the ways to mobilize the masses in keeping with the

Party's demand and, through their work, they will come to know their previous misconceptions, and will be further disciplined. If they return to the schools and stand on the rostrum again after having acquired experience in the field in this way, they will be able to teach their students far better.

Furthermore, you can also employ the method of encouraging teachers to have frequent engagements in the field in the company of Party workers and to gain experience there. When the head of the Department of Organizational Leadership of the Party Central Committee, for example, goes to direct Party work in a factory on the spot, he can take teachers with him so that they go among the masses to discuss various matters and gain experience in the field. This will enable the teachers to study the revolutionary spirit of the working class and to acquaint themselves with the needs of the masses, the validity of Party policy and the methods for bringing this policy home to the masses and for effectively educating students.

In order to revolutionize teachers, it is necessary to organize a system for re-educating them. Of course, it is also important to intensify life in the organization and to provide sound instruction and training for the students at existing universities of education. But this alone is insufficient. We must see to it that a school is set up to re-educate teachers and send good teachers there so that they lead a strict organizational life for six months or a year and, at the same time, eradicate the virus of obsolete ideologies by conducting the ideological struggle more zealously.

In order to revolutionize teachers, it is essential, while intensifying their organized lives, to make them the information workers of Party policy.

We dwelt on this problem long ago, but as yet they have failed to do what is required. In the past some people at the Ministry of Higher Education said that education was not being conducted well because teachers were too often being drafted to take part in social activities. As a result of a lack of the correct viewpoint on the masses, we find among university lecturers the pernicious inclination to stand on their dignity

and to consider agreeable only the reading of scientific and other lectures at an advanced level, while they regard the reading of popular lectures to the masses to be beneath them. That is why at present they never visit factories or neighbourhood units to give lectures.

Our teachers need not confine their work simply to school like the teachers at the old-fashioned private schools. We should make active political workers of them. To this end we should see to it that they are given specific subjects for which to prepare good lecture plans before going out to the masses to deliver lectures. This will be beneficial for the carrying out of the Party's policies because they will not only make a detailed study of them but will also become their information workers. Furthermore, if they go out to give lectures they will be examined by the people and will be afforded a range of incentives and, in the long course of doing such work, will develop a strong revolutionary world view.

As well as drafting them to give lectures, we should make sure that they often write theses and various other articles.

By continually endeavouring to reform themselves on the revolutionary pattern, all teachers should become revolutionaries fulfilling the tasks of the ideological revolution, instead of being mere salaried men or women.

While revolutionizing teachers we should do away with outdated methods of education and rectify all deviations being shown in education work.

Since ours is the age of revolution, all pupils and students should be roused to activity as revolutionary children and youths. However, at present you pay little attention to bringing them up as active political workers and zealous intellectuals, but are turning them into "bookworms" intent merely on reading at home, and into "good-for-nothings". In fact, given the methods applied by the educational institutions, I find it difficult to concede that our pedagogy is revolutionary.

Certain people tell students that they must devote themselves only to reading books day and night, but, in the long run, this will turn them

into dolts. Needless to say, pupils and students should be persuaded to read many books. But if they do not know how to put their knowledge to good use, they are good for nothing, no matter how many books they have read.

Worse still, some people even come forward with the “genius theory”, arguing that only the talented should be encouraged to read books. No one is born a genius possessed of distinguished talents. Among people there may be those who are quick-witted and have a measure of ability. But everyone, irrespective of whether he is apprehensive or not, has both good and bad qualities. People quick of apprehension have the merit of conceiving some idea readily, but are not patient when they work; people slow of apprehension, on the contrary, are not quick-witted but are good at bracing themselves and seeing the job through, once they have grasped the problem. Therefore, we are against the “genius theory”.

If students are to become industrious individuals, they should not be confined to their schools alone but should be persuaded to participate in various social and political activities. In our secondary school days at the age of fifteen or sixteen, we went among the masses to give information lectures and organize mass demonstrations and, after obtaining a mimeograph, we started publishing the newspaper of the Saenal Children’s Union. The present conditions are different from the revolutionary situation of those days, so it is pointless to require the students to conduct the same type of political activity. However, we should make sure that they conduct social activity in keeping with present conditions.

We have always held that students should be drawn into various kinds of social and political activities. It is preferable to have them organize Party-policy information squads, science information squads, study information squads, hygiene information squads and the like and appear before the crowd frequently. However, this kind of activity has not been arranged to this day.

You are now educating pupils and students in such a way that scoring full points in an examination is all that is demanded. You

should not do that. Of course, they should score full points at examinations. True, examinations are a control mechanism urging them on to study. Yet, you should not rely on examination marks alone. Students can easily succeed in exams if, after neglecting their daily studies and playing away all their time, they study diligently for a few days. At present our students have little enthusiasm for reading. In order to encourage them to read books, we should persuade them to take part in various social activities. Participation in social activities causes them to appear before the masses, so naturally they will read a large number of books.

Students should be energetically drafted to deliver lectures and the like. It is advisable that they be made to prepare lecture plans on designated subjects and visit factories and rural areas and, in the case of university students, that they visit secondary or technical schools, in order to give lectures. You will do well to encourage not only university and secondary school students, but also to encourage primary school children to speak before the masses.

Appearing before the crowd when one is young is something one does not forget for a long time. Once when I lived in Kangdong, I, after learning by heart the lecture plan written by my father, made a speech at a commemoration meeting, as the congratulatory groups of the Children's Union do today, and this is vivid in my memory even now.

We must see to it that primary school children also appear before the audience after they have rehearsed songs or various other pieces they are fond of. We have built children's palaces so that they can do this sort of thing on a grand scale. They can make speeches before their parents and people in the vicinity of schools assembled in school auditoriums and in other such places, if not in children's palaces. They can propagate Party policy and health work and disseminate scientific and other knowledge with the help of lecture plans prepared by teachers.

Their frequent appearances before crowds will encourage them and make them become better acquainted with the needs of the masses and with the prevailing conditions.

Pupils should also be drafted for campaigns to do good deeds. In the past there were many campaigns, but inertia has prevailed recently. Pupils should launch various campaigns—campaigns to discover mineral deposits by organizing prospectors’ squads, campaigns to prevent infectious diseases, campaigns to form greenery guards and the like.

At the same time, arrangements should be made for pupils and students to gain extensive knowledge of the actual conditions in our country. At present schools fail to arrange inspection tours. Pupils and students are required to make use of books to study hard, but they should also inspect factories and the like.

Now our country has numerous factories and its industrial foundations are solid. However, they are not managed skilfully. Though we have created many orchards, we cannot pick fruit properly because of mismanagement. We have a swift horse, so to speak, but cannot make proper use of it, because we have not learned how to ride it. We should train large numbers of workers who will be able to manage the national economy efficiently.

Pupils and students will have to manage the national economy in the future. In order to bring them up to become fine workers in economic management, we should educate them to become diligent persons aware of the prevailing conditions, instead of turning them into “bookworms”.

To continue. Subservience to great powers should be rejected and Juche firmly established in science and education.

Some people still continue to worship other countries, saying that technology is developed in capitalist countries and that some countries have attained a high technological level. Others say that just as if one wants to learn the principle of music thoroughly, one must go to Italy, one must visit a certain country in the case of some branch of science because they are forerunners in science. As we always say, when a person turns to flunkeyism he becomes an idiot and a nation which la takes to flunkeyism falls into ruin. The tendency towards flunkeyism should be thoroughly opposed.

Nevertheless, we should not pursue an insular policy or steer an isolationist course Regent Taewongun did in the past; nor should we oppose the introduction of science and technology from other countries. We should energetically introduce advanced science and technology from other countries, and make them our own. But we should be cautious lest flunkeyism should appear as a result of assimilating foreign science and technology. If we try, we can surely overtake the advanced countries. Therefore, even when we learn science and technology from other countries, we should never aim to follow them but must be resolved to outstrip them by developing our own science and technology. We must adhere to the principle of thoroughly opposing flunkeyism in the field of science and technology, and of adapting foreign successes in this field, when learning them, to our specific conditions from the point of view of Juche.

In the social sciences, we should carry out research work relying firmly on our Party policy which is the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to our prevailing conditions. The main task facing the social sciences is that of solving all problems on the basis of our Party's ideas.

Juche should be firmly established in the natural sciences as well. Only then will it be possible to develop our national economy and strengthen the foundations of our independent national economy.

As I have already stressed several times, if industry is to be stable and independent, more than 70 per cent of the raw materials it uses must be derived domestically. It will be another matter when in the future the capitalist system disappears completely and communist society is established all over the world. But under present conditions, when states and frontiers exist, a state must have its own means, and only when it is in a position to meet very nearly all its needs for industrial raw materials on its own will it be able to develop its national economy on a secure footing.

An industry depending on the raw materials of other countries is a dependent industry. In an attempt to rival us, with the backing of the

American imperialists, the south Korean puppets are now claiming that they are building their industry by attracting huge amounts of capital from other countries. But theirs is a dependent industry relying entirely on the raw materials of other countries. They are building only power stations working on heavy oil. If the Yankees stop supplying heavy oil, they will fail to generate electricity and, consequently, the work in other industries will stop. This alone is enough to demonstrate that the Yankees have a stranglehold on south Korean industry.

In building power stations in all circumstances we must underscore the need for more hydroelectric power stations and must ensure that more than 70 per cent of electricity resources are assured by domestic production. Only then can we produce electricity on a dependable footing.

It is true that the building of power plants working on heavy oil has advantages compared with other types of power station. As for thermal power stations, the erection of coal boilers alone requires a huge construction project. The construction of hydroelectric power stations takes a long time and is very expensive because dams, waterways and various other complicated projects have to be undertaken. But oil-fuelled power stations can be built faster and require less expenditure on construction than other types of power station. We therefore plan to build an oil-fuelled power plant with a capacity of 100,000 kw this year and another with a 200,000 kw capacity in the future.

We must see to it that all branches of industry rely firmly on our own resources of raw materials. To this end, natural scientists must arm themselves with the Party's Juche idea and make greater efforts to provide all industries with our own raw materials.

In writing new textbooks and examining old books we should stick firmly to the Juche idea and we should equip thoroughly all teachers and students with the Party's Juche idea.

But on the basis of establishing Juche we should not assume an attitude of narrow-minded national egoism. We should develop the relationship between the Juche idea and internationalism correctly.

Only when people are thus properly educated can they avoid falling into flunkeyism and can become fine communists.

To continue. We should instruct teachers and students well in the superiority of the socialist system.

At present we are not good at teaching people the advantages of the socialist system.

Socialism is a system which is incomparably better than capitalism. Only landlords and capitalists dislike socialism. In our society everybody is entitled to study and work, and everybody leads a happy life. No one starves.

Capitalist society, however, is not like that. Tokyo, Japan, appears to be flourishing and good to live in, but it is, in fact, a good place only for capitalists. Some time ago, a man from a socialist country stopped in our country on his way back from Japan. He was awakened to the streets of Tokyo presenting an ugly sight—the narrow lanes, rickshaw boys, rearcars drawers, and so on. Tokyo has no park worth mentioning except the one where the Emperor goes for walks. Since the working people spend 40 per cent of their wages on rent, life is very hard. There are many geishas and beggars there. He said that in Pyongyang he indeed felt the impact of socialism; streets are wide and everybody works.

At present some of our people tend to have no pride in living under the socialist system. There is nothing in capitalist countries that we should envy.

Everyone alike studies, works and lives affluently; how good our society is! True, our people are not yet sufficiently provided with all they want. But if we make an effort, we will be better off in the future. Since our country is free of exploiters, if we make greater efforts to produce larger quantities of goods, the people will benefit accordingly.

We should make students clearly aware of the superiority of the socialist system, and educate them thoroughly so that they may take pride in the system under which they live.

We must see to it that not only students but teachers take pride in the fact that they live under the socialist system. It is said that now

some teachers from former bourgeois families envy the teachers in capitalist society their fine clothes and dandified manner. This is the expression of an erroneous assumption. How good it is to be dressed as plainly as our people! We should educate teachers well so that they will not envy the life of old society but will realize clearly the advantages of our socialist system and will take pride in living under this system.

At the same time, we should inspire the confidence in teachers and students that revolutionaries can destroy a formidable enemy with small forces.

In the past our anti-Japanese guerrillas started by fighting the enemy barehanded to capture weapons, with which they armed themselves, and eventually won the battle against the redoubtable Japanese imperialists. The same is true today. We now stand face to face with the Yankees who boast that they are the most powerful nation in the world. Yet we are thwarting their aggressive manoeuvres at every step.

As you all know, at the beginning of this year we captured the armed spy ship *Pueblo* of the US imperialists and her entire crew. The Yankees demanded that we return them unconditionally. Why should we meekly return those who have carried out espionage activities within the territorial waters of another country? Of course, if the Yankees apologize to us, we can set them free. In fact, the self-styled “invincible” United States would be ashamed of asking such a small country as ours for forgiveness for a transgression. The Americans first threatened to attack us, massing in the East Sea numerous warships including the large aircraft carrier *Enterprise*. But, not in the least frightened, we confronted the enemy saying, “Challenge us if you wish to.” They dared not attack. This shows that even a small country can defeat the Yankees.

By giving such examples, we should properly educate teachers and students to have a conviction of victory.

We must see to it that students acquire correct views on war. No one should ever be afraid of war. To be afraid of war is a manifestation of

the revisionist ideology. If we do not fear war but prepare for it fully, the enemy will think better of attacking us. If the enemy starts an adventurous war, we will be able to hasten national reunification.

Today one of the most important problems that must be solved in socialist construction is the manpower problem. In accordance with the decisions of the Party Conference, we should step up economic construction to improve the life of the people and, at the same time, should successfully build up our defence power. In particular, the situation requires that we strengthen the People's Army. Today we need greater manpower than ever before. As a consequence of the Fatherland Liberation War, we have few additional manpower resources. As you see, we have much work to do but not the required manpower. On top of that, our workers are not enthusiastic about the technical revolution and are not keen on planning and political work as required by the Party. The problem of manpower therefore still remains unsolved.

If we organize work with care we can easily tap many reserves. Vice-Premiers have been visiting production sites and are tracing many potentialities. According to the report of Comrade Vice-Premier who went to the construction site of a thermal power station, out of the construction costs envisaged 3 million *won* plus 1,300 workers could be discounted. This shows that our officials had failed in their planning, particularly in detailed planning.

Since our officials have not done their work well, many reserves that could be available are left idle. Manpower is largely wasted in some places, whereas it is short in other places, thus hindering construction. We should strive to mobilize all potentials.

This year we have a lot of new projects to start. In Pyongyang alone we must do a great deal while taking measures against flood damage. I do not think that such a flood as last year's will be repeated, but still we cannot rest assured. Therefore, we should deepen the bed of the Taedong River and build dikes at any cost before the rainy season. There are also many projects to be completed in North Hamgyong Province: the Kim Chaek Iron Works should be expanded, an oil

refinery erected and a large railway station built. This requires considerable manpower. This year the electrification of the Hamhung-Hongwon railway line should be completed. Trains will then run from Pyongyang to Myongchon on the electrified line. If next year we electrify the railway sections between Myongchon and Chongjin and between Kilju and Hyesan, railway electrification in our country will in the main be completed.

Since manpower is short, students should be to some extent mobilized in order to take part in completing the many construction projects. For this purpose operations should be well organized. Tools and the like should be prepared before the students are mobilized. If we send them out to construction sites without any preparations, it may prevent them from both studying and working and will only waste time. Therefore, the ministries of education or the schools should arrange work in a conscientious manner so as to prevent this happening. They should provide students with good eating, sleeping and resting conditions during the period of the mobilization, and should supply them with boiled drinking water and oblige them to take thorough health precautions so that they do not fall ill.

You should considerably inform students that since our manpower situation is difficult, they should take part in construction work this year, even though this may prove a bit of a hindrance to their studies. You must draw up a meticulous education programme relating to the mobilization of students, so as to conduct compensatory classes during winter.

Today I told you about some of the tasks that need to be fulfilled to improve education work. Bearing them in mind, you should zealously push ahead with your work. I wish you great successes in education.

**ON SOME MEASURES
FOR THE RECLAMATION
OF TIDELAND IN A WELL-DEFINED
FRAMEWORK**

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of Land
Management Officials**

March 19, 1968

Today's consultative meeting heard the report of a group of observers who have made a tour of reclaimed tideland areas in foreign countries, and discussed the measures necessary for the reclamation of tideland in our country in a well-defined framework.

It is very important to reclaim tideland with a clear plan for the future.

If we are to solve the grain problem in our country with a limited area of arable land, we must make the maximum use of the existing cultivated land, and also continue to expand the area under cultivation through determined efforts to obtain new land.

We have long waged the struggle for the reclamation of land. In the war years we reclaimed the northern highland and set up State Farm No. 5. At the time some people objected to the project, saying that the land was unfit for cultivation even if it were reclaimed because it was essentially pumice stone. Immediately after the armistice, too, the Ministry of Agriculture suggested abandoning this farm because farming was difficult on such barren land. I asked why we should abandon such a big farm with 4,000 to 5,000 hectares of cultivated

land. I made it clear that if it was too barren to farm, the land should be improved. Since then the land has been improved and it is now fertile. Last year's per-hectare yield of bean on this farm was 1.5 tons, and that of flax three tons.

Reclamation of the northern highland began in the war years and as a result there is not much land left to be reclaimed now. Of course, the Pujon Plateau area could be reclaimed, but we must not do it. This area should be developed into a large forest land in the future. This is the way to bring prosperity to the country and a rich life to the people.

Since there is little land suitable for reclamation inland, the only way to expand the cultivated land is to reclaim tideland. There is a large area of reclaimable tideland on the western coast of our country. Reclaimed tideland can be good farmland. At present several thousand hectares of tideland have been reclaimed in Onchon County, South Phyongan Province. They are very fertile.

Foreign experience demonstrates that a hectare of reclaimed tideland can yield at least four tons of any crops, be it barley or oat, after ten years of cultivation. If we reclaim approximately 100,000 hectares of tideland in our country, we will be able to markedly increase our grain output.

If we wall off the sea on the tideland in the western coastal area, we will not only expand the cultivated area but also protect the crop fields in the coastal area from the damage by salt water.

The reclamation of tideland is necessary also for the development of stock farming.

If we develop stock farming and increase meat production, we will be able to save a great deal of food grain and also provide the people with a better diet.

In order to develop stock farming on a large scale, we must solve the problem of feed. With a view to bringing up the matter of developing stock farming at a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, I have studied the relevant literature and talked with specialists in this field, considering the matter from different angles, and I have found that feed poses the biggest challenge.

The existing crop area in our country is insufficient to solve the feed problem. However intensive our farming methods, we will be able to produce no more than 300,000 tons of meat at best.

Last year, in an effort to solve the problem of feed, we gave the students of agricultural universities the task of surveying approximately one million hectares of grazing land. They say that they have located the one million hectares, but close investigation shows that little of the land is fit for grazing.

There are many low hills in our country, but those with fertile land have already been developed into orchards. Most of the remainder is of weathered stone or rock. Pastures created in such hills will not yield much feed.

There is little suitable grazing land except in our high wooded mountains which we cannot afford to use for this purpose. If we are to establish grazing land in such mountains, we will have to denude them. Denuded mountains would cause landslides in the rainy season.

A good way of solving the feed problem in our country is to wall off the sea on the tideland and cultivate grain crops or fodder crops there.

The reclamation of tideland on the western coast will provide favourable conditions for oil prospecting.

Indeed, the reclamation of tideland is a great nature-transformation project which is interesting and significant. Successful reclamation of tideland is the way for our people to flourish. If we undertake this project on a large scale, it will have a good political impact on our people and youth.

Querulous of the difficulty to provide food for a large population, the puppet clique in south Korea are now selling out people to different parts of the world including South American countries. But we communists should provide food for the growing population by transforming nature and increasing grain output. If we do this, we will inspire our people and youth with hope of a bright future in spite of the growing population. The coming generations, too, will follow our example. If tideland is reclaimed by future generation after generation, our territory will grow much larger.

The reclamation of tideland in our country is much less difficult than in other countries. I am informed that a certain country has now to wall off the sea to scores of metres in depth to obtain new land because it has reclaimed all the shallow tideland which emerges at low tide in the course of many years of this effort. That country is said to be importing stone for use in tideland reclamation since it is no longer available at home.

Tideland in our country is clear of water at low tide, and we have inexhaustible sources of stone. But our ancestors could not even dream of reclaiming tideland. In the postwar years we made several attempts to do it but we gave them up after some efforts because of the shortage of manpower and machines.

The situation has now changed. We have a powerful industrial infrastructure which can produce the machines and equipment such as cargo boats, heavy-duty lorries and excavators necessary for the reclamation of tideland. In short, we are capable of reclaiming tideland on a large scale.

From now on, we should undertake this project on a large scale. North and South Phyongan Provinces in particular should do this work efficiently.

If we do a good job and reclaim 10,000 hectares of tideland every year, this will amount to 100,000 hectares in 10 years. This is a great thing. We should undertake this task boldly and strive to reclaim 100,000 hectares of tideland in the next ten years.

The land development sector should work out a master plan for tideland reclamation. To do this properly, it should first make a detailed survey of tideland. And, then, it should draw up the master plan with a clear view to the future and submit it to the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee.

The master plan must include the measures necessary to solve the problem of water to irrigate the reclaimed tideland. Without solving this problem, it would be useless no matter how much tideland you may reclaim. We have several thousand hectares of reclaimed tideland, but it is not cultivated properly on account of the lack of irrigation. In

order to solve the problem of water for the cultivation of reclaimed tideland, we must lay out reservoirs there after reclamation. If we construct reservoirs and store the water from rivers and the downpour in the rainy season, we will be able to irrigate several thousand hectares without difficulty. Therefore, the master plan should specify the locations and sizes of reservoirs to irrigate the reclaimed tideland.

The master plan should be considered by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, and then the project for the reclamation of tideland should be pushed ahead according to the plan.

In order to carry out the project for the reclamation of tideland under a well-defined framework, firm foundations for this work should be laid.

At present we have no foundations on which to undertake the project on a large scale. Even the enterprises which reclaimed tideland without the powerful aid of machinery were mostly directed to other work several years ago. Without laying firm foundations, therefore, it would be impossible to carry this project through to success.

First of all, the research department into the development of tideland should be well staffed and equipped. By so doing, we must see to it that it strengthens research work on the development of tideland and solves scientific and technical problems in this area.

The method of tideland reclamation now in use in our country is dated. This method costs us a great deal in labour and time. Therefore, the method of tideland reclamation should be radically improved.

We must not practise dogmatism in this matter as in all other work. We must not copy foreign things blindly but devise the method in keeping with the specific conditions of our country.

You should also study how to eliminate salinity quickly from the reclaimed tideland to make it suitable for farming. To this end, the percolation system of irrigation should be introduced. It is not difficult to set up this system. It can be done by laying at certain intervals subterranean pipes with holes. The introduction of this system will not only facilitate the removal of salinity but also can irrigate the fields in the dry season. From next year on, the percolation system of irrigation

should be introduced on an experimental basis.

The state should increase its investment in research into the scientific and technical problems arising in tideland reclamation and in the arrangement of conditions for the experimental introduction of the percolation system. We should also import books and reference material helpful to the research into the scientific and technical problems relating to the reclamation and use of tideland.

It is very important in the successful implementation of the project for tideland reclamation to prepare technical cadres. The sector concerned should train the technical cadres needed for tideland reclamation under a long-term scheme and also select and send sound people abroad for training. Six months to a year would be advisable for this purpose.

In order to reclaim tideland successfully, we must take the measures to ensure the production of the necessary machines and equipment and cement.

The reclamation of tideland is not an easy task. It would be difficult to do this work by manual labour. Our sources of labour are small, and there are great strains on manpower in our country. Therefore, the reclamation operations should be mechanized so as to carry out the project with little manpower. To this end, the machines necessary for the project should be produced and supplied.

Special machines are not needed in mechanizing the reclamation of tideland. Dredgers, cargo boats, excavators and lorries will do. We can produce as many of these machines as we need.

Our machine industry has now developed to an advanced stage where it can make large-sized machines. It can annually produce 10,000 *Sungni-58* lorries and 500 10-ton lorries. In the near future it will manufacture 25-ton lorries too. Various types of engines for vessels are also being produced in large numbers.

The machine industry is also mass-producing excavators. This year we have a plan to produce 500 excavators of 0.5 cubic-metre capacity, and in the future we will produce thousands of them every year. If we build up the bases of the electronics and automation industries and

equip the machine industry with new techniques in the future, our machine industry will be able to manufacture any type of modern machines.

The machine industry should raise the level of its technical equipment and mass-produce dredgers, cargo boats, excavators, lorries and other machines needed for tideland reclamation. The metallurgical industry should increase the output of steel required for the manufacture of machines and equipment for the reclamation of tideland and, in particular, produce a large amount of plate and sheet steel needed for the building of dredgers and cargo boats.

A railway should be laid at some section of the construction site of the tideland. This is necessary to facilitate the timely transport of materials for the project.

The extensive reclamation of tideland requires large quantities of cement. An increase in the production of cement is necessary not only for the reclamation of tideland but also for land development including river embankment, the construction of revetments and road paving. Cement can meet many purposes, so the more we produce it, the better. If we produce it in large quantities, we can export the surplus to import oil. I have always maintained that we must not export fabrics but cement in order to import oil.

Our country has inexhaustible deposits of limestone and anthracite. Therefore, if we develop the cement industry with these resources, we can produce as much cement as we want.

In order to increase the output of cement, we must build more cement factories. I have been told that a contract was made to import the plant of a cement factory. You must not repeat it in the future. It is not too difficult to manufacture the equipment for a cement factory. Why, then, should we import it at the cost of our precious foreign currency? Even a country with a less developed industry than ours produces and exports the complete range of equipment for cement factories. It does not stand to reason that we cannot produce it and have to import it. In future we should not think of importing it but manufacture it ourselves.

If we launch a let-one-machine-tool-make-another movement and build another machine factory like the Ryongsong Machine Factory, which can produce equipment to order, we will be able to produce the complete range of equipment not only for cement factories but also other factories. The machine industry should construct another centre capable of making equipment to order and produce the complete range of equipment for a cement factory.

If we lay solid foundations for tideland reclamation and produce and supply machines and cement, we will be able to carry through tideland reclamation in a detailed framework.

ON MAKING GOOD PREPARATIONS FOR WAR SO AS TO COPE WITH THE PREVAILING SITUATION

**Speech before the Deputy Department Directors
and Higher-ranking Officials of the Party Central Committee,
and the Chief Secretaries of the Provincial Party Committees**

March 21, 1968

Today, I should like to speak to you about the situation in our country after the US imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo* incident and about a number of immediate measures to deal with it.

As you all know, the valiant naval officers and men of our People's Army recently captured the *Pueblo* and her 80-odd crew that had intruded deep into our territorial waters and were committing acts of espionage.

The *Pueblo* is an armed spy ship which was dispatched directly by the US CIA; she has various kinds of highly precise and modern intelligence equipment which catches radio waves and discovers the positions of the military bases of other countries. The map possessed by the crew indicated the positions of our military bases and the ship's journal detailed the fact that under the order from the high authorities the ship left Japan's Sasebo Harbour as early as last December and intruded our territorial waters to carry out espionage on several occasions. They say that they could not relay to their country all the material which they had amassed in our waters, although they had recorded it in the map and written it in the log. They say that they were

ordered by their commanding authority not to beam radio waves within our territorial waters because these would reveal the position of the vessel and result in its capture.

Our seizure of the *Pueblo* is a legitimate self-defensive measure and an absolutely just act for safeguarding state power and national dignity. But, instead of apologizing for their blunder, that is, their outrageous aggressive act against our country, the US imperialists are now forcing us to apologize for what they call our mistake and are making frantic war clamours exploiting this incident.

The reasons for the US imperialists raising such clamours after the *Pueblo* incident are: first, that they are afraid of the secrets of the armed spy ship with various kinds of precise and modern intelligence equipment as well as of their aggressive acts and espionage codes being disclosed to the whole world by her crewmen; secondly, that they intend to recover at all costs their prestige lost by the capture of their spy ship by our small country, a ship which even big countries have not dared to antagonize until now; and thirdly, that they fear we will attack south Korea by exploiting the seizure of the armed spy ship because this incident coincided with guerrilla activities there.

At present the enemy also accept that we are strong. The US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee puppet clique know very well that if a war breaks out right now they will be driven out of south Korea not able to sustain their presence there any longer. The US imperialists' frenzied war clamours arising from the *Pueblo* incident aim, in a word, mainly at improving their hopeless plight.

As soon as the *Pueblo* was captured, the US imperialists concentrated their great task fleet including an aircraft carrier in the East Sea of our country and brought many fighter-bombers from Okinawa in Japan into south Korea, thus openly threatening to invade the northern half of Korea.

On the other hand, in order to hoodwink the world's people, the US imperialist aggressors attempted to lay the *Pueblo* incident before the UN.

But we did not yield in the least to their military pressure; we

sternly opposed and rejected the enemy's manoeuvres to introduce this incident to the UN.

Although they made a great commotion and brought military pressure to bear upon us, we never succumbed and when they tried to take this issue to the UN, our Government statement announced to the world that we were opposed resolutely to it and that we would not accept any unwarrantable UN decision. When things came to this impasse, they said that they would bomb Wonsan Harbour so as to sink the *Pueblo* or attack Wonsan to get the ship back by mobilizing their armed forces, and would drop bombs on any airfield or other targets of our country, in a so-called "retaliatory measure".

After discussing the prevailing situation carefully, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee adopted the resolute measure of returning retaliation for the enemy's "retaliation", all-out war for all-out war. As we did not yield in the least to their military pressure but adopted a more uncompromising attitude, the US imperialists found themselves in a worse plight. At that time a delegation of the Romanian Communist Party came to visit our country. In the speech made at the banquet to welcome the delegation we restated that the US imperialists would not be able to frighten our people in the slightest degree by means of any military pressure and blackmail and added that the *Pueblo* issue could be resolved by negotiations which both sides should attend at Panmunjom, as on a previous occasion. Once we sent back two American pilots, who had intruded into our territorial airspace and were conducting hostile operations, after we held talks at Panmunjom and received a written apology from the enemy.

Our such stand caused a great sensation across the world and forced the US imperialists who were in a difficult position to appear at Panmunjom. As a result, talks are now going on between us and the American side.

The US imperialists who have been forced to attend the talks at Panmunjom, in an attempt to keep up the appearance of a big power, do not admit the intrusion of the armed spy ship *Pueblo* into our

territorial waters, insisting unreasonably on the unconditional return of the ship and her crew from the first day of talks. They say that if we first send back the ship and her crew, they will conduct inquiries into the matter and that when their intrusion of our territorial waters is confirmed they will make an apology. This is a gangster proposition tantamount to the pronouncement of a scoundrel who sent his robber to someone else's home, that he would find out from the robber whether he has stolen or not.

Although the crewmen themselves have already made written confessions of their espionage activities in our waters and we have pieces of evidence to prove these, the US imperialists take exception to the facts. They say that no fair judgement can be passed because the ship and her crew are in our hands, and are instigating a third country to demand that an international court be held. When we caught the robbers, why on earth should a third country meddle in this issue? The right to punish the thieves or not belongs to us and so does the right to judge them.

On the first day of talks at Panmunjom our chief delegate told the counterpart of the US side that they had best admit the intrusion of their *Pueblo* into our territorial waters and work out the measures to take over her crew. But the US side did not accept this.

Because the US imperialists continued to reject the admission of their crimes sticking to their unreasonable insistence, we did not accept the talks for several days. I am told that they showed no reaction in these days but recently they have suggested to our chief delegate the resumption of the talks. As a consequence, the talks at Panmunjom are to be resumed today on the suggestion of the US side. No matter what questions the US imperialists may put forward, we will continue to maintain the resolute stand that we can in no way return the crew of the *Pueblo* before receiving a letter of capitulation from them.

At present the US imperialists are too awkward to write their letter of capitulation to us. If they had apologized to us for their fault at the outset, it would be different. But they intended even to introduce this issue into the UN and make a furore before the world public. Hence,

they are not in a position even to write that letter.

If the US imperialists make an apology for their fault even now, we can send back the crewmen of the *Pueblo*. But if they do not do so, we will not return them until they acknowledge their error. Since we caught the invaders in our territorial waters, we will never return them gratuitously and this stand of ours will never waver in the least.

If they start a war on the basis of this incident, we will fight to the end to defend the honour of the motherland and wipe out the aggressors on our land.

As long as the US imperialists occupy half of our country, even if the *Pueblo* incident had not happened, our country is not free from the constant danger of war. We must clearly understand that they may start a war at any moment in order to improve their faltering situation. On our part, we must have a resolve to fight them at any time so as to drive them out of south Korea and reunify the country.

We must not relax our alertness in the least; we must be fully prepared, so as to cope with a war at any time.

The most important thing in this regard is to make thorough political and ideological preparations.

For the political and ideological readiness to counter a war we must educate all Party members and leading personnel so that they have a correct attitude to war and a conviction in victory.

The deviations revealed in our officials in connection with the recent war clamours of the enemy show us that they still have failed to acquire the correct attitude to war. The appearance of various deviations in the aggravating situation is the result entirely of our officials' fear of war and shows that Party organizations have so far neglected ideological education among their members and other working people to help them develop a correct attitude to war. It is not as though a war destroys everything at once or kills everybody.

Although they have atomic bombs, the US imperialists cannot use them at random. They could not use these bombs in the Korean war even though they were in such a bad predicament and today, too, they dare not use them in the Viet Nam war although they suffer successive

defeats. They cannot use the atomic bombs not because they are concerned for anyone's welfare but because they themselves may suffer once they use them, and because they are afraid of world opinion.

The US imperialists are now vociferating through the press that although they cannot use atomic bombs in the war in Viet Nam they will be obliged to use them when another war breaks out in Korea in the future because the numerical strength of their army is too low. But this statement is intended solely to menace us. Certainly, their threat of atomic bombs may hold sway over the weak-kneed, but it will have no impact on the level-headed.

We need not fear the US imperialists even to the slightest degree. If we are fully prepared, the enemy dares not pounce upon us.

Today we are incomparably stronger than in the days of the Fatherland Liberation War. We have adequate means for defeating the US imperialists.

First, today our Party has grown incomparably stronger than before and the monolithic ideological system is established firmly throughout it.

Even during the Fatherland Liberation War, for instance, our Party ranks had been infiltrated by all sorts of good-for-nothings such as Pak Hon Yong, Choe Chang Ik, Kim Tu Bong, Pak Il U and Ho Ka I, who had stood against the Party's policies overtly and covertly. But at present our Party ranks are sound and the unity and cohesion of the Party is firm as never before.

Secondly, the qualitative composition of the People's Army has been radically improved, its technical equipment bettered on the whole, all the people equipped with arms, and the whole country turned into an impregnable fortress.

Until the Fatherland Liberation War we had only a small number of People's Army commanders who had participated in the anti-Japanese armed struggle; there were none who had experience in commanding regular large-unit battles. But now the situation is different. Today the commanding officers of our People's Army are prepared so as to direct

not only small-but also large-unit battles dexterously and have a rich and multifarious experience of battles—offensive and defensive, strategic retreat and guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines.

In the meantime, revolutionary cadres, the nucleus of the People's Army, have been trained in great numbers. When the People's Army was formed, the number of these cadres was only several thousands, but today those trained in the flames of the Fatherland Liberation War number tens of thousands, in addition to the veteran revolutionary fighters who took part in the armed struggle against the Japanese. The revolutionary cadres of the People's Army are our Party's pillar of strength which can be bartered for nothing, and are precious assets for the victory of our revolution.

While strengthening the People's Army in every possible way, we have pressed forward with the work of arming all the people and fortifying the whole country. As a result, we have an impregnable defence capable of coping with any imperialist aggression.

Thirdly, we have laid the solid foundations of an independent national economy which enables us to increase defence capabilities.

The main reason of our temporary retreat during the Fatherland Liberation War was the shortage of guns. But things now are quite different from those at that time. After the war we built many factories including machine plants and developed the national defence industry by tightening our belts. Now we are able to produce by our own efforts as many weapons as we need in case of war.

Fourthly, our people have a very high degree of class consciousness.

Because they had been oppressed and maltreated in the past under the regime of landlords and capitalists, their hatred of the national and class enemies is bitter. Moreover, as a result of their experience they hold dearest the prosperity they enjoy under our socialist system, and infinitely trust and actively support our Party which accounts for the happiness they now enjoy.

At present our new, younger generations, too, have a high degree of enthusiasm to be faithful to the Party and the revolution to the last

because they have been educated and trained under the socialist system.

Today we have the invincible Workers' Party, the powerful People's Army under its leadership, a firm economic footing, and the people who are united firmly as one around the Party, and so we are quite able to win in the battle against any strong enemy.

We must intensify ideological education so that all Party members and working people acquire the correct attitude to war. Thus we should induce all the people to have the resolve to fight the US imperialist aggressors at any time and to form a firm conviction that they will be able to defeat them without fail in this battle and reunify the country.

Another important factor in making political and ideological preparations against war is to improve work among the masses and unite them closely around our Party.

Isolating hostile elements and rallying as many people as possible behind the Party is our Party's consistent policy and an urgent need in the present situation.

An important question in this work is to assess people accurately with the main stress on their present ideological trends. As for a person who is enthusiastic in his job today even if he has a complex record of social and political life, we ought to obviously trust him and continually educate him and so lead him to make revolution with us. Even those of the basic masses, who joined the reactionary organizations and committed some sins during the temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War, can be remoulded without difficulty if we trust and treat them magnanimously.

Party organizations and officials must conduct organizational and political work effectively so as to unite the masses around the Party.

At present some Party officials stress the importance of work with the people in words, but neglect it in practice.

This is true of personal affairs, for instance. On the ground that the ranks of cadres should be built up well, some of Party officials suspect people without reason, referring to the alleged evil of their social origins and other things, and complicate matters by needlessly finding

faults in trifling things. Of course, it is our Party's principle in personal affairs to build up the cadre ranks firmly with hard-core elements trained in the protracted revolutionary struggle. However, you ought not to dismiss those who, promoted already as cadres, are working hard, by regarding as important issues their somewhat problematic records of social and political life and their trivial errors.

I am told that some Party organizations often cross-question and pick holes in those officials who committed faults in the past by blindly carrying out what anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements had dictated. They should not do that. As regards this question, I have more than once instructed that they should all be forgiven because they had acted so oblivious of the realities, not intentionally. I do not understand why they press people hard for such a question, causing unrest.

If Party organizations are to rally as many people as possible behind the Party, they should intensify ideological education to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system among those who followed the corrupt men blindly in the past, instead of summoning them for cross-questioning, and should help them timely so that they will rectify their errors through practice.

As I always say, work with people must on all accounts be conducted mainly through persuasion and education. If an admonition is not effective, you should repeat it twice or thrice; and if that should fail criticisms from a panel should be afforded; and if even these prove ineffective, criticisms from a forum, wider in scope, should be given; you must thus see to it that the persons in question themselves realize and correct their errors in real earnest in the course of continued self-examination. We must learn to value and love our cadres wholeheartedly.

In the past when we were engaged in the armed struggle against the Japanese we united people in the revolutionary organizations by placing the main stress on persuasion and education. In point of fact, the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army had no methods of control but people's resolution. In those days our guerrilla army had neither jails nor involuntary servitude; persuasion and education were the keystone

in work with people. This, however, does not imply that it allowed those who had committed errors to go without being punished or criticized. The criticism in the guerrilla army was very severe. But criticism and punishment were accompanied without fail by explanation and persuasion, and continual education was conducted so that everyone would carry on the revolution of his own free will.

In order to rally a greater number of the people around the Party in keeping with the prevailing situation today, it is important to conduct political work more skilfully.

If every senior official carries out political work effectively among the masses, people will be equal to any emergency, knowing clearly the intentions of the Party, and will advance confidently without vacillation on the road it indicates.

In bygone days the guerrillas were able to gain victory in each battle against the Japanese imperialists because effective political work had been carried out prior to the battle. When an offensive was attempted against a walled town, for example, the commanding officers and political commissars first went to the companies or platoons and conducted ideological work by telling them in detail that they were going to attack a particular target that night, and they described its terrain, the place and appearance of a police station, and the paths they should take in attack and in retreat, as well as the content and methods of political work to be carried out among the people.

When arranging some affairs our officials at present only force and urge the masses to obey and neglect organizing and politicizing them to act willingly. This is one of the most dangerous practices that may be revealed more often than not by the party in power. Of course, it is true that dictation is easier than politicization. However, dictation is not the way in which a party works. If an illegal party or a party which is not in power were to conduct party work in a peremptory manner, it would not last even a single day.

Our officials persist in making no operational plans and so dictate to the people when instructed by the Party to do a particular thing. This sort of attitude must no longer continue. When organizing any work,

Party officials must make thorough operational plans and settle one thing after another by a revolutionary method.

An important factor in making adequate preparations for war in the prevailing situation is to accelerate economic construction so as to consolidate the country's material foundations still further.

We have so far done a great deal of work in the building up of our economy and defence but we still have much to do. All sectors of the national economy must make maximum use of the existing equipment and materials to boost production and thus increase the nation's economic power and secure sufficient reserves of materials which will be necessary for war.

The production of steel and pig iron should be given priority.

Otherwise, we cannot forge ahead with both economic construction and defence building. The manufacture of a machine requires iron and steel and the production of a weapon also presupposes steel and pig iron.

At present the production of these is in a very strained situation. Not as much pig iron is produced as was scheduled because coking coal has not been imported as much as ordered over several months, and, as a consequence, steel production is also held up.

How, then, must we solve the problem of steel and pig iron? We must solve it by making strenuous efforts for increased production and for economy, in accordance with the slogan put forward by our Party.

All sectors of the national economy must strive to use steel most economically and to manufacture more products with less amount of it.

If a mining machinery factory, for instance, has produced 10-ton crushers each needing 15 tons of steel, it must from now onwards use 11 or 12 tons for the purpose and use the amount of steel saved to manufacture other products.

Meanwhile, a mass campaign must be started to collect large quantities of scrap iron, which will be utilized in steel production with only a small amount of pig iron. Machine factories must not waste even a drop of molten iron in casting. Some of these factories are wasting a good deal of molten iron by pouring it carelessly when

casting small parts or by producing rejects. They must wage an intense ideological struggle against such practices.

Political work must be intensified and a technical innovation movement conducted forcefully among metallurgical workers so that they will produce greater quantities of steel and pig iron.

If all senior economic officials inform the masses of producers clearly of the situation of the country and of the Party's intentions and enlist their strength and wisdom, they will be able to resolve without difficulty the problems of steel and pig iron which are necessary for economic and defence construction.

Even in the difficult situation immediately after the armistice we put our faith in the strength of the masses and enlisted their support in order to press forward with the building of socialism.

It is known to you all that the situation of our country in 1956 was very tense and complex. Externally, the great-power chauvinists brought pressure to bear upon us and the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique stepped up their manoeuvres to ignite another war; internally, the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists raised their heads to openly challenge the Party. What we believed in in such a complicated situation was nothing other than the strength of the masses, the force of the working class. On one of those days I went to the Kangson Steel Plant where I informed the workers of the difficult situation of our country and called upon them to produce a larger quantity of steel. They resolved at first to turn out 90,000 tons of steel with the blooming mill which was said to be capable of producing only 60,000 tons, and they actually produced 120,000 tons, twice as much as the rated capacity.

When formulating the national economic plan for 1957, the Party asked the Kim Chaek Iron Works to produce 230,000 tons of pig iron, but some of senior economic officials and technical personnel who were in the grip of passivism and conservatism said that they could turn out no more than 190,000 tons, advocating the obsolete rated capacity. At a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee the manager of this iron works also remarked that it would be impossible

to turn out more than 190,000 tons. Hence we decided to discuss the matter with workers.

When members of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee visited the iron works to inform the workers of the country's situation and ask if they could produce greater quantities of pig iron, they made a resolution to turn out 250,000 tons, not 230,000 tons, if such were the requirement of the Party. In fact, they produced 270,000 tons that year. This shows that immense potentialities can be exploited if senior officials join hands with the producer masses and thus familiarize them with Party policy and bring their creative wisdom and enthusiasm into full play.

All senior economic officials must strive to mobilize the masses so as to exploit the potentialities and increase production by using the available materials and manpower.

We must develop the machine industry rapidly.

This year the machine industry is confronted with a very difficult task of achieving its target set in the national economic plan as well as producing machinery and equipment in addition to the quota. All machine factories must produce heavy machinery and equipment and, at the same time, make great numbers of precision and efficient machine tools for both exportation and domestic use.

As I have already said at a plenary meeting of the Cabinet, there are two solutions to the problem of machine tools. One is that factories and enterprises conduct the let-one-machine-tool-make-another movement widely and thus make on their own the machine tools which they would receive from the state.

We have a good experience of producing more than 10,000 machine tools, in addition to the plan, in a single year by carrying out that movement in a way involving all the masses. The present economic strength of the country is incomparably greater than at that time. In this condition, if all factories and enterprises make full use of the capacity of their repair and power-supply shops in conducting this movement, they will be able to make as many machine tools as they need by their own efforts, without receiving them from the state.

The other way to secure machine tools is getting the machine-tool factories to increase their production.

Recently great potentialities were determined when members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee held discussions with workers at factories. The Kusong Machine-Tool Factory workers said that they would make 520 machine tools extra after they fulfilled the quota allotted to them this year. At the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory, too, they resolved to turn out 500 machine tools in addition to this year's quota, and the officials and workers of the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant also said that their production target was not high enough, and asked for additional allocations. As we can see, enormous potentialities are being determined where people are thoroughly familiar with the Party's intentions and have been mobilized as one for the implementation of the Party's policy.

It is not, however, that senior officials of every factory and enterprise are all highly motivated. Those of the Kiyang Tractor Plant and some other factories and enterprises are failing to tap the production resources available, because they are passive and conservative.

We must make sure that senior officials of the machine-building industry root out their vestiges of conservatism and passivism and turn their time to the fullest account so as to increase the production of machinery necessary for economic and defence construction.

It is important to develop the mining industry quickly.

Every mine must carry on the drive for technical innovation more forcefully and thus increase the output of different minerals and coal which are required for building up our economy and defences.

The mining industry must step up geological prospecting, give priority to excavation and promote the technical revolution in order to mine different kinds of minerals in large quantities. Particular efforts must be directed to increase the output of nonferrous ores, which is the way of earning a large amount of foreign currency and at the same time of developing the munitions industry.

We should endeavour to ease the shortage of electric power.

The electricity situation is very strained at present. The Suphung

and many other hydroelectric power stations are not capable of generating the amount of electricity they should because of the water shortage due to the drought since last autumn. Therefore, the power industry must run the thermal power stations at full capacity.

The operation of the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant at its maximum capacity will make it possible to meet the basic demands of the different sectors of the national economy for electricity this year. Officials of the Pyongyang Municipal Party Committee and the sector concerned should take every possible measure for this power plant to generate electricity to the maximum.

We must continue to press forward with capital construction.

This year we must construct the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant, the converter and rolling shops of the Kim Chaek Iron Works and a number of other factories and enterprises and quickly finish the building of factories now under way.

If we are to fulfil the colossal task of capital construction this year, we must work out a good construction programme after making thorough calculations lest manpower, materials and funds are wasted.

The estimation of manpower made recently by the central authorities at the construction site of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant has drawn us to the conclusion that the power plant can be built without difficulty by a work force which is 1,300 workers less than that scheduled in the plan. As far as the construction fund is concerned, a potential has been found for saving 3 million *won* from the first estimate. This shows, in the final analysis, that senior officials of this sector drew up the construction plan haphazardly without realizing the high enthusiasm of the masses and without making any thorough calculations.

Officials in the building industry must also re-examine other construction projects and discover greater potentialities. An important factor in capital construction is to decide the order of priority and concentrate manpower and materials on the sections in urgent need.

For the acceleration of capital construction it is essential to efficiently mobilize the masses so as to make construction sites busy.

The present situation in this sector is such that construction sites are

quiet and the pace of construction is very slow. The construction of the converter and rolling shops of the Kim Chaek Iron Works and the expansion project of the Munphyong Smeltery are not yet proceeding smoothly. Officials in charge of capital construction do not think of speeding up projects by mobilizing the masses, simply hoping that the state will provide them with more manpower and materials.

Chongjin has so far conducted no mass campaign worth mentioning, but this time it must actively enlist the efforts of the masses for the construction of the converter and rolling shops of the Kim Chaek Iron Works. If the dwellings for building workers are constructed in a mass drive, the housing problem will be resolved with a small amount of money. The expansion project of the Munphyong Smeltery, for instance, can be carried out easily if students and office workers are mobilized since there are a number of higher education institutes including an agricultural university, civil service establishments and enterprises in Wonsan.

Of course, it is true that the capital construction sector is a bit strained because this year we have to devote considerable efforts to building up our defences along with economic construction. Nevertheless, we cannot postpone the planned constructions.

In the past we initiated the “Pyongyang speed” and “vinalon speed” in construction, so startling the world public. This was possible because we intensified ideological education among the masses and so aroused them to revolutionary zeal. If Party organizations and officials strive even now to well inform the masses of the Party’s intentions and elicit their revolutionary ardour, they will be able to bring about great innovation in construction.

What a miracle the efforts of the masses wrought clearly proved in the postwar reconstruction.

As everyone knows, after the war we started the reconstruction of Pyongyang in want of everything, without a single brick. Although we built the Kangnam Ceramic Factory some time before the armistice for the production of bricks, it was damaged by enemy bombing before it had run for many days. We reconstructed that factory by drawing on

the strength and wisdom of the masses and resumed the production of bricks. Frankly speaking, immediately after the armistice we had nothing except the high revolutionary enthusiasm of the People's Army soldiers, youth and students and other people. In those days some people ridiculed us, saying it was unreasonable to believe that we would carry on reconstruction empty-handed in the difficult conditions in which everything had been destroyed during the war. However, we did not hesitate to apply ourselves to reconstruction acting with a faith in the strength of the masses and arousing them to action.

In Pyongyang not only factory and office workers but also housewives and old women came out to help builders in collecting broken bricks, carrying earth and restoring the streets and housing sites. In this way the main streets in the city were all put into good shape in a few days.

If we had been so sluggish in work at that time as we are now, the reconstruction of Pyongyang would have taken a long time. It is a long time ago since the central heating project was started in this city, but it is not completed as yet because the officials in this sector are ignorant as to how best to mobilize the masses.

Some people may doubt why we undertake construction steadily although everything will be destroyed if a war breaks out. We have to continue with our construction until this evening even if a war breaks out tomorrow morning. We should not just consider that a war, if it breaks out, will destroy everything, but we must carry on construction more vigorously, step up production and work out measures lest structures should be damaged even in war.

The practical experience we have gained in the socialist revolution and construction shows that nothing is beyond our power and no position is impregnable if we have determination and make every effort believing in and relying on the strength of our people.

All senior economic officials must eliminate passivism and conservatism and start a forceful technical innovation drive so as to produce more with less manpower.

If we strive harder in this way to prepare well against war the enemy

will not be able to pounce upon us recklessly, and even if he were to do so we can annihilate him at one blow and without fail gain victory.

If we make no endeavour to increase production as a result of a fear of war and think only of evacuation panic-struck, we shall lose confidence and be unable to defeat the enemy. By making the best use of the quasi-war period, we must produce and build more and faster and work harder for economy and increased production by tapping every reserve available.

For these formidable tasks, we must elicit the strength of the masses; the subjective desire of senior officials alone is not sufficient. Since the producer masses are more familiar with production than anyone else, leading personnel must learn to count on their strength and rely firmly on them.

At the moment some senior economic officials are unwilling to search for potentialities in the masses of producers. As I told some time ago, they put forward an erroneous theory that in a socialist society after industry reaches a definite stage of development, its potentialities diminish and, accordingly, its production cannot develop at a high rate. This is no more than a revisionist and dogmatic theory appropriated from the revisionist countries which are at a standstill, instead of seeing the reality of our socialist construction. Our experience of socialist construction clearly demonstrates that the more the ideological consciousness of the working people and their enthusiasm for work are raised through strong ideological revolution and the stronger the economic basis of the country grows with the promotion of technical revolution, the greater are the reserves for continued growth and, consequently, production increases steadily at a high rate. This is a law of socialist economic development.

We must exploit greater potentialities for production by eradicating passivism and conservatism in evidence among some leading economic officials and enlisting the ebullient revolutionary zeal of the working people and ensure an uninterrupted advance and a high tempo of production in all fields.

Recently the Party Central Committee adopted a circular to all its

members in an attempt to bring about a greater revolutionary upsurge in socialist construction and make better preparations against war in all sectors. The Red Letter clarifies the issues of preparing all the people more firmly in political and ideological aspects to cope with the prevailing situation, of bringing about another great revolutionary upswing in all areas of socialist construction through a powerful campaign for increased production and economy, of intensifying the anti-espionage struggle and of working well among the masses.

Party cells should first inform their members of the contents of the circular and then discuss it in detail, clause by clause, thereby encouraging them to discover greater potentialities. Following the discussion, they should hold a general meeting so that every Party member makes a specific resolution. Party organizations must conduct discussions on the Red Letter in high political enthusiasm and thus effect a great upsurge in each sector of socialist construction.

Strict discipline must be enforced in planning.

At present planning is undisciplined. Once the state adopts a national economic plan and sends it down, nobody can revise it. But now the national economic plan grows larger gradually because it is supplemented by provinces and counties. When the plan is amended by provinces and counties at will in this way, how can it be called a unified plan? Since the national economic plan is adopted as law, nobody is entitled to revise it after its adoption.

It is a different matter if the provinces intend to exceed the state plan through a resolute campaign for increased production and economy. It is good to increase outputs by economizing in materials provided by the state, but it is in no way permissible to waste materials doing one thing after another not cited in the plan. You must strictly observe the principle of unified planning.

Next, close attention should be given to improving the people's living standards.

An important factor in this regard is to supply the people with high-protein non-staple foodstuffs.

What, then, should we do to solve this problem?

First, we should plant beans extensively.

We must yield some two tons from each hectare by applying microelement fertilizers to bean fields or by taking other measures. Thus, we should ensure that the people will make bean curds, bean paste and soy sauce for their own consumption.

Haricots are high in protein. Haricot beans grow well in cool regions such as Jagang and Ryanggang Provinces and Changsong County in North Phyongan Province. They also grow well in Tokchon, Yangdok and Maengsan in South Phyongan Province. In the regions suitable for the cultivation of haricots, each household should begin a drive to plant a hundred of them. If only a hundred are planted in the surroundings of each house, this will mean a lot.

Secondly, many chicken plants should be built so that the people will be provided with much more eggs.

A chicken plant, which specializes in producing eggs, costs little to construct and its later operation is simple. However, a plant exclusively producing chickens requires the installation of further equipment. Therefore, this kind of plant must not be established in other places until the experiment in Pyongyang is completed. It is advisable to convert those plants erected merely to produce fowl into ones producing eggs. These plants do not need much manpower because the labour is simply the collection of eggs.

Because the problem of transporting eggs has been solved, we should in the future build many chicken plants producing only eggs. In my opinion, it is desirable to put up one in each city and county town. We should construct many egg plants in west coast areas in particular where fish are in short supply, so as to provide the people with eggs on a steady basis.

Thirdly, the fishing industry must be further developed so as to catch large quantities of fish.

This year we should begin early the campaign for catching fish in winter to net pollack and other fish in abundance and take thorough measures to process fish without spoiling any. By doing so, we should

be able to supply the people with more fish.

Fourthly, we must produce large amounts of meat.

For this purpose, we must correctly combine the collective stockbreeding of cooperative farms with individual livestock farming.

Every farm household should zealously launch a drive to produce 100 kgs of meat. This requires it to raise one or two pigs. Then, supposing our rural households number a million, we shall be able to produce some 100,000 tons of meat in a year.

Each workteam of the cooperative farms must strive to create reliable fodder sources and produce two tons of meat. This will enable us to produce more than 50,000 tons on a nationwide scale. If we do this, we can produce more than 150,000 tons of meat in the countryside alone this year. When added to the meat produced by the General Bureau of Stock Farming and the General State Poultry Bureau of the Cabinet and by the civil service establishments and enterprises in secondary activities, it will be 250,000 to 300,000 tons throughout the country. If we produce 300,000 tons of meat and catch 300,000 tons of fish, I think, we shall be able to settle the problem of non-staple foodstuffs for the people.

As regards the development of the livestock farming, we intend to discuss it at a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee and adopt new measures in the future.

We must make full preparations for farming this year.

Preparations against war in the country areas are to raise good crops to increase grain outputs.

Because our farming results were excellent last year, we need not import food grains this year. We should not rest content with this; we must cultivate crops even better this year.

For an increased grain production, we must, even now, make thorough preparations.

A freak drought is anticipated this year, so all cooperative farms must work out infallible measures to keep water in rice paddies from now on. Otherwise, we may undergo hardships for lack of water in the

rice-transplanting season. If we irrigate the rice paddies, which were tilled last autumn, clods will have softened enough to be harrowed.

The shortage of electric power this year proves a hindrance to the production of fertilizer to some extent, but if we turn the available conditions to good account, we shall be able to supply the countryside with more fertilizer than last year.

Projects for river improvement must be undertaken properly. Last year some regions suffered heavy damage from floods. It is uncertain whether there will be a flood or not in the future. In anticipation of the worst, however, we must carry out river improvement projects in all local areas. A mass movement should be launched particularly in the areas which suffered flood damage last year so as to undertake river improvement works, above all, the digging of riverbeds, the construction of embankments and similar projects.

This year Pyongyang is to carry out the work of Taedong River bank protection on a large scale, but manpower is very short. In spite of this, we cannot put off the project. We should start it even though we have to mobilize university students. We should give them a satisfactory explanation so that they finish the project before the rainy season even if they have to give up studies for some time.

Party organizations at all levels must pay special attention to military affairs in the light of the prevailing situation.

I have said all I should like to today. In line with these suggestions, you must make good political and ideological preparations to cope with war and strive to advance the building of our economy and defences more forcefully.

ON COMBATTING EPIDEMICS MORE EFFECTIVELY

Talks with Senior Officials in the Ministry of Public Health

March 26, 1968

Today I want to talk to you about effectively combatting epidemics including hepatitis, tuberculosis, Japanese encephalitis and distomatosis.

At this moment a large number of people are unable to work, because they suffer from hepatitis and tuberculosis. This is a matter of great regret, a serious matter particularly in our country where there is an acute shortage of manpower.

It is true that the number of patients is far less in our country than in a capitalist society and that their number is decreasing year after year. I am informed that in south Korea at present the reported cases of TB number 17 million or 70 per cent of the total population. Against this, we can see that the number of patients in the northern half of Korea represents a mere handful. But we should not remain content with this.

In order to eradicate diseases it is important for the Ministry of Public Health to do its work well and for the state to provide the ministry with necessary facilities.

The state must first of all take measures to develop the pharmaceutical industry. It is more important that the General Bureau of Pharmaceutical and Medical Appliances Industries under the Cabinet increases the output of medicaments so that we wipe out these various diseases as soon as possible than that we strive to boost the

output of fertilizer a little more. We should not be tight-fisted in devising the means to protect and promote our working people's health. If this tight-fistedness results in the spread of epidemics, it may inflict untold losses to the revolution and the building of socialism.

If we are to combat hepatitis and other epidemics we must begin by intensifying our hygiene information work.

We should get the middle-school children to spread hygiene information widely after giving them a short course on this subject. If we give them a short course, they will do it well. The students' social activities are beneficial to their development. If instead they only ever study, they will become an "untappable fount of knowledge".

Hygiene information squads should systematically disseminate information on the measures one must take to prevent such diseases as epidemic hepatitis, tuberculosis, Japanese encephalitis, parasite diseases and even a cold.

Furthermore, we must organize hygiene information squads with people selected from among the students of medical universities and colleges and medical workers, send them to each city and county to combat dysentery, trachoma and other diseases and give the people short courses in hygiene to encourage them to drink boiled water and eat well-washed vegetables, while ensuring that these measures are carried out. In the rice-transplanting season it would be a good idea to enlist students, particularly the female students, of medical universities and colleges into the hygiene information squads.

We should enlist children from the middle schools and those students who are not mobilized in rice transplanting into the hygiene information squads and get them to perform these tasks obligatorily. At the same time, we should recruit greenery guards and establish park maintenance squads, and direct them to work hard.

The Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee must give proper guidance to this work.

Recently, you have all given up the campaign to wipe out flies, mosquitoes and rats. Yet you should again take up the challenge and fight even harder against these hazards to our health.

A programme for the organization of hygiene information squads and their activities should be worked out and issued as a decision of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee or as a Cabinet order. Since hygiene information work is an all-people undertaking, it would be preferable to issue the programme as a decision of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee.

In order to disseminate hygienic knowledge, it is advisable that all the media of internal information work devote some space to information on hygiene. Hygiene readers should be compiled and studied for two or three hours a week by pupils in the third year of the primary school and higher grades and by pupils in the middle school.

We should not duplicate foreign experience but should include the subject on hygiene in the school curricula and teach it with reference to the specific conditions in our country. In this way, they will come to know why people suffer from intestinal worms and various other diseases. This is to be done not to make medical workers of the pupils so much as to prevent everyone from falling ill. No matter what knowledge a man may have, he is useless unless he is healthy. This is the very reason why we designate work by time and not by task alone. We must ensure the working people vacations and stagger these.

The Ministry of Public Health should prepare explanatory materials and lectures necessary for hygiene information work and give these to the information squads. All magazines including *Korean Women* and *Chollima* except political and theoretical journals should give space to information on hygiene. Books which give simple remedies in non-technical language should be published in large quantities.

In the days of Japanese imperialists' rule we Koreans could not even think of going to hospital even when we were ill. There was, therefore, no means of knowing the number of ill people, which, in fact, was great, for only the rich had access to hospital. In contrast, under our socialist system, there are neither people who go hungry nor those who sleep in the open without shelter or go about in rags. Nevertheless, wicked people slander our Party's policy, saying that there were fewer Korean

patients in the days of Japanese imperialists' rule.

In those days, a great number of Koreans were underfed, ill-clad and roamed through the streets without shelter. How is it possible then to claim that there were no patients? In the days of Japanese imperialists' rule, no one was immune to malaria, and of the people with malaria only a few could afford the medical treatment.

Today, our situation is completely different from that during the days of Japanese imperialists' rule. If our officials make enough efforts, they are fully capable of eradicating various diseases.

We should wipe out epidemic hepatitis once and for all. I am told that it spreads by way of infected syringes and tableware at hostels, restaurants, creches and kindergartens. No effective remedy for epidemic hepatitis has yet been established in any part of the world. This is a very serious disease and the cases are found more often among city dwellers than among the rural population. The overwhelming majority of these cases are children—70 per cent are children under 15 years, and 90 per cent of these children are under seven. The number of cases continues to rise every year and this must not be ignored. Thorough measures must be taken to wipe out the disease before it spreads any further.

In order to eradicate and prevent epidemic hepatitis, it is necessary to take two important measures; first, to mobilize students to conduct a thorough programme in hygiene, and, second, to take measures to treat the cases by isolating them so as to prevent further spread.

If we had strongly combatted the disease in 1961 when it began to spread, it would have been wiped out by now. But we failed to do so. Though it seems a little too late, we must take decisive measures even now to prevent its further spread.

First of all, we should produce a large amount of hepatitis vaccine. The vaccine is made from the blood of human placenta and only three ampoules of vaccine are produced from two placentas. This source alone will not be enough to satisfy the demand. Yet it will be a great success if we make the maximum use of the existing possibilities for the production of the vaccine.

A hepatitis research institute should be set up. The institute must be staffed with competent researchers to form an epidemic hepatitis research group and study the world trend of hepatitis and manufacture good antitoxins.

Research should be carried out into the possibilities of animal blood as a substitute for man's blood. Efforts should be made to produce the vaccine from materials other than placenta blood. It would be a good idea to send workers in this field abroad, if necessary, to study the technology being used in the prevention and treatment of epidemic hepatitis.

In order to treat hepatitis cases, it is necessary to set up isolation wards. We should set up a few of them first in Pyongyang. But they should be located not in the heart of the city but in the suburbs where the air is not polluted. The isolation wards should also have rabbit farms in their vicinities and should raise many goats in mountains to provide their patients with plenty of protein. Then, the patients will recover quickly. Parks as well as simple facilities should be laid out around the wards. We must set up two isolation wards on the outskirts of Pyongyang to accommodate all the hepatitis cases.

Each province must set up isolation wards for epidemic hepatitis cases at separate locations. Two modern dwelling houses built side by side in valleys will be enough to serve as a city or county isolation ward.

Hepatitis wards should be simple and neat. Such wards should be built first in provincial capitals. We should tackle this problem as a matter of priority even if we have to suspend the construction of some houses. In building hospitals we need not try to construct multi-storeyed buildings but small, cosy buildings with heated floors suited to the specific conditions of our country. If we had begun with the construction of cosy modern houses as hospital buildings and then gradually went on to construct large ones, we would have already solved the hospital problem. In building hospitals we must not only think of splendid yet expensive things such as boilers.

The State Planning Commission should unconditionally ensure the supply of the facilities required by the Ministry of Public Health.

We must take strict measures to prevent hepatitis and, at the same time, see to it that all the chronic hepatitis cases without exception are examined, registered, and treated.

I am told that liberal use of mineral water and mud is effective in treating chronic hepatitis cases. The properties of each kind of mineral water should be analysed to ensure a wide application of this natural treatment. In addition, scientifically tested folk remedies should be widely used in these cases.

Ever since the armistice we have stressed the need for mineral water to be made widely available, but as yet this has not been achieved. The Ministry of Public Health is responsible for this. If the ministry were to consult with the provincial Party committees, this task would be performed without difficulty. Minor construction can be undertaken quite easily without much state investment.

The properties of mineral water at different spas should be detailed and appropriate spas should be designated as health resorts for the working people going on vacation. The construction of simple accommodation at spas and their development should be undertaken as a public campaign, and major spas developed at state expense. A study of the distribution of spas in Jagang Province, for instance, shows that there are three spas in Huichon including the Kwandae Spa, the Changdok Spa in Jonchon County, a hot spring and the Kajimok and Yochim Spas in Tongsin County, and there is also a spa in Kophung County. There are hot springs and spas throughout the country. How good it would be if we were to construct simple and cosy buildings at these places and run sanatoria!

The construction of sanatoria should be undertaken to suit local conditions. If you think of constructing high-rise buildings equipped with boilers without giving consideration to local conditions and the terrain, it will cost you much money and time.

It is more important to build small and attractive houses and feed the patients well than to build magnificent buildings. It is of no use to have large buildings unless you supply them with sufficient non-staple foods. You need not construct large buildings at great expense to the state. It

would be better to build chicken farms near hospitals and sanatoria with the funds and supply the patients with chicken meat and eggs.

Next, we must combat tuberculosis more effectively. There are many TB cases in our country at present. We have rationally distributed facilities capable of treating tuberculosis effectively. We should make maximum use of the existing facilities and improve the medical service. A study must be carried out into how we might best make use of our existing hospitals and so circumvent the necessity for any further being built.

In addition, we should not run tuberculosis hospitals uniformly. At the moment, TB patients from Party and state bodies and members of the general public are treated in the same hospitals. I think this is very wrong.

At present, the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of Public Security have an established system of medical care. From now on, the tuberculosis hospitals for Party officials and for state officials should be distinctly separated from those for the general public. The Cabinet must construct a tuberculosis hospital which will be under the direct control of the Cabinet Secretariat for the officials of ministries which have no manufacturing industries within their purview, and the Party Central Committee a TB hospital for its own officials and for provincial Party officials. It is desirable that these hospitals are located in the vicinity of forests where the air is dry and fresh. Meanwhile, those ministries which have manufacturing industries within their purview should set up tuberculosis sanatoria to accommodate and treat patients. Furthermore, a system of supplying non-staple foods for the patients should be thoroughly established.

If we are to combat consumption effectively, we must produce large quantities of medicaments to treat TB cases. Last year the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee adopted a decision on the development of the pharmaceutical industry, but no tangible progress has been made since then. The General Pharmaceutical Bureau is passive; it should be innovative.

If we direct efforts to the production of PAS (para-aminosalicylic

acid) we will produce as much of it as we need. But its production is being delayed because of the lack of enthusiasm. I am told that all the technical facilities for its production are available and that all they need is skilled workers. We must mobilize the necessary skilled workers even through the efforts of the state and concentrate them on assembling them to finish the work as soon as possible.

We must also direct efforts to the production of streptomycin. The General Pharmaceutical Bureau over the last few years has made arrangements for the importation of a streptomycin plant, but it has not up to now taken positive measures to import it. We must examine the plan of the streptomycin factory and construct it as soon as possible.

Our working people do not receive protein and calcium regularly enough. We must import a large vessel to increase the output of fish and solve this problem.

The State Planning Commission must not export liver oil and processed fish, even if we have to endure a little shortage of foreign currency, so that our working people may eat plenty of protein.

Liver oil is very good for the treatment of tuberculosis. If the TB patients eat it, they will recover very quickly. Therefore, the output of refined liver oil should be increased to meet the demands of the Ministry of Public Health. If children are not willing to eat liver oil because of its strong smell, it should be prepared into capsules or sugar-coated tablets. For this purpose, it would be advisable to build a small factory and produce several thousand tons of sugar-coated liver-oil tablets every year. The Ministry of Fisheries should provide the unrefined liver oil and the General Pharmaceutical Bureau should process it. You can do it by giving the factories under the control of the Ministry of Fisheries the task of granulating the liver oil using the existing facilities.

In order to wipe out tuberculosis and epidemic hepatitis the provincial Party and people's committees should take measures to provide the people with more protein. For this, they should strive to increase the output of protein including the production at egg farms and at the chicken farms.

We should also provide to the TB patients capable of light work the necessary treatment while engaged in such work. It will not be possible to do so this year. But as from next year, this must be planned and implemented. The Ministry of Public Health should inspect factories and enterprises to study the situation and to define the jobs suitable for TB patients.

While treating the TB cases properly, we should take every measure to prevent a further outbreak of TB cases. In particular, all the cases of infectious tuberculosis should be isolated and treated.

Thus, we will strive to exterminate tuberculosis basically in our country by 1975. With the target of doing it by 1975, we should take preventive measures thoroughly against the occurrence of new cases and, at the same time, cure the existing ones.

In order to combat hepatitis and tuberculosis more effectively, we should set up a management bureau in the Ministry of Public Health. We should assign a competent man who has a strong Party spirit, a high sense of responsibility and the right medical qualifications to the post of the chief of this management bureau and we should staff the bureau with fine people.

Next, I should like to make a few points on tightening the control of Japanese encephalitis and distomatosis.

We must take strict measures to wipe out Japanese encephalitis before it becomes endemic in our country.

An outbreak of the cases of Japanese encephalitis in town is very dangerous. The provincial capitals must do all they can to prevent an outbreak of this disease.

In order to prevent this disease, we must from now on plan the production of mosquito nets and push forward its implementation to ensure that every family sleeps in mosquito nets this year. We should provide mosquito nets not only to the townspeople but also to the rural communities. The mosquito nets now in production are not fine enough to permit ventilation. They are unfit for use. Why do we not produce even a mosquito net properly? We should produce high-quality mosquito nets at a low cost and sell them for payment in monthly

instalments so that every family can afford them. If mosquito-net cloth is put on windows, it will not last long, but mosquito nets can be used for a long time. We should produce the mosquito nets before the season, and supply in advance various disinfectants.

We should launch an energetic campaign to kill chrysalises, flies and mosquitos by mobilizing the pupils this year.

Distomatosis is now spreading once again. This year we must take measures to eradicate it. We should, in particular, prevent the people from eating fresh-water crabs and crayfish. From ancient times the people in Phyongan Province have been in the habit of salting and eating the crabs. From now on, the cable radio network in the cities and counties and at the factories should widely conduct the hygiene information work to prevent the outbreak of distomatosis and various other diseases.

Furthermore, we should build up the hospitals. At present, bedspace at hospitals is limited, so it is impossible to treat all the people as inpatients. Therefore, hospitals should admit only the very serious cases and improve the system of medical visits. Doctors should be provided with bicycles to expedite their visits and improve the medical service to the people. Besides, we should see to it that the doctors at the hospitals in the cities and counties visit the ri in a planned way and contribute to the promotion of public health.

I will now speak briefly on the matter of putting traditional Korean medicine on a scientific basis.

At present, pulse-taking is the only way of Korean medicine for diagnosis. That is unscientific. Pulse-taking cannot determine a case completely.

Modern medical practices such as blood analysis and other tests conducted by auxiliary means are scientific. A traditional prescription may occasionally prove effective given the random disposition of the patient and his disease. But this is not always the case. A few years ago, an old woman in the Samsok District was rumoured to be outstanding in treatment, and many patients went to see her every day, but none of them recovered. Nowadays, some patients drink roe blood, supposedly because it has curative properties. But, in fact, there is no

scientific evidence in support of this. From now on, research should be carried out that will without fail put traditional Korean medicine on a scientific footing.

Of course, tonics of traditional Korean medicine give some benefit. But this does not mean that traditional Korean medicine is a panacea. Traditional prescriptions seem effective only when they completely coincide with a given case. That is why traditional Korean medicine should improve its method of diagnosis for treatment.

You need not put elm bark on your wound simply because a doctor of traditional Korean medicine recommends it, for we have now developed modern science and effective anti-biotics which have been scientifically tested.

But this is not to say that we are totally opposed to our traditional remedies. This method of treatment should be allowed to go on.

The ranks of teachers and nurses of nursery schools and kindergartens should be reinforced and their education improved. The Ministry of Public Health must, under a careful plan, provide the teachers and nurses of nursery schools and kindergartens with intensive training in medicine and hygiene. For this purpose, mobile short training course teams should be set up with competent medical workers who will deliver the training courses to promote the technical expertise of these nurses and teachers. It would also be necessary to get them to sit examinations. The norms of infantile nutrition and hygiene readers should be published for them.

We should take measures to ensure that a reasonable amount of nutritious foodstuffs be supplied to the children at lunchtime every day.

If children fall ill, prompt measures should be taken for their treatment.

At present, the diseases affecting children are not effectively controlled, to the extent that even trachoma has not been wiped out. Trachoma cases of children are not given prompt treatment, and many rural children go about blear-eyed. Using this slender evidence, wicked people slandered that “nursery schools are plague spots.” From now on, we must strive to cure children’s diseases without delay.

Next, we should produce ultraviolet lamps to promote the health of the working people. The Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 should press ahead with its research into the manufacture of these lamps. There are many kinds of tasks to be performed underground, for instance, in coal mines and ore mines in our country. If we produce a large number of ultraviolet lamps and install many of them at pitheads, they will contribute greatly to the promotion of miners' health. The army, too, should be supplied with these lamps. If these lamps are set at nursery schools and kindergartens, they will prove very beneficial to the children's health.

In order to promote the health of the working people, physical exercises at breaks should be encouraged in all places. Simple bodily movements in the open air will greatly help towards preserving health. If a man is to endure radiation, he must be healthy. Therefore, schools should give importance to physical training, and physical exercises should be encouraged at all workplaces.

We must intensify the struggle to revolutionize and working-classize the health workers. Bringing about a revolutionary upturn in public health work, the health workers must revolutionize themselves in the midst of vibrant reality. We must improve politico-ideological work among the health workers and, at the same time, introduce good practices to overcome the bad, and in these ways transform all the health workers.

This year, we should once more boost the public health service. We must rekindle a campaign like the one which saved the boy Pang Ha Su in the past.

We should be informed of the laudable deeds of health workers and analyse these before convening a national meeting of health workers this autumn.

ON DRAFTING “INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT REGULATIONS”

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Drafters
of the “Industrial Management Regulations”,
Workshop Managers and Workteam Leaders
of Industrial Establishments**

April 1, 1968

I have gone over the workteam and workshop sections of your draft of the “Industrial Management Regulations”, but not yet the factory section.

You need to draft good “Industrial Management Regulations”, but you must first write the workteam and workshop management regulations properly.

In general, a workteam is to a factory what a squad or a platoon is to an army, although it may be like a company in special cases, and a workshop can be likened to a company or battalion. Only when these small units, the basic combat units, are efficient in battle, can the whole unit have strong combat capability. Likewise, only when the basic production units such as the workteam and workshop are well organized and work efficiently can the management of a whole factory be efficient. Therefore, it is essential to draft good workteam and workshop management regulations which can help workteam leaders and workshop managers to function properly.

If the manager of a factory is to play his role satisfactorily, he must have a good knowledge of the workteam and workshop management

regulations. Otherwise, he will be unable to manage his factory well. The period of training for factory managers is longer than that of workteam leaders and workshop managers, and this is because factory managers are taught not only factory management regulations but also workteam and workshop management regulations.

If you draft the workteam and workshop management regulations well, you will be able to draft good factory management regulations without much difficulty. That is why you should first strive to prepare the former well so as to facilitate the writing of the latter.

I think that the regulations must include nearly all the practical matters which concern the workteam leaders or workshop managers, for you have prepared them while working at work sites for a year as workteam leaders or workshop managers. But it would not be a bad idea for you to seriously discuss them once more with the workteam leaders and workshop managers from various industrial sectors to confirm that nothing is wrong with the regulations and that no additions need to be made. If you make the necessary amendments and additions after wide-ranging discussions, the regulations will be perfect.

I had intended to discuss your draft of the management regulations for two to three days, but it is impossible for me to do so because of the pressure of other work. So I would like to make a few remarks for you to bear in mind when revising the management regulations.

A perusal of the workteam section and of the workshop section of the “Industrial Management Regulations” shows that both sections contain nearly all the major items including matters of working with the people, of labour administration and of technical management. I think that the matter of work with the people in particular has been gone into deeply. It is clear that the drafters of the regulations were convinced that work with the people is fundamental to all questions. This is good.

Nevertheless, the draft regulations now in hand left out a few items which should be stressed.

First of all, your draft regulations omitted the important fact that in

a socialist society reserves for the growth of production increase and that therefore the economy develops continuously at a high rate in proportion with the expansion of the scale of the economy, with the development of technology and with the increase in the working people's consciousness.

The neglect of this idea is due to the fact that the drafters have not yet acquired a firm theoretical understanding of Juche, unable to free themselves from the outworn framework of a foreign textbook on political economy.

The idea that a steady high rate of economic development is the economic law of socialism has never been handled by the existing textbooks on political economy. On the contrary, one group has recently propounded a "theory" that the rate of growth decreases when economic development reaches a certain stage. This proposition has neither theoretical nor practical validity.

At present, some of the senior officials in the economic sector say that, although there were great reserves for industrial expansion in the period of rehabilitation, they have little such reserves now in the period of all-out technological reconstruction, and that therefore the economy cannot develop steadily at a high rate. This cannot be construed other than as a passive and cowardly act of those who, infected with the idea of flunkeyism, follow foreign "theory" or yield to difficulties that arise in the process of socialist economic construction.

Such passivism and conservatism in the economic sector are, in the long run, expressions of revisionism. Revisionism in the political field means giving up fighting imperialists and flinching from the revolutionary struggle; passivism and conservatism mean yielding to difficulties in the struggle with nature and shrinking from the struggle to accelerate socialist and communist construction. Both are, in the final analysis, expressions of a cowardice which yields to difficulties in the revolutionary struggle and shrinks from the revolutionary ranks.

If we bravely face difficulties in the revolutionary struggle or construction work, we will continue to advance victoriously; but if we feel frustrated and shrink from obstacles, we will inevitably regress.

The same can be said of the struggle with nature. If we break through obstacles on the strength of the working class, on the strength of the people, we will surmount whatever difficulties and vigorously advance socialist economic construction. By believing in the strength of the masses and by enlisting their infinite wisdom and creative talents, we reconstructed in a short period of three years the economy which had been devastated in the war. In the period of the Five-Year Plan to lay the foundations of industrialization and during the Seven-Year Plan, a period of all-out technological reconstruction, we continued to develop the economy at a very high rate, a rate not lower than that in the rehabilitation period.

Our experience in socialist construction shows that in a socialist society there exist plenty of reserves for increasing production and that with the expansion of the scale of the economy the reserves increase. The more the economic foundations of the country are consolidated with the development of technology and the more the scale of the economy expands, the greater the possibilities of accelerating technological progress and increasing production will be. The further the communist consciousness of the working people is increased with effective political work, the higher their enthusiasm and creativity will be in evidence in their work for the welfare of the country and fellow countrymen and for their own happiness. Therefore, the reserves for developing the economy will increase.

The tempo of economic development in a socialist society depends on the effectiveness of political work and on the success of the technical revolution, and not on the stage of industrial progress nor on the scale of the economy.

It is true, of course, that the raw material resources of a country affect the development of its industry to a certain extent. We have not yet discovered coking coal, oil and some other raw materials in our country, and we depend on other countries for these materials and this dependence does occasionally result in the iron industry and other sectors being badly affected. The issue of raw materials cannot, however, be the main factor which determines the rate of industrial development.

As I often stress, if we can meet at least 70 per cent of the industrial demands for raw materials on our own by establishing Juche in industry and developing science and technology, we will be able to overcome the problems posed by nature. Even if we are wanting in some raw materials, we can buy these on the international market by organizing foreign trade properly and so develop industry on a firm basis. Therefore, the natural conditions can never be a decisive factor in the rate of industrial development. If we establish Juche in industry and organize operations more efficiently, we can overcome any adverse natural conditions and continue to develop industry at a high pace.

We have all the conditions for the rapid development of the economy.

First of all, our country has the solid foundation of a powerful independent heavy industry with the modern machine-building industry at its core.

If we just make effective use of this powerful economic asset, our economy will develop by leaps and bounds. It is true that at present our economic progress is being retarded to some extent on account of the mining industry and transport facilities lagging a little behind the other sectors of the national economy. At the moment the workers at the machine factories say that they will be happy if they get a constant supply of steel. But the iron works are not operating at full capacity because of the shortage of iron ore and coal, a shortage which is due to the inhibited mining industry. To make matters worse, even the available iron ore and coal are not carried to them in time as a result of the shortage of transport facilities. However, the drawbacks in the mining industry and transport are of a temporary nature, which will be resolved very soon. If we organize work well and make the most of the existing material and technical foundations of the mining industry and transport, and if all the other sectors of the national economy assist, we will be able to develop them quickly and maintain their operations well ahead of the other sectors in the economy.

The political enthusiasm of our working people is very high. Our

working class, the dependable main force of our revolution, can carry out any task given by the Party. Our intellectuals are also ready to devote all their strength and energies for the sake of the Party and the state, and to the struggle to reunify the country by driving out the Americans. All the working people of our country, with the exception of a small number of hostile elements, are firmly determined to uphold and carry out the Party's policies. So, if we are good at political work, the education of the working people, we will be able to enlist their inexhaustible creative power to the full.

If we make effective use of the existing economic assets, continue to make technical innovations in all fields of the national economy and give full play to the political zeal and creative initiative of the working people by means of successful political work, we can continue to speed up our economic development at a high rate. This concept of ceaseless innovations and uninterrupted advance should be incorporated into the "Industrial Management Regulations" so that all workers, to say nothing of managing personnel, will think and strive to tap reserves and develop production steadily.

In the regulations you mentioned the importance of effective work with the people, but you did not integrate it with the idea that the socialist economy must be developed continuously at a high rate. So you must make this matter clear.

If you instead draft mere regulations by which people function mechanically, such regulations will be of little significance. If you are to give vitality and relevance to these regulations, you must make it clear that in a socialist society the economy develops steadily at a high rate.

You should imbue the whole set of regulations—every chapter and every section—with the idea of uninterrupted innovations and continued advance rather than try to incorporate this idea in a single chapter or in a single section.

Not only in the "Industrial Management Regulations" but also in the textbooks on political economy and all other textbooks on economics, you should explain coherently that in a socialist society the

economy develops at such a high rate.

Another major defect of the draft regulations is that the matters relating to the improvement of the quality of goods are not treated in detail.

The need to raise the quality of goods is mentioned in a few words, but these do not help. A few words of emphasis are not enough in view of the fact that this is a most urgent matter in our economic progress at the moment as well as a very intricate problem. You must state clearly how the quality of goods can be improved.

The most important task in this regard is to raise the ideological level of the working people. Political work should be increased among them so that they fully appreciate the importance of their work and make every single article attractively and creditably with a high sense of responsibility.

Next in importance are the proper maintenance and operation of technical equipment and the necessity for technical innovations.

It is of paramount importance to ensure that the technical regulations and the standard methods of operation are strictly observed. If producers work without regard to these regulations and methods, they will never be able to manufacture high-quality goods. Factories now have their technical regulations and the standard methods of operation, but they do not fully observe them. It is necessary to strongly emphasize the need to observing them strictly.

At the same time, it is essential to continually make technical innovations and introduce new techniques.

No matter how high their enthusiasm and their sense of responsibility may be, they cannot turn out high-quality products with dated techniques, machines and equipment. In the age of handicraft industry, the quality of goods depended on the manual skill of the producers.

Let us take an everyday example, the cooking of rice. No matter how carefully you boil rice, it is not always cooked well—sometimes it turns out soggy and sometimes it is burnt. If you calculate scientifically the amount of water and heat needed to cook a given amount of rice

with a certain degree of moisture, you will always be able to cook it well. But it would be impossible to arrive at these measurements by guesswork for every meal. From this we can see that manual techniques alone cannot guarantee mechanical accuracy and precision and are, therefore, not adequate in the mass production of good-quality goods.

But, if you use presses and other modern machines and equipment, it will be possible to mass-produce high-quality articles to an identical standard. Rice, too, can always be cooked well by machine.

In our country the problem of producing high-quality fabrics for winter clothing had not been solved for a long time, but this problem has now been solved with the construction of a modern factory and the introduction of new techniques. I saw the fabrics for winter clothing produced by the Hamhung Woolen Textile Mill, and I found them to be on a par with foreign materials.

Nowadays some factories produce precision castings by using paraffin instead of wooden moulds, and this is also a technical innovation.

Another important factor in raising the quality of goods is the improvement of the storage facilities for raw materials and other necessities as well as the packaging of products.

If you are to produce good-quality articles, you should store raw materials and other articles well and this necessitates good storehouses. Nevertheless, at present some officials are not willing to build them, saying that these are secondary facilities. The regulations should stress this matter so as to give our officials a correct understanding of the need. This is an item to be included not in the workteam or workshop regulations but in those of industrial establishments.

You should also stress the need for proper storage and packaging of the products.

Next, the regulations omitted the matter of establishing modern production practices. You must include this.

At present, factories and enterprises neglect to keep their

workshops and sites neat and clean. This is a major defect. On my inspection tour I saw some factories with dirty windowpanes, their compounds unswept and their machines dusty. Although I have emphasized the need to establish modern practices in production, some factories and enterprises have not yet established them. Their senior administrators and workers are almost indifferent to this matter. Under these circumstances, high-quality goods can never be manufactured no matter how hard we emphasize the need.

It is not so difficult a task to keep the factories and workshops clean. If officials give attention to this matter and are determined, they can do it quite easily. If they get the workers to do it for one or two days after completing their monthly assignments a few days ahead of schedule, they will be fully able to tidy their factories. They must not think that somebody else will take good care of their buildings, workshops and sites for them. The workers themselves must always keep their workplaces neat and clean. You should include the matter of establishing modern production practices in the management regulations of the workteams and workshops as one of their important functions so that everyone will always make a point of keeping his workplace spick and span.

I think it would be advisable for the workers to clean their work sites every day and do general cleaning by workshop once a week.

Furthermore, it should be made a rule to put the factories in good order on a set day every month and to carry out an overhaul once every quarter of the year. In this instance, not only the cleaning but also the repair of workshop buildings and sanitary facilities will be necessary. Broken windowpanes should be replaced, depressions on the floors filled with clay or cement, walls whitewashed, and ditches around the buildings cleared off until the factories are neat inside and out.

A certain amount of funds will be required to tidy the factories. I think it advisable therefore that a portion of the profits of factories be set aside for the maintenance of the factories and for the repair of their buildings. Of course, even now funds are appropriated for such purposes, but these are used up for other purposes. It is tantamount to

such funds not existing. In the future, these funds must not be diverted elsewhere, but divided among the workshops and workteams for their own use.

Next, you should elaborate a little more on the safety measures.

The regulations refer to this problem, but not in sufficient detail. The draft simply asserts that all that is necessary is the observance of the standard methods of operation and so on. But this will not prevent accidents. The gravity of such happenings should be fully emphasized so that even a single accident will be handled as an important issue. You should design measures that will help to prevent accidents.

You should clearly state the matter of detailed planning.

It can be said that the regulations give a fairly good idea of the planning procedure. But almost no mention is made of the method of detailed planning. I think it necessary that the regulations should deal with the method of detailed planning by going into all the elements of production on the spot and relating them to each other.

In conclusion, you should spell out the duties of the workteam and workshop in the regulations.

Your draft of the management regulations offers a relatively good idea of the duties of workteam leaders and workshop managers but not of the duties of workteams and workshops. This should be remedied. It is particularly important to state in detail the duties of workshops.

The duties of the workshop, as stipulated in your draft, are, first, that the workers should be firmly armed with the monolithic ideology of the Party, so as to be able to think and act in accordance with the Party's idea and will and resolutely implement the Party policy in any adversity; second, that they should intensify the drive for technical innovation, increase labour productivity and the efficiency of equipment and make effective use of materials and thus fulfil without fail their daily and monthly production quotas, in quality, quantity and in all other details; and, third, that they should thoroughly establish the Taean work system. Of course, all these are necessary. But they alone are not enough. That which merits particular emphasis has not been stressed.

A workshop is a departmental unit of an industrial establishment. A factory or enterprise is accountable to the Party and the state for the implementation of the economic plan assigned to it, whereas a workshop has the responsibility of carrying out its departmental portion of the production plan of the factory or enterprise. Therefore, the most important duty of the workshop is to fulfil its cooperative production quotas without fail and punctually. This should be emphasized.

Of course, the section on the duties of the workshop in your draft regulations stipulates that the workshop should fulfil its daily and monthly assignments without fail. So we can say that this stipulation implies that the workshop must ensure cooperative production. But this is not explicit enough. You should go further and emphasize that an important duty of the workshop is its responsibility for cooperative production within the factory.

Since a workshop consists of several workteams, one of its major functions is to direct the workteams. But this has not been stated in the duties of the workshop.

The workshop must direct cooperation among its workteams and assume full responsibility for their labour organization, maintenance of the equipment, the quality of their products, the organization of technical and political study, and, in the long run, for their technical, ideological and cultural revolutions.

These points should be clearly stated in the section on the duties of the workshop.

You comrades have worked hard in all respects to draft the “Industrial Management Regulations”. If you make the above-mentioned amendments and additions, the regulations will be excellent. Well-drafted regulations will help immensely in putting factory management on a disciplined footing. If we teach the workshop managers and workteam leaders these regulations at production sites and schools, we will be able to regularize the operations of the workteams and workshops and the management of the factories as a whole. Just as a regular army can have a strong combat capability and

can be efficient in battles, so systematic management of factories will ensure maximum use of the existing economic assets and a full mobilization of the productive potentialities.

I think that since you need not visit the field again, you will be able to revise the draft regulations very soon. Of course, we cannot say that the revision will bring the regulations to perfection. It would be impossible to compile flawless literature at the outset, so it must be evolved steadily and step by step. The regulations now to be published should be draft regulations and should be improved by incorporating valid criticisms from personnel in the field and reconsiderations, and by amendments.

The “Industrial Management Regulations” should not be printed in so large a format as a textbook but as a pocket-size volume, on good-quality paper.

**YOUTH MUST BECOME THE VANGUARD
ON ALL FRONTS OF THE BUILDING-UP
OF OUR ECONOMY AND DEFENCE
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 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 (LSWY). As the reliable reserve forces for the building of socialism and communism and the heirs of our revolutionary cause, you are fighting heroically on all fronts of socialist economic construction and the building of our national defence to carry out the decisions 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. On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I warmly salute 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 into the northern half of Korea. It is also attended by representatives of young steel workers who are bravely working at the blast furnaces and coke ovens, miners who are striving to produce more coal and minerals, machine operators and electricians, the courageous forestry workers who are triumphing over nature in the dense forests and transport timber on floats, workers in light industry, fishermen who are struggling to subdue 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 for 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-US struggle is raging more furiously and the world imperialist powers headed by the United States are on the downward track. 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 the imperialists have become even more exacerbated.

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

The US 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 US 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 US 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 US imperialists are now encountering powerful resistance from the broad sections of the 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 through all parts of the United States.

The allies of US 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 gloated 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 US 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 struggling 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 US imperialism in particular is going downhill and is approaching its demise.

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 US 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 nationwide 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 goals of socialism and communism.

The US 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 USS *General Sherman*. More recently, in the Fatherland Liberation War they invaded the northern half of Korea 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 vast quantities. We must drive them out of our country and take 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 maturing for us to help the people in the southern half defeat the US imperialists, and their stooges, the Park Chung Hee clique, and accomplish their revolution, and for us to win the revolutionary cause of national reunification by our own efforts.

The US 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 of the Koreans, but because they were not in a position to use them. They are now suffering one defeat after another and are 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 terrified by atomic bombs, are simply trembling with fear of the Yankees. They are either stupid or those who refuse to make revolution and seek to find happiness for themselves alone instead of striving to destroy imperialism.

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

If we are terrified by the blackmail and compromise with imperialism and make concessions, the enemy will continue 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 US imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo* and her 80-odd crew who were flagrantly carrying out espionage well within our territorial waters.

When we seized the ship, the Americans 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 commotion, 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 are prepared. 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 in number, 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 Americans 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 US 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 Americans 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 nefarious manoeuvres and death throes and fully prepare ourselves to cope with them.

Though the imperialists, the US imperialists in particular, are on the way down and 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.

The US imperialists now employ two strategies 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 coexistence and are willing to tolerate imperialism. In other words, the enemy is launching political and ideological attacks on the peoples of ideologically weak countries in an attempt to degrade and demoralize them and to disintegrate them by ruining their economy so preventing the growth of their economic power. We can say that US imperialism resorts to this double-edged strategy at the present time.

We must keep ourselves ready to fight the evil manoeuvres of US imperialism.

Our Party Central Committee has already put forward a policy for effective struggle against US 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 Korea, 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 Korea.

The most important task confronting us for defeating the Americans and realizing our revolutionary cause in accordance with the strategy and policies of the Korean revolution is to strengthen the revolutionary base in the northern half of Korea politically, economically and militarily. Particularly under the present conditions in which the aggressive schemes of the US imperialists are even more blatant, we must thoroughly prepare ourselves for action and strive to increase our revolutionary forces.

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

No task is more honourable and worthwhile 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 without any struggle, particularly in this turbulent age

of revolution, cannot be described as worthwhile. 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 domestic 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 the ploughing and undertook all the heavy jobs in that household. The cat then jumped forward and asserted that there was no cause for her to be the victim 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 significant job standing guard over the house. The cock said that his roost 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 a spirit of industry and work hard. I am telling youth this fable in particular today 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 are merely self-interested, hate to work and live in indolence and decadence 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 the event of war, they must fight at the front at risk to their lives, and those who are unable to go there must engage in

production in the rear, guard 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 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, regain our homeland and build a new society in which all 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 and day out for 15 years, despite all the hardships.

The revolution is sacred, meaningful and worthwhile. 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 difference there was between north and south Korea. It would have taken a long lecture to explain all the differences. But circumstance did not permit that. So I told him briefly: We have fought for the country and people against the Japanese and the Americans. We are the people who are working for the country and people. In north Korea we patriots set up a people's government and are leading it with the support of the people. But Park Chung Hee 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 US 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 motherland 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 perceived 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 actively participate 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 Park Chung Hee clique, and to reunify the country and achieve the nationwide 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 Korea. The youth must devote all their knowledge and energy to the building of socialism with a high level of political and ideological consciousness and determinedly 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 outdated ideas 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 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 deter the building of socialism, and we must exercise a 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 waging the 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 thoroughly 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 conduct 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 brush aside even those who do not oppose us but want to come along with us, on the ground that their fathers were bad elements or on other grounds, 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 officials 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 we allow these outdated ideas to gain a hold over the minds of our 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 "spectres" 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 vestiges 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 realizing their ambitions with their backing. Since flunkeyism has a long history, it does not easily disappear and even now a great deal remains.

In south Korea today some people do not feel strong hatred for the US imperialists and fail to fight them bravely. This 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 effective 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 corrupt 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 great losses.

Past 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 be dependent on others, but always believe in our own strength, use our own intelligence and act independently. We must firmly arm all the 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 Americans would never kill them, and remained at home only to get killed. Another regrettable thing was that in some areas our Party members meekly surrendered 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 was 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 develop illusions about the enemy, it gives rise to very serious consequences.

Once the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists, infected as they were with revisionism, tried to spread illusions about imperialism in our country. They opposed pointing the finger at US imperialism; they insisted that it should be called “Washington” or the “Pentagon”. These are plain expressions 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, US 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 carry out effective political and ideological work.

In view of the enemy’s intensified offensive we should not be on the defensive but make a positive counteroffensive. We 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-US 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 direct our educational programmes towards those who are ideologically weak and are 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 at the first attempt, we should make another attempt, and when we fail again we should make a third attempt and when that also proves useless, we should try again and again. A Korean proverb runs: "Cut ten times, and even a huge tree will fall." When we conduct educational programmes 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 dubious 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 is not a member of 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 US imperialists and return to the class of your origin."

If we give positive ideological education like this and equip all the youth firmly with our Party's ideology, nobody will heed 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 develop a communist nucleus. A mass organization without this nucleus cannot play its role satisfactorily.

Needless to say, Party members play the pivotal 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 cadres and get them to play a fitting role among the youth.

At this meeting you have put forward the slogan that you will become the Party's guards and death-spurning 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 cadres. We must organize this movement in order to get cadres 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 members of the "youth vanguard" 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 great thing.

In the future, the LSWY should formulate rules for this movement and steadily advance it, making strenuous efforts to train communist cadres.

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 assistance in accomplishing our revolution. For the victory of the Korean revolution we must receive foreign aid in times of need. However, we must not rely solely 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 Raktong 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 unpractised in battle. Even faced with the difficult situation where the US imperialist army of aggression pounced on us and brought in a large number of troops to land at Inchon, cutting off our forces from 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 and 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 River would have liberated the whole of south Korea and not retreated.

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 a resolute 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 explode, 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 peacetime or war. This is why our Party has put great efforts 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 to completion.

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

Steel is the metal most needed 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 has vital importance in economic construction and in modernizing the People's Army, arming all the people and fortifying the whole 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 decisions

on building up the economy and defences simultaneously and strive to extract more high-grade ore.

We must also produce more gold. If we mine 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 leave it buried underground? It is of no use just boasting about our abundant treasures leaving them underground. We must mine 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. Batteries cannot be made without it.

Besides these, zinc, tin, wolfram, molybdenum and nickel are all very important metals. We must strive to mine 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 mine. 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 a war or not. We must introduce major 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 nonferrous 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. Iron works must use as little coke as possible in producing pig iron.

The rapid development of the building-materials industry is an urgent requisite for guaranteeing success in building our economy and defence. The young people and workers in this industry must strive to produce more metal products, cement, firebricks, various resins and plywood.

We must continue to exert great efforts to develop the chemical industry. In peacetime, this industry sustains the economy and uplifts the people's living standards, and in wartime it plays an important role in ensuring victory. If we produce more ammonium nitrate fertilizer by rapidly developing the chemical industry, we can increase agricultural production. So the more produced, the better.

The sector which we should develop above all is the machine-building industry, without which we cannot build up the economy and defence.

To meet the demands of the present situation we must take active steps to advance this industry.

Light industry and fishing, too, must be advanced. As sectors directly affecting our 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 clothing. In particular, overcoats, padded clothes, caps and shoes for winter must be supplied to our children and to the people in general.

The fishing industry, while maintaining inshore operations, should further develop deep-sea operations. Only then will we be able to harvest shoals 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 rail, land and water transport.

Next, we must continue to strive for the advancement of

agriculture. It is most important that farming is conducted efficiently and that plenty of grain is produced. Only when we do this and have enough food can we succeed in building up our economy. We need plenty of grain also for livestock and poultry breeding. In agriculture, therefore, every effort must be devoted to grain production. Great 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 task is very difficult. In all sectors we must produce more with less manpower. To cope with the present situation where our enemies are scheming more flagrantly to commit aggression we must push ahead with our defence projects, while building new factories and increasing production so as 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 particularly in 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 effective 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 having talks with workers at factories and enterprises and are taking stock of reserves. An enormous amount of reserves 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 resolved to produce 500

machine tools above its quota. 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 further this.

The materials lying idle constitute one of the important reserves. The collection of a large amount of scrap iron, cotton waste, waste paper and the like will serve to increase production. If you collect a lot of scrap iron you can economize on pig iron in producing steel, and you can conserve lumber by recycling waste paper. We must wage a mass movement to collect waste materials.

All these things may at first seem unimportant, but if they are efficiently utilized they will be a great help to the nation's economy.

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

First, we must firmly oppose the revisionist idea of putting too much emphasis on material incentives 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 incentives, 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 them 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 Taean work system, our unique revolutionary work system, and the enhancement of people's politico-ideological consciousness. We must emphasize and increase political and moral incentives in this way, and, at the same time, properly combine 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 leading cadres in the economic field suggested that our economic goals be set a bit lower, claiming 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. Experience shows that even though industry reaches a certain level of development, a high rate of economic growth can still be ensured if innovations are constantly introduced by rounding out industry and by raising the working people's ideological consciousness.

If we do not oppose revisionism we will not be able to implement the Party's policy correctly—the policy of simultaneously building up our economy and defence 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 quarter for its poison to work.

Some time ago, I read the draft of regulations prepared by lecturers of the University of National Economy on the routine duties of factory managers and workshop managers and workteam 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 manager 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 know that 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 great 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 unalterable. 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 skills. When people work conscientiously 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 endeavours on the part of the working people.

Last year, officials of a certain mine came up with a very low production target. The Cabinet therefore 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 political meeting. There they determined to mine 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 determined to. 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 grounds 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. At lunchtime 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 crusher and if it was assembled in time, it could be in operation by June, therefore 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 uphold 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 immense amounts everywhere.

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 complaining 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 development 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. It is only to be expected that they will not help to 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 resolutely implement them.

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 whole country. All young people must endeavour to become crack shots and acquire a thorough military knowledge, so that all of them are able to destroy the enemy in case of need.

Some people seem to be afraid that we will not get enough guns in an 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 guerrilla 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 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 nationwide 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 Korea, 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 and Latin-American countries as well as with those in other parts of the world, and cement our militant solidarity with them.

The revolutionary nations share the same spirit. 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 develop the rapport and support from the people of the world and strengthen solidarity with them, we are carrying out zealous activities abroad.

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

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 people 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 support 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 along the undeviating road of revolution, holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the banner of anti-imperialist and anti-US 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 pamphlet *Let Us Intensify the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-US Struggle* have aroused a great response from people all over the world. This is because these documents expound the correct methods for 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.

Some time 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 snow storms and under the rigours of starvation. He pointed out that there was no reason why revolution could not be made in Africa where conditions are very favourable. That 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 to clothe themselves as heavily as we had to. He emphasized that they had to firmly establish Juche in Africa, too, to carry on revolution by their own efforts. I believe him to be a fine man, willing to carry through the revolution.

We must 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 activities abroad 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 off the left and right legs and left and right arms of US imperialism, cut off its ears, pull out its teeth, or at least nip it or pull out its 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 Yankees know we are using this strategy.

They are more afraid of a joint attack by many countries than anything else. They obscure 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 US 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 US imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo* provided an example of how scared the Yankees become. At the time, it was reported that 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 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 coordinated our attack with the Vietnamese. In fact there was no such coordination. The community of our revolutionary ideas was reflected in the coincidence of our actions.

The Vietnamese people are now tearing one leg off US 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 US 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. In particular, you comrades 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 the economy and defence.

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 wholeheartedly 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 in an exemplary manner so as to live up to the expectations of the Party and the revolution.

**TO MARK THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

**Speech Delivered to the Ministers, and the Instructors
and Higher-ranking Officials of the Party Central Committee**

April 16, 1968

Today I would like to speak on some questions arising in greeting solemnly the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and in improving political and economic work to meet the demands of the present situation.

Today, the situation as a whole is developing in favour of our revolution and the world revolution. As I said at the National Youth Meeting for General Mobilization several days ago, the present era is an era of revolution, an era of struggle and an era of the collapse of imperialism.

The US imperialists have been suffering one fiasco after another unprecedented in their history since the Second World War. They met an ignominious defeat, the first in their history, in the Korean war, the commencement of their decline. Their first defeat in the Korean war was followed by another in Cuba, and they are now being hard hit in Viet Nam.

Today, the anti-imperialist, anti-US revolutionary forces are growing and strengthening day by day and the flames of the anti-imperialist and anti-US struggle are raging in all parts of the world including Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggle of the world's revolutionary

peoples is precipitating the US imperialists into the abyss.

If the peoples who are making a revolution cement solidarity with each other and fight in unity during this favourable period, they will be quite able to crush the US imperialists.

The belief that none but big powers can defeat the US imperialists is the consequence of a blurred insight into the prevailing situation. It is a revisionist view which refuses to perceive the reality. If even small countries combine their efforts and dismember US imperialism, they will be able to crush it. If they rip off one of its limbs, in Korea, in Viet Nam, still another in Latin America and finally in Africa, US imperialism will in the end collapse.

The US imperialists are making frantic efforts to unleash a new war in the hope of saving themselves from their impending doom. Their strategy at present is to bring more aggressive forces into the Asian region and to instigate Japanese militarists and other stooges of their satellite countries to unleash war to conquer the countries in this region on the one hand, and on the other to launch a political and ideological offensive against European socialist countries to disintegrate them from within.

To counter this strategy of the US imperialists our Party put forward the policy of further strengthening the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle. This policy is receiving active support from the revolutionary peoples of the world.

The revolutionary peoples the world over sympathize with the revolutionary position and theory of our Party and actively support them.

In compliance with the request of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America last year, I contributed an article *Let Us Intensify the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-US Struggle*. This article is eliciting a great response from the revolutionary peoples of the world. The report which I delivered to the Party Conference and the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic, too, have won support and welcome from the broad masses throughout the world.

Recently a Zimbabwean said in a public address: “A study of the anti-Japanese armed struggle in Korea shows that the guerrillas fought and defeated Japanese imperialism—which was armed to the teeth—survived on grass, withstood the snowstorms in the Manchurian plain for 15 years under the difficult conditions, without the support of a regular army nor state assistance, nor aid apart from the support of the people. Why do we not fight in the African continent where it is warm all the year round without any snowstorms and where we have plenty of bananas and various other fruits and food. We, too, should rise up and fight against imperialism, and if we do so, we will emerge victorious.” If Africans determine to struggle, indeed, nothing could stop them. Today the peoples of many African countries are resolved to make a revolution and are embarking on the road of revolution.

In step with the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world we should fight more vigorously to accomplish our revolution once and for all. With a clear understanding of the main trend of the present time when revolution is gaining and imperialism is collapsing, we must fight to drive the US imperialists out of our country as soon as possible and to accelerate the final victory of the revolution. This is our most important revolutionary task today.

This task requires us to rally all the people closely around the Party by carrying out Party work well, to quickly develop the country’s economy, and to increase our defence capability.

1. ON RALLYING THE MASSES CLOSELY AROUND THE PARTY BY CONDUCTING PARTY WORK WELL

Our Party Conference has set forth the policy of rallying the broad masses more closely around the Party, and revolutionizing and working-classing all the working people so as to train them into fine

revolutionaries who can bravely fight against the enemy in whatever adversity.

But some officials still do not have a clear understanding of the Party's requirement for their revolutionization and working-classization and are committing many errors in rallying the masses around the Party.

They often work among the people in the way administrators do, and handle their problems perfunctorily, with the result that they fail to win over even the people who would rally around the Party. By mishandling their problems, some officials even disgruntle them and alienate the masses from the Party. Particularly unsuccessful is their work of rallying around the Party the people with involved social and political backgrounds—people of rich family origin and old-line intellectuals.

The work of educating and reforming people and uniting them behind the Party should not be done by dictation handling their problems simply on the limited information in their personal files. By nature, the rule of decree is much in evidence in administrative bodies. The Party organizations, however, must never use this method.

As we are wont to say, we look into people's social origins to know their past circumstances and the influences they have received, with a view to re-educating them. The Party has a clear policy on personnel affairs. Nevertheless, some officials give a wide berth to even those who work well, finding fault with their family backgrounds, and so on.

In our country there are, in fact, not many people whose family backgrounds are not involved. This is the consequence of the 36 years of Japanese imperialist occupation of our country and of the tangled processes of advance and retreat during the last war.

Under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, quite a few people worked as clerks at county or sub-county offices or did office work in other institutions in order to earn a living. After liberation undesirable elements who had infiltrated the Party sabotaged the education of the people in the revolutionary traditions. The result was that many people were duped into joining reactionary organizations or working in the

enemy's institutions during the temporary retreat. If good ideological education had been given to the people before the war to inspire them with confidence in the victory of revolution, not so many people would have played into the hands of the enemies.

The 36 years of Japanese imperialist occupation of our country and the temporary retreat during the war thus complicated the social backgrounds of the people. But some officials fail to take account of this fact.

Today some officials regard, without discrimination, all the clerical work performed for the Japanese under their imperialist rule as totally wicked, and not, as it often was, as a means of earning a living. They even take issue with the people who fought well in the battlefield during the Fatherland Liberation War simply because their uncles on their mothers' or fathers' sides committed some offences. If officials depend only on personal files and work in an administrative way like this, they will be unable to rally a large number of people around the Party.

When you look into people's social origins, you should not take them at their face value. You should consider the details—the environments in which they were born and grew up, as well as the influence they have received.

In handling, for instance, the case of a man whose uncle was rich, you should go into the details: What economic aid had he received from his uncle, whether he lived well on this aid or whether he was ill-treated by his uncle. If he lived separately from his uncle without receiving any financial aid, he should be taken as having nothing to do with his uncle. If he was maltreated and humiliated by his uncle, he should be regarded as having been at loggerheads with him.

Our officials should always study how to win over more people and unite them around the Party, how to revolutionize and working-classize them to be revolutionaries. Officials who unite all the people around the Party by working well among the people, are competent workers. Officials who give a wide berth to people with slightly involved family backgrounds cannot be called able workers;

this method cannot bring any good to the revolution.

Immediately after liberation we made every effort to rally all democratic forces. At that time we had not many revolutionary veterans and scarcely 200,000 industrial workers supporting us, whereas the Democratic Party had a membership of nearly 300,000. Under these circumstances it was impossible for us to carry out the revolution only with the nucleus from the working class and with the supporters of communism. So we merged the Communist Party with the New Democratic Party into the Workers' Party and admitted to the Party a large number of people including those of the petty-bourgeois origin and intellectuals. Our old-line intellectuals, though they served the capitalist class in the past, are now serving the working class and the people. If they are working well for the good of the working class and the people, that is enough. What else should we want from them? If we expel, as one country does, old-line intellectuals from the revolutionary ranks on the pretext of class struggle, we cannot advance our revolution.

True, the class struggle is going on even in socialist society. In socialist society, the class struggle should not be conducted in the same way as the working class did before the seizure of power. In this society the basic form of class struggle is, to all intents and purposes, to educate and reform all the people and to revolutionize and working-classize them by persuasion and education, by ideological struggle, not in the way the working class fought to seize power from the capitalist class.

After the establishment of the socialist system, the working-class party must give correct leadership to the class struggle. Today, the revisionists repudiate the class struggle in the socialist society and do not revolutionize the people; the "Left" opportunists are getting rid of people from the revolutionary ranks at random in the name of the class struggle. We should oppose both Right and "Left" deviations and wage the class struggle skilfully so as to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the masses and revolutionize all the people.

The revolution in our country today is, assessing it nationwide, a

fierce class struggle and at the same time a national-liberation struggle. We must unite all the anti-US patriotic forces including not only the working class but also the petty and nationalist bourgeoisie and fight against the US imperialists and their lackeys—the landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and the reactionary bureaucrats. The class struggle in south Korea is precisely a struggle to defeat the landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and reactionary bureaucrats. The class struggle is going on even in the northern half of Korea because the vestiges of outdated ideas still have some sway over the people, because of reactionary propaganda of our enemies and because of the infiltration of Right and “Left” opportunist propaganda. The revolution in our country, a revolution which involves both the class struggle and the national-liberation struggle, has to be carried out by the concerted effort of the entire Korean nation, that is, by the south Korean revolutionaries and the people in the north.

All the officials should understand clearly the character and tasks of our revolution and wage class and national-liberation struggles correctly. They should rally around the Party all the people who want to work together for the revolution, including those with wealthy family backgrounds and old-line intellectuals.

If we work properly among the people, we can educate and reform all the old-line intellectuals and unite them behind the Party. Now in south Korea even those from well-to-do families are actively participating in revolutionary work, hand in hand with workers and peasants. Professor Kim Tae Su of Kyongbuk University who was sentenced to a heavy penalty some time ago and most of those who were involved in the “case of the operative group for communizing south Korea” came from well-to-do families. Among them are professors, musicians, composers and even a former county governor. They have gradually become conscious and joined in the struggle against US imperialism and its stooges, with a determination to fight for the revolution. Today in south Korea many rich people have embarked on the road of revolution.

Speaking to the intellectuals in Hamhung last year, I said that intellectuals of bourgeois origin in south Korea were fighting against the US imperialists and their lackeys at the risk of their lives and that under our good socialist system there was no reason why the intellectuals could not reform themselves and work for the revolution. In fact, a wide course is open in our country for the intellectuals to reform themselves into revolutionaries.

I was told that a certain intellectual who heard my speech in Hamhung called at the Party organization and confessed his past records which he had been hiding, and expressed his resolve to transform along revolutionary lines, work well and move with us to communism. We should re-educate all such people irrespective of their social origin and take them along with us.

If we drive out old-line intellectuals from the revolutionary ranks as is the case with a certain foreign country, south Korean intellectuals will not take part in the revolutionary struggle. If we do so they will think that the socialist revolution is something that makes use of intellectuals and then discards them. They will ask what is the use of working for the revolution. It is said that at Panmunjom south Korean journalists ask our journalists how they will be treated when the country is reunified. This is a matter of primary concern for south Korean intellectuals today.

We must closely unite all the people who have a national conscience and patriotic sentiments and who champion our socialist system so as to increase our revolutionary ranks.

The most important thing in strengthening our revolutionary ranks is to revolutionize and working-classize all the people.

If we are to revolutionize and working-classize all members of society, we must eliminate selfishness and all other vestiges of the outdated ideology from the minds of people, equip them with the revolutionary ideology, communist ideology, and train them into a true working class, into ardent communists. You need not think it difficult to revolutionize and working-classize people. You can do it by equipping the people firmly with our Party's policy and by training

them in the revolutionary organizational life and in the practical struggle for socialist construction.

We must revolutionize and working-classize ourselves without exception. The workers must also continually revolutionize themselves. As I said at the meeting with the voters of the Songnim constituency, the ranks of the working class have rapidly increased with the speedy development of our industry since the armistice. In the course of this many people who were peasants or petty bourgeoisie have become workers. Besides, even people of the working class proper have not undergone the revolutionary struggle. This distinctive feature of our working class requires that the working class, too, should be revolutionized. Therefore, we must strive to revolutionize the working class as well.

We should efficiently conduct the work of revolutionizing and working-classizing the old-line intellectuals.

Among the old-line intellectuals there are those who rendered distinguished service to establishing the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and also those who, during the Fatherland Liberation War, went to south Korea to carry out political work and, in straw sandals, followed us as far back as Jagang Province. All these people are meritorious.

Well, then, is it proper to suspect and reject them because they are a little in error now? We need not shun the company of those who are willing to follow us at a time when we have to win over even those who are reluctant to follow us.

If intellectuals are infected with revisionism or capitalism, we should awaken them and help them to correct it through an ideological struggle. An ideological struggle can be conducted in various ways, on an individual or collective basis. For example, if a scholar wrote an erroneous article, an ideological struggle can be organized with the participation of other scholars.

Some years ago a certain scholar committed a very serious error by writing a revisionist article. At that time we could have simply handled his case administratively, but we did not do so. We helped him to

realize his own mistake and root out his vestiges of revisionism, and at the same time held a seminar of university lecturers and scholars where they criticized his article. At the seminar he criticized his own mistake, and university lecturers pointed out the ideological and theoretical shortcomings and perniciousness of his article. This enabled him to correct his defects by himself and, at the same time, ensured that the revisionist virus which he had spread in the domain of social science was wiped out. From now on, if a scholar writes an article, opportunist or flunkeyist, which is contrary to the Party's ideology, you should never simply treat it administratively but launch an ideological and theoretical struggle to rectify it.

It would be advisable to use this method for the revolutionizing and working-classing of intellectuals. We should see that outdated ideas are rooted out from the minds of intellectuals through an ideological struggle on the one hand, and on the other that intellectuals themselves intensify self-discipline so as to prevent bourgeois ideas, Right and "Left" opportunist ideas, and other reactionary ideas of all hues from affecting them and to arm themselves firmly with our Party's ideology, the Juche idea.

With a view to re-educating and rallying all the people closely around the Party, we should implement the following measures on the occasion of the forthcoming 20th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK.

Firstly, we should re-examine the cases of the Party members who have been punished for their mistakes and should write off their penalties in case they have actually amended their mistakes or have admitted them and are making conscientious efforts to correct them. Even the people who have been expelled from the Party or dismissed from their office on account of serious errors should be reconsidered for rehabilitation of Party membership and political integrity or for reinstatement if they have corrected their mistakes so as to encourage them to work well.

The cases of factions which existed in the past should also be re-examined so as to correct mishandled cases, if there are any. The

cases of those who were mistreated owing to their social origins, particularly in connection with the social origin of their distant relations, should also be re-examined and corrected.

The matters of the children of the objects of our dictatorship and the bereft families of the executed should be handled with prudence.

As I said on our inspection tour of South Hwanghae Province several years ago, even though the fathers were the objects of our dictatorship, their sons and daughters were educated by us under our system. Even the objects of dictatorship like landlords might have influence to a varying degree on their children, for instance, on their eldest and on their youngest sons according to the environments in which their children grew up. That is why even the sons and daughters of the objects of dictatorship—who have received education under our system—should be guided to follow us.

We must not be passive but take the initiative in dealing with people from complex backgrounds. To the sons and daughters of the executed persons who, though of basic class origin, were duped into joining the “peace maintenance corps” and committed crimes, we should say that their fathers had not originally belonged to the hostile class but to the basic class, that their fathers had been deceived and had played into the hands of the Americans, that, therefore, the very Americans are their enemies, and that they should work well and fight the Americans well to take vengeance on the enemies and also redress all the crimes committed by their fathers. We must thus zealously re-educate them and win them over.

With a clear understanding of the great importance of uniting the masses behind the Party, our officials should re-examine the cases of those who were punished in the past but are working faithfully now and of those who were mistreated so as to revive their political integrity, and at the same time should work efficiently with people having complex backgrounds. In this way, they will revolutionize and working-classize all the people and rally them closely around the Party.

Party organizations should pay special attention to preventing Right and “Left” deviations in this matter.

Secondly, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Republic, the certificate of the martyr should be presented to the children of the anti-Japanese revolutionary martyrs, of the soldiers who died in battle during the Fatherland Liberation War, of the patriots who were killed while fighting with the enemies to the end, upholding their revolutionary honour, during the temporary retreat, and of the victims who fought to the end as the cadres of Party, government bodies and social organizations.

We should also present the certificate of the martyr to the children of the people who were killed by the enemy's gunfire and bombing when they as locomotive or lorry drivers were carrying goods to the front and those who were killed when they were rebuilding railways.

Just as we issued the certificate of the disabled soldier to those wounded in battle against the enemies during the Fatherland Liberation War, so we should also present the badge of honour to the soldiers who are wounded in the fight against our enemies even in peacetime and to the civilians who were wounded in the fight against the enemies during the Fatherland Liberation War.

Recently, a certain comrade brought to our attention the case of his father who had been wounded while working as a locomotive driver during the war. He said that his father was not being regarded as an honourably discharged soldier simply because his father had not been a soldier. As he said, his father, though not in military uniform, fought well for the victory of the war. Such people are entitled to the badge of honour.

Thirdly, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Republic, we should confer the DPRK's 20th Anniversary Commemoration Order upon the officials who have worked diligently in Party and state bodies without making any serious errors since the establishment of the Republic, and also upon the officials who were in the Party or state bodies and are now working as management workers of factories and enterprises.

Greeting the 20th anniversary of the Republic, the DPRK's 20th Anniversary Commemoration Title should be awarded to the factories,

enterprises, shops and workteams which have excelled in their performance since the birth of the Republic.

Fourthly, we should set up the bronze statues of the ardent anti-Japanese fighters and indomitable revolutionary soldiers—Comrades Kim Chaek, An Kil, Kang Kon, Choe Chun Guk, Kim Kyong Sok, Jo Jong Chol and Ryu Kyong Su—in memory of their distinguished services to the establishment of our Republic.

It is advisable to set up the statue of Comrade Kim Chaek in the centre of the street or in the park in the city of Kim Chaek and that of Comrade An Kil in Chongjin. At one time in the past we decided on naming the street—from Namgang-dong No. 3, Phohang District, Chongjin to Phunggok-dong, Ranam District—as An Kil Street, but parochialists in North Hamgyong Province did not realize this. In this province the machinations of the parochialists have been serious since liberation, and this has done a lot of harm to the revolution. We must implement the decision on the naming of An Kil Street on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Republic.

The native place of Comrade Kang Kon is Sangju in North Kyongsang Province, south Korea, so it is impossible to set up his statue there. We should name a street of Sariwon Kang Kon Street and set up his statue there. The statues of Comrades Choe Chun Guk, Kim Kyong Sok, Jo Jong Chol and Ryu Kyong Su should be set up in their native places.

Fifthly, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Republic, an amnesty should be granted to the ordinary criminals. Those who have been sentenced to a term of not more than three years' reformation should all be released and those sentenced to a term of more than three years should be exempted from as many years of servitude.

The stigma attaching to released convicts should be erased from those who were set free from reformatories in the past and are now working well. Otherwise, the stigma will continue and will affect their sons and daughters. The relevant organs should erase the stigmas from these people and make it clear in their personal files when and by what organ they were cleared of the stigmas according to the decision of the

Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. This will brush off the scars of their crimes.

The amnesty to ordinary criminals will never weaken the proletarian dictatorship, but, on the contrary, will further strengthen it. Besides, it means winning over more people to our side and intensifying the class struggle.

Some of the Party members told white lies about their personal histories at the time of their admission to the Party because of their low ideological standard or because of lack of understanding. Party organizations should educate them well so that they correct their personal records of their own accord. The people who do this should never be punished. If people who have told white lies before, honestly state in their personal files what their fathers and uncles were, it will be a very good thing. The Party will be magnanimous. Thus we will encourage them to be more loyal to the Party.

By implementing these measures we will be able to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Republic in better spirits and make the big festival worthwhile. You must not think of greeting this anniversary simply by shouting hurrahs, putting up slogans, carrying editorials in the papers or giving art performances. We must see that now the whole Party and whole country start making preparations for celebrating the anniversary significantly.

Party organizations should establish more firmly the Party's monolithic ideological system among the Party members and other working people.

The important thing in setting up the Party's monolithic ideological system is to implement the tasks given to the officials in charge of Party ideological work on last January 3. As I said at the time, the work of establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system should not be done in a perfunctory manner. Shouting only hurrahs is of no use. Choe Chang Ik did so more than anyone else in the past. But he plotted to overthrow the Party and the Government.

If we are to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system thoroughly among the Party members and other working people, we

must arm them firmly with our Party's ideology, the Juche idea. This is especially important for us under the present circumstances where the pressure from big-power chauvinists and the imperialists' ideological offensive against our country are being stepped up.

All the officials including those of the Party Central Committee must intensify education in Party policy and in the Juche idea among Party members and other working people and strive to eradicate the ideological virus of revisionism.

2. ON GIVING A GREATER IMPETUS TO SOCIALIST ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Greeting the DPRK's 20th anniversary, we should make fresh innovations in every sphere of economic construction.

The important thing in economic construction this year is that all factories and enterprises make a rational use of their production space, utilize to the maximum the existing equipment, materials and manpower, and markedly increase production in accordance with the policy spelt out at the Party Conference.

In the past officials in charge of economic affairs have failed to meet fully the Party requirement to attain a faster rate of production growth. This is due to the fact that these officials are affected to a greater or lesser extent by the revisionist economic theory.

Revisionists claim that when the economy reaches a certain stage of development in a socialist society its rate of growth slows down. They argue that the rate of growth of the socialist economy cannot exceed 6 to 7 per cent a year at the most at a certain stage of development, and that this is a very high rate. This is a Right opportunist theory invented by the revisionists for the purpose of rationalizing their low rate of economic growth, which is the result of their neglect of the education of the working people and of their ideological laxity and reluctance to

work. The revisionists reduced the workday, pleading “liberalization” and so on, in order to curry favour with young people.

This revisionist economic theory was accepted by some of our senior officials in the economic sector. Having been steeped in flunkeyism, they adopted the theory uncritically and on this basis tried to railroad the economy. At one time, some of them argued that even in our country industrial output could not attain more than 7 per cent growth per year, and that it was a very high rate. They even clamoured that it was a law governing the socialist economy. It is an erroneous theory.

We criticized it as a revisionist economic theory which hindered the advance of socialist construction. We appealed for the rate of production to be increased by applying the Chollima spirit once more and therefore organized all the working people in this direction. As a result, last year witnessed a very high rate of growth in all sectors of the national economy.

Last year the workers of the Songhung Mine made strenuous efforts to implement the Party’s appeal and nearly doubled the output of nonferrous metals which had been scheduled. The workers of the Ryongsong Machine Factory, too, made all-out efforts and achieved the year’s quota by October 10—the anniversary of the founding of the Workers’ Party of Korea—nearly three months ahead of schedule, though they carried out many tasks in addition to the quota. The fact that such a big machine factory as the Ryongsong Machine Factory carried out the yearly plan nearly three months earlier than scheduled demonstrates that if political work is effectively carried out, the potentialities can be tapped according to our needs and that a high rate of industrial growth can be attained. Last year, we planned to increase industrial output by 12.8 per cent and went among the workers to conduct political work, although the revisionists argued it could not exceed 6 to 7 per cent, a year at the most. In fact, we considerably overfulfilled the quota—even though we suffered heavy flood damage—achieving a 17 per cent growth in industrial production last year.

As regards the situation created by the *Pueblo* incident, this year, too, we are confronted with a difficult task of advancing economic construction and defence buildup so as to achieve a high rate of growth on all fronts of socialist economic construction. It would be difficult, of course, to tackle the both. But we cannot allow ourselves to lower or neglect any of the scheduled targets; we must carry out the plan, come what may.

We have sent the members of the Political Committee, and the members of the Secretariat, of the Party Central Committee to each province to conduct political work, with the result that many potentialities have been found. On assessing all the figures reported by the chief secretaries of the provincial Party committees some time ago, we were able to estimate an increase of 1,100 million *won* over and above the total value of industrial output which is envisaged in this year's plan. This means that we will be able to attain this year the financial target scheduled for the Seven-Year Plan. Of course, it will not be easy to achieve this, but the creditable resolution of our heroic working class will bring this about without fail.

The Songhung Mine, which at first resolved to overfulfil this year's quota by 31 per cent, has recently decided to exceed it by 88 per cent. I could not quite believe them, so I rang them up and asked if they had taken into account all the conditions including their ore-dressing capacity. The workers there replied that the dressing capacity was sufficient and that the only difficulty was the problem of haulage from the mine to the railway station. They said, if they were provided with a few more 10-ton lorries and have the road widened at some places, it would be without question possible to exceed the plan by 88 per cent. Workers at the Nampho Smeltery, too, say that they will be able to process that much nonferrous metal. At the National Youth Meeting for General Mobilization which was held a few days ago, a young worker from the smeltery said that it could refine much more nonferrous metals than that amount.

The Munphyong Smeltery, too, could cope with any amount of ore produced at the Komdok Mine, if it makes effective use of the existing

equipment and reinforces it. The point is that the Komdok Mine should increase ore output.

Some time ago corrupt elements visited the Komdok Mine and dissuaded the workers from increasing ore output, saying that they should do as they thought fit. As a result, they only achieved half the quota. Last year we expelled the villains and roused the workers to a great upswing, with the result that the Komdok miners surpassed their quota. This year they have resolved to exceed the ore production plan given by the state by 25 per cent.

All these facts clearly demonstrate how absurd is the revisionist economic theory and how dangerous are the flunkeyists who accepted it. Historical experience proves that if a nation follows flunkeyism that state is bound to perish, and if a man adopts flunkeyism, he is bound to become a fool. We have not yet reunified our country and are confronting our enemies. In this situation, how can we allow ourselves to be complacent after attaining only 7 per cent growth in production?

We must carry out the decisions of the Party Conference on building up the economy and national defence simultaneously so as to increase our defence power on the one hand, and on the other consolidate the nation's economic foundations and markedly improve the people's standard of living. This requirement of the revolution does not permit us to be content with 7 per cent growth. All the developments in our country require us to speed up our advance.

Recently I phoned the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory and the Kusong Machine-Tool Factory and told them that 700 machine tools were required, in addition to those available, to carry on economic construction and defence buildup and that if the two factories should produce 350 each, the problem would be resolved. I asked them to do all that was in their power to meet the Party's requirement. Then, the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory resolved to produce 500, and the Kusong Machine-Tool Factory 520. The workers of the Ragwon Machine Factory which was to produce 510 excavators in all including the increased production target for this year, resolved some time ago to turn out an extra 250.

The workers in the Ryongsong Machine Factory, too, are in very high spirits. This factory not only has a higher quota than it had last year, but has received many other additional tasks, taking into account the prevailing situation. We asked them to make, at any cost, a 6,000-ton press which is urgently needed in our country. The workers of this factory, in spite of many tasks they have already received, have resolved not only to carry out all these tasks but also to make the 6,000-ton press by this September 9 in response to the Party's appeal. This desire to advance is precisely the revolutionary spirit of our working class.

It is a law that the economy develops continuously at a high rate in a socialist society. In 1957, the conservatives insisted that it was impossible to produce more than 60,000 tons of steel at the blooming shop of the Kangson Steel Plant. But it has now been proved possible to turn out 450,000 tons of steel. In a socialist society, the economy develops steadily at a high rate if political work is done effectively to increase the ideological consciousness of the producers and raise their technical skills.

Senior officials in the economic sector will never direct economic construction efficiently if they adopt the revisionist economic theory or develop a bourgeois posture. Ministers and other senior officials in the economic sector must root up revisionist ideas and manage economic construction in accordance with the economic theory of our Party, firmly adhering to Juche.

The Information and Publicity Department and the Department of Science and Education of the Party Central Committee should launch a vigorous ideological struggle against the revisionist economic theory. They should re-examine the teaching materials of the schools at all levels and rectify any revisionist elements, if any.

Next, guidance teams composed of officials from the departments of the Party Central Committee in charge of economic affairs and of those of the Secretariat of the Cabinet should be sent to visit factories and enterprises.

The members of these teams should draw up the outline of their

guidance work and make other necessary preparations properly for the performance of their mission.

They have a lot of work to do at the factories and enterprises. They must in person visit production sites, make sure that production space is utilized rationally, that equipment is operated at capacity, that materials are used most economically and that all the latent reserves are yielded.

They must rouse the masses of producers to action, visiting each factory. If they do this they will tap all the potentialities they need.

As I said at the Party Conference, we have built a great number of factories. If the officials run them efficiently we will be able to provide the people with as good a life as others, even though we have to bear some military burden.

The officials, however, do not know how to manage the economy effectively and they waste a great deal, hence they cannot further improve the people's standard of living. The guidance-team members should eliminate the wasteful practices of the lower echelons and discover all the latent reserves.

An extensive drive for the utilization of idle materials is one of the important potentials. A widespread campaign to collect scrap iron should be organized to involve all the people. A campaign to collect cotton waste and waste paper should be launched so as to use for production all the idle materials which are scattered here and there.

In particular, the team members should ensure efficient use of manpower at the factories and enterprises. It is said that some factories are quite capable of carrying out their quota even with less manpower. The Kangson Steel Plant has resolved to implement its plan with a manpower less 900 workers.

The Party organizations at all levels are discussing the letter from the Party Central Committee. If the decisions of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee are circulated to the lower echelons by May Day, and if the team members go into the field, smash passivism, conservatism and revisionism and inspire the working masses, we can carry out this year's quota without any

shadow of doubt, though it is much higher than that of the previous year. If the officials conduct good political work and rouse the masses of producers, they will demolish a mountain and even wall off the sea.

Ministries, management bureaus, and factories and enterprises must crush passivism and conservatism, organize operations efficiently, give active support to the creative initiative of the masses of producers and help them in their work to ensure that this year's national economic plan is carried out without fail. In this way we will build up our defence capability and at the same time improve the people's standard of living.

In the coming winter we are going to supply all the children of nurseries and kindergartens and all the pupils of primary and middle schools with winter clothes including overcoats, caps and shoes. This year all the blends produced by the Sinuiju Textile Mill should be used for making winter clothes for the children and pupils. Textile mills should radically improve the quality of cloth.

Senior officials in the economic sector must strive to direct socialist economic construction efficiently and in particular must pay great attention to this year's farming.

We must drive the US imperialists out of south Korea and reunify the country. US imperialism with which we are confronted is the ringleader of world imperialism. If we are to defeat the US imperialists, we should be fully prepared for war.

We must not forget the bitter lessons of the last war. The main reason for our temporary retreat during the war is that we could not produce large quantities of rifles by ourselves. At that time we had a single factory which barely managed to make submachine guns and mortars. So, when the war broke out, we had to order weapons from a foreign country. The weapons which had to be shipped from abroad did not arrive until the temporary retreat was over. After all, we were compelled to retreat because we had no rifles. As the saying goes, the money in one's father's pocket is not as useful as that in one's own pocket, we must have ourselves all that is necessary for us.

An independent and sovereign country must have a self-reliant

economy. Foreign aid will prove effective only when one has developed one's own resources. Otherwise, foreign assistance would be ineffective. The building of a self-reliant economy is, on no account, due to national egoism; it does not conflict with proletarian internationalism. We must build up the foundations of an independent national economy and mass-produce by our own efforts various kinds of weapons which are necessary for the defence of our country.

We must strengthen the People's Army politically and ideologically, and in military techniques, and arm the entire nation. When we turn the front and rear into an impregnable fortress in this way, we have nothing to fear even if war breaks out in the future, and will be quite able to defeat the US imperialists and their lackeys.

At present the US imperialists and their stooges are making frantic efforts to unleash a new war following the *Pueblo* incident. They have organized the so-called "homeland reserve forces" and are building up their military strength on a large scale.

We are never afraid of war. If war breaks out, buildings will be destroyed to some degree, but that will not be a big problem. If the enemy unleashes a war, we will crush him and reunify our country.

It is the Americans who are hard pressed by the *Pueblo* incident. On account of this incident, they try to threaten us. But we will not set the prisoners free. No number of threats by the US imperialists will be able to save the captured spies. If the Americans apologize to us for their wrong and guarantee that they will never repeat their acts of espionage and aggressive manoeuvres against our country, we may release the spies.

We must be fully prepared for any situation which may ensue from the *Pueblo* incident. The more favourable the situation is, the more alert our officials must remain, without being slack, and the better they must carry out their revolutionary duties.

LET US GO ALL OUT TO HIT THE MAJOR TARGETS OF THE SEVEN-YEAR PLAN IN THE SPIRIT OF CHOLLIMA

**Concluding Speech at the 17th Enlarged Plenary Meeting
of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

April 25, 1968

At this plenary meeting we have discussed the national economic development plan for 1968 to promote the building of the economy and defences further in view of the prevailing situation.

As the report was made in detail and many good ideas were advanced in speeches, I will confine myself to only a few matters.

Through this plenary meeting we have been made well aware that all senior officials and Party members are showing greater revolutionary zeal in upholding and implementing the decisions of the Party Conference, the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic and the Red Letter of the Party Central Committee, and are bringing about a fresh revolutionary upturn on every front of the building of the economy and defences.

The new upswing taking place in socialist construction at present absolutely proves once again the justness of all the policies of our Party and, in particular, the validity of the decisions of the Party Conference and the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic.

Analysis of the determination shown by the working people in local areas and factories and other enterprises in the course of discussing the Red Letter these days and of the speeches addressed at this meeting,

enables us to draw the conclusion that we are in a position to attain almost all major goals of the Seven-Year Plan within this year

As regards the power industry, the output of electricity envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan is 16,000-17,000 million kwh, and the figure they have recently determined to produce is 15,875 million kwh. If officials in this field work a little harder, this year they will fully be capable of attaining the production target of electricity, one of the major goals of the Seven-Year Plan.

Coal output envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan is 23-25 million tons, and the officials in the coal industry have resolved to turn out 31.99 million tons. Therefore, they will this year exceed by far their quota in the Seven-Year Plan. If the workers in this sector had made more strenuous efforts, they would have fulfilled the coal production quota last year. There is no doubt that this year the coal production goal envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan will be achieved.

The production target of pig and granulated iron envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan is 2.2-2.5 million tons, and the increased production figure they have resolved to achieve this time is 2.29 million tons. The steel production quota is also 2.2-2.5 million tons, whereas they have set a target of 2.12 million tons. This figure is 80,000 tons less than the plan, and this year they must reach the pinnacle for steel production at any cost by exploring all latent reserves. Only then can we succeed in attaining structural steel and other major goals of the Seven-Year Plan. The Seven-Year Plan envisages the production of 1.6-1.8 million tons of structural steel, while the target they have set this time is 1.555 million tons. A greater effort will lead us to carry out the task envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan this year, too. Mass-production of steel would make it easy to increase the output of structural steel.

The prospects for implementing the Seven-Year Plan in the nonferrous metallurgical industry are very bright. I am informed that this year the mining industry has resolved to overfulfil by far the gold and copper production quotas for the Seven-Year Plan. If we work well this year we will be able to reach the lead and zinc production targets for the plan. The figure of lead production they have determined this

time is a little less than the Seven-Year Plan quota; the difference should be made up by tapping reserves. Mines should increase their ore output and the Unpha Mine in particular should further innovate so as to fulfil the lead production plan without fail

In the machine-building industry the number of machine tools to be produced in the Seven-Year Plan is 7,500, while they have resolved to produce 7,297. Needless to say, this figure does not include those to be built through the let-one-machine-tool-make-another movement. If machine-tool plants exploit more reserves and work harder, the quota of the Seven-Year Plan, too, will be implemented this year.

The production goal of chemical fertilizer can also be achieved this year. The output envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan stands at 1.5-1.7 million tons in terms of standard fertilizer, while they have determined to produce 1,597,000 tons. This figure represents the total output for this year; we can hardly expect therefore to produce it all before the fertilizing season. All the same when we estimate production for the whole year, the quota set in the Seven-Year Plan will be achieved.

The output of cement in the Seven-Year Plan is 4 million tons, and the figure agreed upon this time, including the amount to be produced by local industry plants, is 3,667,000 tons. If this sector works hard the gap will be filled. The workers in the timber industry have resolved to produce this year 5,720,000 cubic metres of logs or more than 2 million cubic metres over and above the planned figure. I am told that they will produce this year 10 million square metres of sheet glass envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan,

The production goal of fabrics will also be attained this year. The planned figure is 400 million metres, while they have decided to produce 313 million square metres. This amounts to about 410 million metres. They are weaving woolen textiles much more than planned, and other fabrics are being produced as scheduled. I am told that they have resolved to produce 49 million pairs of shoes, instead of 40.7 million pairs as planned.

As seen above, we will be able to meet or exceed the major indices of the Seven-Year Plan this year. If we continue to explore reserves

and effectively mobilize the working people in exalted spirits, we can this year achieve the production targets laid down by the Seven-Year Plan—in electricity, coal, pig and granulated iron, steel, gold, copper, lead, zinc, machine tools, compressors, chemical fertilizer, cement, logs, sheet glass, textiles and shoes. Of course, it is somewhat difficult to achieve the targets for synthetic fibres, paper, fish, vegetable oil and some other items, but this year the Seven-Year Plan will be fulfilled in monetary terms.

This means that the plan will be carried out in one year, not three years, although the Party Conference decided to extend the Seven-Year Plan by three years. If we had earlier endeavoured to effect a revolutionary advance as we do now, we would have already implemented the plan last year.

We must positively support the admirable resolve of the working masses, provide them with every condition for realizing their aspirations and efficiently organize our operations.

The economic departments of the Party Central Committee, the Cabinet, scientific research institutes, ministries, factories and enterprises must go all out to ensure that new reserves are tapped extensively and the increased production quotas they have determined this year are fulfilled without fail, so as to enable many more sectors to reach their targets envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan. Those branches which are lagging behind must devise the means for fulfilling their quotas for the Seven-Year Plan in a short space of time and work harder so as to effect these.

1. ON SOME TASKS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN FOR 1968

I am going to dwell on some problems to be settled for the implementation of this year's national economic plan.

1) ON GIVING PRIORITY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HEAVY INDUSTRY, A LEADING SECTOR OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

We must, first of all, make every effort to resolve the pressing problems of electricity.

Owing to a long spell of drought since last autumn, almost all reservoirs for power stations are empty. This being the case, the best way of meeting the demand of the national economy for electricity is to operate thermal power plants without mishap. The Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant has a generating capacity of 500,000 kw; it should be kept in good order to prevent any accident and be operating at full capacity by the rainy season.

Special attention must also be paid to minimizing the amount of electricity lost in transmission.

Hydro-power stations should maintain those generators which are now at a standstill for lack of water, in order to operate them at full capacity when it rains.

If we make the best use of thermal power plants for the moment, and bring hydro-power stations to full capacity in the rainy season, we will be able to meet the needs of the national economy for power and to reach the generated electricity target of the Seven-Year Plan this year, once we work expeditiously.

The power industry should speed up the construction of the Sodusu Power Station. The completion of this project will help meet the demands for electricity. Therefore, we must not allow this project to be undertaken in an indifferent manner as of now, but ensure that the state makes more investments and further efforts so as to complete it in one or two years.

In addition, small-scale hydro-power stations should be built everywhere. We must erect a power station in every place able to generate over 500 kva. But, where this amount of power is not attained,

we need not build it. We must therefore set up many power plants with a generating capacity of over 500 kva, 1,000 kva, 2,000 kva, 3,000 kva and 5,000 kva.

True, the construction of many small-scale hydro-power stations costs more than that of large ones. But, as small power stations are dispersed in different places, they will not suffer as much damage in a war as big ones and will be of greater benefit.

Many a small thermal power station must also be constructed. It is necessary to build these stations in places where there are coal mines and big factories. In Tokchon, for example, where an automobile plant and many other big plants are found, and large coal deposits are in the vicinity, it would be a good idea to build a small thermal power plant.

Turbines for those small thermo-power plants should not be imported but produced at home. If the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant and other machine factories determine to conduct this operation, it is perfectly possible to manufacture steam turbines. I think that, in fact, it is not so difficult to produce small ones. Even if it is a difficult task, you should take up the challenge with a firm determination. If you are overawed, you will never solve the problem.

We have a valuable experience. When we tried to manufacture lorries for the first time, those who did not believe in our strength sneered at us, saying we knew nothing about any machine. However, we succeeded at last in producing lorries. Even when we planned to build tractors, some people argued about its uselessness, alleging that foreign countries would not provide its blueprints, that we were lacking in ability and that even its production would not pay. Nevertheless, we eventually succeeded in this attempt by our own efforts and we presently see our own tractors ploughing paddy and dry fields, carrying loads and doing various other operations. With a strong sense of purpose we produced excavators and many other new types of machines.

The officials in the machine-building industry intended to make hydraulic turbines with a capacity of even 50,000 kva; why, then, can they not manufacture steam ones? I think that the manufacture of steam turbines is not something beyond us. You should try first to build

5,000-kva turbines or smaller ones and then those of 10,000 kva and larger ones. These will do.

Boilers, too, should be locally manufactured. The machine-building industry should launch a drive to manufacture 50-ton or 60-ton-capacity boilers. Only then can we erect many thermal power stations by our own efforts.

To continue. Coal production should be increased rapidly.

Since demand for coal keeps growing, its output should be increased continuously.

In coal production the greatest efforts must be made to excavate high calorific coal. Our shortage of high calorific coal at present hinders a great deal the development of industry. Additional investments should be made and a range of facilities provided for the Kogonwon, Ryongdung and Anju Coal Mines and others which produce high calorific coal, in order to increase their output quickly.

It is especially important that both the coal and mining industries continue to maintain the three principles—giving priority to geological prospecting, detailed and working ones in particular, promoting the technical revolution and intensifying scientific research.

I would like to stress once again the need for sustained technical revolution.

After the overthrow of the exploiting classes and the carrying out of the socialist revolution, the communists are confronted with an important task—to forge ahead with the technical revolution so as to free the people from burdensome labour, gradually obliterate distinctions between heavy and light labour, between mental and physical labour and make the people work with ease while enjoying a prosperous and civilized life.

More difficult and onerous work remains in the mining industry than in any other sectors. Therefore, it is more urgently required to carry out the technical revolution in this field than anywhere else.

The senior officials, Party members and working people engaged in the mining industry should work hard to press ahead with the technical revolution in coal and ore mines.

There is neither a master nor doctor of mechanical engineering in the Anju Coal Mine. All the same the workers and technicians there pooled their efforts to make such an excellent machine as a drum coal cutter. This enabled them to mine coal several times more efficiently than before without blasting. You cannot carry out the technical revolution if you are possessed by conservatism rather than work as earnestly as they do.

All the senior officials and Party members of mines should follow the example of the Anju Coal Mine and spur on the advance for technical innovation.

I was told that a wider area of land gets damaged as the output of coal increases rapidly in the Anju Coal Mine. It is advisable to establish land reclamation stations as the Cholsan Ore Mine did in the past, so that coal mining is immediately followed by reclaiming land.

Next, the mining industry should be further developed.

It is vital that we conduct good surveys, give priority to tunnelling and carry out the technical revolution in accordance with our Party's policy, so as to excavate a larger quantity of underground resources.

Only when we advance the mining industry and excavate underground resources in greater quantities can we feed our developing industries with abundant raw materials and earn a greater amount of foreign currency. At present we need a great deal of this currency as never before since we are striving to advance all industries including the chemical, machine-building and metallurgical industries to a higher plane. Therefore, we are faced with a very urgent task of obtaining a large sum of foreign currency.

Nonferrous metals constitute one of the most important sources of foreign currency in our country. As plenty of our manufactured goods have not yet penetrated the capitalist markets, nonferrous metals form a major source of foreign currency; our country can export them to the capitalist markets. Therefore, the development of the nonferrous mining industry has a great bearing on the earning of foreign currency.

Our country is very rich in nonferrous metal resources. We should rapidly develop the mining industry and thereby excavate large

quantities of nonferrous minerals and earn a larger amount of foreign currency.

Foreign currency enables us to buy what we need. At present not only socialist countries but also capitalist countries want to trade with our country. Therefore, if we mine a large quantity of nonferrous minerals to earn 10 million pounds more of foreign currency per year, we can import many necessary machine-building, chemical and other plants.

We are going to build a petroleum refinery in our country. But this alone is not of much avail. There must be plants which can produce synthetic fibres such as nylon and Orlon, as well as many other chemicals, by using raw materials to be obtained in oil processing. If we excavate immense quantities of nonferrous minerals and earn a larger sum of foreign currency, we can buy these plants necessary for the people's lives.

It is of cardinal importance that a large quantity of gold is mined.

Some comrades argue that we need not hurry to mine gold. They should not speak in this way. We must mine and sell as much gold as possible to meet our needs. It serves no purpose if it were to remain underground.

The workers of the Songhung Mine resolved to boost the output of nonferrous minerals for this year by almost four times as against the previous years. This is very good. They are admirably carrying their resolution into practice. Two platoons have already fulfilled this year's production quota with credit. I propose to extend congratulations, in the name of this plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, to the Songhung miners who splendidly carried out this year's quota in three and a half months.

The Party Central Committee and the Cabinet should actively support the resolve made by the workers of the Songhung Mine and provide them with all conditions so that they can meet their commitment.

In addition to gold, lead and zinc should be excavated in larger quantities.

The Songchon Mine determined to increase its production sharply

from this year as against the previous time. This is laudable. I was informed that in the mine five platoons have already carried out their annual quota. It is advisable to offer them the congratulations of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee.

The Komdok Mine should also make efforts to produce a larger amount of ore. The corrupt elements who infiltrated the Party once told the miners to slow down operations even though a large amount of ore would not be excavated. As a result, they did not work hard to produce ore and failed to meet the ore production quotas given by the Party.

We have no ground whatsoever not to develop the economy quickly. We are not yet as well-off as others and have not reunified the country. Worse still, the Americans try to pounce on us. In these circumstances we must work with all our might to produce and build more, so as to make our country rich and strong as soon as possible. How can you neglect working just because corrupt elements told you to produce little? This is a harmful practice which hampers the advance of our revolution. You must clearly realize what a great loss was caused to our economic construction by the harmful doings of such elements who wormed into the Party.

The Komdok Mine decided to excavate much ore last year in compliance with the intentions of the Party. The mine should not rest content but make steady efforts to augment its output.

Geological prospecting should be strengthened to increase the production of nonferrous metals. The people engaged in this sector should make great efforts to survey for nonferrous minerals and thus secure lots of ore deposits. They should also strive to locate minerals which our country presently lacks.

Geological surveys should be conducted in a nationwide movement in order to detect a larger quantity of underground resources. It is a good idea to widely enlist primary and middle school children in this work.

New mineral deposits can be discovered if the masses direct their efforts to this end. We had much difficulty for lack of nickel when we carried out the Five-Year Plan. As nickel was needed to make

acid-proof pipes for the building of a chemical factory, we asked a foreign country for it time and again. But they insisted on a transaction in gold. As a result, we began to prospect for nickel and discovered a large amount of nickel ore. If prospecting is conducted briskly we can locate other kinds of nonferrous minerals which our country still failed to.

Next, the production of magnesia clinker should be zealously encouraged.

We have to import crude oil every year. In order to pay for it, we should expand sources of foreign currency by developing machine-building and other industries, but it is more important to encourage the production of magnesia clinker the raw materials for which abound in our country and which we can sell in bulk.

If we solve the problem of improving its quality our magnesia clinker would be quickly bought at foreign markets. Our officials have tried to raise its quality for years but have so far failed to do so. If this problem is not settled despite their efforts, we should import a plant to effect this as soon as possible.

We should take steps to process black lead. Our country abounds in this and if it is processed finely it would be a great source of foreign currency.

Further, I will refer to iron production briefly.

Our important strategic policy for iron production is to develop the iron industry on the basis of domestic coal.

Developing industry by using our own raw materials and fuel is the policy our Party has consistently pursued in socialist economic construction. Our Party has long emphasized that any branch of industry should be at least 70 per cent reliant on local raw materials and fuels, and has advanced a clear-cut policy of increasing the independence of the iron industry in particular. Due to irresponsibility on the part of officials, however, the Party's policy has not yet been carried through. Some officials only give lip service to making this industry Juche-oriented, but, in fact, do not strive to turn out iron by using our own fuels, only relying on foreign coking coal.

No one should consider it inconceivable to smelt with our own fuels. Our country has no coking coal but instead is rich in anthracite and other high calorific coal. Vigorous research work will enable us to produce iron even by using our domestic coal. It is not a law that only coking coal be used in the production of iron.

From time immemorial our forefathers smelted iron to make pots to cook rice, braziers and various other ironware. At that time they never used coking coal to smelt iron in a blast furnace. Although they had neither blast furnace nor coking coal, they smelted iron using local fuels.

According to old people in Phungsan, Ryanggang Province, formerly Hong Pom Do and other men of the Righteous Volunteers' Army excavated iron ore in that area and smelted it to manufacture matchlocks and iron bullets by themselves and fought the Japanese invaders.

Of course, at that time there was neither coking coal nor blast furnace. The first blast furnace in our country was built 50 years ago at most. But our forefathers probably began to smelt iron several thousand years before.

The method of producing iron using coking coal spread across the world because in those countries having such coal capitalism developed and the Industrial Revolution was carried out earlier. If the feudal rulers in our country had not idled their time away but carried out an industrial revolution earlier, a modern iron-making method suited to our specific conditions would have been invented. Our country began to develop much earlier than Japan, and our culture infiltrated Japan. This notwithstanding, at the end of the Ri dynasty, the corrupt feudal rulers ruined the country. They loafed their time away, drinking wine, while Japan developed capitalist industry after the "Meiji Restoration". As a result, Korea lagged behind others in economic and technical progress and, in the long run, our country was seized by the Japanese imperialists.

However, now that the people have taken power and the firm economic foundations of the country have been laid, why cannot we

solve the matter of producing iron with our own fuels? The point is that senior economic officials and scientists do not work in a revolutionary way to carry through the Party's policy and that they neglect research instead of holding to a firm Juche stand but merely grope after alien experiments. Scientists do not try to discover new things by their own efforts but plagiarize research. In this way they can neither develop science and technology nor resolve sophisticated technical problems in economic construction. This does not mean that foreign books should not be read. Of course, you should read foreigners' books and learn from them. Nevertheless you should not imitate blindly what is alien from our specific features but learn what is suited to them and necessary for developing our national economy.

If we had not looked for foreign coking coal immediately after liberation but worked hard to produce iron using our coal, we would have innovated a suitable iron-making process. As we adopted the less difficult means of smelting iron with imported coking coal, we have so far failed to inaugurate the Juche-oriented iron-making method.

True, we may import or export raw materials to other countries on the principle of filling each other's needs. However, we should not depend entirely on other countries in raw materials for any industrial branch but import a limited amount, while relying mainly on ours. Only then can we continue to develop industry without great difficulty, even in the event of failing to import raw materials.

We must lay a solid foundation of the iron industry based on local fuels as soon as possible.

We should ensure that a number of medium-sized blast furnaces are built in line with our Party's policy to produce pig iron by using our own coal.

We stepped up the building of such blast furnaces from last autumn and have already completed four of them at the Hwanghae Iron Works and two at the Kim Chaek Iron Works. Our experience proves that these projects are not simple tasks. However difficult we should not give up the building of medium-sized blast furnaces. In the future, we should continue to accelerate these projects so that we can keep on

producing iron even when we run out of coking coal.

In addition, a granulated iron works should be built quickly in the western region.

Granulated iron can be produced by using anthracite and dust ore rich in our country, and the equipment for a granulated iron works be turned out by our own efforts. Speeding up the project for this works is of great significance not only in settling the pressing problem of iron production but also in increasing the independence of our metallurgical industry.

We should immediately start to draw up its blueprint and undertake the project of a granulated iron works with eight revolving furnaces, so as to complete it by next year. Then this works will be able to produce 250,000-300,000 tons of granulated iron. If a small amount of scrap iron is given, we can obtain 400,000 tons of steel.

It is desirable to set up this works near the Kangson Steel Plant. It is adjacent to the Kangso Coal Mine with a deposit of tens of millions of tons, and, at some distance, there are the Unryul, Jaeryong and Hasong Mines where large quantities of dust ore are available. This provides very favourable conditions for obtaining fuel and raw materials.

It will be a good idea that the works be so large as to immediately house eight revolving furnaces and 4-5 furnaces more in the future. Also, researchers should be mobilized to zealously study how to introduce the continuous-steel-making method.

Since granulated iron cannot be fed into the open-hearth furnace but to the electric furnace only, a handicap to the steel-making process is the consumption of much electricity. Nevertheless, since we have no coking coal, we must continue to develop the production of granulated iron.

While laying the foundation for producing iron with local fuels, we should strive to produce more pig iron by using the available coke.

To this end, those branches which use coke should be encouraged to rely on local fuels as much as possible, while coke should be exclusively used for iron production. The managers and chief secretaries of Party organizations of large factories and enterprises are

all present here. Upon returning home, you should discuss at length with Party members and workers the possibilities for using local coal instead of coke in your operations.

Iron works should redouble their efforts to lower the level of coke consumption.

They still consume too much coke. Since we import coking coal, we must, by all means, use less than other countries. Nevertheless, in our iron works the standard of coke consumption per ton of pig iron is rather higher than foreign countries.

For a reduced consumption of coke, iron works should be supplied with high-quality iron ore. People in the mining industry this year have resolved to excavate far more iron ore than that scheduled in the state plan. It is, of course, very good. What is more important, however, is that the required quality of iron ore is ensured. However much iron ore may be excavated, it is of no use if its quality is low. Iron works should dress the iron ore provided before smelting it. If you cannot screen it with machines at the sifting plant, you should do this even by hand, so as to feed high-quality iron ore to the blast furnaces without fail. This is a means to producing more and better iron, while consuming little coke. This is a matter which senior officials can solve only by keeping the masses ready for action and efficiently organizing operations.

The Kim Chaek Iron Works which does not deal with lump ore should increase the production capacity of its sintering shop and improve the quality of sintered ore so as to consume a small quantity of coke.

While striving to economize in coke, strenuous efforts should be made to increase the mixture ratio of domestic coal in the production of coke. Coal mines should send a large amount of high-quality coal, which is poor in ash content and high in calories, to iron works to increase its mixture ratio in the production of coke.

We have so far imported gas coal but in the future we should use domestic coal instead. Our country has various kinds of high calorific coal. If heating furnaces and generators are redesigned on the basis of

the properties of these types of coal, it will be possible to feed local coal into these installations. I was told that the Songjin Steel Plant converted all its heating furnaces so as to use domestic coal. It is somewhat belated but a good thing all the same. Other plants should follow its example and redesign their heating furnaces and generators so as to use our own coal. In this way, imported gas coal must be substituted exclusively by domestic coal.

We should make great efforts in steel production.

At present pig iron is in very short supply. Therefore, it is a very urgent task in ensuring steel production to economize in the use of pig iron to the maximum.

Machine-building factories should take the lead in this endeavour. They are wasting a large amount of precious pig iron now. They use too much molten iron even to cast tiny parts, only to waste most of it. From now on, effective political work should be conducted among machine builders so that such a practice is discontinued.

We must wage a zealous mass drive to collect scrap iron. If we collect a great quantity of scrap iron we can produce a lot of steel, without using much pig iron. This drive cannot be successful if we confine it to the workers in the metallurgical industry. Machine factories and all other factories and enterprises must press chips and not discard but collect every piece of scrap iron and send these to the foundries. We must enlist in the scrap-iron collecting drive not only the manpower at the factories and enterprises but also the men of the People's Army, public security personnel, Women's Union members and, if need be, everyone else. The Party organizations at all levels must organize this drive so as to collect more than one million tons of scrap iron across the nation to help to produce steel.

We are presently confronted with a militant task of developing the machine-building industry to a higher level; this was stressed at the national meeting of machine-industry workers held last year and spelt out in the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic.

The machine-building industry must concentrate, above all, on the

production of heavy trucks, excavators, tractors and ships and other heavy machinery and equipment.

We need large quantities of a wide range of heavy machines and equipment to reclaim tideland, open iron and ore mines and conquer the sea. The demands for such machines and equipment are greater than ever before.

The demand for heavy trucks, for instance, is very great. We must put the production of ten-ton trucks on a regular basis as quickly as possible and increase their production capacity.

We must build up the production centres of highly precise and efficient machines, in addition to heavy machines.

Yesterday I saw the lathe “Kusong-3” made by the Kusong Machine-Tool Factory, which has a very high precision and speed. At present we export 2,000 machine tools of this kind every year, which are in great demand by the foreign market. In the future, we must work harder to produce highly efficient and precise machine tools in larger quantities so as to sell them to other countries and send more of them to our factories.

The machine-building industry must gradually switch over to the production of complete sets of factory equipment, while developing the production of heavy and precision machines. We must manufacture, first, equipment for granulated iron works and cement factories on our own and, on the basis of this experience, produce the complete range of equipment for other factories. Our country produces great quantities of steel and a firm infrastructure for the machine-building industry exists. Why, then, should we buy machines and equipment from other countries with foreign currency? The machine-building industry should buckle down to produce complete sets of factory equipment. Thus we will be able to raise our machine-building industry to a higher level in the near future.

We should work hard to economize in steel in the machine-building industry.

Machines manufactured by some factories at present are unwieldy and unattractive because of shortcomings in their design. We also

waste a great deal of steel in the process of their production. We do not apply press and stamp-forging methods and as a result, in many instances we cut away far too much steel. We do not use drawn steel pipe but bore steel bar when steel pipe is needed. This results in the wastage of great quantities of steel. It is said that as much as 300 kg of a 500 kg material is expended in processing a crankshaft. This means that more than half the amount of steel is wasted. Nevertheless, we throw away even such chips, instead of thinking of recasting them.

None of us are grieved over such reckless waste of steel which workers toiled to produce. This is an expression of our officials' lack of the Party spirit, the working-class spirit and the popular spirit.

Of course, such waste is not confined to the machine-building industry alone. This practice is to be found in the chemical and textile industries and all other branches of the national economy. In the past we even opened an anti-waste exhibition aimed at eradicating waste and severely criticized such practices. But our officials are not yet awakened and wastage continues as ever.

If we work in this way we cannot improve our people's living standards. In fact, if we eradicate wasteful practices we will enable people to live much better. You must remember clearly that currently it is not because of any weakness in the foundations of industry nor due to any heavy military burdens that the people's living standards do not rise but as a consequence of prodigious waste. Of course, it is a fact that we shoulder heavy military burdens. Once we reunify the country, reduce the size of the army and moderate our military expenses, our people will come to enjoy an even higher standard of living than at present. But this is not the issue. If our officials run our economy well and eradicate wasteful practices, we will be able to improve the people's living conditions beyond what they are at present, while increasing our defence capability and carrying out many projects for extended reproduction.

All sectors of the national economy should intensify the struggle against waste and the machine-building industry must come to the fore.

There are now many machine factories in our country and the machine-building industry uses most of the locally produced steel. Therefore, if we economize in steel in the machine-building industry we will be able to use the steel saved to build more houses, produce more everyday necessities for the people and manufacture many more trucks and tractors. If we economize on the steel we do at present waste, and sell it, we can gain a large sum of foreign currency; if we manufacture machines with this for export we can earn much more.

The Minister of Machine Industry No. 1 said that they would save 13,000 tons of pig iron and 33,000 tons of rolled steel in his industrial sector this year. This estimate to me seems too low. There are a great deal of reserves yet to be tapped in this sector. No one knows exactly how much iron and steel are currently wasted in this sector. Officials of the machine-building industry must again study this matter in depth and tap even more reserves.

If we enlist Party members and working people in studying this matter carefully and take necessary measures, we will be able to find out much more to be saved.

All the credit for the great potential for increased production, recently discovered in the machine-building industry, is due to the workers. At a time when workers are zealous to explore the potentialities for increased production in response to the Party's appeal, senior officials must not be conservative and passive.

The machine-building industry should not be satisfied with what it has so far explored but work harder to eliminate the waste of steel and economize on it. Thus it must aim to make two machines with the steel needed for one and three or four machines with the steel used for two. Through this struggle we must not only exploit the latent reserves for production but inculcate in the workers the virtue of valuing and handling carefully the people's wealth and of running the national economy well.

We should develop the cement industry so as to sell more cement to foreign countries.

If we have a surplus of cement we will be able to sell as much as we wish on foreign markets. If only we more than double our export of cement as against the present level we can solve a big problem; if we sell 3 million tons of cement in future we will be able to pay for our imported oil needs with the income from that sale alone.

We must pay for goods imported in large quantities like oil with the income from the sale of goods we can export in plenty. It is not wise to export textiles and canned fruits as we do now, to pay for such goods. We cannot in fact raise the people's living standards by doing so. Therefore, we must strive to develop industries like the cement industry which can carry out mass-production using our country's abundant natural resources. Cement is needed in large quantities not only for earning foreign currency but also for socialist economic construction. Cement is used for a good many purposes, including the building of factories, the paving of roads, the embankment of rivers, and needless to say in defence building.

Immense quantities of cement are needed in tideland reclamation. At present officials in this sector say that if we set up the tideland reclamation management bureau and laboratory they will reclaim 10,000 hectares of tideland a year and 100,000 hectares within 10 years. If we are to advance in this operation we need a lot of cement. We must develop the cement industry more rapidly by exploiting the immense limestone and anthracite deposits of our country.

The major potential for increasing cement production lies in the efficient utilization of the existing equipment. We can obtain great reserves only by improving the quality of firebricks as mentioned when we discussed the question of building-materials industry at the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee last year and as stressed in the report of the current meeting. It has been reported that the Sunghori Cement Factory improved the quality of firebricks to prolong the service life of the calcinators three times over, which is a great success. Other cement factories should follow suit.

While raising the utilization rate of the existing cement production equipment, we must significantly increase the cement production

capacity. We must manufacture cement production equipment at our own machine factories, and import some.

2) ON IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF CONSUMER GOODS AND EXPANDING THEIR RANGE AND INCREASING THE OUTPUT OF SEAFOOD RAPIDLY

The main task facing light industry is the improvement of the quality of products and the expansion of the range. Light industry should improve the quality of textiles, shoes and other consumer goods, and sharply increase the production of cloth, shoes and other goods for winter use.

Light industry should rapidly improve the quality of shoes.

We have worked hard for a long time to achieve this, but the results are not yet satisfactory.

At present, it is a more important task for workers in shoe factories to produce durable and attractive shoes rather than to put stress on greater quantity alone. If we continue to make low-quality shoes as we do now, we cannot satisfy the demand for shoes, even though we consume a large amount of raw materials. If we increase their durability to two months, not for one month, and to half a year or one year, not for two months, we will be able to meet the demand even though their output will be a little lower than at present.

Officials in this field still cannot explain why the quality of shoes has not improved. They should find out the cause as soon as possible. A large quantity of vinyl chloride is produced locally and rubber, which is imported, is supplied in sufficient quantities. This being the case, it is not due to a lack of the raw materials that we cannot make good-quality shoes.

In my opinion, an important means to raising the quality of shoes is to develop shoe factories on modern lines. I am informed that these factories at present have only chemical engineers and do not have

mechanical and electrical engineers. The Party Central Committee and the Cabinet should dispatch some of these engineers working in other branches to this sector and mobilize the workers of the Academy of Sciences to help to modernize these factories.

Now, close attention should be paid to developing local industry factories.

We should not make light of these factories. At present they occupy an important place in the production of consumer goods, and their significance will become greater in the event of an emergency. We must remember that one of the important factors in the accomplishment of the monetary target of the First Five-Year Plan in two years and six months was precisely the building of many local industry factories. These factories are still playing an important part in carrying on the Seven-Year Plan, too.

Our country has now more than 2,000 local industry factories. We are confronted with an important task of building up the existing factories so as to increase their output and improve the quality of their products. They still have very great potentials to augment their production. In many of these factories the level of mechanization is low and workers' technical skills are not high; as a result, they waste manpower and materials to a considerable extent and fail to raise the quality of their products. The production of consumer goods will be boosted still further, if the provincial, county committees and other local Party organizations pay closer attention to developing local industry and conduct effective organizational work so as to assist local factories in solving their difficult problems with raw materials and transport and modernization.

Big factories should launch a drive to develop local industry factories. In particular, active support should be given to those small plants where women work as Party secretaries or managers.

In equipping these factories machine plants and those with their own repair and power-supply shops should play an important role.

At this plenary meeting, most of the managers and Party secretaries of local factories have asked for lorries and machine tools. I think this is

the unanimous desire of all such factories. We must meet their requests, but the state is not in a position to comply with all of them. Needless to say, the state should supply them with lorries because these cannot be made everywhere. As regards machine tools, all plants which have repair and power-supply shops, let alone machine-building factories, are able to manufacture them. Therefore, if provincial and county Party committees organize the work properly, they can ensure that the machine tools requested are provided from within the local areas.

In future the machine factories and the repair and power-supply shops of large factories should initiate the let-one-machine-tool-make-another movement and send the machine tools produced to local industrial factories, thereby assisting these factories in meeting their repair and power-supply equipment needs and facilitating their modernization.

As the Party secretary of the Juul Flax Mill said, the mill has already manufactured over 120 machine tools with an insignificant belt lathe, by conducting the let-one-machine-tool-make-another movement. If all of the factories having machine tools follow the example of this mill and wage such a movement, they will be able to build up local industry factories admirably in a short space of time. In this way, the local factories should introduce mechanization and automation in their production processes zealously, and, in particular, mechanize all operations ranging from the first process to packing in the production of foodstuffs.

To proceed. Light-industry factories should reorganize the sub-factory system in a rational way.

Our Party organized this system with the important aim of making those factories which are relatively large and have firm technical foundations help local industrial plants which are small in scale and technically backward modernize in the shortest possible time.

Our experience demonstrates that the proper organization and management of the sub-factory system bring about a great vitality.

Prior to the nationwide introduction of this system, the Party saw to it that a branch-factory system was set up and operated, on a trial basis,

in which the Kusong Textile Mill was the mother factory, and the Sakju and Suphung Textile Mills were branch factories. The chief engineer and other technical personnel of the Kusong Textile Mill frequently visited branch factories to solve difficult problems and to give technical assistance. As a result, these factories advanced beyond recognition in a short space of time. The Sakju Textile Mill, once a tiny, insignificant factory, has developed into a fine mill specializing in the production of canvas for shoes. The Suphung Textile Mill was, at first, a small shop which was operated and managed by housewives, with a few weaving machines installed in a storehouse at the Suphung Power Station. The Kusong Textile Mill helped that shop very much—repairing its equipment in good time and replacing worn-out installations with new. Thus, this factory has now been able to weave high-quality textiles.

On the basis of such experience, the Party assigned a task to the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries to introduce the branch-factory system throughout the country. At that time we instructed officials of that ministry in detail that they should select some local factories which were suitable as mother plants and effectively develop them so that each could take charge of a few factories in its vicinity.

However, they handled this work haphazardly, without the due consideration. The result was that no improvement was made and, rather, much confusion was brought about in the guidance to local industry factories after the establishment of that system.

As the manager of the Kanggye Textile Mill said yesterday, the number of employees is small and most of them are women including its manager. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries has never developed this mill but assigned it the task of assisting the textile mills in Ussi, Kophung and Rangnim Counties. It was a mistake not to build up its mother plant first, and the branch-factory system was not rationally organized in terms of geographical feasibility. These three counties are all far from Kanggye and are also known to be remote, mountainous places even for Jagang Province. This being the

situation, how can the manager of the Kanggye Textile Mill tour all of these mills to help them?

If this ministry were to function well, it should naturally begin by developing the Kanggye Textile Mill, the mother factory, and if it were to give the mill the task of assisting branch factories, it should entrust it with those in adjacent Janggang and Sijung Counties. Textile mills in Usi and Kophung Counties should become branch factories of the Chosan Textile Mill, which is situated in the middle of these counties. To this end, the mill would have been developed into the mother factory. Under the present system, however, the Kanggye Textile Mill is assisting the Usi and Kophung Textile Mills adjacent to the Chosan Textile Mill which instead should be placed under the Manpho Textile Mill.

In addition to Sakju and Suphung branch mills which it first took charge of, the Kusong Textile Mill was entrusted with as many as 9 weaving mills in Kusong, Thaechon, Jongju, Taegwan, Tongchang, Chonma, Changsong, Chongsong and Pyoktong. The Hamhung Silk Mill was built to assist smaller mills in Hochon, Kwangchon, Ryongyang, Hongwon and Tanchon. The Anju Silk Mill would have to assist those in Mundok, Sunan, Sinanju as well as those in Sukchon and Phyongwon. Instead, the Pyongyang Textile Mill which has more than 100,000 spindles and a repair and power-supply shop, like a big machine factory, was made to come to the aid of a single branch factory.

These facts alone reveal how seriously officials of the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries have distorted the Party's intention of establishing a branch-factory system.

The Cabinet should abolish the existing branch-factory system so as to rationalize it, and reorganize it after scrutiny.

Next, the fishing industry should be further developed.

We have largely solved the questions of food, clothing and housing for the people, but have still failed to satisfy their desire for side dishes. We are not yet able to supply the people with an adequate amount of meat, fish, cooking oil and bean curd. If we solve these matters, we

will be able to improve the people's living standards and demonstrate more clearly the superiority of our socialist system.

The development of the fishing industry is of great importance in solving the question of non-staple foods for the people. We should catch more fish by developing deep-sea and inshore fisheries.

Under the pretext of developing deep-sea fishing, officials in this sector have now given up inshore fishing. Anchovy appeared in shoals in the West Sea of Korea last year but little was caught for lack of the appropriate nets.

If we are to increase our fish harvest we should continually assess the resources and unfold resolute fishing operations suited to them. Nevertheless, persisting in the practice of catching a large amount of yellow corvina, they had only prepared nets for this purpose and so could not land other fish. Yellow corvina have for a long time ceased to migrate here but officials in the fishing industry took no appropriate measures at all. This shows that they still lack in creative initiative, the Party spirit, the working-class spirit and the popular spirit.

They should actively encourage deep-sea and inshore fisheries in order to attain at all costs the goal of one million tons of seafood envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan.

In addition to harvesting great quantities of fish we should markedly improve their processing. To this end, many cold storages should be built. As we now manufacture seamless steel pipes and refrigerators in great numbers on our own, we will be able to set up as many cold storages as we want once we erect buildings to house them. If it proves difficult to erect buildings throughout the country, even caves should be used for this purpose.

3) ON INCREASING GRAIN OUTPUT AND DEVELOPING ANIMAL HUSBANDRY RAPIDLY

In the field of agriculture immense efforts should be made to increase grain production.

To this end, the seed problem should be resolved before anything else.

Heeding only some people, senior officials in this sector subjectively dictate to farmers to plant this or that crop without conducting any scientific analysis of its seeds. According to the recent investigation, officials of the Agricultural Commission instructed farmers throughout the country to grow “Hamnam No. 13” without exception, and so many of them have voiced their complaints over this. This variety has a merit—it does not lodge easily—but it sprouts a few leaves, its growth therefore varies from place to place. There is no reason for farmers to be glad for such a degree of coercion as to which crop to plant universally. A subjective method of working is doomed to failure. Needless to say, it is wrong to follow the opinions of conservative farmers, but it is also undesirable to work in a subjective way. One may advise farmers to plant some varieties of seeds but must not force them to do so. Agricultural officials should zealously carry out the experiments to obtain good seeds.

Farming should be done in a more scientific way. In particular, the problem of introducing microelement fertilizers should be solved as soon as possible.

This year the output of chemical fertilizer will reach 1.5 million tons. This being the case, it is an urgent task that the effective combination of nitrogenous, potash and phosphatic fertilizers be found and microelement fertilizers introduced. Nitrogenous fertilizer alone fails to produce the results desired. Nitrogenous fertilizer, however much is applied, is to no avail if potash, phosphatic and microelement fertilizers are not added. On the contrary, if only nitrogenous fertilizer is applied in large quantities, it will harm crops.

Some people allege that there is no need to apply potash fertilizer because our soil is rich in kalium; it is an erroneous belief. Of course, our soil may contain kalium. However much kalium it may have, it will contain even more when potash fertilizer is applied. Rice plants are apt to lodge in autumn because they lack microelements, phosphate and kalium. Nevertheless, officials of the Agricultural Commission are

delighted to see rice plants fall prostrate, saying that they are fully ripe. Such an allegation has no scientific basis. Assuming that rice plants are prostrate because they are fully ripe as these officials maintain, many plants rot. They dismiss this loss but think the prostrated plants to be fully ripe; it is lamentable.

We should wage an intense struggle so that senior officials in the agricultural sector thoroughly eradicate their subjectivism and do farming in a scientific way.

Bean should be cultivated in great quantities. Only then can the people be supplied with highly-protein side dishes.

We should produce 500,000 tons of bean under any circumstance. We may be somewhat hard put to produce this amount of bean this year, but we will never fail to do so in 1970.

I have been informed that boron microelement is particularly effective with bean. Since its resources are readily to be found, every step should be taken to make them available. Bean seeds should be improved, and prolific varieties should be imported, if necessary. Suitable plots should be selected to plant bean on the principle of determining the right crop for the right soil.

Vegetable production should be increased. To this end, it is important to choose suitable fields and to introduce an irrigation system.

All local areas should follow the example of the Hwanghae Iron Works. This works irrigates 100 hectares of vegetable fields on a high hill and gathers in 100 tons per hectare. As these fields are on a highland and are now irrigated, they are hardly affected by either rain or drought. Despite severe drought or heavy rains, this plant is supplying workers with vegetables regularly.

Much effort should be put into developing animal husbandry.

A major task in this sector is the production of 250,000-300,000 tons of meat and 600 million eggs in 1970. For this task to be successful, we should thoroughly implement the Party's policy of simultaneously encouraging livestock farming by state agro-stock farms, sideline livestock farming by state organs and enterprises, joint

livestock farming by cooperative farms and individual farmers' sideline livestock farming and of effectively combining collective and individual stock raising.

State-controlled livestock farms should be further developed ahead of any other operations.

According to the preliminary estimates, the General State Poultry Bureau under the Cabinet is to produce 22,000 tons of meat—10,000 tons of chicken, 7,000 tons of duck and 5,000 tons of rabbit—and 500 million eggs, and the General Bureau of Stock Farming under the Cabinet is to turn out 20,000 tons of meat. In my opinion, the former still has the potential to produce more.

The General Bureau of Stock Farming under the Cabinet maintains that it will establish a stock farm to produce 10,000 more tons of meat. There is no scientific calculation. Furthermore, officials in this sector made a bad showing in their work in the past, so we can hardly put our faith in them. They butchered the milch cows which had been bought with precious foreign currency before or made them perish, but now they ask for them to be imported again. We are reluctant to import them given the way the officials in this sector operate, but we have planned to buy 800 milch cows this year in order to provide the people with milk.

In fact, investments in the General State Poultry Bureau under the Cabinet are more reliable and effective than those in the General Bureau of Stock Farming under the Cabinet. Pig breeding necessitates nutritious feed and much more manpower. Raising chickens, however, will enable us to eat them after a shorter period and to raise many more chickens with less manpower as a result of mechanization. Not long ago I visited a chicken plant built up by the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and saw a breeder handling 15,000 to 20,000 chickens.

Therefore, in my opinion, it is better not to invest the money to produce 10,000 tons of meat in the General Bureau of Stock Farming under the Cabinet but to earmark that for the General State Poultry Bureau under the Cabinet, to build many more chicken plants.

The General Bureau of Fruit Farming under the Cabinet must produce 5,000 tons of meat.

In addition, all other state organs and enterprises in different branches of the national economy should increase the output of animal products while maintaining their sideline farming activities.

Some of senior officials at factories and enterprises think that supply service is satisfactory if big dining rooms are built and attractively decorated with tiles. They are greatly mistaken.

Of course, it is necessary to keep dining rooms clean. But, it is more important to build up supply bases for providing the working people with an adequate amount of side dishes.

Some of senior officials of factories and enterprises are at present affected a great deal by passivism and conservatism and lack the Party spirit, the working-class spirit and the popular spirit. Many of them are utterly ignorant of workers' housing conditions and what they eat. Last night, in the course of my discussions with chief secretaries of provincial Party committees, it transpired that many factory Party committee chief secretaries and managers did not know the number of workers' households as each of the factories was asked the quantity of animal products it could produce. If senior officials had been a bit concerned about the workers' lives, the situation would have been different. Responsibility for this state of affairs lies not only with factory Party committee chief secretaries and managers, but the deputy managers for supply service are particularly to blame.

Merely stressing the necessity of supply service at the plenary meeting, it seems to me, will solve nothing. It is advisable to state in the decision of the plenary meeting the meat production quota for each enterprise so as to supply every workers' household with one kilogramme of meat a month. Then they cannot but implement the task because it is a decision of the Party. If such an amount of meat is to be provided every month, 12 kilogrammes of meat are needed for each household a year. This is fully possible if senior officials begin this undertaking in earnest.

The present shortcomings in supply are not due to the unfavourable conditions. The point is that senior officials do not have the correct attitude towards this work and do not apply themselves.

The Hwanghae Iron Works has built up a dependable supply base. They are good at growing vegetables. In addition, they have built a cold storage with a capacity of 500 tons, a rice mill and a chicken plant. This plant was erected entirely by housewives. The project was initiated by the men but, because of the manpower shortage, housewives undertook the project and produced the slag bricks to complete it.

With its own dependable supply base, this works is relatively better in this respect than other factories. It provides fresh vegetables to its workers all the year round and milk to its smelters every day. The works began to produce eggs this spring, and as a result, every person could afford at least an egg a day, even if one were to discount those provided under labour protection.

The Komdok Mine has also developed a good supply base.

All factories and enterprises should emulate this valuable experience. They should therefore erect their own chicken plants and mobilize housewives to launch a drive for raising pigs, so that they alone can produce at least 50,000 tons of meat.

The key to success in achieving the targets for this year's animal products is to further develop the joint stockbreeding by cooperative farms and the sideline stockbreeding by individual farmers. A drive should be launched whereby 100 kilogrammes of meat a year is produced by every farm household. To this end, each household should raise one or two pigs. Our countryside will then be able to turn out 100,000 tons of meat in all.

Each workteam of cooperative farms should produce 2 tons of meat. This would represent 55,000 tons of meat for the whole country. I believe that this will be possible if you organize the operations well. In Changsong County where the soil is extremely poor each workteam produced 2.7 tons of meat on an average last year. Chief secretaries of county Party committees and chairmen of county cooperative farm management committees should take this undertaking upon

themselves and organize the operations efficiently so as to fulfil their quotas without fail.

This way we should set the target of producing 250,000-300,000 tons of meat and 600 million eggs throughout the country and strive for its achievement.

For the development of stockbreeding, we must prepare a sound base for feed production.

For many pigs to be raised nutritious and highly-productive fodder crops should be planted extensively. Each workteam of cooperative farms should launch a drive to cultivate one hectare of such crops, state organs and enterprises should also plant fodder crops putting aside some areas for vegetable cultivation.

What is significant in settling the fodder problem is to introduce two-cropping widely.

Our Party has long stressed the need to introduce the practice of farming two crops in a year. When criticized severely at a meeting the officials in this sector attempt this, but they quickly give up the task. If they work in this manner they will not be able to settle the fodder problem.

As our country is short in wasteland unlike other countries, we can hardly use a wide tract as pasture land. In the days of individual farming cattle could graze on ridges between paddy and dry fields because they were wide enough, but they cannot do so now as many of these ridges have been levelled in the course of land improvement over several years.

It is also difficult for our country to reclaim pastures on mountain sides. For this purpose trees would have to be cut; however, rivers would no doubt be silted up by landslides.

Therefore, the way of settling the fodder problem in our country is to increase grain yields as well as to introduce the practice of farming two crops.

In North and South Hwanghae Provinces, South Phyongan Province, Kangwon Province, the area south of Hamhung of South Hamgyong Province and other warm regions, they should settle the

feed problem by cultivating two crops. If we try hard enough we will be able to raise fodder crops in 50,000 hectares of paddies before bedding out rice seedlings there. This alone will enable us to gather in 1.5 million tons of green fodder crops

The Songsan Cooperative Farm, Pongsan County, North Hwanghae Province, is endeavouring to introduce double cropping over many paddy fields. Workers on the farm make furrows in autumn and plant barley widely as the fodder crop, immediately spring comes. Kangso County, South Phyongan Province, too, is applying the two-crop farming method. You must follow these fine examples.

If you are to raise a fodder crop on a large scale before rice cultivation, you should level paddies and plant good strains. Experience shows that barley, oat and wheat are best. I am informed that rye is frost-resistant and it would be a good idea to import its seeds and try to plant these.

When a fodder crop, the first crop in the paddy field, has grown to a certain extent, you should cut it and transplant rice seedlings in good time. Otherwise, it will hinder the grain output in its growth. In the past Onchon County tried to plant autumn barley before the rice crop. The result was excellent. This notwithstanding, the farmers persisted in using that barley not as feed but as food grain. As the request of the farmers could not be declined, we instructed the chairman of the county Party committee to mark off the field clearly. Some months later we visited that county to find the rice planted early already green, but the rice plants were still yellow in those paddies where they had been bedded out late because barley had been left to ripen. The harvests in autumn resulted in 4 tons per hectare in paddy fields planted early but only 3 tons where rice planting was late because of the ripening barley. In this field one ton of barley was harvested in spring; it means, in the final analysis, that one ton of rice was exchanged with one ton of barley.

As our farmers are still fairly conservative, they are reluctant to cut the wheat and barley which were planted for fodder crops when they grow well and begin to ripen. Therefore, farmers should be well

educated to resolutely cut those crops which were planted for fodder.

You can feed livestock with either dried crops or fresh ones, which were cut for fodder by farming two crops. Given the present circumstances, it seems to me that there is no need to dry these crops. A negligible amount of fodder crops will be available to be dried and fed, at a time when feed for pigs is in short supply and cattle are worn thin ploughing.

The practice of farming two crops should be introduced in dry fields as well. This matter has not yet been studied in depth; chief secretaries of provincial and county Party committees should therefore display their initiative. South Hwanghae Province, for instance, may cultivate maize as the first crop and sugar beet as an after-crop. Sugar beet will be a good feed, as it is sweet.

The General Bureau of Fruit Farming under the Cabinet should see to it that sweet potato or pumpkin be planted extensively so as to become self-sufficient in feed.

The introduction of mobile sheds as found in Changsong County, may be one of the means for resolving the feed problem.

The General Bureau of Stock Farming under the Cabinet at present plans to create a pasture in every valley for domestic animals. But it is hardly practicable. We have toured various places to choose good areas for pasture, but there are no areas at all suitable.

Therefore, it is advisable that every livestock-breeding sub-workteam should erect mobile sheds in hilly places as is the case in Changsong County. People there erect stockades along the boundaries of fields in order to assemble sheds there and to breed cattle. They provide the cattle with the best grasses cut nearby for fodder and bedding. After a certain interval these sheds are moved to other places. As they build sheds on each boundary of the field, the cattle are quickly fattened by the grasses and produce manure on the spot. As a result, they gather in a bumper harvest of maize every year even from previously barren land. Pyoktong County follows the example of Changsong County and raises large numbers of domestic animals.

Nevertheless, in Jagang Province, not far from there, no one emulates such an experience. It is not bad for other provinces to introduce tested practices. We should make effective use of valuable experiences and tap every potentiality to increase the output of animal products as soon as possible.

It is also important in developing animal husbandry to regularize the system of breeding.

In order to ensure many farrows you should choose sows of good strains and take proper care of them. The General Bureau of Stock Farming under the Cabinet should make greater efforts to assume responsibility for the breeding of stock and raise many pigs of good strains so as to distribute them throughout the counties, rather than try solely to increase pork production. If this bureau is occupied only in producing 10,000 tons more pork without setting the stockbreeding system on a sound footing, it may lose tens of thousands of tons of meat.

Counties should supply boars to cooperative farms which in turn should raise superior farrows in large numbers and distribute them among their members.

Scientific research should be zealously conducted in order to advance animal husbandry.

The main reason no notable improvement has been made in this field is that scientific research has not progressed.

Scientists in this field should conduct research more energetically so as to settle as early as possible different scientific and technical problems arising in advancing animal husbandry.

Sheds should be built with less funds but in accordance with the requirements of veterinary science so as to augment the output of animal products and reduce production costs. In particular, we are planning to raise chickens on a large scale in the near future; their coops should therefore be erected along such lines.

I saw electric shades to be used in a chicken plant; I think this device will surely help reduce the mortality rate of chicks. Such appliances should be widely made use of in future.

Workers in the General State Poultry Bureau under the Cabinet should strive to cut construction costs of chicken plants.

Only when their construction costs are reduced, can many chicken plants be built; this is the way to provide the people with chicken in larger quantities. The Party has stressed time and again the need of reducing the construction costs but no significant result has been made as yet. In future the officials concerned should redouble their efforts so as to effect this.

When chicken plants are to be built in local areas, weathered granite and other materials available there should be used extensively. As is the case with the chicken plant being built in Kusong, I think, it would be economical to build walls with weathered granite bricks, use pine, the bark of which has been eaten by caterpillars, as rafters and roof them with galvanized sheets.

In addition to chicken plants, rabbit farms should be established in large numbers.

Rabbits dislike heat and moisture very much. Therefore, rabbit farms should be set up in Junggang, Phungsan and other inland areas which have little rainfall and are far away from the sea.

While increasing the output of animal products, close attention should be paid to the improvement of their processing.

In the past, on many occasions, a large amount of meat which required great efforts to produce, putrefied, as a consequence of shortcomings in its processing. Officials in the foodstuff industry have only closed down many of butcheries and have not established new meat-processing installations.

We should arrange, at an early date, installations for processing animal products in different places. As almost all provinces have cold storage facilities at present, it is advisable for each of them to build a large slaughterhouse and for every county to erect a cold storage and a butchery.

Now that the Pukjung Machine Factory is manufacturing refrigerators, further efforts on your part for another year will enable you to install as many such processing facilities as you need.

As in the past when rice mills were being built in all local areas, a forceful campaign should be launched to construct animal-product processing plants. In this way we should ensure that 250,000-300,000 tons of meat is produced in the near future and that all should be consumed without the smallest amount being wasted.

4) ON MAKING INNOVATIONS IN CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

This year we must build a steel shop of the Kim Chaek Iron Works, an oil refinery with a capacity of 2 million tons, the Sodusu Power Station, the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant and many other factories, and must complete the projects of the Huichon Youth Electric Appliances Plant and other factories now under construction as soon as possible. If success in these massive projects is to be attained, the officials in the construction sector should be more active than those in other fields, but instead they are lazy; we have no idea as to what, in particular, they do.

No one seems to be a master in capital construction at present. Projects make little progress, and much manpower, materials and funds are being wasted.

There is still a great reserve of manpower in this field. The recent investigation of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant by the central authorities reveals that out of the 4,300 workers who are to be sent there, 1,300 are surplus to this project. If we had dispatched the workers as requested, we would have wasted as many as 1,300. I think that if we assess the manpower situation in other construction projects, we may find a great deal of extra manpower.

In the field of capital construction there is a considerable waste of not only manpower but also materials and funds. To begin with, funds for capital construction are miscalculated. Officials in this field do not think how much money they will save and how they could build more with the given funds, taking into account the lofty determination of workers.

Since they carry on construction haphazardly without any estimate, they are only wasting large quantities of materials and funds.

There is also much wastage in housing construction. Under the pretext of fulfilling the monetary target, builders glaze windows before plastering walls and so on or laying slabs of stone for heating rooms, with the result that windows are broken. Therefore, when people move into a new house windows have to be glazed again.

This is precisely the spirit in which many builders work. They seek reward by fulfilling their monetary target, quite indifferent to the nation's precious property being damaged. We must launch a resolute struggle against such retrogressive thinking.

Designers often draw up plans carelessly, resulting in continual building operations, to rectify defects, at an enormous cost to the state.

In capital construction they should, from now on, examine in detail how manpower, materials and funds are being used in the whole course from the design stage to building operations and set right any defects.

An ideological struggle should be resolutely waged among the workers in capital construction to get rid of idlers.

I call upon the Party organizations and their members and other workers in capital construction to bring about a great change in their operations, following this plenary meeting.

Our Party members and all the other working people have resolved to achieve the production targets set far higher than this year's national economic quotas in all fields. If this resolve remains abstract and is not carried into practice, it will be meaningless.

Today we are faced with an important task of efficiently organizing operations so that potentials discovered may be fully used to realize their resolve for increased production.

The State Planning Commission, ministries and regional planning commissions should hasten to coordinate the efforts of different branches, factories and enterprises.

In view of the increased production targets they are resolved to achieve now, it is expected this year to fulfil almost all major

objectives of the Seven-Year Plan, except for steel and cement. Therefore, it seems not so difficult to ensure coordination among different branches and factories. As the indices themselves envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan are those which have already been evenly allocated among the branches, the work of ensuring coordination will soon be brought to completion, if planning bodies and ministries operate efficiently.

Guidance officials should root out passivism and conservatism.

All the Party members and working people at present are endeavouring to speed up the building of socialism with a high degree of socialist patriotism and with intense hatred for the enemy. In hearty response to the decisions of the historic Party Conference, the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic and the Red Letter of the Party Central Committee addressed to all the Party members, they are working hard to ensure success in fulfilling this year's national economic plan in every field of socialist construction. Success in building socialism, therefore, depends wholly on the role the guidance personnel play.

However, they do not remain alert. Speeches made at this plenary meeting show that passivism and conservatism still persist in the minds of senior officials such as ministers, vice-ministers, management bureau chiefs, factory managers, chief engineers and Party committee chief secretaries. Some officials now tail after the masses and drag themselves along, alarmed by the ebullience of the masses.

Commanding personnel must not lag behind the masses but know how to organize and mobilize them for the implementation of revolutionary tasks. Many senior officials, however, do not forthrightly undertake and encourage the creative suggestions of the masses but rather they doubt their initiatives and fail to settle immediately those problems they raise. Such persons are not suited to be commanders.

Following this plenary meeting, all senior officials should thoroughly eradicate conservatism and passivism and show gallantry

and courage, so as to lead the masses and mobilize them. They should always consult them, actively support their initiatives and anticipate their difficulties.

In particular, the role of chief secretaries of factory or enterprise Party committees should be increased. They should skilfully stir Party organizations to action and intensify the lives of Party members so that each of them may direct the masses in implementing the national economic plan for this year.

At the same time, Party guidance should be intensified to make the working people's organizations heighten their role. Party organizations should not try to execute everything single-handed. They should encourage the League of Socialist Working Youth, trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People and the Women's Union to discharge their respective missions. Organizational and political work should be carried on more zealously to rouse the masses so that they complete their assigned tasks one by one.

Bureaucratism should be cleared off senior officials. This matter we have stressed at every meeting and is also emphasized in the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic.

However, it still lingers in the minds of senior officials. As criticized in the speeches yesterday, it is much in evidence particularly among those of the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries. The minister was so bureaucratic that, even though he visited the Sinuiju Shoe Factory quite often, he has so far been ignorant of the fact that there are no mechanics and electricians there.

Bureaucratism is clearly in evidence not only among cadres in light industry but in other fields as well. It is greatly in evidence among Party workers. Some Party workers, whenever the occasion arises, brand people as lacking in the Party spirit or threaten them with expulsion from the Party. This is an extremely dangerous practice likely to divorce the Party from the masses.

We have stressed for over 20 years the necessity of putting an end to the bureaucratic style of work; it is high time to deal a blow to it now. We must tenaciously fight to root out bureaucratism among

Party workers, administrative officials and senior economic officials.

2. ON MAKING GOOD POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PREPARATIONS TO COPE WITH WAR

It is of course important to make good material preparations to cope with a possible war. But material preparations alone are not enough; thorough political and ideological preparations must also be made.

We must further strengthen our revolutionary forces and fully prepare our Party members and working people politically and ideologically, by the effective political work, work with people. This is the most important factor in winning a war against the enemies. Good political and ideological preparations are also the means to rapidly promoting economic construction and ensuring better material preparations.

What is most important in political and ideological preparations to counter a war is that Party members and the working masses rally closely around our Party.

The basis of Party work is work with people; in this work you must employ the means of explanation and persuasion to re-educate and draw many more people to the side of the revolution. But our officials still lack experience of this work.

As I often say, revolution cannot be carried out single-handed. If we are to make revolution, we have to win over the masses and bring them into operations. Today when we are preparing to fight against the US imperialists, it becomes more urgent than ever before for us to win over even one more person and rally him around the Party.

The Party Conference put important stress on the question of revolutionizing the whole of society. This aims, after all, to re-educate

many more people to be revolutionaries and to strengthen our revolutionary forces. At the present moment, however, corrupt tendencies are being manifested by some officials: they misinterpret revolutionization and do not try to re-educate the masses but treat their problems by administrative means; and they cold-shoulder those who are determined to follow us and try to go together with us, instead of winning over even one more person to rally him around the Party.

This is partly because officials of the Party and working people's organizations are lacking in practical experience, but chiefly because they have no clear idea of class struggle, in particular, of this struggle in a socialist society. In other words, the reason is that our officials are not well informed politically and theoretically.

It goes without saying that class struggle has to be continued in a socialist society. Revisionists and others who are unwilling to carry on revolution deny the necessity of the class struggle in a socialist society.

As socialist construction advances further, the proletarian dictatorship should be strengthened, not weakened, and the class struggle, too, should be intensified. However, this struggle in a socialist society differs in form and method from that in the previous society.

How, then, should the class struggle in a socialist society be conducted?

We can say that this is conducted chiefly in two forms.

One is an ideological struggle against bourgeois ideology and feudalism which still have some sway over the minds of people. The ideological struggle in a socialist society means, in other words, re-education of people along communist lines. The other is the dictatorship of the working class which is enforced against the propagandists and inspirers of the bourgeois system in opposition to the socialist system and against those who try to overthrow the socialist system and restore capitalism. The main form of class struggle in a socialist society is an ideological struggle, that is, the effort of revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society. We must exercise rigorous dictatorship against those who oppose the socialist

system and attempt to overthrow it, but we must make all the others supporters of the revolution, by revolutionizing and working-classizing them through ideological education.

At present some officials have a tendency to shun those intellectuals who are from the formerly rich families, saying that they are all bad. They are mistaken.

Originally, our Party was formed with advanced elements from among the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. When the Communist Party merged with the New Democratic Party we admitted the intellectuals who had joined our ranks with a determination to serve the people, the Party and the revolution, even though they had worked for the Japanese imperialists. Immediately after liberation they joined us in the struggle to establish a people's government, to eradicate the vestiges of outdated ideologies of the Japanese imperialists and to oppose their remnant forces, and to carry through the agrarian reform and the nationalization of industry. In particular, they participated in the three-year-long fierce Fatherland Liberation War against US imperialism. They later took part in the work of forming agricultural cooperatives and of transforming private trade and industry along socialist lines. They stand in the ranks of the revolution and are our comrades-in-arms who have joined in the revolutionary struggle. Many of these people are now working as cadres in important posts of the Party and the Government.

It is unreasonable to now mistrust or dispel from the revolutionary ranks those who have for a long time participated in the revolutionary struggle simply because they are from the formerly rich families.

It is another matter if there is a person among them who is opposed to us, and who maintains; "I have been with the revolution to this point but it seems to me that I have taken a wrong course and I shall not proceed to communism." But why should we reject people who are still giving us their active support and who are advancing with us to communism, who are defending the Party's policies and working hard to revolutionize themselves?

We have for a long time stressed the necessity of effectively

conducting the class struggle in the northern half of Korea. In order to make the officials grasp this easily we told them that they should punish only flagrant offenders. This means that they should exercise dictatorship against those who are now opposing our system and are trying to undermine it and those who propagate the capitalist system. Some officials, however, are trying to exclude even those who are willing to follow us and advance towards communism to the last moment together with us, simply because their social origins are complex.

This is a very harmful practice which may inflict grave damage on the development of our revolution.

We must always remember that south Korea is occupied by US imperialism and that we must help the people in south Korea complete the revolution there and reunify the country. Taking this into account we have to wage class struggle very skilfully.

For the national-liberation struggle to be fought and the democratic revolution to be carried out in south Korea, we ought to join hands even with the bourgeois nationalists and the democrats, not only the workers, peasants and intellectuals there. In other words, we must form a democratic national united front with broad sections of the people who are opposed to US imperialism.

Today university professors and intellectuals in south Korea are supporting us; they are imprisoned and sent to the scaffold for conducting the revolutionary struggle. What will happen if some of our Party officials reject them out of hand simply because they are the sons and daughters of the former well-to-do families?

I am told that many people from south Korea who visit Panmunjom ask our people how we estimate south Korean puppet government officials and journalists and how we intend to treat them in the future once the country is reunified. It is natural that they do so. Our officials must understand clearly that if they carry on the class struggle haphazardly in opposition to the Party's policy in the northern half of Korea, such people will join the ranks of the enemy, not the ranks of the revolution.

Winning over the masses is the key to victory in the revolution. Therefore, it is of great significance in ensuring final victory of our revolution that we have a correct understanding of class struggle in the north and direct its course.

We enforce dictatorship on those who are against us, and the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes in the northern half of Korea. Dictatorship is nothing unusual. It is to punish the wicked according to the crime they have committed against us.

As regards the sons and daughters and grandchildren of landlords and capitalists, we should lead them to support us at all times because they have been nursed and educated in our society. If they support and defend our system, that is as it should be.

However, we never mean that we might have an illusion about the hostile classes. We must remember that these classes may manifest their reactionary tendency at any time, and must always be vigilant. When they commit a crime, we must severely punish them. We ought, however, to educate and lead those who are not hostile to our system and strive to follow us.

We should be bold in conducting work among the masses. We should have faith in all the working masses, not only in Party members, and rally them closely behind the Party. This is precisely war preparation. In this way we must ensure that, even if the US imperialists attack us at any moment, no person will go over to them and that everyone will fight against them hand in hand with us.

With the 20th anniversary of our Republic as the impetus, I think it necessary to work harder to win over the masses.

We should confer the DPRK's 20th Anniversary Commemoration Order on those who have worked diligently and have not made serious mistakes since the foundation of the Republic, not to mention those who have served since the establishment of the North Korean People's Committee. We should exonerate those who committed not political but economic offences, errors in work practices or breaches of public order from their penalties. Even though it is a political error, you must inquire into the case and pardon the offenders if they did not oppose

the Party's monolithic ideology or the socialist system intentionally but erred in their speech which was not so grave when assessed from the class point of view. In this way many more people will be able to lead a happy life, a smile on their faces, under the system of our Republic.

Of course there may be a Right deviation in the course of implementing these measures. This will, however, be rectified when the Party Central Committee and provincial Party committees treat the matter correctly. You must not refrain from accomplishing a great deed for fear of such a deviation.

Basically, we have prepared a decision on enforcing those steps to be sent in the name of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee but it is advisable to issue it in the name of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee.

While working to win over even one more person, we must strengthen political and ideological education among the working people so that they have a correct view on war and confidence in victory.

At present the US imperialists are going downhill; they have entered the road to ruin. They have suffered a humiliating defeat in the Korean war, the first in their history, and they were dealt a hard blow in Cuba. At the present moment they are being maimed in Viet Nam.

The Yankees are nothing to be afraid of. The revisionists allege that, if the Yankees use nuclear weapons the whole world would perish. But this is not so. When the globe perishes the United States will perish and so will the US imperialists. They cannot use an atomic bomb at will. They could not use nuclear weapons in the Korean war and do not dare to use them in the Vietnam war even though they are being defeated. There is no need in the least to be afraid of the Yankees.

As long as the US imperialists occupy half of our country all of us, without exception, should resolve to fight with them some day in the future, and be totally prepared as regards ideology. How can we sit with folded arms when we fail to reunify the country half of which has

been usurped by the US imperialists?

When we fight the US imperialists depends on them. If the enemies unleash a war tomorrow we shall have to fight tomorrow and if they attack us the day after tomorrow we should fight them that day.

The Korean people's attitude towards war can never be the same as others'. Unlike other nations, we are faced with the national task of reunifying the country. Therefore, we must be ready for action against them at any time, unless of course the US imperialists withdraw from our territory of their own accord.

We should educate our Party members and working people properly so that they may have a correct attitude to war and a firm faith in defeating the US imperialists in battle.

At the moment, some people consider that no country, unless it is big, can beat down the US imperialists. They are quite wrong. Even small countries will be fully able to defeat US imperialism if they pool their strength. If small countries combine their efforts to dismember US imperialist animal in such a way that Viet Nam breaks one of its legs and Korea another, Cuba and Latin America tear one of its limbs and Africa another, the beast will bite the dust in the end. It is flunkeyism to believe that only big countries can fight and defeat the Americans and that no country, except big powers, can carry out the world revolution.

We by no means maintain, however, that we do not need aid from big countries. We value the friendly alliance with socialist countries and wish all these countries to fight against the US imperialists in a concerted effort.

The measures our Party took following the incident of the US imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo* are quite justifiable. It is right that our navy has seized the ship intruded into our inviolable territorial waters on an espionage mission.

We have not made a great demand on the US imperialists. If they apologize to us for their wrong doing we will send back the Americans. But if they do not we will never return them. Our Party's position on this issue is clear: if the US imperialists apologize to us for their acts of

aggression we will send back the crew of the *Pueblo* right now; otherwise we will not until they beg our pardon.

Should the US imperialists unleash a war on the basis of the *Pueblo* incident, we will honourably safeguard our nation's prestige by fighting against them. We have already declared, at the banquet given in honour of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army, that we will reciprocate the US imperialists' "retaliation" and return all-out war for all-out war. We will at all events maintain this stand.

We must have the correct attitude to war and a firm conviction in victory and must thoroughly implement the line of simultaneously building up our economy and national defences. Even though a war may break out tomorrow morning we will have to continue construction until tonight. There might be some people who wonder why we should continue to build even though a war might destroy everything. Nonetheless, we must go on with construction till the moment when a war breaks out. It is also fruitless to believe that everything may be destroyed by the war. We must not be preoccupied by destruction but must redouble our efforts to take steps to prevent it.

We must simultaneously advance our economic construction and defence building so as to develop our economy into a more sound independent national economy and make the national defences impregnable. In addition, we must conduct effective political work to win over many more people and rally them around the Party. In doing this we should make full preparations for a possible war in all spheres, political, economic and military. Then the enemies will never dare to attack us and, in the event that they do so, we will smash them at a stroke.

These are the matters I wanted to emphasize at this plenary meeting.

I firmly believe that you will conduct your work zealously according to the direction I have indicated so as to achieve signal successes in further strengthening our national defence capability to match the prevailing situation and in attaining the major goals of the Seven-Year Plan this year.

LET US FURTHER DEVELOP THE CHOLLIMA WORKTEAM MOVEMENT, A GREAT SPUR TO SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

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

May 11, 1968

Comrades,

At this meeting of the vanguard workers 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 vanguard workers 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, the vanguard 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 and defence construction as rapidly as possible. I ask you to convey my deep thanks to all the Chollima riders and our heroic working class.

I would like to use 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 Vanguard Workers in the Chollima Workteam Movement and at the Fourth Party Congress, I detailed 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, great strides have been made, and what amount to miracles have been achieved winning the admiration of people all over the world.

Had we not launched the Chollima Workteam Movement as zealously as we did, we could not have built Pyongyang, our magnificent democratic capital, or the 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 opportunities 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 manpower 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 people eligible for employment whose number is steadily growing as a result of the increase in population. Therefore, the fact that all these people in our country work means that our economic foundations have developed on a large scale and are rapidly expanding.

Our country inherited a very underdeveloped economy from the backward colonial, semi-feudal society which had not gone through the usual course of capitalist development. Worse still, everything in our country was reduced to ashes in the fierce three-long years of war unleashed by the US 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 expansion of heavy industry while developing light industry and agriculture simultaneously, and consistently promoted with the zeal 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 prosperity 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 word Chollima originally referred to the legendary winged stallion that could 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 winged stallion as is required by the law of socialist economic development.

Let us recall how the Chollima Workteam Movement started in our country, even though you may know all about it.

The circumstances of our revolution and construction at home and abroad were very difficult and complex when the Chollima Workteam Movement was launched.

Our Party and people had successfully carried out the Three-Year Plan for the 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 cave shelters because of the lack of houses.

Added to this, great-power chauvinists pressured us because 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 nucleus, and, on this basis, laying the foundations of an independent economy for the country as a whole, argued: "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 Nampho Glass Factory. "The Nampho 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 stood against the Party's policy with his sophisms.

That was not the only difficulty we faced. The US 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 time our Party was able to rely on no class other than the working class, the main force of our revolution and the steadfast defender of the Party.

In that trying situation, too, our Party decided to go out 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 would not make a significant difference. So, we asked the senior officials of the Kangson Steel Plant if they could not raise the output to around 90,000 tons. Some of them shook their heads in doubt, saying it would be difficult. The workers of Kangson, however, decided to undertake the task 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.

It was at this very place, the Kangson Steel Plant, and in the course of the struggle to produce 120,000 tons of steel that Comrade Jin Ung Won put forward the 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 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 inaugural year in the history of the Chollima Workteam Movement.

The Chollima Movement is a movement for 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 an onward 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 reforming all people in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and to build socialism and communism rapidly by bringing all people to manifest mass heroism

In fact, it is possible for us to press forward at Chollima speed; and far from being negative, 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 rather than submissively maintaining it and to increase it eightfold through continual innovation and uninterrupted advance!

Let us examine the example of one individual.

As Comrade Ri Hwa Sun mentioned in her speech, she has become a multi-loom operator at the height 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 Ri Hwa Sun, it would be a good state of affairs 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 quota which was two times greater than last year's. The more platoons we have like these, the faster will our economy develop and the more prosperous will the people become. And as our country grows in strength, the US imperialists and their lackeys Park Chung Hee, the landlords and capitalists of south Korea will have greater cause to fear us. Therefore, such progress is far from negative.

Yet villains tainted 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 phrase "match for a hundred" is that a man is so strong as to be able to cope with a hundred opponents. From ancient times this phrase has been used in our country when 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 elements 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 urged them to moderate their efforts instead of working hard to raise production; and then he arbitrarily reduced their production quota of ore set by the Party by 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, heeded their casuistry rather than our counsel, 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 never openly declare themselves because they are afraid; they sneak around only in the dark and work mischievously like mice. Slinking about under cover, they did a lot of harm, opposing the Party slogan.

Such is the behaviour of lackeys 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 Park Chung Hee.

No one is justified in opposing 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 manifested in the people’s day-to-day struggle to speed up socialist construction.

We must not give up but advance with even greater resolution 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 resolutely with the revolutionary struggle and work of construction and further increase our rate of advance, not in the least overwhelmed by past successes. Our country is not yet reunified and the revolution is not complete. Under such conditions, we have to maintain our advance, spurring on the galloping Chollima.

What, then, is to be done to further the Chollima Workteam Movement in keeping with the prevailing conditions 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 waging 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 effect the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions is precisely the basic task of the Chollima Workteam Movement.

The ideological, technical and cultural revolutions are objective requirements of socialist and communist construction. For Chollima riders and all working people, it is the most honourable duty to fight selflessly for the 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, technical and cultural revolutions but also endeavour to convert all working people without exception into revolutionaries boundlessly loyal to the Party by conducting work with people correctly, to bring about collective innovations in the economic construction of socialism through an efficient management of equipment and materials, and to convert all people into educated and technically qualified men of a new, communist type through the effective use of literature.

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 possible effort to establish that system firmly among all the working masses.

If a person fails to arm himself firmly with the Party's monolithic ideology, he cannot discriminate 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 corrupt 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 corrupt 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 "Chollima"; "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 ample evidence 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 will be impossible to effectively combat any deleterious ideologies, including revisionism, “Left” adventurism, great-power chauvinism, flunkeyism towards great powers, dogmatism, capitalist ideology and feudal-Confucian ideas.

Vestiges of the old, exploiter society linger in the minds of our people to no small extent. 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 outdated ideologies.

We have a good example of this in some leaders in the economic field. Still captivated by flunkeyism towards great powers, they used to crane their necks in an attempt to see if there was anything worthwhile imitating in the industrial 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 outdated ideas, not arming himself with the Juche idea of the Party, it is inevitable that he should be susceptible to corrupt ideas infiltrating from outside. Only when we are well armed with our Party’s Juche idea—permeated with the revolutionary spirit of independence, self-support and self-defence—can we uproot the vestiges of outdated ideologies from our minds and prevent the influence of all kinds of corrupt alien ideas. This is an immutable truth confirmed through our experience in the revolutionary struggle.

In our future work with people, we should concentrate on establishing 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 in developing the Chollima Workteam Movement in depth.

Next in importance in our work among the masses is their education to zealously oppose individualism and selfishness and to 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 their trade union organizational life; members of the Union of Agricultural Working People, to their union's organizational life; members of the League of Socialist Working Youth, 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 assign tasks to every member and assess the results in time; and as soon as one task is fulfilled, another should be given. In this way, everybody should acclimatize in 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 corruption. Therefore, his errors must be corrected without fail by admonishing him ten times if one admonishment fails, and a hundred times if ten admonishments fail.

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 forthrightly advance the working-classization and revolutionization of the whole society by intensifying communist education as well as training 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 be revolutionized. 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 outdated ideologies 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. The vestiges of outdated ideologies have greater sway over their minds than over 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 sometimes made mistakes in his work. The platoon perseveringly set out to educate him 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 officials 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 clarified in my report 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 are willing 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 benefit of our people and the eternal prosperity of the country. Therefore, the Chollima workteams should operate this equipment meticulously 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, valuing equipment by taking excellent care of it. Good maintenance is essential in order to prevent problems, to continue working the machine at its full capacity and to prolong its years of service.

Careful work with equipment also entails being well versed in it and knowing how to operate 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 some time ago one of the pit managers there could not even properly handle 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 construction, operation 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 masses must always study 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 its production capacity from 60,000 tons to 450,000 tons, to the Anju Coal Mine workers who devised a drum coal cutter, thereby increasing production several times over and making their tasks less burdensome, 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 facilitated their tasks. Following these examples all the Chollima riders should be fired in their unceasing efforts for technical innovation and improved efficiency of equipment.

We are living in the age of the technical revolution. Therefore, we should constantly strive for technical innovation 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 firm. If all our Chollima riders and working people make that extra effort to advance 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 radically different from what it was ten years ago when the Chollima 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-level institutions. 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 innovation—assuming that all the working

people fully demonstrate their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, smash the mystification of technology by their 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 physique 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 more efficient, lighter and handier.

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 raw materials from exposure to rain or any other potential danger. However, many factories and enterprises have still not built storehouses and are losing precious materials through negligence. 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 irretrievably lost. As I also stressed at the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, there is still too much wastage. If we eliminate this problem alone, we would be enjoying a far better life.

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.

Next, we should make effective use of books.

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 great successes in the cultural revolution and have prepared conditions to advance it even further 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 them to study on their own. 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, the 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 officials 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 all the facilities for study. The point is that our officials 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 became illegible.

It is true that in general the quantity of books and newspapers still does not meet the demand. But there are enough of both at workplaces for all workers to study. As for newspapers alone, there are dozens of them including *Rodong Sinmun*, *Minju Josen*, the paper of the League of Socialist Working Youth, 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 the reading materials we already have.

At present our cadres go to the lower echelons to give guidance, but they do not ask whether officials go over newspapers regularly or inquire about the number of books they read—even though they check on everything else. In future they must not fail to find out the study programmes of senior officials and of working people. A campaign to develop better study habits and the reading of more books should be waged at every workplace, 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 towards 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 further developing the Chollima Workteam Movement.

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 put pressure on our Party. Today US imperialism is using the incident of the armed spy ship *Pueblo* as an occasion to intensify flagrant military provocations against the northern half of Korea 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 our 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 Factory valiantly responded last year to the Party Conference resolutions. 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 outdated and retrogressive 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.

At this moment some of our officials are afraid to boldly march forward in socialist construction precisely because they are affected by passivism and conservatism. We must launch a resolute ideological struggle against passivism, conservatism, mystification of technology and all other “spectres”.

We will be able to keep up the great revolutionary upsurge as well as advance socialist construction more dynamically if we wage a powerful battle against all practices that are outdated and unsafe—if we sweep away all “spectres”. Of course, we may encounter 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 pioneers, the 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 sectors 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 come to gallop 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, individual heroism is wrong. But mass heroism 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 mass 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 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 fraternal countries, in the spirit of internationalism, gave us arms, 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 the materials and equipment necessary to build up our national defence.

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

The Songhung miners have resolved to produce 2.3 times more ore this year than last, and the Komdok miners are also determined to more than double last year's output of nonferrous ore. This is a very good thing. The Songhung and Komdok Mines as well as all others should work hard 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 cable or various other items for military use. Therefore, we should mine as much copper as possible and use it now when it is needed instead of merely boasting about our rich deposits. We should extract a lot of copper ore and make copper wire, so that we

can lay electric cable 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. All the same, 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 achieve 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 zealously 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 well-cut 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 hectare.

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 major problem for us because we have irrigated hundreds of thousands of hectares of land. However, our early dry field crops may be damaged. Therefore, South Phyongan 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 efficiently produce non-staple foods as well as to stabilize grain production. All the cooperative 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 harvest and fish should be processed carefully to avoid the slightest possible spoilage.

Other important tasks are extending economization and the stockpiling of sufficient materials by 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 adults 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 misspent 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, major tasks facing us at present are 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 determinedly carry on the simultaneous tasks of socialist economic construction and defence building. If we increase the country's economic power and complete positive defence arrangements by achieving higher production and savings 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 revolutionary 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 Korea should be increased. We must strengthen the northern half in the political, economic and military spheres alike by maintaining the great upsurge, and thereby speeding up socialist construction, through the continued grand march in the spirit 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 Korea in all spheres. When the revolutionary forces in south Korea have developed to the extent 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 every 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 US imperialism in our country. When we captured the US imperialists' armed spy ship *Pueblo*, many countries including Viet Nam and Cuba and other fraternal parties issued statements of support. All this indicates that international solidarity with 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 ethnocentrism 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 US 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—US imperialism will ultimately be destroyed.

Small countries, too, are fully capable of beating US 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 at 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 Factory 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 finished by the workers of the Ryongsong Machine Factory with small machine tools.

One must not think that unless a country is big it cannot smash US 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 US 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 Korea by successful socialist construction, steadily increase the revolutionary forces in south Korea, unite with the revolutionary people of the world and enlist an increasing number of countries to struggle against US imperialism. This will lead us to win an easy victory over the Yankees and achieve the nationwide triumph of the Korean revolution.

Such are our tasks to prepare to meet the great event of the Korean

revolution, and our Party is steering all its activities now in this direction.

The Chollima riders are entrusted with a weighty and honourable task in preparing to greet the great revolutionary event. They should make new strides 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 spurring on the galloping Chollima. 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 broaden and develop the Chollima Workteam Movement.

**ON STRENGTHENING
THE DIRECTION OF THE PARTY
LIFE OF PARTY MEMBERS
AND THE CORRECT IMPLEMENTATION
OF 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 in all respects. Today I should like to highlight only those matters which should be the pivot of your work when you return to your provincial Party committees.

Some of you have experience of Party organizational work or of personnel administration and others do not. But there is no need to worry too much even if you are newcomers to Party organizational work or personnel administration. All that is required of you is that you should act in complete accordance with 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 cardinal principle in its activities; and if anything, the main emphasis should be placed on work with cadres.

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

The organizational department is responsible for the running of Party organizations and guides the organizational life of Party members.

In a general sense, the party is a political organization made up of large numbers of people who work towards 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 the organizational department which guides the conduct of Party members. That is why it can be considered a department with a mandate over Party life.

The organizational department can be likened to the human heart. Beating ceaselessly, the heart's function is to circulate 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 flowing smoothly to all parts of his body. In the same way, individual Party organizations can function properly and the Party as a whole can operate soundly only when the organizational department, which guides the Party members' conduct, functions well. 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 badly. After all, the proper functioning of Party organizations largely depends on whether the organizational department works well or not. Therefore,

we can say that the organizational department is the most important department in the Party.

What, then, should the organizational department do in order to spur Party organizations to activity and guide Party members in their conduct correctly?

First of all, it must exercise day-to-day supervision over the proper recruitment of members to Party organizations in line with Party Rules.

In addition, the organizational department must always guide and supervise Party organizations so that, through effective education and assignment of tasks, all Party members are roused to action. We do not admit working people to the Party merely to grant them membership of 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 determine whether Party organizations regularly assign Party members appropriate tasks, whether their assistance to the members after giving an assignment is effective so that the task can be well implemented, and whether they give new assignments when the previous ones have been completed. It should take note of 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 solve it speedily.

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 are properly discharged.

What, then, should the head of the organizational department do to assist his department in dealing with these problems in the right way?

First, the head of the organizational department should always participate in the 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 information, 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 mix with the masses or attend Party meetings, he cannot become well acquainted with the problems of the lower echelons; he risks falling into subjectivism. A party in power often becomes bureaucratic and suffers from subjectivism mainly because it does not listen to the voices of the masses and fails to become deeply involved with them, without 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 by eliciting the support of the masses in our activities. When a party has not yet come to power, peremptory dictation or command with no support from the masses will not work; neither can it rouse the broad masses to the revolutionary struggle. But when the party achieves power, some officials who are not fully equipped with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook more often than not make a show of party authority, regarding their office as something like a high government post of the old days, pay no attention to the opinions of the people and unilaterally impose their subjective will on them. If Party officials want to avoid bureaucratic and subjective errors in their work, they have no choice but to mix with the masses and listen to what they have to say.

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

masses and become fully aware of how the Party organizations are working and how the Party members are carrying on their organizational life. When they attend Party meetings, they can judge whether Party organizations are following Party Rules. In other words, they can obtain first-hand information about the Party organizations' correct handling of new Party members, the 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 creditably and who has not. Then, they can take appropriate measures in good time. Regular attendance at Party meetings will enable you to gain useful experience and practical lessons in the guidance of Party organizational life and to find out how best to conduct your work in the future. In particular, when you hear the detailed speeches made by Party members at a cell or committee meeting and then meet and talk with individual members, you can establish if the Party's policies are being correctly carried out or if there is any practice which runs counter to them. In the event that the Party's policies are not being carried out properly, you can find out why, thereby gaining a better understanding of the standards of each Party member and what he needs.

When the head of the organizational department has obtained this information, he must verify 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 practice. This work of verification should be done by the organizational department head's visiting other Party organizations himself or by assigning the task to instructors. If he sends instructors, he must give them explicit directions in the following manner: At a certain Party cell meeting, I found such and such faults. When you are on tour, attend Party cell meetings and talk to Party members, find out whether they face similar

problems. 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 such practices are widespread and not isolated, he should submit them in a report to the secretary in charge of organizational work or to the chief secretary. If necessary, he should raise the matter before the executive committee of the provincial Party committee.

At the present time, however, the heads of organizational departments just sit in their offices, summarizing the data gathered by instructors on their visits to the lower echelons, presenting them to their superiors, or writing up and sending circulars to the lower echelons. Instructors may have an imperfect understanding of the Party's intentions because they are less informed 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 on an objective analysis; something important may be omitted inadvertently and other minor points may be exaggerated. Organizational department heads cannot understand matters correctly in good time nor deal with them in a proper manner until they go and assess the lower echelons 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 assess the results of these assignments, and so on. The organizational department heads should attend these meetings and always scrupulously determine whether questions are raised in the proper manner and discussions follow the right course.

Organizational department heads should make it a rule to attend meetings of Party organizations and become involved in every aspect of the Party members' organizational life. They should know beforehand which Party cell will hold a meeting, when it will do so and what its agenda will be, include this meeting in their schedules and

attend the meeting. In future the organizational department heads of the provincial Party committees should do their office work in the mornings and attend Party organization meetings in the afternoons.

Second, the heads of organizational departments should always be prepared to 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 heads 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 consulting with officials who are engaged in Party work. Heads of the organizational departments of provincial Party committees should always meet Party cadres in accordance with a plan, even though this might prevent them to some extent from attending to other duties.

They should meet secretaries of primary Party committees and other Party workers and ask them in detail how they have organized their current work and what sort of work it is, how many Party members they have and what their preoccupations are, what assignments they have given to Party members and how they are fulfilled, what merits and drawbacks have come to light in the course of carrying out their revolutionary tasks and what suggestions they have in regard to their work. Then they should correct anything which has gone wrong and solve complicated problems.

If you meet one man today, another tomorrow and yet another the day after in this way, you will be able to get a good idea of their strengths and weaknesses and can rouse them all to greater participation. Only when primary Party committee or Party cell secretaries are stirred to perform expeditiously, will the organizations they lead become strong.

If, in the course of one week, one organizational department head attends six Party cell meetings and motivates these cells, and meets six primary Party committee or Party cell secretaries and spurs them on, the final result is that he will have increased his knowledge of and inspired 12 Party organizations. That is an important achievement. If he gets firsthand knowledge of 12 Party organizations, and manages to inspire them in one week, it will not be long before he acquires an understanding of the activities of the Party organizations in institutions, factories and enterprises at the county level, as well as those at the provincial level, and motivates them all to greater efforts.

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

In addition to meeting the secretaries of Party cells and primary Party committees, they should also meet senior officials of working people's organizations, such as the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth and Democratic Women's Union, assign distinct tasks and encourage them to work with greater energy along the lines required by the Party.

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

In the past, corrupt elements went about making mischief but they were not discovered. This was because the head and instructors of the organizational department seldom met 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 find out about the activities of Party organizations.

If the officials in the organizational department had always worked with Party members and cadres and educated them wisely in the Party's policies, the Party organizations could have immediately discerned whether an instruction, whoever may have given it and whatever kind it may have been, conformed with the Party's policies.

Moreover, whatever deceptions the corrupt elements may practise, the head and all other officials of this department will be able to bring

them to light immediately if they are all as active as they should be.

For example, in the course of assessing 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 learnt that a “model lecture” had been given on what was called the “ten-year perspective plan”. The deputy head of the organizational department also heard about this in the course of his discussions with the ri Party committee secretary of another ri. Instructors of the organizational department learnt the same thing while studying the activities of officials at other places. Bringing together all this information promptly enabled them to realize that something alien to our Party’s ideology was being imposed upon the lower echelons.

In the early days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, I was also in charge of a certain local Party committee for some time. In those days, too, we used to go and stay at Party cells, attending meetings and making personal contact with individual cadres to get to know them. At that time we had many cells under this committee. At times, 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 getting them to 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, the political instructor, the cadre in charge of the Party cell, platoon leaders, the instructor for youth affairs, and Party activists. After staying in a company a couple of days, and attending a cell meeting and talking to the men one by one, I was able to determine whether the company was carrying out its revolutionary tasks well, whether the mass line was being strictly observed and what the Party members were thinking.

It is imperative that organizational department heads visit the rank-and-file Party members, learn how 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 summoning them. It is not ordained that you have to go out to see them. When they are at no great distance you can visit them personally, but you may call in those Party officials who live far away.

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

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

Whom should the head of the personnel department meet?

Inasmuch as the personnel department deals with cadres who do not come under the organizational department, its head should meet all those cadres not covered by the organizational department head. In other words, the organizational department head should concern himself with Party workers, and the head of the personnel department, with 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 a matter of routine to meet people, all these officials 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 ability, attitudes and personal life.

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

Yet, some of our Party workers are not well informed about cadres in the lower echelons and do not have a detailed plan of the kind of education suited to each individual. This is because they have not rid

themselves of the bureaucratic work style invented by Ho Ka I in the past and concentrate on paper work in their offices.

It sometimes 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 the post simply acting on the opinions of people in the lower unit. Then, before long, we hear them suggest the man's removal from that post: "He lacks ability, he is unpopular with the masses, his family background is complex," and so on. If personnel affairs are so mismanaged that although lacking thorough acquaintance with individuals, people are promoted to a higher position one day and then removed the next, personnel administration cannot be efficient, and many people are without good cause made to feel apprehensive.

Promotion to a higher post, removal, recommendation, or punishment are not simple matters.

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

Once you have made a wrong decision, you may appoint an unsuitable man to a leading post, believing him to be good, or you may mistreat a good man, assuming him to be bad. Therefore, the head of the personnel department should never settle matters without personally interviewing the people in question.

Of the cadres under the authority of the provincial Party executive committee, those under the personnel department must number, 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 office work to do. He has to submit documents for endorsement to the secretary in charge of organizational affairs. He has to study the files on cadres to be presented to the provincial Party executive committee and 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 the personnel department finds it impossible to see all the cadres who come under his department, he may assign part of this task to the deputy head or to the instructors. They could each see all the cadres in two or three years even if they met them in rotation, so that cadres received by the department head this year are interviewed by the deputy head or instructors during the following year.

The personnel department should interview all the cadres under its jurisdiction at least once a year, even if this means that it is prevented from carrying out its other duties. For those whose ability is low, even two or three interviews a year could be arranged, and for other comrades, a minimum of one in order to establish how they are doing their work, whether they are studying regularly, what kind of books they read and whether they have been ideologically contaminated.

When a junior official is to be appointed a cadre or is to be transferred, or when there is reason 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 recommends that he be punished, the head of the personnel department should first have an instructor meet the man, and then, after studying the information furnished by the instructor, he should see him personally.

Thus, we must ensure that no matter is disposed of without the full knowledge of the head of the personnel department.

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

The personnel department head should adequately train all officials so that they become aware of the mechanisms and procedure for the appointment of cadres.

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 cause false impressions about the influence of individual cadres and bring about grave consequences which will weaken our Party's monolithic ideological system. In other words, deviations such as currying favour with individual ministers or vice-premiers may arise. When this situation gets worse, individual cadres will become arrogant and tend towards individual heroism; and they may eventually reach the extent of engaging in factional activities against the Party.

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

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

3. ON THE PROPER SELECTION AND APPOINTMENT OF CADRES

All manner of problems are solved by cadres. Therefore, the proper selection and appointment of cadres and the 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 their main attention to the proper selection and appointment of cadres.

To this end, they should get a thorough knowledge of a cadre's qualifications as prescribed by our Party and on this basis conduct appropriate personnel administration.

What, then, are our Party's criteria 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-minded response to the Party's call, meets the standards for selection as a cadre.

In general, these standards are 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 lead 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 suitably tempered in a blast furnace or a steel-making furnace; otherwise it very soon becomes unusable. Likewise, a man who has a good class background and who is 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 prove weak in the face of revolutionary trials.

The people who meet our Party's standards for cadres are the sons and daughters of those Party and government officials and military cadres who died heroically 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 should class origin 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 possess a 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 prolonged labour, i.e., those who know from bitter experience what a hard and impoverished life means, should be highly valued as candidates for

cadres. Comrades with no experience of hardship are weak in the face of difficulties and are liable to waver in times of 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 since devoted themselves to the revolutionary struggle. Cadres should also be selected from amongst 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 equivalent to long service in industry.

In particular, disabled soldiers should be regarded as worthy candidates for cadres. Many comrades among them who are ideologically sound should be selected and appointed as Party workers.

Among our disabled soldiers there are many good comrades in the provinces who are eligible for appointment as Party cadres, but neither provincial nor county Party organizations pay any attention to them. They have no reason to regard them as unsuitable 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 the training.

Some time ago we visited the Nampho Disabled Soldiers' Factory where we met a woman, a disabled soldier.

In the course of discharging her duty as a radio operator at the Supreme Headquarters and at the Front Headquarters during the Fatherland Liberation War, she was severely wounded during an enemy bombing attack and had to be demobilized. They told us that her husband, also a disabled soldier, died as a result of an illness a few years ago. In our estimation she is a very good comrade, but, until that time, the local Party organization had not provided her with any education. So we have made sure that she is 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 those who fell during the

Fatherland Liberation War or the subsequent revolutionary struggle and from families which had suffered from the enemy's atrocities, sons and daughters of former workers, farm hands and poor peasants, people exploited and steeled through labour, the demobilized and the disabled soldiers.

This does not mean, however, that all old-line intellectuals who currently are cadres, and their sons and daughters are to be suspended. Many of them, it is true, are the children of former landlords or capitalists and were prosperous. But after liberation, many joined us in the struggle to found the Party, establish the people's power and carry out the agrarian and all other democratic reforms. They participated with us in the three-year Fatherland Liberation War against the US 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 conditions.

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 US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique some time 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. As their parents have 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 treated in the future when the country is reunified.

We must conduct our activities with intellectuals sensibly and, particularly in view of the country's division, carry out these activities with great care and prudence.

It will have an adverse effect on the intellectuals in south Korea if we leave the old-line 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 factories of the comprador capitalists and pro-Japanese elements, and that they shared in the ordeals of the three-year war against the US 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. This, after all, can only entail a loss to our revolution.

My 40-odd years' experience in revolutionary struggles 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-line 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, have probably acquired the revolutionary world outlook.

Consideration should mainly be given to the way these intellectuals think today rather than to their former social background.

In personnel administration we should adhere to the basic standards of selection for cadres and draw a distinct class line; meanwhile, we should also show confidence in and advance hand in hand with the old-line intellectuals who have joined the revolution and want to follow us the whole way.

Another important rule in personnel administration is to study individual cases in detail so as to take into account the fact that everyone has come along a different path in his social and political life.

If we arbitrarily apply the same rule and pattern to everyone's problems, we shall not be able to reach correct conclusions. Perfect regulations for personnel administration would require a special provision for every individual member of the population, say, ten million of them. But this would be impossible.

We already have all the basic principles required for personnel

administration. We should examine each person's case according to these basic principles.

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

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

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

Neither should ex-prisoners of war be tarred with the same brush. Detailed inquiries should be made about the circumstances which brought them to the POW camp, their behaviour there and their conduct after returning home. We should deal with them on this basis.

Personnel management should not be done in a stereotyped manner. While strictly abiding by class principles, we should deal with people wisely, only after each individual case has been studied thoroughly, remembering that everyone has followed a different course in his social and political life.

In personnel management emphasis should always be placed on studying the person concerned. As regards his personal relations, it is important to consider who might have actually influenced him.

Suppose that an official's personal history records that his uncle was a landlord or a policeman. We should not just take this at face value: we should, rather, establish what influence he actually underwent; whether he lived with his uncle, for how many years he did so, and what kind of influence his uncle exerted.

The fact that his uncle was a landlord or a policeman would have

little effect on the man if he had no contact with him and was not under his influence. But it is another matter altogether if he was supported and influenced by his uncle while living in his house.

But some people worry unnecessarily that if they reveal the fact that one of their relatives was formerly a landlord or a policeman, they will not be admitted to the Party nor promoted as a cadre. So, when writing their personal histories, they deliberately omit this information. If they write the truth, this will not lead to any difficulties.

Although their documents say that their uncles were landlords or policemen, our examination of the officials shows—and this is revealed by a detailed investigation—that many of them suffered all kinds of ill-treatment and persecution 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 kind be a cadre?” Then they try to remove him.

This practice will alienate us from the masses and estrange those who want to advance 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 louse! 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 the nation’s liberation. Now, his personal record says that his father died a revolutionary and his uncle was a landlord. Anyone reading it may be surprised to learn that his uncle was a landlord. You should not be surprised by facts of this kind.

In order to know a cadre, you should not just rely on documents; you should make it a principle to assess the influences he has been under in the course of his life. Only then is it possible to determine whether he is truly trustworthy or not.

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

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 assessing a person, you should neither simply accept hearsay evidence that he is related to or is friendly with such-and-such a man and that so-and-so was a friend of his father's nor rely exclusively on such documents. You should delve deeply into the man's real life and closely investigate the influences he has undergone.

In selecting and appointing cadres you should take proper account of 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 MAKING CONTINUAL EFFORTS TO EDUCATE CADRES

After cadres have been properly selected and appointed, it is important to give them competent training and assistance.

However fully they satisfy the requirements for appointment as cadres, people may commit errors or be influenced by harmful 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 continual change 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 for a long time, so man is ruined, tainted with corrupting ideologies such as feudalism,

capitalism, revisionism and flunkeyism when left without training.

Therefore, after a cadre has been selected and promoted to a post, you must always show solicitude for him and take care of him so that he will not degenerate, and should continually educate him so as to prevent him from becoming corrupt.

If iron is burnished well, painted or plated meticulously, 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 for too long. It may have been treated once or twice, but it must still 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 reexamined some time after they have undergone one or two training courses. If a man is found to have committed errors, you should summon him for a discussion or personally visit him to help him.

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

In particular, the Party meeting, whether a cell meeting or a committee meeting, should always be an opportunity for ideological tempering, where you analyse everything by the yardstick of the Party's monolithic ideology in order to judge what has been done correctly and what has not and then to put matters right. Even a meeting designed to settle urgent problems should not become a meeting confined merely to discussion on technical and business aspects. It should primarily be directed at educating Party members.

Administrative as well as Party meetings should be conducted so that work accomplished can be examined from the perspective 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 which has been done.

In training cadres now, our Party workers often conduct collective education through meetings, short courses and so on, but they seldom employ various forms and methods of individual education including talks and personal assignments. In addition to discussions, a personal assignment is one of the best means of training officials.

If, for instance, a comrade does not study hard, you can select a book or a subject of study suited to his needs and instruct him to study it on his own and then report on it. This is one way to educate him.

Now, suppose another comrade has shown some shortcoming in his introduction of the Taean work system. In this case you can instruct him to study the superiority of the Taean work system and prepare a lecture about it. The information department should help him prepare the lecture correctly. In this way he will gain a clear understanding of the superiority of the Taean work system.

Making cadres write articles is another means of personal education.

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

In the past our Party workers used to appoint good comrades as cadres and give them no further training. The result was that some of them soon began to commit grave political and ideological errors and had to be removed from their posts.

The main feature of our work should be the progressive training of cadres, and we should not be guilty of unconditionally dismissing those who have made mistakes.

Upon the instructions of corrupt elements in senior positions some junior officials in the past behaved contrary to the monolithic ideology of our Party. They were not greatly to blame for this. Of course, because they were ideologically naive, they meekly accepted what the

corrupt elements foisted on them. Also, because of inadequate training by Party organizations, they failed to adhere strictly to Party principles. Party organizations did not train the officials well, and consequently, many of them were susceptible to harmful ideas; unable to discriminate between right and wrong, they eventually committed serious errors.

Therefore, it is always necessary in the case of those who have made a mistake to persuade them to repent of their own accord and to educate them in all respects so as to prevent their repetition of errors. In other words, emphasis ought to be placed on the method of ideological education to arm the officials with the monolithic ideology of our Party, and they should never be dismissed out of hand.

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

I am firmly convinced that you will not fail to live up to the expectations of the Party and justify the confidence it places in you, and will faithfully discharge your duties.

FOR BRINGING ABOUT RAPID PROGRESS IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Fishing
Workers in the Eastern Coastal District**

June 4-5, 1968

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Developing the fishing industry is of great importance in improving the diet of the working people, particularly in providing them with protein.

During the past few years, our Party has paid close attention to improving the supply of non-staple foodstuffs to the people, with the result that much success has been achieved in this regard. An adequate supply of vegetables is now available to us, and we are also able to obtain supplies of fruit, cooking oil and sugar.

But the problem of providing the working people with protein has not yet been solved satisfactorily. Whatever protein they get is obtained in small quantities from soya sauce, bean paste, and beans.

Of course, it is not so easy to provide the people with an adequate amount of protein. Foreign countries also suffer from a shortage of foodstuffs which contain a lot of protein, so it is difficult to import them even in exchange for gold. We must solve the problem of protein for the people by our own efforts, not by depending on foreign countries.

There may be different ways of solving this problem.

One of these is to increase the output of beans. If we cultivate beans successfully, we shall be able to produce 400,000 tons a year. If we just do this, we shall have a considerable quantity of beans from which to produce bean curd, even after distributing a sizable amount among the farmers and after supplying the soya sauce and bean paste factories with their needs. If we have 300,000 tons of beans to produce bean curd, we shall be able to supply each member of the urban population with 150 to 200 grammes of bean curd every day. We can achieve this task by working hard for a couple of years.

But crop cultivation is not always successful, and, unfortunately, there is only a small area of cultivated land in our country. It would be impossible, therefore, to provide the people with an adequate amount of protein if we were to depend only on the cultivation of beans.

Another way of solving the protein problem is to develop stock farming, but this is by no means easy. We have already directed great efforts to the development of stock farming, but it has not yet attained the standard required by the Party. That is why shops often run out of meat.

If we are to develop stock farming, we must, first of all, create stable fodder bases. But it is difficult to solve this problem at the moment in our country, which covers a small area and has a great deal of infertile land. But we must work hard to solve the feed problem so as to produce 250,000 to 300,000 tons of meat from next year onwards.

The most reasonable and quickest way of solving the problem of protein for the working people in our country is to catch larger quantities of fish.

Since the fishing industry plays a large part in improving the people's diet, our Party has always shown deep concern for its development. During the past few years in particular, it has taken a variety of important measures to increase the catching of fish and improve its processing.

Contrary to the Party's expectation, however, there has been little improvement in the work of the fishing industry, and the output of fish

has scarcely increased during the last few years.

This, of course, has something to do with the fact that some kinds of migratory fish, which were once landed in large quantities, have been rarely found in the East and West Seas during recent years. Before liberation, the East Sea teemed with shoals of migrating sardines every year, but now they do not come at all. Once mackerel were so abundant that we could hardly cope with them all. But they, too, had disappeared in about 1954. Until last year large shoals of anchovies visited our fishing grounds, but this year even these have decreased. Catches of indigenous fish have also diminished.

But we cannot say that this is the main reason for the failure to increase fish production in our country over the past few years. The problem is not the fact that fish have disappeared from our coastal waters but that our fishery workers neglect the study of the Party's policy and do not work to implement it in a revolutionary manner.

When the shoals of fish decreased in our coastal waters, the fishery officials should have investigated the reason and should then have taken appropriate measures at once. But they still do not fully understand the reason.

They are to blame for the failure to discover the reason, but it is even more serious that they make no attempt to go to the distant ocean which teems with fish.

A long time ago, the Party set out the clear policy of developing deep-sea fishing and combining it properly with inshore fishing, and it has always stressed the need to implement this policy.

I have heard that in the far-off seas there are plenty of delicious fish such as herring, turbot and saury, at present. So, if you send large fishing boats there, you will be able to catch all that you require. But the officials in charge of the fishing industry are not making any effort to build many more vessels nor are they working hard to earn foreign currency for themselves so as to be able to import ships.

They are not even efficient in inshore fishing. It is true that in the East Sea migratory fish shoals have dwindled. But fish like pollack still swarm in every year, and fairly large shoals of squid, sandfish and

saury visit the East Sea every year. But these are not caught competently.

Worse still, a large amount of the fish which are landed go bad because of inefficient processing.

Because no arrangements have been made for fish processing, there is a surplus of pollack in their season, but you cannot even see them when the season is over. And even in season they are hardly available to the people living in out-of-the-way places.

If we process pollack properly, they will be available for a long time after the season, and even the people living far away from the coast will be able to get a fair supply of them. But at the moment, the fish which have been landed at the cost of great effort are left to rot anywhere.

A small amount which is said to have been processed is of low quality. Let us take the salting of pollack as an example. If they are to be salted properly, wooden tubs and clean salt should be obtained in advance so as to preserve them as soon as they are landed. At the moment, however, no such preparations are made. When pollack are landed, they are thrown into concrete tanks at random, and mixed with salt which has been contaminated with brine, with the result that they are too bitter to eat.

Because the officials in charge of the fishing industry work carelessly like this, our people do not receive an adequate supply of fish, and even pickled shrimps, shellfish and planktonic shrimps, which our people have long enjoyed, often run out of stock in the shops. If we, living in a country bounded on three sides by the sea, fail to supply plenty of fish to the people, how can we say that we are working for the people?

It is not the case that the fishing industry fails to catch or process fish properly because it lacks the capability or the necessary facilities. In South Hamgyong Province alone, there are now 12 fishery stations, 42 fishermen's cooperatives, five shallow-sea culture enterprises, a fish cannery, four dockyards, a fishing equipment factory, a general machine factory and a tub factory, with 25,000 workers in all. These

are the resources of one province, and if we work on a national scale the fishing forces will, indeed, be enormous. The senior officials in charge of this sector with such tremendous forces ought to accept their responsibility for the failure to supply fish to the people properly.

The Party has criticized these officials, and given them training and a great deal of education in different ways in the past.

Nevertheless, they still lack enthusiasm and the sense of responsibility to feed the people better and they do not have enough revolutionary fighting spirit and stamina with which to carry out the revolutionary task given by the Party, by overcoming every difficulty.

The senior officials of the fishing industry are not giving proper education to the fishing workers, either. Some of these men are not yet working like masters, without completely getting rid of the outdated habit of leading a hand-to-mouth existence.

The failure to make progress in the work of the fishing industry over the past few years is, in short, due mainly to the fact that the senior officials of this sector are not revolutionized nor have they worked really hard to improve the living standard of the people, in response to the Party's policy.

The officials in charge of the fishing industry must correct these shortcomings quickly and bring about a radical change in the production of seafood so as to increase the supply of fish to the people.

This industry must try to reach the target of supplying 100 grammes of processed fish a day to each member of the population. Of course, it would be even better if 150 or 200 grammes of fish could be supplied daily to each of the working people. But it would be impossible to catch so much fish at present. A daily supply of 100 grammes of fish per head of the population is not sufficient, but people can get along with that much.

If we are to guarantee the supply of so much processed fish, we shall have to catch 800,000 tons. Shrimps, shellfish, oysters and planktonic shrimps contain a little protein, but these should not be included in the 800,000 tons.

We must reach this target as soon as possible by developing

deep-sea fishing and widely organizing medium and small-scale fishing and by making innovations in fish processing.

1. ON MAKING CHANGES IN DEEP-SEA FISHING

Since they are scarce in the coastal waters, we must boldly go to the deep-sea areas in order to obtain large quantities of fish.

There are no tasty fish now in the coastal waters except anchovy, trout and Atka fish, but the far-off ocean is said to teem with good fish. A vice-minister of the Ministry of Fisheries says that there herrings and other good fish can be caught in large quantities. This is very interesting.

The most important thing for the development of deep-sea fishing is to provide a large number of large vessels.

Because we have not many large vessels we waste precious time in sailing to and from the fishing grounds, losing the chance of catching good fish. We must import many large vessels, even if we have to pay for them in gold.

Our officials are reluctant to import vessels because of the strain on our foreign currency reserves. If they become mercenary, no one can eat fish. We must not be parsimonious with the money to buy ships. Investment in this industry may be more lucrative than that in stock farming. We must not hesitate to import large vessels like the *Paektusan*—not only factory ships but also refrigerator transports.

If we have about twenty vessels as large as the *Paektusan* and a dozen 2,000 to 3,000-ton refrigerator transports, we shall be able to organize two fishing fleets—one to operate in the Sea of Okhotsk and the other in the Bering Sea. But the acute foreign-currency situation does not permit us to buy so many ships right now. So, for the present, you must quickly take delivery of the *Kumgangsán* which we have bought. And, by 1970, you should import another large ship every year.

The fishing industry itself must try to earn foreign currency needed

to import ships, instead of turning to the state for all the money. I think it would be a good idea, in future, for the state to pay only the contract deposits and for the Ministry of Fisheries to pay for the ships by earning the money itself.

The fishing industry will be able to earn a large sum of foreign currency by organizing work efficiently. If you produce and export tinned crab meat, you will be able to earn 400,000 pounds a year. This amount is enough to buy a transport. If you produce a large amount of fish meal, and use part of it for stock farming and export the rest, you will also obtain a lot of foreign currency.

In fact, it is not too difficult for the fishing industry to earn 300,000 to 400,000 pounds a year. But the people of the fishing industry have made almost no effort to earn foreign currency by themselves to import ships, simply hoping that the state will purchase ships for them, although they have talked a great deal about the shortage of ships.

If they had organized this work efficiently after the importation of the *Paektusan*, they could have paid for the ship long ago.

The fishing industry must start making determined efforts to earn foreign currency before it is too late.

As well as importing ships, we must build many large vessels ourselves.

We must first build four to five 3,000-ton transports every year, as well as factory ships, general-purpose vessels, crab gill-netters and fast whalers. At present, dockyard workers want to build 3,000-ton vessels, but management workers, because of their timidity, are reluctant to do so. We must take the plunge and give the Nampho or the Chongjin Dockyard the task of building large vessels.

At the same time, we must build many 1,000-ton fishing boats capable of operating in the ocean deeps. Fishing workers say that 400-ton vessels are not suitable for deep-sea fishing, because they cannot carry with them sufficient amounts of water, vegetables, oil and similar things, nor can they withstand high seas. But a 1,000-ton vessel can carry sufficient supplies and can withstand the high waves fairly well. I was also told that it is fast.

From next year onwards, we must build twenty 1,000-ton vessels annually. To do this, we must manufacture 1,000-hp engines for these vessels ourselves.

A question which deserves special attention in shipbuilding is that all the necessary facilities should be provided for the convenience of the fishermen. We have already stressed this matter on many occasions since immediately after the ceasefire. But, more often than not, the fishermen face many handicaps during their life at sea because of the lack of facilities on board ship. From now on, we must provide new vessels with modern facilities so that the fishermen can not only wash their hands and faces, but also take a simple bath, cook meals by means of electricity and have a comfortable rest.

Large vessels should be built of steel. It would be still better, if even the small vessels were all built of steel. But we have not yet enough steel plate to do this. We have to produce more oil tanks and goods wagons and there are other great demands for steel plate. That is why we cannot afford to build all the small vessels with steel plate at present. For the next few years, vessels of 100 hp and larger should be built of steel, and smaller ones should be made of wood. But when we produce enough steel plate in the future, we must have all ships built of steel.

All the vessels which are to be built should be equipped with refrigerators so as to freeze the fish.

At present we are building refrigerator plants in many places. However good these plants, they would be useless if they were to be stocked with fish which had already rotted while aboard the vessels, and not with frozen fish. Canning also requires frozen fish. Last year tens of thousands of tons of anchovies were landed, but we were not able to produce canned anchovies because they were caught by vessels which had no freezing facilities.

In future, we must equip all new vessels with refrigerators lest the catch go bad. If possible, 400-hp trawlers should also be equipped with refrigerators. A 400-hp vessel can usually carry a load of 160 tons of fish, and even if it is equipped with a refrigerator it can carry a load of 100 tons without difficulty. Even if these ships have to carry smaller

loads, they should be equipped with refrigerators so as to prevent the fish from rotting. This would be an improvement.

In order to build more vessels in the future, we have to construct new shipyards.

At present, the Chongjin Dockyard is the major one on the eastern coast, and this alone is not enough to meet the demand for vessels. In future this shipyard must specialize in building 3,000 to 5,000-ton vessels as well as larger ones. A new shipyard should be constructed in Sinpho to build 1,000 and 400-ton vessels as well as smaller ones.

There is a general machine factory in Sinpho. In its large building there are a few machines which are making chains. The production of things like chains does not require such a large building. We must build a shipyard by using this building and the surrounding ground. Install machines and arrange a good plate-shaping shop in the existing building, and it will become a shipyard which is larger than the Nampho Dockyard. This will save investment and building time.

With a little more effort, you can easily build a dock here. There is a site which was formerly set for canal construction. If you dig a distance of about 1,000 metres to a certain depth, provide the two walls with stone-facing and build lockgates at both ends, this will make a good dock. Since the ground is sandy, a few excavators will do all the digging quickly. There will be no difficulty in stone-facing and in the construction of concrete lockgates, either. The state should supply the machinery and materials needed for the project to ensure that it is completed quickly.

Such a dock can be widely used in repairing vessels. If you flood the dock before mooring vessels, shut the lockgates and pump out the water, you can quite easily repair even large vessels. After repairing the vessels, you have only to flood the dock again and open the lockgates to let them float out.

The new shipyard to be built in Sinpho ought to come under the management of the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 rather than the Ministry of Fisheries. Only then will it be possible to speed up the construction of the shipyard and to give effective technical guidance to

the shipbuilding industry in the future. The Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 must concentrate its efforts on the construction of the shipyard so as to finish it quickly. And from next year on, this shipyard must specialize in building 1,000-ton vessels.

By importing ships and building vessels at home and repairing and maintaining the existing ones in good condition, we shall send a fleet of four to five 10,000-ton factory ships, a dozen 3,000 to 5,000-ton transports and 50 to 60 fishing boats at a time to the far-off seas in future. It is much better for a large number of people with scores of ships to conduct a campaign for many months in a warm season than for a small number of people with a few ships to fish little by little throughout the year. The remaining period can be devoted to ship repairing and to pollack fishing in coastal waters.

You have to catch a large amount of herring, turbot, saury, trout, yellowtail and other tasty fish from the far-off seas.

You say that you can catch 130,000 tons of herring if you work properly. This is very good. This amount is as good as 130,000 tons of pork. It is by no means an easy task to produce this amount of pork. Herring can be preserved in salt or refrigerated before eating. It is easy to preserve them because they do not rot quickly. So you must not extract oil from them nor turn them into meal but refrigerate or salt the whole catch on the spot. Herring oil can be used for no other purpose than making soap, and fish meal can be produced from other fish in whatever quantities we need.

If the senior officials of the fishing industry organize their work properly, a large number of whales can be caught on the high seas. Fishermen say that they frequently come across whales on their way to and from the distant fishing grounds or during fishing operations and that they cannot catch them because they have no harpoon guns. If the deep-sea fishing boats are equipped with these guns, they will be able to catch whales on their way to and from fishing and even during their gill-net operations. But now a few ships equipped with harpoon guns sail about inshore, so it is obvious that they cannot catch many whales. In future, we must engage in deep-sea whaling.

Next, we must take good care of deep-sea fishermen so that they will not suffer any discomfort.

Comrades who have come from deep-sea fishing say that they had experienced many difficulties in their living conditions. Although they work very hard on the far-off seas for some months in order to catch fish for their countrymen, they do not even have an adequate supply of water to wash their faces and they are not provided with vegetables, either. No newspapers, magazines, radio programmes or medicines are available to them.

In spite of this, the senior officials of the fishing industry show no concern for the living conditions of the fishermen. They sit at their desks, simply ordering the men to catch large amounts of fish.

If these officials and senior local Party and government workers show concern for the living conditions of the deep-sea fishermen and organize work properly, they will be fully able to tackle the problem of supplying them with vegetables, cooking oil and other non-staple foodstuffs and water. The neglect of the fishermen's living conditions so far is entirely due to our officials' lack of the Party spirit, working-class spirit and the spirit to serve the people.

The senior officials of the fishing industry and of the Party and government bodies on the eastern coast must take prompt measures to improve the living conditions of the deep-sea fishermen radically so that they will never suffer hardships for lack of water or fail to get supplies of vegetables, cooking oil and other non-staple foodstuffs in good time. Fruit should also be supplied. In future the fruit which is produced in the Sinpho area must not be shipped to other places but all of it must be supplied to the fishermen and to the fishery workers in this area.

An adequate amount of medicine must be supplied to the ships operating far from land so that the fishermen can receive prompt treatment when they fall ill.

You must pay great attention to the fishermen's study, their cultural life and their recreation and you must provide them with all the necessary facilities.

You must see that newspapers, magazines and books are regularly delivered to the deep-sea fishermen and that the Central Broadcasting Station broadcasts approximately three 30 minutes' programmes a day for them so as to facilitate their day-to-day study and keep them informed in good time of the news and the situation at home.

They should also be supplied with cinema projectors and films so that they can see motion pictures during breaks in operations.

It would be advisable to reorganize the system of work shifts to enable the fishermen to have a good rest.

Under the present circumstances, they have to work at sea for five to six months at a stretch before they come home. This exhausts them too much and is harmful to their health. In future, these fishermen must be allowed to return home after two months' work at sea and have a good rest for a month at home before they go out again.

If their work is organized rationally in this way, fishermen will enjoy a good rest and improve the utilization rate of ships to increase the catch.

Good dwelling houses must also be built for these men.

We have stressed the importance of this matter for a long time. But this problem has not yet been solved satisfactorily. So the men who work at sea, enduring hardships for months on end, are not provided with good facilities for relaxing when they return home. We must not treat the question of housing for the deep-sea fishermen in the same way that we do in the case of other workers. Away from home, they undergo greater hardships than anybody else, wrestling with the rough sea for months. So it is natural that they should be provided with better housing than others so that they can relax comfortably after their periods of work.

We must ensure that comfortable apartment houses are built in separate residential quarters for these fishermen in Sinpho and other home ports for deep-sea fishing.

Large numbers of trees should be planted around the houses so that the fishermen and their families can always enjoy fine scenery and fresh air.

2. ON THE EXTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL-SCALE FISHING AND SEAFOOD CULTURE

We must develop small-scale fishing extensively, along with deep-sea fishing. Deep-sea fishing alone is not enough to meet the people's need for fish. To meet this need, we must also fish inshore, using fyke nets, hooks and various other means to increase the catch.

The waters off the eastern and western coasts of our country are not only visited by migratory fish according to the season, but they abound in various kinds of indigenous fish, shellfish and seaweeds like *miyok* and kelp. These things can be easily caught or gathered by means of simple tackle, without taking the trouble of going far out to sea. So, if we organize small-scale fishing properly, we shall be able to increase the output of marine products considerably, and these will add greatly to the people's diet.

For a long time, our Party has shown deep concern about the development of small-scale fishing as a means of solving the problem of providing non-staple food for the people. Therefore, it has organized many fishermen's cooperatives in addition to the fishing enterprises on the east and west coasts and got them to carry out inshore fishing. It has also organized cooperatives which combine agriculture and fishing in coastal rural communities so as to get them to meet their own requirements for fish. These measures which have been taken by our Party were very logical. This is well illustrated by the example of the Unggi General Farm in North Hamgyong Province.

In accordance with the Party's policy on developing small-scale fishing, this farm organized a fishing station of its own which catches large quantities of fish for its workers by different methods throughout the year. At present, this farm not only meets its own demand for fish, but also supplies a sizable amount to the workers of the northern coalfield.

During this inspection, however, we have found that the Party's

policy for the development of small-scale fishing has not been implemented properly, and has, in fact, been almost abandoned in most of the districts over the past few years.

This is primarily because the senior officials in charge of the fishing industry have not worked properly. In past years these officials, preoccupied with deep-sea fishing, have ignored small-scale fishing and have shown no interest in it. They have not only neglected the organization of small-scale fishing within the scope of the fishing industry itself, but have even prevented farmers from catching fish. As a result, nearly all of the fishing workteams and sub-workteams which had already been set up in the coastal cooperative farms have been disbanded, and the farmers are not allowed to fish although they can easily do so. This is a great mistake. Why should we, who have access to so much of the sea, forbid the farmers to fish as they please?

Ten years ago our Party introduced the policy of getting the farmers in coastal areas to fish to meet their own needs by organizing cooperatives engaged in fishing and farming in these rural communities. Our Party has never withdrawn this policy nor is it necessary to do so. However, the senior officials in the fishing industry distorted the policy as they pleased, and thus made it impossible for the farmers living in coastal areas to fish. This is a very bad attitude to adopt towards the Party's policy and a dangerous act which may alienate the Party from the people.

The local Party organizations, including the provincial Party committees, are also to blame for the failure to carry out the Party's policy of developing small-scale fishing. The local Party organizations should have forcefully resisted the distortion of the Party's policy by the fishing industry officials. But these organizations did not combat this practice nor did they take the trouble of informing the Party Central Committee of it. That is why this situation has not been corrected for many years now.

We must launch a powerful ideological campaign amongst the fishery officials to correct this mistaken attitude towards the Party's policy and firmly establish the Party's monolithic ideological system

among them. In this way every fishery official will be urged to strive to carry out our Party's policy on developing small-scale fishing, with a clear understanding of this policy. Moreover, the local Party organizations must improve their direction and tighten their control of the work of the fishing industry.

For an extensive development of small-scale fishing in the future it is necessary to build up the existing fishermen's cooperatives and to provide them with sufficient facilities to increase their output.

At present, many fishermen's cooperatives have relatively solid material foundations but they cannot increase their output because of the manpower shortage. And some others cannot do so on account of the shortage of fishing equipment including boats and nets. From now on we must see that the situation at all fishermen's cooperatives is investigated and that those with smaller work forces in relation to their material foundations are given more work hands and those which are short of boats and other fishing equipment get adequate supplies.

At present, the development of fishermen's cooperatives is restricted by the fact that the size of a work force has been randomly set at 75 persons. This is unnecessary. We have never given such instructions. At the outset when organizing fishermen's cooperatives, we only said that since they were inefficient in management and lacking in experience, their size should not be too large—40 to 50 members or 70 to 100 at most—to suit their situation. Many things have changed since then. In the interim the fishermen's cooperatives have laid their material and technical foundations to a certain degree, increased their efficiency in management and acquired considerable experience. In this situation, they need not retain the limited numbers with which they started. In those cooperatives where all the necessary facilities are available, the size should be increased, say, to a force of 200 or 300 people as the circumstances warrant. These cooperatives should also be supplied with fishing equipment in order to increase their output.

In addition, the cooperative farms in the coastal areas should again be encouraged to organize workteams and sub-workteams for fishing purposes.

If these cooperative farms carry out fishing and seafood culture as they please, they will be able to provide an adequate amount of non-staple food for their members and also markedly increase their cash income.

As a comrade said in his speech a little while ago, the coastal cooperative farms find it easier and more lucrative to catch fish in large quantities by efficient small-scale fishing than to produce meat by livestock farming.

Suppose a cooperative farm member can angle for 20 kilogrammes of fish every day, this will amount to four tons a year on the basis that the sea is calm for 200 days. Four tons are not a small amount. Even at the lowest price estimate, it is of equal value to one ton of pork. So catching four tons of fish is as good as producing one ton of pork, and it will not be easy for a man to produce that much pork in a year.

If cooperative farms manage small-scale fishing properly, they will be able to improve crop farming and also develop livestock farming.

If they land fish from the sea and gather various kinds of seaweed in large quantities, they will obtain a great deal of good manure. This will markedly increase the per-hectare crop yields. Farmers say that if a starfish is applied to a maize plant, it thrives and bears two or three big cobs. If the water in which fish is washed is mixed with the feed for domestic animals, it will increase their appetite and promote their growth.

From now on, the cooperative farms in the coastal areas should make a good estimate of their manpower situation and then organize fishing workteams and sub-workteams to suit their specific conditions so as to increase the catch to the maximum. I think it would be a good idea to organize fishing sub-workteams in cooperative farms where the area of cultivated land per farmer is 0.7 hectare or more and to form fishing workteams where the per-farmer cultivated area is less than 0.7 hectare. It would also be a good idea to get the fishing workteams or sub-workteams to do farm work in the busy farming season, and to fish during a lull in farming as conditions warrant, rather than let them do only one kind of work all the year round. These teams should be staffed

with good people who have been carefully selected by the ri Party committees.

The cooperative farms in coastal areas have to make efficient preparations for small-scale fishing from the second half of this year so that they can start full-scale fishing from next spring.

In addition, the state establishments and enterprises located in coastal areas must take part in fishing as an additional task in order to supply fish to the workers.

They are now raising domestic animals in large numbers as an additional task, and this, of course, is a good thing. But their extra work need not be confined to stock farming. If each of the institutions and enterprises organizes a team of several people selected from among social security pensioners and infirm people, equips it with a few boats and fishing tackle, and gives it the task of fishing, it will be able to catch enough fish to supply the workers with a meal a day, although not enough for every meal. The state institutions and enterprises in coastal areas should organize fishing to the extent that they can solve the problem of non-staple food for the workers in their charge.

Subsidiary fishing by cooperative farms, state institutions and enterprises should, in any case, be organized on a small scale. In other words, they may fish by means of spears, rod and line, gill nets, fyke nets and even purse nets where a little large-scale fishing is possible, but not by trawl nets and the like.

Another thing to be careful about is to refrain from catching too young fish. In particular, the indigenous fish, like turbot, must not, on any account, be caught when they are too young. If you catch young fish indiscriminately, you will deplete the nation's resources of fish. So the local government bodies and land-management agencies must tighten their control of such practices so as to conserve and increase the nation's marine resources, while carrying on the campaign to increase the output of inshore fishing to the maximum.

Furthermore, we must see that boats capable of fishing in coastal waters are built by coordinated efforts of the fishermen's cooperatives and cooperative farms so as to develop small-scale fishing.

At present, most of the inshore-fishing boats look clumsy and misshapen and are unlike. This is because, in the past, boats were built at the discretion of each fishermen's cooperative, not by coordinated efforts. Such clumsy boats not only require the use of too much building material, but are very inconvenient to handle at sea.

In future, each province must have a separate shipyard and set up a system by which small boats are built uniformly on order from fishermen's cooperatives and cooperative farms. This will save a great deal of material, improve the quality of boats and make them of a uniform shape and size.

The new boats which are to be built should all be motorized.

Small boats can easily be motorized by using truck or tractor engines which are now mass-produced in our country. One type of engine should be used for these boats as far as possible. This will ensure an adequate supply of spare parts and facilitate the repair of faulty engines.

Hooks and nets and other items of fishing tackle, in addition to boats, should be mass-produced and supplied.

Fishing tackle for the fishermen's cooperatives and cooperative farms, as well as boats, should be manufactured to a uniform standard at a specialized factory established in a major fishing centre.

An important task in the manufacture of fishing tackle is to increase the variety and improve its quality. The size and shape of hooks should vary with the kinds of fish to be caught and their quality improved. Fish, no matter how many there may be, will not take bad hooks. The kinds of net are also varied, and these should be all made serviceable. Officials in charge of the fishing industry are now given to complaining about nets and they request nylon nets; they are mistaken. It is true that nylon nets are durable and good, but you can catch quantities of fish even by using cotton nets which are well made. The state will import more nylon nets, but fishing industry officials must ensure that even the conventional cotton nets are well woven and see that they are used widely, instead of waiting for nylon nets to be provided.

Next, a few words about the question of disposing of the fish caught by small-scale fishing.

In future, the fish caught by the state-run fishing stations should be supplied to the state institutions and enterprises under a supply plan, and the fish caught by the fishermen's cooperatives and cooperative farms should be allowed to be disposed of by them as they please. They can have their own shops at peasant markets and elsewhere for direct sale of their products or else they can deliver them to commercial agencies.

Fish must not be sold at arbitrarily set prices but only at the uniform prices set by the state.

In connection with the disposal of fish, there was a suggestion for providing the fishermen's cooperatives with trucks. It would be advisable to set up a truck depot in each district and to let it serve the fishermen's cooperatives, rather than put the trucks at the disposal of individual fishermen's cooperatives. If trucks are distributed among individual cooperatives, their utilization rate will not be increased, and, worse still, they will not be properly maintained. Many of the trucks which had already been allocated are now out of order because of careless handling and have been left unrepaired. In these circumstances, it would be better to put them under the unified management of depot, instead of distributing them, and let them carry loads for the fishermen's cooperatives on receiving requests by telephone from these cooperatives.

Next, a system of directing small-scale fishing should be efficiently introduced.

In future, the direction of small-scale fishing must be placed under the control of the local fishery direction section to be set up within the provincial people's committee. This section need not be established in all provinces, but only in North and South Hamgyong Provinces, Kangwon Province, and North and South Phyongan Provinces. South Hwanghae Province is a coastal province, but it is in the forward area, so it must not organize small-scale fishing by cooperative farms, institutions and enterprises. Even in Kangwon Province, small-scale

fishing should be organized in the area north of Wonsan.

The local fishery direction sections of the provincial people's committees should be staffed with experienced, sound people, transferred from the provincial fishery management sections which now exist under the Ministry of Fisheries. The question of the continued existence of the provincial fishery management sections needs a little further study. At present, these management sections are in charge of directing some of the fishing stations in their own provinces. If big fishing stations come directly under the control of the Ministry of Fisheries in the future, and if the small fishing stations and fishermen's cooperatives are all put under the local fishery direction sections of the provincial people's committees, I think that we can dispense with the provincial fishery management sections.

Now, I intend to speak about developing seafood culture.

For a long time, our Party has proposed the widespread organization of seafood culture as an important task of the fishing workers, and it is seven years since we stressed this matter at Sinpho. But seafood culture is still being undertaken in an unenterprising manner, using a very backward method.

The officials in charge of the fishing industry must organize seafood culture on a wide scale, radically improve the method, and ensure the extensive cultivation of *miyok* and kelp, sea cucumbers, shellfish, oysters, laver, and so on.

The Sinpho Seafood Culture Enterprise is now said to be cultivating kelp by nursing 100 strings of it per hectare of cultivating water to produce one to 1.3 tons from each string. If this is always the case, you cannot, of course, say that this is a small amount. If you harvest one ton from a string at a conservative estimate, it means 100 tons from a hectare. But if you cultivate the seafood by scientific methods, you will be able to greatly increase the yield of *miyok* or kelp from the same area.

The higher fishery school and many other schools in Sinpho, and the teachers and students must study and experiment on advanced ways of culture and publicize the results widely. The Academy of Sciences must also study seafood culture with a little more enthusiasm.

Just as the agricultural sector has succeeded in the introduction of growing rice seedlings in cold beds by conducting a great deal of research and by the expenditure of great effort, so the fishing industry will be able to initiate a great change in seafood culture if it studies this undertaking diligently.

Furthermore, seafood culture must be undertaken not only by specialized enterprises but also by the fishermen's cooperatives, by the coastal cooperative farms, by institutions and all other organizations which are capable of doing so—as a campaign involving all the people.

There are 66 coastal cooperative farms in South Hamgyong Province alone, and if each of them cultivates 10 hectares of *miyok* or kelp, the total output will be 66,000 tons. However, the seafood culture enterprises themselves are unsuccessful in this work and they are also preventing others from doing it. This is a serious mistake. The sea does not belong to the seafood culture enterprises, but to the whole nation; it is the property of the country. So everyone has the right to exploit the sea. Moreover, the sea can be made use of more rationally, and full scope can be given to the wisdom and creativity of the masses, when it is exploited widely by many people.

In future, all the fishing stations and coastal cooperative farms must be given the right to cultivate seafood as they please, and they should also be given definite production targets. It would be advisable for the spores to be grown by a seafood culture enterprise under a unified plan and distributed to the fishing stations and cooperative farms.

If the cooperative farms in coastal areas organize the cultivation of seafood properly, they will not only be able to solve the problem of non-staple food, but will markedly increase their cash income. At present, one kilogramme of dry *miyok* is said to be priced at 1.4 *won*, and this is a reasonable price. A hundred tons of it from one hectare weigh ten tons when dry, and this amount can earn 14,000 *won*. Therefore, if a cooperative farm cultivates approximately five hectares of *miyok*, it will easily be able to earn 50,000 to 60,000 *won*.

We must organize small-scale fishing and seafood culture widely as a mass campaign so as to carry out the Party's policy that the people in

coastal areas must exploit the sea and the people in mountain areas must exploit the mountains.

The Ministry of Fisheries must radically improve its direction of the seafood culture enterprises. It must give definite production quotas to these enterprises every year and give them effective technical guidance to ensure that they reach their production quotas without fail.

Seafood culture which is undertaken by fishermen's cooperatives and cooperative farms should be directed by the local fishery direction sections of the provincial people's committees. The State Planning Commission and the Materials Supply Commission must actively assist the local fishery direction sections so that they can give effective guidance to seafood culture in their provinces.

3. ON THE RADICAL IMPROVEMENT OF FISH PROCESSING

The rapid development of fish processing is one of the most important tasks which our Party has given the fishing industry. We have discussed the question of improving fish processing on many occasions at the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and at the plenary meetings of the Cabinet, and I have spoken about this scores of times. But there has been no noticeable improvement in fish processing.

We land hundreds of thousands of tons of fish every year, but not much of this actually reaches the people. The only reason for this is that much of the catch rots because of the inefficient organization of processing by fishing industry officials. What is the good of catching fish, no matter how many, if they are going to rot and be thrown away? It is a matter of great regret and a serious crime that the fish caught by fishermen at the cost of so much labour, braving the high waves and severe cold on the high seas, are left to rot and be thrown away, instead of being supplied to the people.

We must radically improve fish processing so that there will not be

any further instances of landed fish being left to rot and then discarded.

The processing of fish should be developed in such a way as to freeze, salt and can them in large quantities. I think it would be advisable to freeze some 400,000 tons, salt 100,000 to 150,000 tons and can 10,000 to 20,000 tons.

At present, we need some dried fish, but we need more fresh and salted fish. It is best to supply the people with an adequate amount of fresh fish. This is the way to prevent the waste of fish and the loss of protein. In future we are going to freeze as much fish as possible. At the moment, we catch approximately 40,000 tons of squid a year, and we should dry some 10,000 tons and freeze the rest.

Large quantities of canned fish must also be produced. When I was visiting Wonsan last year, I ate canned anchovy produced by People's Army soldiers and I found it delicious. If red pepper is placed between the layers of fish when canning, it will make a good subsidiary food. We are not yet producing tasty canned fish in large quantities.

If we are to do this, we shall have to mass-produce our own tin plate. If we have large quantities of tin plate, we shall be able to establish canneries in many parts of the country, and produce the necessary amounts of canned fish by carrying tin plate on board ships. Then, the people will receive an adequate amount of canned fish at a low price. If things go smoothly, it is likely that we shall be able to supply some 5,000 tons of tin plate from this year onwards. Five thousand tons of tin plate will be enough to can 15,000 tons of fish. In future, we should plan to produce 10,000 tons of canned fish and supply the tin plate required for the purpose.

Since we are unable to produce canned fish in large quantities immediately, we shall have to produce a large amount of bottled fish. This calls for the production of a large number of bottles, and so we must increase their production. In particular, the Ministry of Fisheries must make every effort to collect broken glass and recycle it to produce new bottles. If we do a good job, we shall be able to produce 4,200 tons of bottled fish a year from the bottling factories which have been established in Chongjin, Kim Chaek and Tanchon.

Large quantities of fish should also be salted.

Well-salted fish like anchovy is very palatable. At present, the army is good at dry-salting anchovies, but fishermen are not as good at this. Anchovies should not be stored in tanks, but have to be preserved in tubs aboard ship.

Pollack are also delicious if they are preserved in clean salt by putting them in tubs after cutting off the heads and tails. If you gut them and pickle their entrails and roe, these will be excellent items of subsidiary food. In addition, pollack liver and milt can be processed into valuable foodstuffs.

Good nutrients can be obtained from pollack liver. The Sinpho Cannery now extracts oil from the pollack liver and makes liver-oil sweets from it. This is a very good thing. Liver-oil sweets are good for both children and adults. It would be a good idea if, in future, the Sinpho Cannery were to increase production by establishing a separate workshop specializing in liver-oil sweets, and if this fact were to be publicized throughout the country to encourage other enterprises to produce large amounts of the sweets. In this way 6,000 tons of liver-oil sweets will be produced next year, and approximately 10,000 tons in 1970.

Large amounts of fish meal for domestic animals must be produced. If we are to raise a large number of chickens, we shall need a great deal of fish meal. If hens eat sufficient fish meal, they will produce large numbers of eggs. Fish heads must all be separated and processed into fish meal.

We must construct fish storage depots and various kinds of processing facilities at major fishing ports in order to improve fish processing.

Adequate storage depots at the fishing ports will enable the deep-sea fishing boats to unload quickly when they return to their home ports, and then go out fishing again. If ships have to move about from one place to another to unload fish because of the lack of storage facilities, they will waste a great deal of time and, what is even worse, the fish which have been caught by so much hard work might rot.

It would be ideal if we had refrigerated storages and fish meal factories and canneries at all our fishing ports, but this is impossible under the present circumstances. So only a few essential facilities must be constructed at the major fishing ports while effective use is made of the existing storage and processing facilities.

We must first construct simple processing sheds at the fishing ports where large quantities of pollack have to be processed.

In the old days, the Japanese imperialists forced the workers to gut pollack in the open no matter how cold the weather was, without paying any heed to their working conditions. But we must not do this. Moreover, a large number of women work at gutting pollack and, if they work outdoors in the cold, they may become ill. We must build processing sheds in the major pollack fishing ports so as to provide the workers with comfortable working conditions even in the depths of winter.

For the processing sheds it is enough to build a few long barrack-type structures capable of sheltering the workers from the wind. Half the space should be provided with heated floors where the people can work and rest. You should also provide running water inside the buildings and railways leading to the wharfs to bring the pollack to be processed immediately after unloading.

In addition to the processing sheds, you must build refrigerator plants at large fishing ports like Sinpho and Kim Chaek.

The fish caught in the open sea are now processed aboard ship before they are brought home, so they must be loaded into refrigerator plants. If this is not done, they may rot. Refrigerator plants will also provide cold storage for the pollack landed in winter so that they can be processed throughout the year. If pollack processing is continued, even in summer, you will not have to leave the processing sheds idle, and housewives will not have to waste their time in summer because they have nothing to do.

Many processing sheds have been built in Sinpho in accordance with the instructions we gave the town, but these are used for only a month or two in winter because the town has no refrigerator plants. In

summer these good processing sheds are left idle, and more than 2,000 housewives are allowed to waste their time because they have nothing to do.

No matter how hard-pressed we are for building materials, we must ensure that a 10,000-ton capacity refrigerator plant is built in Siphon as soon as possible. If it is impossible to provide the 10,000-ton capacity right now, you can create a capacity of 6,000 tons first, and then build up the remaining 4,000-ton capacity gradually.

We must also build a 5,000 to 6,000-ton capacity refrigerator plant in Kim Chaek, capable of storing the full catch carried by the *Paektusan*. Other construction projects for refrigerator plants now under way at small fishing ports will have to be postponed for a while.

If we build such large refrigerator plants in major fishing ports, we shall have no need to worry, even if we cannot process all the pollack during the winter. I was told that as many as 100,000 tons of pollack are landed at Siphon during winter at present. So how can we expect to process that amount during one month or two in winter? In future, part of the catch landed in winter should be frozen and supplied fresh, and part of it should be dried. The rest should be processed throughout the winter, and whatever has not been processed during this time must be kept in the refrigerator plant for further processing in summer. It would also be a good idea to put all the pollack into tubs and preserve them in salt, with the exception of the roe, entrails, liver and milt which should be frozen for processing in summer.

We must build many refrigerator plants, not only in fishing ports, but also in the major cities.

We have only built one refrigerator plant each in Pyongyang, Sinuiju and Sariwon. We must build others in Kanggye and Haeju and also in the districts with large industrial populations.

It seems unnecessary to build one in Hamhung at the present time because there is one at Soho Port near Hamhung. The capital construction plan must be checked on this score, and the construction of refrigerator plants should be accelerated.

If we are to provide fish processing, we shall have to build salt

stores and salt processing plants at fishing ports. Since we have no salt stores worth mentioning at the moment, we suffer from a shortage of salt in the high pollack season in winter. Even when we do have it, we have to leave it in piles covered with mats outdoors because of the lack of storage. This not only results in a great deal of waste, but makes it very dirty. In future, we must build salt stores at major fishing ports as well as salt processing plants which wash it clean to remove the brine and reduce it to powder.

At the same time, we must also prepare enough tubs to store processed fish. When you were told to process pollack in the past, you put them into concrete tanks carelessly and spoiled a large amount, but in future you must not repeat this practice. You must prepare tubs and preserve the fish cleanly in them.

The officials in charge of the fishing industry request only wooden tubs, but they are wrong. The containers for processed fish need not necessarily be made of wood. They can be made of various kinds of materials. Earthen jars and glass containers will suffice, and plastic products and vinyl sacks will serve the purpose. If the officials work hard and organize work properly, they can obtain as many containers as they need.

I think that there may be many other problems which should be solved to improve the work of fish processing. The senior officials of the fishing industry must not only endeavour to increase the output of fish, but must also always examine ways to process the landed fish efficiently and supply adequate amounts to the people, without allowing a single fish to rot. They must also help the men to solve their problems. In particular, they must carry out further studies and work harder to mechanize fish processing.

The officials of the Ministry of Fisheries and of the machine industry have achieved considerable success in the mechanization of fish processing as a result of their strenuous efforts, but there is still a great deal of manual labour in this sector. In the high pollack season, therefore, tens of thousands of work hands are mobilized every year for the processing of pollack. Without their assistance, the fish would not

be processed in time. Only when fish processing is mechanized will the people be freed from this difficult work, and a great deal of labour will be saved and the cost of processing will be lowered.

In future, officials in this sector must improve the gutting machine, head-cutting machine, and tail-cutting machine and produce more of them so as to raise the level of mechanized fish processing appreciably.

In addition, the Ministry of Railways must produce a large number of refrigerated vans so as to carry fresh fish as far as the places of consumption. Because of the shortage of these vans at present, the people in the inland districts like Kanggye and Hyesan are not properly supplied with fish. We must produce a dozen trains made up of refrigerated vans on our own, whatever the cost.

The Ministry of Fisheries, the Party organizations of North and South Hamgyong Provinces, and Kangwon Province and all the fishing enterprises on the eastern coast must make good preparations for this year's pollack processing from now onwards. They must work out in detail where to do the processing, how to prepare the containers, and how to organize manpower and transport rationally and then they must plan this work.

It is desirable that the processing of pollack is concentrated on Sinpho, Soho and a few other ports, and that the amount to be frozen fresh for supply is unloaded at other ports so that from there it can be transported direct to the places where it will be consumed. In the past this has not been organized, so that all the fish, whether to be processed or not, were unloaded at Sinpho. As a result, in the high pollack season, large piles of pollack were left to rot on the wharf at Sinpho, because they could not be carried away immediately.

From now on, only the fish to be processed should be unloaded at Sinpho or at Soho, and those which are to be supplied fresh should be unloaded in North Hamgyong Province, and at places arranged for the purpose, at Yanghwa, Thoejo or Tanchon in South Hamgyong Province, for instance; and from there they should be railed immediately to Pyongyang and other places.

The transport of pollack should be well planned, so that there will

be no confusion in railing them to different parts of the country during the pollack season. There should be a definite plan which, depending on requirements, specifies the size of the loads and the districts and enterprises to which they must be delivered. The plan must also provide what loads are to be carried by truck, by rail or by ship and where they are to be taken.

Next, the fishing industry must change the method of weighing its product so as to improve fish processing by tightening the control of this work.

Much of the output is exaggerated by the fishing industry at the moment. Fishing stations weigh the fish and the water which is dripping off them as they are, and report to their higher authorities that they have landed hundreds of tons. Then they do not care whether the landed fish rot or not. The Ministry of Fisheries, too, just combine the figures from the fishing stations and then report to the Cabinet that hundreds of thousands of tons have been landed this year. It has little interest in how the fish are processed.

It is now high time that the fishing industry, too, improved the quality of its product. From now on, we should make it a rule to recognize as the product only the completely processed seafood which can be eaten, regardless of the amount landed. The fish which are not processed must not be regarded as a product. To this end, the state should give the planned production quotas in terms of the amount of processed fish and receive the delivery of the product in the same terms.

The production plan must specify the details, such as the amount of fish to be canned, frozen or salted, including the amount of pollack to be processed, the amount of pollack entrails to be processed, the amount of the entrails to be pickled, the amount of roe to be pickled, and the amount to be processed in winter and in summer. When the counting and delivery of the product are made, the counting should be made item by item, for instance, how many tons of frozen fish in the case of frozen fish, how many tons of fish preserved in clean tubs in the case of salted fish, and payment should be made on this basis. Even the

value of the processed fish must not be assessed without discrimination, but must be graded and priced according to the quality. In the case of pickled shellfish, for example, only those whose shells have been removed cleanly should be recognized as a product and priced, say, 500 *won* for a ton of first grade, 450 *won* for second grade, 400 *won* for third grade and so on according to the quality. And those which have become stale because of careless processing must not be regarded as a product.

In order to stimulate the sense of responsibility for fish processing, we must establish a principle on which the fishing enterprises process all the fish and deliver it to the state and it is on this basis that the men's wages will be calculated. It does not matter whether the fish are processed aboard ships at sea or on the land; in either case the fishing industry must be made to deliver processed fish to the state.

It would also be a good idea for the fishing industry to introduce the piecework system by ship or by fleet. This will increase the enthusiasm and sense of responsibility of the fishing workers for the production and processing of fish.

4. ON BUILDING UP THE BASES OF THE FISHING INDUSTRY

If we are to develop our fishing industry, we must improve its bases. With the rapid development of deep-sea fishing in recent years, it is particularly important to build up deep-sea fishing bases on the eastern coast.

On this visit we have made a tour of inspection of the fishing bases on the eastern coast and found that Sinpho is an ideal deep-sea fishing base. In this town there is a shipyard, a general machine factory and an industrial railway which has access to the wharf—an excellent transport facility.

We must build a large harbour with modern equipment in this town

and develop the town according to a long-term plan so that it will be made into a sound fishing centre for our country.

The most important thing in harbour construction is to increase the mooring capacity. Sinpho Harbour must be able to accommodate at least seven to eight 10,000-ton ships, 20 to 30 3,000-ton to 3,500-ton ships, and 50 to 60 1,000-ton ships at a time. Moreover, the harbour must be spacious enough to permit other boats to move freely between these large ships. So Sinpho Harbour construction must take place in accordance with a long-term plan, and the dredging of the harbour must be zealously undertaken from now onwards.

The dredging of the harbour will need at least several dredgers and large floating cranes and barges. The Sinpho Dockyard must now start to manufacture the equipment needed for harbour construction for itself so as to push ahead quickly with the project. In this way, facilities should be completed by 1970 to accommodate four to five 10,000-ton ships and their auxiliary ships—3,000-ton tenders.

In the process of the expansion of Sinpho Harbour, the nearby Ryuktae Fishermen's Cooperative may have to be demolished. But this must not happen. Most of the members of this cooperative are natives of this place. So it would be wrong to remove them. Furthermore, it would not be a bad idea to have such a fishermen's cooperative in the vicinity of the deep-sea fishing base. When Sinpho Harbour has been firmly established as a deep-sea fishing centre at some time in the future, it will use mainly large vessels for fishing at the distant sea. In that case, there might be no fishing operations in the coastal waters off Sinpho. That is why Sinpho must not drive away its neighbouring fishermen's cooperative, but must give it technical assistance in installing motors in its boats so that it can catch a large amount of fish in the coastal waters in cooperation with the fishing station.

In addition to the extension of the harbour, we must ensure that adequate facilities are provided for the supply of water and oil to the ships which will use the harbor. It is of particular importance to construct the oil storage facilities properly.

In addition, the construction of Sinpho must be undertaken in a

far-sighted way so as to suit the town's character as a fishing centre.

Many houses have so far been built in Sinpho, and the streets have been neatly laid out. But it still has a great deal of work to do if it is to take on the proper character of a fishing town. It has to build more houses for the fishing workers and reinforce schools, and it has a tremendous amount of other work to do. So it must not undertake too many projects at a time, but concentrate its efforts on one project after another under a long-term master plan of town construction.

The city must, first of all, site the deep-sea fishermen's residential quarter in a suitable area and construct smart apartment houses for them.

There was a suggestion that lodging houses should be built for the people to be mobilized for winter fish processing. But this is neither urgent nor very necessary. Social labour for fish processing will be mobilized for only one month or two in winter at the most. So there is no need to build separate lodging houses to be used for a couple of months. We are of the opinion that in future two-room flats rather than one-room flats should be built in large numbers and that we must let the owners of the houses use the two rooms at ordinary times and accommodate the mobilized work hands in one of the two rooms during the fish processing season of a month or two during winter. Moreover, the processing of fish must be mechanized at whatever the cost in the future so as to dispense with the additional work hands.

Judging from the outlook for future construction in Sinpho, it would be a good idea, as you have suggested, to move the railway to the foot of the mountain. Because the railway runs through the town at present, it interferes with the traffic and increases the danger of accidents. If you move it to the foot of the mountain and improve the streets, the town will look more attractive and orderly.

In conclusion, I shall refer briefly to the question of improving the educational establishments in the town.

There was a suggestion to move the university of education to another location because the building and hostel are in bad condition. But it would be better not to do so. The existence of a university in the

city will facilitate its long-term development into a fishing centre and promote the cultural revolution in this part of the country. So you must construct the necessary academic buildings and hostels as soon as possible to make up for the shortage of these facilities so that there will be no difficulty in the running of this university.

You must improve the higher fishery school and other schools in Sinpho and in particular provide them with adequate facilities which are needed for teaching the students a knowledge of the sea and for their nautical training.

For a long time, we have stressed the need to teach the students of the fishery schools and other schools in the coastal areas about the sea and to give them nautical training. But this task still has not been implemented properly. That is why even some of the young people who have graduated from fishermen's vocational schools fear the sea and become seasick if they work aboard a ship for a time.

In future, all the schools in Sinpho must be provided with good practice facilities and nautical training grounds so that the students can become good swimmers and good sailors from childhood. In this way the people of Sinpho will work faithfully for the development of our fishing industry from generation to generation, just as the people of Hungnam work in the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory from generation to generation.

You comrades must give a powerful impetus to your work in this direction and make a tremendous contribution to the development of the fishing industry of our country.

ON THE CORRECT IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR PARTY'S POLICY TOWARDS INTELLECTUALS

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

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

1. ON OUR PARTY'S POLICY TOWARDS INTELLECTUALS

I have learned during this guidance visit that there are no major 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-line intellectuals, are 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 typical tendencies of the intelligentsia.

One of these shortcomings is that they tend to become swollen-headed because they have a little knowledge. Some comrades look down on others as ignoramuses, considering themselves to be erudite and people of great importance. They 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. They are even less willing to accept criticism. This is why the masses do not want to have anything to do with such people.

Another shortcoming of intellectuals is that they are apt to become timid and self-defensive. Intellectuals ought to work hard to help build socialism successfully in our country by contributing all their knowledge and skill. Nevertheless, some of them are extremely unassertive towards 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 mean serious trouble. Such comrades do not use their initiative or strive to boost socialist construction but simply try to avoid serious mistakes and maintain the status quo. They obediently do exactly what they are told to do so as to escape criticism. Still worse, they sometimes follow orders mechanically even though they know very well that by doing so they might make matters worse. And some intellectuals, though not many, have a tendency to muddle along from day to day.

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

Why, then, do these faults remain uncorrected? It is mainly because the local and factory Party organizations are not yet conducting their work with intellectuals correctly.

Some Party organizations go to extremes in their work with

intellectuals. They chiefly substitute orders and abuse for correct work with intellectuals and attack them harshly if anything goes wrong instead of having a proper 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 are frightened when they make the slightest mistake. This 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 abandon 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 fair criticism from the Party organization and do not make an honest effort to carry out the revolutionary tasks assigned them by the Party.

These shortcomings do not conform to 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 once again today 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 at this meeting now.

As you all know, intellectuals do not represent an independent social class. Therefore, 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 each of these different classes.

In a capitalist society intellectuals come from the capitalist class—children of rich families who have received 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 through their knowledge and technical skills.

In a capitalist society where power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, most intellectuals are obliged to serve the capitalist class. They hardly have any alternative but to serve the capitalists; so it is unavoidable that they serve the capitalist class. In contrast, in a socialist society where the working class is in power, intellectuals serve the working class, socialism and communism.

As we have seen, intellectuals have certain tendencies as a consequence of their social and class status. On the basis of a detailed analysis of these tendencies, our Party mapped out a correct policy towards intellectuals at the outset, and has constantly adhered to it.

Immediately after liberation we began by thoroughly assessing 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 were of large-scale capitalist origin. There were few, if any, from the working class, the proletariat.

The small number of intellectuals of large-scale capitalist 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 the Japanese imperialists, 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, large-scale 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 large-scale capitalist worthy of mention.

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 demonstrates that 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.

As a result of this, in the past our national capital could not develop. Hence the small 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 difficulty.

What kind of people are the petty-bourgeois intellectuals we are referring to? They are mostly the sons and daughters of small or medium-scale 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-scale manufacturers, and received an education. They are also the educated sons and daughters of middle or well-to-do middle peasants in the country areas.

In the past the small and medium-scale merchants and manufacturers, rich and well-to-do middle peasants were of no great importance in our country. In point of fact, 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 a rich peasant we of course mean one who hired labourers to farm his land rather than one who rented it out. Nevertheless, not all the rich peasants had an identical status. They may all have fallen within the category of rich peasant but they differed widely in their individual 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 servant was referred to as a rich peasant.

In fact, a large-scale rich peasant in our country owned no more than several hectares of land and employed a few labourers 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. This was the general class situation in our rural areas in the past, as shown by our comprehensive analysis of rural class relations at the time of the agrarian reform after liberation.

As you can see, our petty bourgeoisie were not that well-off, let alone 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 be outdone by others and are fond of studying. Therefore, we should not automatically think of those who obtained some education in the past as rich people, nor would we be justified in labelling them as exploiters. We should not merely adopt foreign definitions of class relations; we should have a proper understanding of our intellectuals.

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

Nevertheless, 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 long ago as the foundation of the Party right after liberation we decreed that working intellectuals, as well as workers and peasants, were eligible for Party membership. Our Party admitted to membership the advanced, qualified people from the working class, the peasantry, especially the poor peasants, and also from the working intellectuals. The emblem of our Party shows more graphically than anything 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 always be the working class. This class must be the backbone and nucleus of the party. But, at the same time, our recognition of the peasants and working intellectuals as moving forces for the revolution and our acceptance of them as people eligible for Party membership is an absolutely 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-line intellectuals served capitalism in the past, they possessed a certain degree of revolutionary qualities because they were intellectuals in a colonial and semi-feudal society. Although they served capitalism, they did not escape oppression by large-scale capitalists since they belonged to the petty-bourgeois class and, in particular, they suffered unbearable oppression and discrimination as a nation 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 those who had knowledge and skills with the ambition to develop, in every way and as quickly as possible, the productive forces and national culture of our country which was a long way from modern technical civilization, and to turn it into a modern industrial state, strong, prosperous and independent. 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 moving force in the national-liberation struggle and democratic revolution and have also been able to play an important role in the socialist revolution and construction.

Intellectuals play a very important 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 reflect the 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 destroy the old society and create a new one, the intellectual in underdeveloped colonial countries plays the role of intermediary sowing the seeds of revolution among the masses.

Intellectuals pioneered the national-liberation movement in our country. They also first introduced Marxist-Leninist ideas in the early days of the Korean communist movement. Our intellectuals played a revolutionary role not only in the 1920s when they spread Marxism-Leninism but also in the periods which followed. Before our people's national-liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism was transformed into a mass struggle which included the workers and peasants, that is, up until the time the workers and peasants, the main moving 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 movements composed of students and intellectuals.

Intellectuals are also playing an important part in the south Korean revolution today. South Korean intellectuals accepted the ideas of our Party—communist ideas—sooner than any other level of society and they are working hard to spread them amongst the people. This is eloquently shown by the so-called “case of the Society for Comparative Study of Nationalism” at Seoul University, over which the enemy is now clamouring. 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 US imperialism and reunify the country. Today they are sowing the seeds of revolution among the people everywhere and fighting bravely.

It is true that the struggle of the south Korean intellectuals is not conducted in all respects as effectively as it should be. They still confine their activities to students and intellectuals and fail to mix widely with 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. Because of this, they have not yet found the real source of power in their struggle and so cannot advance very far. In order to develop the revolution further on a mass scale and win final victory, the intellectuals must go amongst the masses of workers and peasants and stimulate them to take part in the struggle.

When we started the revolutionary movement, we also began with a student movement and gradually mixed with the workers and peasants. It was not until we conducted our activities among the broad masses of workers and peasants and were able to rouse them to revolutionary struggle that we gained greater confidence in victory, and that the struggle forged ahead dynamically to enter an operational stage.

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

Immediately after liberation, using a scientific analysis of these characteristics of intellectuals as a basis, our Party boldly enlisted the old-line intellectuals, even admitting them to membership. It pursued the policy of carrying out the great revolutionary task of building up a new society, a fuller life, hand in hand with the intellectuals. Our Party provided them with all the conditions necessary to give full play to their knowledge and skills. It opened an avenue for their unlimited development. It trusted them and fought alongside them, not only in

the period of the democratic revolution, but also in the stage of the socialist revolution, constantly educating and reforming them.

Encouraged by the Party's correct policy towards them, our intellectuals have taken an active part in the struggle to build up a new homeland ever since liberation. They have actively supported all the lines and policies of the Party and committed 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 and so on. They have indeed done great things.

Experience vindicates our correct assessment of intellectuals at the time of the founding of the Party and shows that the policy towards intellectuals which our Party has followed to this day has been absolutely correct.

I have heard that some intellectuals who are now engaged in the revolutionary struggle in south Korea are very anxious to know how the north Korean intellectuals who have taken part in the revolution ever since 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 which our Party has pursued to date in the northern half of Korea 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 of Korea, as it has done in the northern half. We must cooperate with the intellectuals in the south in the revolutionary struggle to force US imperialism out of south Korea and reunify the country. We must also make it possible for them to give full expression to their intellect 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 raised the matter of the revolutionization of intellectuals as well as that of the workers and peasants as an important issue. The fact that our Party has now put forward the slogan of revolutionizing intellectuals does not imply any change in its policy towards them. Our emphasis on their

revolutionization aims at educating them more quickly and efficiently in the light of the present situation at home and abroad and of our important revolutionary tasks. I also spoke plainly on this matter during my discussions with intellectuals in Hamhung last year. At that time I gave a full explanation of the Party's position with regard to revolutionizing intellectuals and even the methods for revolutionizing them.

But some intellectuals still do not properly understand the Party's policy on revolutionization. As a result, they are showing various reactions. Seeing the Party emphasize the question of the revolutionizing of 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 threatened, thinking, "Oh, I'm the object of revolutionization." Some comrades even hint that our Party's line on class struggle has changed. None of these reactions is consistent 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 course of revolutionizing yourselves. All the same, a long record of revolutionary struggle does not always mean that there is nothing left to be done as regards one's revolutionization. Vestiges of outdated ideas—petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideas, dogmatism, flunkeyism, and so on—are still found to some degree in our people's minds, and we consider this to be especially true of intellectuals. If you retain vestiges of retrogressive capitalist ideas, you will not become communists, nor will you be able to participate effectively in socialist construction. Therefore, we attach importance to the slogan of revolutionization in order to eliminate these vestiges of outdated 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? Do

they not mean the same thing?” They say they cannot distinguish the difference between them. These people do not yet comprehend the essence of our Party’s policy of working-classization and revolutionization; they consider that the working class does not need revolutionization. Even in a socialist society outdated beliefs persist for a long time, and as long as they exist the working class can also become corrupt and degenerate.

Revolutionization, therefore, applies 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 uses a hammer in a factory is necessarily a man with a revolutionary world outlook, in other words, is a stalwart revolutionary firmly armed with the policies of our Party and with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism. There are many people in the working class, who once belonged to the middle or petty-bourgeois class. Those who were small or medium-scale merchants or manufacturers, or rich farmers or middle peasants in the past still retain many petty-bourgeois ideas, although they are now workers who beat iron with a hammer in a factory or work at a blast furnace. The level of ideological consciousness of those who have a work record of only two or three years, cannot be exactly the same as those who have been workers for more than 20 years and who come from a long line of workers, although they all belong to the working class. Besides, some might have been lumberjacks who used to work in one timber station after another, others casual labourers, and still others might have been trained at blast furnaces in big iron works or steel plants. Workers who did 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 underestimate the struggle to revolutionize them.

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

In brief, our Party's policy is to transform the whole of society on the pattern of the working class, and to make everyone a staunch revolutionary, an ardent communist. Revolutionization and working-classization are designed specifically to give effect to this policy of the Party.

As we always point out, there are various methods of revolutionization—explanation and persuasion, criticism and self-criticism. It is true to say that 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 is not intended to ostracize people or reject them. It is a struggle, in the true sense of the word, to eradicate outdated beliefs and to arm the people with communist ideas. It is an attempt to achieve the unity and cohesion of the whole of society. In accordance with these correct Marxist-Leninist principles, our Party has worked to revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society, and in the future, too, it will resolutely continue this struggle on the basis of these principles.

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

2. ON SOME REVOLUTIONARY TASKS FACING OUR INTELLECTUALS

Our Party has trusted the intellectuals and appointed them as engineers and chief engineers; it has placed factories in their care and

entrusted them with various important revolutionary tasks. Being a factory chief engineer, for instance, is by no means an insignificant post. It is as important a post 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 controls all the production processes. Our Party assigns such important jobs to intellectuals because it trusts them completely. Some comrades seem to think that it is due to expedience that they remain in important posts. That is a mistaken view. There can be no expediency between 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 adopt an attitude of self-preservation? There is no reason why our intellectuals should adopt such an attitude. It is wrong for them to be fearful because of their complex class background.

Our intellectuals should be determined to become worthy of the Party's confidence by revolutionizing themselves and serving the Party and the working class faithfully and should zealously participate in all activities and try to avoid making errors. Yet, instead of proving themselves worthy of the deep trust of the Party, some comrades are not working with complete dedication.

Let me give the example of the chief engineer in a certain enterprise. As he had worked well, we promoted him to the post of chief engineer in 1962. His family background was somewhat complex. But we did not make an issue of that.

We trusted the man himself and unhesitatingly appointed him as chief engineer, even though his family background was complex. Therefore, he should have been faithful to his job. Contrary to the Party's expectations, however, he did not introduce new technology nor did he work hard. He even had immoral relations with an ideologically tainted woman.

The Party organization was also to blame. It did not even criticize

him, I was told, lest he should become frightened. That was an incorrect way of doing things. The Party organization should have promptly criticized his errors. If someone has faults he should be told frankly what they are. That should be enough to make him correct his mistakes. The lack of timely criticism of mistakes makes the person concerned even more uncertain. In fact, that chief engineer became all the more indecisive and apprehensive and failed to carry out his tasks because the Party organization did not criticize his mistakes. As we see, a man of complex family background will deteriorate 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 immediately criticize and educate intellectuals when they commit errors. Some comrades say it is difficult to criticize those who are of complex origin. You should not think like that. It is better to criticize those with shortcomings than to leave them alone. Of course, criticism should be given after due consideration of whether it is better to criticize the person publicly before the masses, or in private, or at a closed meeting consisting of a few people, according to his character and political aptitude, when he has committed an error. It is a good practice to bring a person before the masses when he repeats his errors time and time again. Intellectuals for their part should also realize that they deserve criticism for their mistakes, and accept the Party's criticism as an effective means of educating them.

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

I should like to give you a case in point which occurred while we were waging our guerrilla struggle. Many comrades were at that time engaged in underground operations 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 rank was on a par with that of a deputy commander for logistics of the present-day People's Army. Comrade Kim Ju Hyon led his small unit into the homeland. On the

way to the objective, however, he did something which he had not been instructed to do and returned without fulfilling his mission. He came back believing that he had done something good, 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 operating in the Tanchon and Songjin areas, and it is a serious matter 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 duty of carrying a cauldron for six months. This was certainly a heavy punishment. How shameful it must have been for a man in a senior post of 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 his command! But he realized that was in fact the course to revolutionize himself. He was an intellectual like you comrades and was good at writing and making speeches. He made up his mind: “I shall fight to the end 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 continued to work hard without the least complaint despite his punishment. We therefore wrote off his penalty before the six-month period had expired and reinstated him.

Anyone can be punished if he makes mistakes in his work, and in a serious case he can 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 task as a revolutionary assignment from the Party. In the revolutionary struggle you should not express preferences, 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 has faith in all intellectuals—including old-line 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 which the Party entrusts to you. That is why intellectuals should persevere in the revolutionary posts entrusted to them by the Party, work harder and strive to revolutionize and working-classize themselves.

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

Generally speaking, intellectuals, with the petty bourgeoisie, stand on the side of the Party and the working class and advance without vacillation as far as that stage in the socialist revolution in which the landlords' land is confiscated and the capitalists' factories are expropriated. In the course of the building of socialism and on the road to communism, however, there are instances, from time to time, of some intellectuals who give up revolution, and retreat or waver in midstream. As you all know, many forms of struggle are waged in the stages of the national-liberation struggle, the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. In these stages, the struggles are waged mainly to solve irreconcilable contradictions and the ideological struggle does not develop to its fullest extent for it is of a non-antagonistic nature aimed at eliminating the vestiges of retrogressive capitalist ideas from the minds of people. In these periods, therefore, intellectuals instinctively play an enthusiastic part in the revolution.

But in the period of building socialism following the socialist revolution, the ideological struggle is carried out on a full scale to completely eradicate the vestiges of capitalist ideas. The struggle against egoism and other survivals of retrogressive 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. Outmoded ideas such as egoism survive in everyone to some degree or other. Consequently, all those who are not revolutionized should reform their ideology. This is a major problem for the peasants, who are ideologically backward, and for intellectuals in particular. This is one of the reasons why intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie waver in the period of ideological revolution.

Another major reason why intellectuals and some sectors of the middle class vacillate during the struggle for the complete victory of socialism, that is, in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, lies in the fact that as a consequence of their former social, class or economic positions they do not appreciate the genuine advantages of the socialist system, 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 have been 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 loyalty or renounced their revolutionary conscience even when, in the course of the revolutionary struggle, they were captured by the enemy and faced death. But nowadays our intellectuals lack such a powerful revolutionary spirit.

At present the south Korean intellectuals are also taking an active part in the revolutionary struggle. This is not 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 hungry but are making revolution. We have land and money. We are from well-to-do families, but we will carry out revolution. How can we be indifferent to the A-frame carriers wandering about the streets to earn their bread, the many homeless people sleeping under bridges and the miserable children begging everywhere with tins in their hands or polishing shoes by the roadside, denied the right of schooling?” South Korean intellectuals are fighting today without yielding even when they are arrested by the enemy, and they do not abandon the revolutionary struggle even when they see their comrades taken to the scaffold.

In that case, 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 give way to egoism and fail to devote themselves to socialist construction?

The matter depends on whether one has a revolutionary world outlook or not. The fact that many south Korean intellectuals are fighting for the revolution under harsh enemy repression demonstrates that they possess a revolutionary world outlook. This is why they attach no importance to 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 equal opportunities in life. Our intellectuals, however, have not yet been thoroughly given revolutionary education, nor have they formed a firm revolutionary world outlook. That is why they are not wholehearted 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 lagging behind and lacking in revolutionary ideas. Of course, the overwhelming majority possess the revolutionary world outlook and are working faithfully for the Party and the people on all fronts of socialist construction. Some, however, though few in number, have not yet discarded selfishness and lack a strong revolutionary spirit.

Our intellectuals should undergo continual ideological tempering.

They should eradicate the vestiges of outdated ideas and arm themselves firmly with communist ideas, so as 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 readily recognize the advantages of socialism and work devotedly for its complete victory.

In fact, our socialist system is a social system which is immeasurably superior to the capitalist system. A south Korean intellectual said that in Seoul there were many A-frame carriers and that many people slept on straw-bags under bridges, whereas in north Korea there were no such people, and in Pyongyang one could see everyone on the streets in the morning equally well-dressed, regardless of rank, and this supported his impression of a different society. He also said that some women in Seoul painted their lips thickly, although their underwear was worn-out, but no woman on this side did that. When we asked him why those south Korean women went round like that, he replied that it was because they were so destitute that they had no choice but to become prostitutes. He said young south Koreans were even compelled by necessity to become cannon fodder in the pay of the US imperialists on the battlefields of South Viet Nam, in a bid to live even one day longer, for they were afraid 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.

A capitalist society is the land of promise for a handful of landlords and capitalists but a living hell for the overwhelming majority of the toiling masses. In contrast, a socialist society is a society in which everyone of the working masses is equally well-fed, well-dressed and prosperous, 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 clearly explain to them, by illustrating our

experiences, that if an underdeveloped country takes the road of capitalism after its liberation from imperialist colonial rule, it will become a colony once more and will be ruined, and that only when it takes the road of socialism, will it become a prosperous and strong country which enjoys a worthwhile life.

The successful building of socialism inevitably 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 occur, though only for a short term, in the course of building socialism. How can it be an easy task 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 shall be able to 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 collapse 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 intelligence and talents exclusively to the struggle for the defence and complete victory of socialism, without vacillating in the slightest in the face of any adversity. In this way they will help to accelerate socialist construction in our country and consolidate and develop the socialist system, thereby contributing greatly to making all the people understand better, through their present-day life, the real advantages of socialism.

We always say that 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 ably carried out, and intellectuals have many tasks to perform in these sectors.

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 the people with temporary affluence. If we imported cooking oil, meat and non-staple foods or clothing materials with the money we earn every year, instead of building factories, our people would be able to live well for a short time. 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 in terms of a long-range programme, even if we have to tighten our belts at present, and we must establish a sound economic base for the prosperity of future generations. We must develop the chemical, iron and steel and machine-building industries as well as 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 rate of extended reproduction. This alone will guarantee a better life for our people in the future and deter the enemy from launching an attack.

We should not only strengthen the nation's economic base in the interests of the future but also conduct economic construction efficiently in order to improve the people's present living standards. Our aim in building socialism and communism lies, in the final analysis, in providing all the people with a prosperous life and all the benefits of modern times. The superiority of socialism must be expressed not by factory chimneys but by the provision of a happy life for the people. For that reason, while concentrating our main efforts on economic construction so as to ensure abundance at a future date, we should not neglect the existing living conditions of the people.

Of course, with the gradual consolidation of our economic base our people's standard of living has already risen unprecedentedly. However, we cannot yet claim that our people live a very prosperous life. We must solve a number of problems in order to raise living standards.

One problem to be solved at present is that of non-staple foodstuffs. We have not yet solved the question of cooking oil and meat

satisfactorily. In order to produce large quantities of good non-staple foodstuffs we must develop light industry and agriculture, which in turn necessitate a rapid growth of those branches of heavy industry which are directly related to the improvement of the people's living standards. In other words, in order to ensure a plentiful supply of non-staple food, we have to develop the machine-building, metallurgical and chemical industries, and so lay a firm foundation for the efficient production of these foodstuffs. Only when the chemical industry produces fertilizer and agricultural chemicals in large quantities to improve the quality of farming, can we produce a large amount of feed-grain and, consequently, abundant meat. Only when we develop the engineering industry and so build many large vessels, shall we be able to catch large numbers of fish on the high seas.

Furthermore, the improvement of our people's living standards necessitates raising the quality of consumer goods. Quality, however, is not high, as you can observe in the footwear now being made in the shoe factories in North Hamgyong Province for example. This is not only true of footwear but also of other consumer goods. The range of essential commodities is limited at present, to say nothing of their being of poor quality.

Both the work of establishing a sound economic base in terms of 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 resolutely advanced by scientists and technicians with scientific knowledge and expertise. Indeed, the Party expects a great deal from you intellectuals engaged in economic construction.

But how are you conducting things at present? You are not working heart and soul to promote our science and technology, nor are you tackling the elementary technical problems which need to be solved to improve the people's living conditions, nor doing even simple organizational work. That is why our industrialization is not making rapid progress and the people's living standards are not being raised quickly.

The case of stock breeding is one example. It cannot progress

because our officials are not organizing operations effectively and are not solving even simple technical problems relating to animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. I discovered on this visit that many sheep have died in North Hamgyong Province during the past eight years. If these sheep had been saved, carefully raised and bred, they would no doubt have served to dramatically increase the size of the national herd. The same situation prevails in the fishing industry. At present, small-scale fishing, for instance, is not well organized, although this is completely feasible. Although vegetable growing will be successful if the sprinkler irrigation system is introduced in accordance with the Party's policy, our officials are not organizing that operation well either. The low quality of light industrial products is also due to your failure to give efficient technical direction and to your neglect of adequate ideological education for the people. You are highly-trained technicians. Our Party has entrusted you with the task of the technical revolution and with scientific research. In spite of this, 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 range.

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

Is this careless way of doing things, then, due to a lack of satisfactory 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 conducting scientific research under the enemy's cruel repression. Our intellectuals are provided with all the conditions necessary for conducting comprehensive scientific research and for conducting 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 harassment. They ought, therefore, to work hard so

as to live up to the Party's faith and expectations. You must interpret Party policy correctly and try to resolutely defend the Party, uphold its ideology and translate this into action.

Intellectuals should also become active information workers 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, grown up in its bosom, and are better trained than anyone else. Therefore, you ought to stimulate other people and explain and propagate socialist and communist ideas 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 any way mean that we have become chauvinistic. The Juche idea which 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 particular conditions, and thus contributes to increasing the strength of our country and furthering the might of the socialist camp as a whole.

Let us examine the food question for example. Suppose we often had to ask other socialist countries to provide us with food because we had failed to become self-sufficient. What would the result be? It would retard the advance of the living standards of their peoples by that much. However, if we get good crop yields and do not seek food from others, they will be freed from such anxieties and obstacles to their own welfare. Furthermore, it will help improve the food situation in the socialist camp to that extent. Therefore, the building of an independent agriculture does not mean chauvinism. On the contrary, it is conducive to promoting internationalism.

Our intellectuals must arm themselves with our Party's ideology and thoroughly establish Juche, and must 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 dupes.

Yet flunkeyism has found a great deal of support amongst intellectuals both in the past and at present. Flunkeyism is seldom found among the workers and peasants, but conditions which foster flunkeyism amongst intellectuals working in the fields of science, technology, literature and art are widespread. 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 further experience. In such cases, those who are not firmly equipped with the Juche idea will be infected with nihilistic beliefs and flunkeyism, regarding things of their own country as unworthy of attention and deeming out of hand everything foreign to be good.

Let me give a few examples.

A long time ago some government-sponsored scholars who were infected with flunkeyism prated that the Koreans were the descendants of “Kija”. History books written by those ancient scholars falsely claimed that a foreigner named “Kija”, who no longer wished to serve the king of his country, rebelled against him and took several hundred craftsmen to Korea to found a country. These books say that among these craftsmen were blacksmiths, weavers and others with a range of skills, and that they developed our science and culture. Those scholars even had what they called the “Kija mausoleum” built in Pyongyang. During the period 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. At that time, a man called Ri Kwang Su went to the extremes of saying that the Koreans were of the “same blood” as the Japanese; in other words, that the Koreans had the same ancestor and the same origin as the Japanese.

Even at the present time flunkeyism of this kind has not yet been eradicated from the minds of our intellectuals.

A certain archaeologist was so infected with flunkeyism that he attempted to locate the origin of our nation in completely illogical place. Without conducting 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 represent our people as the descendants of another nation and as a very backward nation. This speculation is utter nonsense.

Our present-day musicians are also susceptible to flunkeyism. I have heard that a certain singer insists on singing Italian songs, considering them to be the best in the world. This attitude is prompted by a fundamentally wrong ideology. Our country is beautiful by nature, our mother tongue is pleasant to hear and the cadence is pleasing and our songs, too, are tuneful. Why should people only idolize foreign music rather than develop our own fine national music?

The leanings towards flunkeyism are now shown even in the way some people speak. When they have a fine language of their own, they insert words of Chinese origin into their speech to prove how scholarly they are. When they mention someone's age, for instance, they say "sibose" (15 years old-Tr.) instead of "yoldasossal" which alone sounds good. This means, in effect, that they make little effort to enhance aspects of our nation.

In south Korea the practice of US-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 aping American "jazz", they danced naked on the stage even in that country—only to be expelled. What a disgusting exhibition they must have made of themselves to be kicked out even by a country which is not ruled by communists? As you know, dancing to American "jazz" is all the rage in south Korea, not among the workers and peasants, but among actors and actresses who happen to be intellectuals. US-worship also predominates in other spheres in south Korea, quite apart from the realm of art.

We should firmly resist 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 everywhere except here in North Hamgyong Province. A great deal remains 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. I asked the manager of the theatre, therefore, if he knew anything about the foreign writers, and he replied that he knew nothing about them. How deplorable it is to be so ignorant and to practise flunkeyism!

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

Juche should be firmly established not only in social science but also in natural science. By doing this we should be able to ensure that domestic raw materials meet at least 70 per cent of the demand set by industry. Otherwise our industry will not develop on secure foundations.

This has been clearly demonstrated by our experience. This year our iron production was held up by the shortage of coking coal. Although they talk a great deal about establishing Juche, our officials have not yet discarded flunkeyism in practice and, therefore, they are not trying hard to make extensive use of local fuels in our iron industry.

We should endeavour to develop the iron industry using domestic fuels. As we said during our recent visit to the Kim Chaek Iron Works, you comrades in North Hamgyong Province should use iron ore produced in this province rather than transport ore from the western region, and conduct research on producing granulated iron by using the coal which is available in your province instead of anthracite.

The validity of the Juche idea advocated by our Party is now widely recognized throughout the world, and it is gaining a positive response from 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 being 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 must never practise flunkeyism.

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

But that does not mean we intend to pursue a national isolationist or closed-door policy. Even things foreign, if acceptable, should be turned to good account. Foreign practices should be studied—if they do not suit us they should be rejected, and vice versa. Flunkeyism means blind worship of everything foreign and contempt for everything of one's own. It does not imply the exchange of valuable experience with foreign countries or the introduction of scientific and technological achievements which are suitable to one's own country. Certainly we should introduce foreign practices, if these are valid. Nevertheless, we should value our own assets highly and guard against flunkeyism at all times.

You should not misinterpret our counsel to oppose flunkeyism and to establish Juche as an encouragement to return to the past. Restorationism has nothing in common with Juche. Nowadays certain people claim that a husky voice is essential in singing our songs as in olden times, and that this alone is authentic national music. They maintain that even the musical instruments used by our forefathers in ancient times should be reintroduced exactly as they were. According to them, there must be no advance in national music. We must not tend to restorationism because of our emphasis on national music. The feudal songs tuned to *sijo*, which the feudal rulers liked to sing, were decadent and moribund. If you were to revive and acclaim those songs as a form of national music, who would want to hear them? Such

outdated, corrupt songs would serve no educational purpose at a time when you ought to be singing songs suited to the proud circumstances of socialism advancing at the pace of Chollima. Rather than returning to the past in music, you ought to develop our national musical instruments and sing the songs evoked by the present circumstances, expressing the emotions and aspirations of our people, songs animated by the dynamic socialist construction.

In conclusion, if we are 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 nihilistic beliefs. At the same time, we must oppose chauvinism and isolationism and strictly guard against restorationism which attempts to revive things of the past without discrimination on the justification of treasuring our own assets. This is precisely the revolutionary essence of the Juche we advocate.

For the comprehensive establishment of Juche an ideological struggle against retrogressive ideas should be intensified among the people. It would no doubt be considered impossible to summarily fix the degree to which each individual is infected with flunkeyism. Nonetheless, this is not so difficult to do. If an ideological campaign is carried out and each man's deeds are evaluated, everything will become clear. You should root out flunkeyism from your minds through an effective ideological struggle. By doing this, our intellectuals will be able to take the lead in holding high the banner of anti-flunkeyism and in championing the Juche idea of our Party.

Finally, you should be sincere in your Party life and other organizational life. Anyone will regress ideologically if he is not under organizational supervision and has no organizational life. Those who dislike this kind of life will be adversely affected by retrograde ideologies and will be the first to be infected with the virus of alien capitalist ideology. Therefore, you should not regard organizational life as an infliction but take an active part in it and constantly temper yourselves ideologically.

All intellectuals will be determined and daring 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, resolutely defend the socialist system, develop a revolutionary world outlook and arm themselves thoroughly with the Juche idea of our Party.

At present, North Hamgyong Province has many tasks to perform, which call for very great exertion. In this province there are enormous construction projects for you to undertake: the steel and rolling shops at the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Sodusu Power Station, an oil refinery, and so on. You are the people who have to design and undertake all these immense projects. Therefore, the tasks facing scientists and technicians in this province are truly important.

All your intelligence and energy should be devoted to the successful fulfilment of your glorious revolutionary tasks. Laziness and negligence are taboo in revolutionary work. How can you afford to be idle and easy-going when we have still to reunify the country and expand its economic base and especially when you have immense construction projects in North Hamgyong Province? I was told that it took a certain enterprise six years to sink a mine shaft. You should not be so dilatory in your work. You must strive to complete your revolutionary tasks faster and better, devoting all your intelligence and skills to accomplishing them, without slackening in the slightest degree.

For the successful completion of the huge construction projects in North Hamgyong Province all untapped resources should be utilized in every field. The technicians in every sector of the national economy—the engineering, metallurgical and local industries, construction, transportation, and so on—should all endeavour to tap all the potentialities.

North Hamgyong Province has abundant available resources. 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 even further. The metallurgical industry

also should bring its existing facilities into full operation.

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

All the intellectuals in North Hamgyong Province should work more zealously. Technicians in factories and enterprises, as well as teachers in schools at all levels, should do their utmost to complete the province's construction projects faster and better. In this way you will turn North Hamgyong Province into a still great industrial base by completing your projects in an exemplary fashion.

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

**LET US BRING UP THE CHILDREN
OF REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS
TO BECOME COMMITTED
REVOLUTIONARIES**

**Speech to the Teaching Staff and Pupils of the Haeju
and Nampho Revolutionary Schools**

September 5, 1968

Today, I want to talk to you about some of the issues relating to bringing up the children of revolutionary martyrs into committed revolutionaries, into stalwart communists.

We established the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School immediately after liberation when the situation in our country was very difficult, and educated the children of revolutionary martyrs. We also established similar schools in different parts of the country in the difficult circumstances of the Fatherland Liberation War to educate the children of those who fell in battle or were killed by the enemy forces. These measures taken by our Party were very justifiable.

But officials have given attention only to the management of these schools and neglected their work among the children of revolutionary martyrs. On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School last year, we looked into the work of the officials concerned and found that many things were not being done properly.

A major shortcoming in this regard was that Party organizations

had not worked properly to give systematic training to the graduates of the revolutionary schools.

The Party Central Committee is always deeply interested in the training of these children to be dependable heirs to the cause of our revolution and spares no cost for them.

Party organizations should, as a matter of course, have taken under their wing the graduates from the revolutionary schools and trained them on a systematic basis to be excellent revolutionary cadres. To do this, they should have assigned them to Party bodies or to the working people's organizations such as the League of Socialist Working Youth, trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People and the Women's Union and should have trained them, preparing for the future. But this work has been neglected. In past years, Party organizations have done nothing over and above educating these children at the revolutionary schools. They have not shown any interest in them after their graduation. If we are to abandon them in this way, what has been the point of setting up the revolutionary schools in the first place and of educating these children at the cost of so much money? The neglect of their further training is a serious mistake.

You know that the air contains oxygen, hydrogen and various other elements and microorganisms. If we do not take care as to where we put an iron product from the blast furnace, it will rust until it becomes useless. Likewise, there are the vestiges of various outdated ideas in society, which can contaminate people if Party organizations neglect their work with people and ideological education. The children of revolutionary martyrs are immune or little vulnerable to outdated ideas while they are at revolutionary schools because there they lead an organizational life, receiving a collectivistic education. But when they go into society after graduation, they will come across outdated ideas of different kinds and can be contaminated with unsound ideas if they are not given good instruction by Party organizations. If that happens, these children will not be able to develop into revolutionary cadres no matter how good their records were at the revolutionary schools.

Most of the graduates from the revolutionary schools have worked

faithfully. But some of them have erred because Party organizations have not given them systematic guidance and education, particularly to the children of the comrades who fell in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Of course, their failings are not of an anti-Party character but are in routine affairs.

Their mistakes are due partly to insufficient training at revolutionary schools, and due largely to the negligence of Party organizations.

The shortcomings revealed in our work among the children of revolutionary martyrs can be readily corrected if we work properly among them from now on. The graduates from the revolutionary schools are not too old; they are around the age of thirty. If they are educated with care, they will become dependable workers. Just as an iron product from a blast furnace retains its quality without getting rusty if it is regularly polished and painted, so the children of revolutionary martyrs will all develop into competent workers if they are given systematic training that is supervised by the Party. In future, the Party organizations must radically improve their work among these children and ensure that they become revolutionaries who are loyal to the Party and the revolution, without being contaminated with unsound ideas.

We must, first of all, set up a well-regulated system for the training of these children as revolutionaries.

The Mangyongdae Revolutionary School provides training for the pupils who will become military cadres, and the Haeju and Nampho Revolutionary Schools train the pupils who will become Party political cadres. The pupils of the Haeju and Nampho Revolutionary Schools are also trained in military affairs because they must have an understanding of military affairs as well as knowledge of politics and economics if they are to work for the revolution. But all the pupils of these revolutionary schools anticipate joining the People's Army after graduation. If they enter the service, they will, of course, reinforce the cadres of the army and so facilitate the strengthening of the army. But not all the children of revolutionary martyrs should try to enter the

army. They should also consider becoming Party political workers.

If they are to develop into competent Party political workers, we must give them further training even after their graduation from the revolutionary schools, so that they will acquire the experience of Party political work. The question here is whether we give them further education immediately after their graduation from the revolutionary schools or let them work on the job for several years before we send them to school again.

I think it would be advisable to let the graduates work in Party bodies or in the League of Socialist Working Youth organizations for two to three years, practising Party political work, and then send them to university to receive training in Party political work. If they participate in social efforts, they will acquire practical experience and come to realize what they have to learn further. If they go to university with this experience, they will study hard to acquire the knowledge which they have come to know is relevant to their needs. This will help expand their knowledge and develop them into workers who are qualified both theoretically and practically. We must see to it that, from this year, the graduates from the revolutionary schools undergo long-term training as Party political workers who will be equipped with both theory and practice.

Graduates from revolutionary schools should be assigned to county Party committees, for instance, to work as instructors or assistant instructors for a year or two. If one is to learn Party work thoroughly, it is to one's advantage to start working, as a matter of course, at the county Party level. As is pointed out in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, the county is the lowest unit of Party and administrative leadership which directly implements Party policy. It is also a base which links the countryside with towns in all fields of politics, the economy and culture. Therefore, if they work on the county Party committee, they will learn a great deal. The heads of the sections of the county Party committees and their deputies should emerge from among the veterans, and the graduates from revolutionary schools should work as assistant instructors on county Party

committees for a year or two, being trained and familiarizing themselves with the methods of the Party political work. This, of course, does not imply that all the revolutionary school graduates without exception should be assigned as assistant instructors. Resourceful and competent graduates should work as instructors on county Party committees. If they do a good job, they will develop quickly and learn a great deal, no matter what ranks they hold.

Young people who have been educated at revolutionary schools can do Party work well. Some prejudiced people who think that only old people are able to carry out political work, are reluctant to accept young people into Party organs. That is a mistake. People are more enterprising and active in their work when they are young. So if young people who have graduated from a revolutionary school are assigned the task of ideological work, information work, they may do a splendid job of it. The children of revolutionary martyrs who are assigned to Party bodies should perform their duties enthusiastically and learn zealously how to conduct Party work, above all work among the people, in practice.

Revolutionary school graduates should also work in LSWY organizations. LSWY workers will one day become Party workers. Therefore, the more experience they gain in LSWY work, the better will they be able to do Party work. It is advisable that young people begin in LSWY organizations and then graduate into Party work. Those who are assigned to these organizations will be able to work as instructors from the outset since they work among their fellow young people. It is also advisable that some of them be given the opportunity to work as instructors in the Children's Union.

The revolutionary school graduates who want to specialize in philosophy or political economy are also advised to do Party political work in the field for a year or two as do those who are assigned as Party political workers. If they study social science, without knowing the reality, they may commit errors.

Some of you who are going to graduate from revolutionary schools may wish to become fine artists or actors or may be interested in

natural sciences or may wish to design aircraft. These comrades should be sent to the institution of their choice, to Kim Il Sung University, Kim Chaek University of Technology or to any other universities offering their disciplines immediately after their graduation from the revolutionary schools.

The future of the boys who go into the world after graduation can be dealt with in this way, but the future of the girls is something of a problem. Men can marry even when they are quite old, but women will find it difficult to do so. When girls are grown up, they are in several minds about their future, so this should be taken into account when bringing up the children of revolutionary martyrs.

The girls who finish a revolutionary school at the age of 18 can do Party political work for two to three years before they resume their study at universities, just as boys do, or they can proceed to take four to five years' university courses immediately after graduating. But the girls who finish a revolutionary school at the age of 19 or above cannot do so.

The written recommendation made by the Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee gave me various ideas on the future of the boys graduating from revolutionary schools, but no good ideas for the girls' future. It seems advisable that the girls who finish a revolutionary school at the age of 19 and above should be given further education in Party political work before they go out into the world.

Female revolutionary school graduates must be trained as Party political workers. Education at a revolutionary school is not enough to develop them along these lines. The level of training received by children in the higher middle forms at a revolutionary school is not high enough to meet the demands of their work. If we are to train female graduates to become Party political workers, it seems advisable to set up a university course or something like that in the revolutionary school so as to furnish them with a level of training provided at university before they take an active part in society. This will dispense with the need to set up separate classes for the children of revolutionary martyrs in the Central Party School or in the University

of National Economy. Since we do not as yet have a university for these children, the female pupils who graduate from revolutionary schools this year should be enrolled in the Central Party School or in the University of National Economy to be trained in Party political work for some years.

The curricula of the revolutionary schools need to be revised to some extent. At present, the Nampho Revolutionary School devotes too much time to teaching girls military science and nursing. The time allocated to these subjects should be reduced to some degree so as to give more time to political subjects. Of course, women, too, should be familiar with military affairs if they are to work for the revolution. But it is unnecessary to teach girls military affairs to the same level as boys. It is enough for the revolutionary schools to train them to shoot, lead a platoon and a company and, in nursing and hygiene, teach them only first-aid treatment.

In the future, for a proper training of the children of revolutionary martyrs, university courses should be introduced into the revolutionary schools or a separate university for them should be established. This will ensure adequate training for those children who have been working for some time after graduating from revolutionary schools and for those who have received only a general education.

If the revolutionary school graduates go through a university course after a few years of work in Party bodies or in LSWY organizations, they will be able to write, give lectures to the masses and to carry out other tasks among the people, no matter where they are assigned. If they take a postgraduate course or something like that after doing Party political work for four to five years following their graduation from a university, they will develop into competent Party political workers conversant with the required theories.

We should revise the educational programme and academic system of the revolutionary schools along these lines and train the children of revolutionary martyrs to become competent Party political workers, committed revolutionaries.

As regards the decrease in the number of eligible enrolments in

the revolutionary schools, the question arises as to whether we abolish or retain the revolutionary schools. These schools should be maintained in the future, too. Already 15 years have passed since the end of the war. Therefore, when the children now studying at the Haeju and Nampho Revolutionary Schools all graduate, the enrolments will, of course, decrease. But we cannot afford to abolish these schools.

We are confronted with the task of driving out the US imperialists from south Korea and of reunifying the country. We must continue the revolution and fight more fiercely against the enemies. Since we cannot expect to carry on the arduous revolutionary struggle against the US imperialist aggressors without any sacrifice, we must train the children of revolutionary martyrs to be dependable reserves for the revolution. For these reasons, we must continue to run the revolutionary schools.

There are many cases of revolutionaries in the southern half of Korea being killed in their staunch fight against the US imperialists and their lackeys. Their children are begging around in the streets. At the moment, we are not in a position to bring over all these children who go hungry and ill-clothed, but in the future when the country is reunified we must provide the facilities for educating all of them to develop into excellent people. If we are to do this, we must keep the revolutionary schools.

To ensure effective work for the children of revolutionary martyrs, not only the Party Central Committee but also the provincial Party committees should have sections responsible for dealing with them. At present, there is a section for the children of revolutionary martyrs in the Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee, and in the future such a section like this one should be set up in an organizational department of provincial Party committees. The section which is in the Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee and all Party organizations should work to a schedule. In particular, they should know what jobs these children are doing, where and how well they

are working. Those who are doing a bad job should be promptly summoned, criticized and instructed.

As we said at the gathering to mark the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School, the children of revolutionary martyrs should carry forward the revolution. If they are to do it, they must become committed revolutionaries.

Committed revolutionaries must of necessity be communists who are loyal to the revolutionary cause till the last moment of their lives, that is, revolutionaries who staunchly fight to build a communist society in Korea and then go on fighting to accomplish the world revolution. If we are to carry out the Korean revolution and construct a communist society in our country, we must, first of all, reunify the country. The reunification of the country can be achieved when we vigorously accelerate socialist construction in the northern half of Korea and when the people in the southern half stand up in the revolutionary struggle and defeat the US imperialists and their stooges.

We communists cannot say that we have discharged our revolutionary duties by reunifying the country and building a communist society in Korea. We must also carry out the world revolution. We can claim that we have fulfilled our revolutionary duties as communists only when we have wiped imperialism off the face of the earth.

Our Party's theory of communist construction is not identical with the theory that communism cannot be built in one country even in hundreds of years. Communism can be built even in one country. If we reunify the country, say, tomorrow, we will continue to make innovations and advance and will be able to construct communism quickly in our country. But, if we fiddle about, neglecting the revolution, or give up construction under an ultra-revolutionary slogan, allegedly carrying on the revolution, as is the case with the people of certain countries, we will be unable to build socialism and communism quickly. In the report to the meeting to celebrate the forthcoming 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, we are

going to clarify the question of intensifying the class struggle and increasing the functions of proletarian dictatorship in a socialist society and other theoretical questions which are important at the moment, and to propose the tasks of further consolidating and expanding the socialist system and of accelerating the construction of socialism and communism. When the document is made public you should study it in depth.

In order to build socialism and communism, we must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Recently, reactionaries raised their heads and attempted to overthrow the socialist system in a certain country. This was mainly because the dictatorship of the proletariat had been weakened. If we do not strengthen proletarian dictatorship in our country, all kinds of things might happen. If proletarian dictatorship is weakened, the revolutionary cause can never be carried to completion. Even when a communist society has been constructed in a country, proletarian dictatorship must remain for as long as imperialism exists on the globe. I have amplified this question in detail in my pamphlet, *On the Questions of the Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.

We must continue to advance following our Party's Juche-oriented revolutionary line and hit hard at the reactionary arguments of the Right and "Left" opportunists. The children of revolutionary martyrs should equip themselves firmly with our Party's Juche idea and fight to carry out Party policy. This is a means to hastening national reunification and quickly building communism in our country.

The children of revolutionary martyrs should strive to become revolutionaries who are thoroughly prepared theoretically and practically. People who hate study and are ignorant of theories cannot distinguish between right and wrong. People who lack practical experience, although theoretically trained, cannot be good at work. If one is to become a revolutionary cadre, one must equip oneself firmly with our Party policy, acquire rich experience in the revolutionary struggle and know how to link theory and practice. Only then can one

correctly judge and skilfully handle the difficult and complex problems which one may encounter and properly organize and mobilize the masses for the revolutionary struggle. Whoever lacks the ability to link theory and practice will be unable to work successfully for the revolution.

At present, there are not many cadres who know how to develop work successfully by integrating theory and practice. In the past years Party organizations have promoted people of working-class origin to become cadres, but neglected their systematic education. Hence, their theoretical level is low. Meanwhile, some cadres, though they have learnt theories, lack practical experience. That is why they cannot advance in their work.

If they are to firmly prepare themselves as committed revolutionaries, as true communists, the children of revolutionary martyrs should study hard and arm themselves with the revolutionary ideology of our Party and acquire a wealth of experience in Party political work. This is the way they can develop to become competent Party political workers.

The Party political worker can be likened to a doctor. A doctor with a thorough knowledge of medical theories and with rich clinical experience will be good at treating patients. Symptoms of a disease may vary with the physical conditions and health of people. So medical theory alone is not enough for an effective treatment of a case. In order to be competent, a doctor must know the different symptoms of a disease which vary with the health and physical conditions of people and also know how to treat these. This requires that he know the medical theories as well as have clinical experience. Likewise, a Party political worker can do a good job among people only when he is at a high level of political theories and knows through practical experience how to work in keeping with people's characters, their traits, and their political awareness.

The revolutionary schools should give good education to the children of revolutionary martyrs so that they become political workers who know how to properly integrate theory and practice.

As I have said more than once, educational institutions at present are not teaching the students in such a way that they can meaningfully apply their book knowledge. As a matter of principle, knowledge should be combined with practice if it is to be useful. Knowledge, however much of it one may possess, is useless unless it is related to practice. Knowledge locked up in one's head, impossible to apply, is as good as no knowledge at all. We must never make "untappable founts of knowledge" of students, but must give them an education combined with practice. It is very important to combine lectures and practice in teaching not only in the social sciences but also in the natural sciences.

We must train the younger generation to become active political workers. For this purpose, the students should be encouraged from their middle-school days to speak and sing in front of an audience. Middle-school students, by nature, are keen on making speeches in public and on stirring up the masses. At present, however, our educationists are making "untappable founts of knowledge" of them by keeping them from social activities, to make them "scholars". This shows that these educationists still retain the vestiges of outdated ideas.

If the pupils of revolutionary schools are to be trained to become Party political workers, they should be encouraged to go among the masses during a vacation, for instance, to give them lectures in politics, science and hygiene or organize mobile information squads so as to sing songs, perform dances and plays in rural communities. Through this practice, they will be freed from their shyness of speaking in public and will develop the habit of working among people. The pupils of revolutionary schools should arm themselves solidly with the communist outlook on the world and with the revolutionary thought of our Party, study how to carry out our Party's policies, and gain at firsthand the experience of implementing the Party's policy among the masses. Only when they undergo revolutionary training from childhood in this way will the children of revolutionary martyrs grow up to become political workers and revolutionaries able to weather any storms.

People who are not equipped with the communist outlook on the

world and who have not undergone revolutionary training, will not be able to break through the difficulties which may face them. During the Fatherland Liberation War, many people were murdered in cold blood by the enemy, and this was because they were not firmly equipped with the communist world outlook and lacked revolutionary training. In the past years, Party organizations have not given a proper class education to Party members and working people to imbue them with hatred for our enemies and to train them so as not to have any illusions about our enemies, nor have they educated them properly in the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

In the difficult period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we held out in the guerrilla zone four to five years in spite of enemy encirclements. In those years we had not only the guerrilla-controlled zone but also semi-guerrilla zones. The semi-guerrilla zone was a guerrilla zone within the territory under the control of the enemy forces. In the daytime, the enemies controlled this zone, and at night the guerrillas held it. The village heads in these zones, too, feigned obedience to the Japanese in the daytime, but at night they carried out the tasks given by the revolutionary organizations. What a valuable tradition this is! If we had intensified the education of the people in the revolutionary traditions immediately after liberation and instructed them in the experience of the anti-Japanese armed struggle to defend the guerrilla bases in confrontation with the enemies, so many people would not have been killed by the enemy forces during the forty days of temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War. They could have fought on bravely against the enemies.

It is a matter of great regret that Party organizations in the past failed to increase the class awareness of the Party members and working people and to teach them various methods of fighting the enemy. In order to prevent the recurrence of this situation, we must intensify the education of the Party membership and working people in the revolutionary traditions, class consciousness and socialist patriotism and fully equip all the working people with the monolithic ideology of our Party.

The children of revolutionary martyrs must strive to raise their political and ideological consciousness and apply themselves to learning the valuable experience of our Party's revolutionary struggle. Only then will they be able to carry out Party political work effectively in any circumstances and at any time and fight courageously to the end, upholding their revolutionary honour.

I firmly believe that the children of revolutionary martyrs will become stalwart communists, committed revolutionaries as is the Party's wish, by working hard to acquire a knowledge of politics, economics, military affairs and other subjects and by tempering themselves ceaselessly.

**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 DPRK**

September 7, 1968

Dear comrades,
Esteemed foreign friends,

Twenty years have elapsed since the Korean people founded the first genuinely independent state 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 recall with deep emotion the agonizing yet glorious course of struggle they have traversed and are affirming their revolutionary determination to consolidate and develop the revolutionary achievements that have issued from their heroic struggle, to reunify the divided country and to accomplish the goal of socialism and communism on a nationwide scale.

On the occasion of this highly significant national holiday, I would like to convey, 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 all the people of our country, who pursued the glorious path of victory and accomplished immortal feats in the struggle for the prosperity and development of our motherland.

Myriad 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 blazons 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 committed their lives to the struggle to safeguard the freedom and independence of the 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 the country and its people.

Allow me also to express our fraternal support for and encouragement to the revolutionaries and all the people of south Korea who are boundlessly inspired by the prosperity and progress of the Republic and who are fighting valiantly against US 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 perseveringly 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 token of the respect of the peoples of these countries for the sovereignty of the DPRK and the dignity of our nation, and an unequivocal expression of their international solidarity with the revolutionary cause of our people. On behalf of the Government of the

Republic and the entire Korean nation, 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 were 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 all the 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 masses of the people into state affairs. Our Republic is a genuine people's state which guarantees the workers, farmers and all other strata of the people not only political freedoms and rights but also their material and cultural prosperity. That is why all the people of our country earnestly 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 underwent severe trials. Nevertheless, 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 brought about tremendous feats, indeed, for the prosperity and development of the country and the welfare of the nation.

Twenty years is but a very short period in the long history of our people. During this time, however, the Government of our Republic has, under the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, charted 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 transformation. We have brilliantly carried out the socialist revolution to eradicate all forms of exploitation and oppression in town and country and we have laid the solid foundation for an independent national economy in the unflinching spirit of Chollima. In the harrowing and bitter war against the invasion of the

US imperialists and their lackeys, the DPRK 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 DPRK is our glorious homeland, borne by our people's 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 wholehearted support and deep trust of all the Korean people during its 20 years of struggle for revolution and construction. Our people identify 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 shares the conviction that they can build socialism and communism in their homeland under the banner of the Republic, and they are fighting for the imperishable prosperity of the Republic with exemplary patriotic devotion and creative zeal.

The prosperity and progress of our Republic exert a great revolutionary influence on the people in the south of Korea who are languishing under the oppression and exploitation of the US imperialists and their marionettes. The masses in south Korea are keenly aware that they can only enjoy real freedom and happiness when the people are in power, and they are fighting more unflinchingly than ever against US imperialism and its stooges, looking towards the Republic as the unconquerable bastion for national reunification.

The DPRK is 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 hardships in their daily lives, are now 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 nation, and its influence is increasing with each passing day.

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

Comrades,

The question of power is the fundamental question in revolution, the pivotal issue on which depend its victory and the success of our construction. 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 unfailingly directed their closest 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 independence and power, in the course of which many perished. Without revolutionary violence the working class cannot triumph in the struggle to overthrow the institutions of the exploiting classes and establish political order of its own making. The colonial ruling apparatus of Japanese imperialism in Korea exercised a brutal 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 motherland and the national independence of the Korean people and conducted a heroic armed struggle for 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 form of government to be established 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 had already been 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 the closest ties with the masses and were ready to devote their all to the struggle on behalf of the people; the revolutionary nucleus was thus prepared for the founding of a people's power.

After liberation, our people, following the Marxist-Leninist line of people's power already presented and valuable experience gained during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and under the able 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 US imperialists, who occupied south Korea in place of Japanese imperialism, whipped together reactionary forces and manoeuvred in every way to frustrate our people's efforts 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, Rightist capitulationists demanded that a bourgeois republic be established in our country. They neglected the fundamental interests of the majority of the people and emerged 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 a socialist revolution in our country. They wanted to skip 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 Korea, 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 masses of the people to completely destroy the retrogressive apparatus of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and set up people's committees in all parts of the country and, on these foundations, established the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, a new type of power.

The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea performed the functions of the people's democratic dictatorship; it was a people's power that relied on a democratic national united front, encompassing the broad anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic forces, based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class. The principal tasks of this government were to put 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 establishing the revolutionary democratic base in the northern half.

The implementation of democratic reforms ensued from 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 the people's power and transform the northern half into a powerful revolutionary democratic base.

The land question is an important issue that must be solved in advance of any other issue in the democratic revolutionary stage. The solution of the land question is indispensable to destroying 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 fervour to a high pitch; it is indispensable also to strengthening the social and political foundations for the democratization of all political, economic and cultural life in the country. Only by carrying out agrarian reform is it possible to free the agricultural productive forces from their feudal fetters, develop them quickly and zealously promote the rehabilitation and development of national industry and the whole of the national economy. The solution of the land question was of cardinal importance in our country which at the time 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 agrarian reform in a thoroughgoing manner, by confiscating the land of the landlords without compensation and distributing it freely 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 come to be used in the interests of the people. As long as the imperialists and comprador capitalists control the key sectors of the economy, it is impossible to eliminate plunder and exploitation or to anticipate genuine national 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 in the hands of the state, is it possible to destroy the political and economic foothold of the imperialists and internal reactionaries, utilize the country's vital means of production for the independent development of the national economy and the promotion of the welfare of the entire nation and lay the groundwork for the socialist economy.

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

The people's government, while effectively enforcing economic reforms, accomplished such democratic reforms as the Labour Law and the Law on Sex Equality to fully guarantee democratic freedoms and rights for the working people. With the enforcement of the Labour Law and the Law on Sex Equality, 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 greatest 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 the revolution and the work of construction, particularly in view of the fact that our country had very

few intellectuals of its own and the vast majority of the population had been kept in the dark as regards modern technology owing to the colonial slave education policy pursued by the Japanese imperialists. The active participation of the old-line intellectuals in revolution and construction is extremely important to the solution of the question of cadres for the nation. We have followed a line of boldly trusting, educating and remoulding our old-line intellectuals and permitting them to take an active part in the building of a new society; we realized 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 themselves had been victims of oppression and discrimination by an alien 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, positive steps were taken to democratize education and build many institutions of higher learning, specialized schools and other schools of different levels throughout the country, for training large numbers of new intellectuals of worker and peasant origin. This policy brought the results we desired 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 from enemy encroachment.

The successful accomplishment of the tasks of the democratic revolution completely rid the socio-economic system of its colonial and semi-feudal character and fundamentally altered the socio-economic relations in the northern half. In the national economy of the northern half of Korea the socialist economic forms, state and cooperative, predominated, while there remained a small commodity sector consisting of private peasants and urban handicraftsmen as well as a negligible capitalist sector confined to private capitalist trade and

manufacture in towns and a rich peasant economy.

On the basis of the new economic relations a radical transformation in class relations in our society was effected. 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 of Korea.

As a result, a people's democracy was irrevocably established and a powerful revolutionary democratic base, a reliable guarantee of national reunification, was laid in the north of Korea.

With the completion of the democratic revolution conditions were created for gradually advancing to socialist revolution in the northern half. Therefore, our Party set the task of further enhancing people's power, an instrument of our revolution, in order to implement 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 during 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 as a result of the great successes scored in revolution and in construction in the three years immediately after liberation to August 1948. In particular, the political foundations of people's power were reinforced by the unerring policies of the Party which steadily consolidated and developed the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and the political and moral cohesion 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 emerged, the broad masses were awakened and our revolutionary forces as a whole expanded still further. Thus, in those three years after liberation we were able to lay a firm basis for building a unified, independent, sovereign and democratic state.

On the basis of the great socio-economic changes in the northern half of the country, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was founded in September 1948 in line with the general will of all the Korean people amidst a nationwide struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges who had become more vociferous as regards their policy of colonial oppression and their machinations 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 clear-cut policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and rallying closely around it, won in their proud struggle to build a prosperous strong independent and sovereign state. It was an event of profound 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 dispossessed of their country by foreign imperialists and endured every kind of humiliation and insult, became a mighty and celebrated nation whom no one dares to flout, a resourceful people of an independent and sovereign state who develop their country by their own efforts, firmly holding power in their 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 to enter a new stage in their history under the banner of an absolutely 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 instrument for the achievement of the cause of socialism and communism in Korea. Now that they had their socialist independent sovereign state, our people found themselves in a position to ensure the decisive superiority of the revolutionary forces over the counter-revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale and determinedly advance their revolutionary

struggle and construction, resolutely smashing the manoeuvres of the imperialists and all the reactionaries.

The founding of the Republic instilled boundless strength and courage in all the Korean people who took their destiny into their own hands and rose in the revolutionary struggle to create a new, glorious 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,

Over the 20 years that have passed since its inception, our Republic under the leadership of the Workers' Party has traversed a glorious and triumphant road and has honourably fulfilled its role as the instrument of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Since its inception 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 consolidating 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 check 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 zealously organized and mobilized the masses of the people for its implementation. As a result, preparations were made step by step for the socialist transformation of the relations of production, and tremendous successes were registered in ending the one-sidedness of the colonial economy and in laying the basis of an independent national economy.

The preparations made by the Government of the Republic for the transition to socialism as well as the peaceful labour of our people were, however, interrupted by the piratical invasion of US imperialism and its lackeys.

The three-year war forced on us by US imperialism was a life-and-death struggle decisive to the destiny of our country, the severest trial for our Republic and our people. The US imperialists made desperate efforts to smother 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 an intense 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 into the heroic struggle for the defence of their country’s freedom, independence and honour.

Our people displayed great patriotic devotion and a noble self-sacrifice; they fought heroically through every adversity at the front and behind the lines to defend our Party and people’s government 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, trained and tempered by our Party, displayed unflinching revolutionary spirit and mass heroism, to the utmost, deeply 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 in defence of 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 tactics unprecedented in 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 resolutely waged 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 maintained production for the war effort and lent their support 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 guaranteed victory at the front.

Due to the justice of our cause and the energetic 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 just struggle. In addition to the socialist countries, all the progressive countries and peoples of the world unanimously condemned the aggression of the US imperialists and actively supported our people in their struggle. This international support and encouragement was a great inspiration to our people in their just struggle.

The US 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 methods of warfare as to be without precedent in history. By no means, however, could they stave off defeat. During the three years of the Korean war the enemy suffered huge losses in troops and war materials, 2.3 times greater than they did in the four years of their operations in the Pacific War during World War II.

The Fatherland Liberation War waged by our people was a fierce anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle against the allied forces of world reaction headed by US imperialism and a bitter class struggle against the enemies of the people. In this great struggle, our people fought with single resolve and in unity under the correct leadership of the Party and the Government of the Republic. They were as a result able to creditably withstand the harsh trials of the war and to win a historic victory by inflicting an ignominious defeat on US imperialism and its running dogs.

The historic triumph in the Fatherland Liberation War was a clear demonstration of the inextinguishable vitality of our Republic and the

people's democracy and the invincible strength of our people who had become masters of the country. Our victory demonstrated 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 US imperialist forces that had boasted they were the "strongest" in the world, exploded the myth of their "invincibility" and inaugurated them on the downward slope. In the Fatherland Liberation War the Korean people foiled the machinations of the US 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 further motivated and tempered and our People's Army developed into an invincible revolutionary armed force, seasoned politically and ideologically and in military technique and possessed of rich combat experience. In particular, hundreds of thousands of new revolutionary cadres emerged from the fierce flames of war. These cadres brought up in arduous revolutionary struggle are a valuable treasure we should cherish and love—priceless assets for the victory of our revolution.

Having surmounted the hard trials and achieved a historic victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, we were confronted with the pressing need to rapidly rehabilitate the devastated national economy and secure for the pauperized masses a good standard of living. The devastation 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 great degree, destroyed. 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.

We were not, however, in the least disheartened. We set out on postwar reconstruction, fully convinced that we were capable of building a new life as long as we had 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 the simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture. This was the best line which enabled us to determine the orientation and order of priority for reconstruction and to correctly pinpoint the main link in the chain and concentrate our efforts there.

Had we not given precedence to the 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 to 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.

All the same, we could not direct our efforts exclusively to heavy industry and simply postpone the development of light industry and agriculture. We had to increase 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 underdeveloped as regards both farming and light industry.

The implementation of this line in circumstances of devastation and shortages represented an extremely difficult and complex task. Nonetheless, the Party and the Government had confidence in our people who had been tried and tested in the war and had rallied 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 determined by our Party is the only feasible one, based on a meticulous 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 the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy, the fundamental task of which was to restore prewar levels in all fields of the national economy. It organized and mobilized all the people so as to effect 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 postwar Three-Year Plan through to success, tightening their belts and making immense efforts in defiance of the innumerable obstacles. 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 line put forward by the Third Congress of our Party after creditably fulfilling the formidable tasks 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 needs.

In laying the basis of socialism during the Five-Year Plan, it was imperative that the socialist transformation of the relations of production in town and country be effected and a thoroughgoing socialist system be established.

Inasmuch as the development of the revolution urgently

necessitated it and conditions were ripe for implementing it, our Party and the Government of the Republic initiated agricultural cooperativization and fought energetically to effect 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 cooperativization and the forms and sizes of the cooperatives 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 cooperative economy through working examples and, on the basis of these, effectively advanced this movement.

In the experimental stage, assistance by the working-class state was of decisive significance in consolidating those agricultural cooperatives 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 cooperatives precedence with regard to supplies of chemical fertilizers, farm machines and building materials enlisting the industries already established, 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 cooperatives, and rendered manpower assistance during the critical periods of the farming season. As a result of such assistance from the state and the dedicated struggle of the cooperative members who were, in effect, the rural vanguard, the agricultural cooperatives gradually began to demonstrate their indisputable superiority. As the proven advantages of the cooperative 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 cooperative movement, which then evolved into a mass movement.

Since the peasants came into cooperative farming en masse, the form of cooperative farming and the method of pooling the means of production became an especially important issue. In the light of the fact that the land had been the private property of the peasants and that their economic position and political awareness varied, the Party and the Government devised three types of cooperative; the permanent mutual-manpower-assistance team in which the work was done collectively; a semi-socialist type in which land was pooled and farming was done collectively while distribution was calculated on the basis of the amount of work done and on the size of the land contributed; and a completely socialist type 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 cooperative any one of these types could be selected to suit the specific conditions. In pooling the means of production such as draught animals and farm implements of the cooperative members, the Party and the Government saw to it that they were not pooled perfunctorily; 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 types of cooperative farms and the method of pooling the means of production induced the middle peasants to readily accept the cooperative economy and made it possible to prevent deviations which could appear in the course of cooperativization.

While strictly adhering to the voluntary principle in the agricultural cooperative 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 extended with a view to the emergence of the socialist system in the countryside and its consolidation and development.

In drawing different sections of the peasantry into the cooperative economy, our Party and state consistently maintained the correct class line of firmly relying on the poor peasants, strengthening the alliance with the middle peasants and, taking into account conditions in our

country, inhibiting 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 socialist transformation was progressing very rapidly in town and country and the foothold of the rich peasants was evaporating, along with their objects of exploitation.

Due to all these versatile and innovative policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic, agricultural cooperativization was triumphantly completed in our country in a very short period of time, only four or five years after the programme had been launched.

The socialist transformation of handicrafts and capitalist trade and industry in towns, along with agricultural cooperativization, 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 hampered and the participation of national capitalists in the economy was 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 minimal anyway, diminished still further. That being the situation, we pursued the policy of gradually reforming the capitalist traders and manufacturers along socialist principles. In the postwar years, the necessity for a socialist transformation of these traders and manufacturers became more pressing. Owing to the war, capitalist trade and industry shrank to such an extent as to be barely distinguishable from handicrafts. As a result, the entrepreneurs and traders of our country were not in a position to resuscitate their economy and enhance their living standards without relying on the

active assistance of the state and pooling their labour and funds. Under these conditions, we reformed the capitalist traders and manufacturers on socialist lines, together with handicraftsmen, by using different cooperative forms. By joining the producers' cooperatives, the entrepreneurs and traders completely broke with the past in which they had lived off others, and were reformed as 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 cooperativization, 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 major objectives of socialist construction in the period of the Five-Year Plan were the laying of the groundwork of socialist industrialization and of the foundations of an independent national economy.

Due to the successful accomplishment of the postwar Three-Year Plan, our country advanced 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 stipulated the task of laying the base of socialist industrialization in this period in order to consolidate even further the foundations of an independent national economy and to create the conditions for equipping all branches of our national economy with up-to-date technology in the future.

The programme 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. Added to this, the US imperialists and their lackeys intensified their aggressive manoeuvres and subversive activities during this period against the northern half of Korea as never before, and the anti-Party factionalists

within the Party betrayed our revolution and engaged in 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 in a great surge of 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 charge 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 great innovations in all sectors of socialist construction. 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 and a half years 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 training 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 effected great innovations in all sectors of the economy and culture, ideology and morality.

As a result of the successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, the historic goal of building the foundations of socialism was triumphantly achieved in the northern half of our country, which then emerged as 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 effect comprehensive 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 undergone an industrial revolution or the usual 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 magnificent programme of the Seven-Year Plan that opened up new and broader vistas for us. When, however, the US imperialist aggressive manoeuvres became more flagrant over the past few years, we were compelled to direct additional efforts to the strengthening of our defence capability 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 enemy invasion and the peaceful labour of the working people in socialist construction be firmly safeguarded. The reinforcement of the national defence capability in accordance with the new situation fully conforms to 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 all the working masses to implement this line.

Upholding the Party Conference decisions, our heroic working class and all other working people launched a resolute 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 crescendo of the great revolutionary upswing resounds in all factories and enterprises, in the mines, and on the railways, at harbours and the cooperative 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 for 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 industrial branches such as coal, chemical fertilizers, major nonferrous metals and timber.

Comrades,

Through the harrowing and complex 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, made rapid progress; 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. Our heavy industry with the engineering industry as its nucleus, 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 vitality and has come to serve the development of light industry and agriculture more effectively.

The production base for consumer goods has also been firmly established. Our country is presently meeting the people's needs with our own products and has laid the groundwork for producing a range of high-grade consumer goods in greater volume in the future. The success achieved in the growth of light industry is due to the correct implementation of the Party's farsighted 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 determinedly tapping local raw materials and manpower reserves and, in its initial 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 major role in accelerating the development of the national economy as a whole.

We scored enormous successes also in the development of agriculture. Even though we had freak floods throughout our country last year, 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 by a significant degree. We are not only self-sufficient in grain but we now have a considerable reserve of it and have established the solid foundations for advancing all branches of agriculture to a higher level.

Education and culture have also witnessed great strides since the founding of the Republic. Some 2,690,000 students or one-fourth of our population are now receiving free education at our different institutions of learning. In particular, due to the universal compulsory nine-year technical education introduced last year, following on the heels of the universal compulsory secondary education, are we now 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 period immediately after the armistice, working in all branches of the national economy. It is due to their ability, initiative and efforts that our modern factories and enterprises are well built, managed and operated.

The elimination of exploitation and oppression and the rapid development of the economy and culture have resulted in the continual enhancement 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 unemployed persons nor beggars. All the working people are freed from anxiety 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 capability has been further increased 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 manoeuvres 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 nation as well as a powerful independent national economy. We have thus become capable of effectively frustrating every kind of desperate manoeuvre perpetrated by the imperialists and of reliably defending the security of our country and its people.

The international prestige of our Republic is constantly enhanced as a result of the resolute anti-imperialist, anti-US position and the principled, independent foreign policy of our Party and Government. At present our country maintains relations of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and many newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. Contacts and exchanges are

increasing and the ties are being strengthened with each passing day between our people and many other peace-loving peoples of the world. We have thus come to have innumerable well-wishers 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 socialist revolution and socialist construction and of the tremendous socio-economic transformation effected 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 consolidated even further on a socialist basis, which assured the firm political and ideological unity of the entire nation. Comradely relationships prevail throughout our society, in which the working class, cooperative farmers and working intellectuals, united under the socialist economic system, are all working and closely cooperating with each other in the interests of the Party and the revolution, the country and the people, for 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 extend its functions and role in revolution and construction, the people's government must steadily improve and perfect its system and method of work in keeping with new and varying circumstances.

Following the completion of the socialist transformation of the relations of production 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 experience gained in revolution and construction in our country. With these as a basis, they took a series of important measures to reorganize the operations of state and economic institutions and to raise the level of guidance given by their officials in line with new, altered circumstances.

In particular, the guidance given at Chongsan-ri in February 1960 marked a turning-point in the operations of state and economic institutions. A radical change was brought about in their activities in the course of enforcing the practices gained at Chongsan-ri. Guidance was brought closer to the grass-roots level, and a revolutionary work method established whereby the higher echelons help the lower, the officials go deep among the masses to train, remould and unite them and solve all problems by eliciting their revolutionary zeal and creative initiative.

After the guidance at Chongsan-ri, we took important measures to reorganize the system of industrial management and establish a new system of agricultural guidance in order to implement the Chongsanri spirit and 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 conduct all their operations under the collective leadership of the Party committees and to carry out their revolutionary tasks by giving precedence to political work and thus rousing the masses. It obliged the higher echelons to aid the lower, senior personnel to assist junior and the skilled to teach the unskilled, everyone to cooperate in a comradely way and all workshops, factories and branches to work closely together, so as to facilitate cooperation in production and the rational management of the economy along scientific lines in accordance with objective economic laws. In launching the Tae'an work system, our

Party and the Government of the Republic saw to it that unified and detailed planning was carried out in order to reinforce the discipline of democratic centralism in economic management and to develop our economy in a more planned and balanced way. The introduction of unified and detailed planning further increased the economic organizational role of the state organs and eliminated the subjectivism of the state planning bodies and the departmentalism and parochialism manifested by producers in their planning. This allowed the drawing up of truly realistic, scientific and dynamic plans by properly combining the objectives 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 cooperative farm management committee as the 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 cooperative farms and decisively strengthen the ascendancy of all-people property over cooperative property.

The establishment of the new specialized system of agricultural guidance radically improved the operations 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 up these sectors.

Through these changes all the state and economic institutions have further enhanced their functions and role in all spheres of socialist construction, the close ties between the officials of the government organs and the masses have been strengthened even more and broad sections of the working masses are able to participate in state affairs as masters.

In the last 20 years our people have, indeed, wrought epochal changes which our ancestors would not have dreamed possible in thousands of years. We brought these about by valiantly marching forward under the banner of our beloved country, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The 20 years of the Republic are 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 imperishable 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 regulated production on a highly scientific and technical basis for the purpose of systematically improving the welfare of the people. Every manner 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 provides genuine democratic rights and freedom to the masses of the people in all spheres of politics,

the economy and culture. In our society, everyone participates freely in the political life of the country, exercises his inalienable rights for the revolutionary cause, chooses his occupation and profession according to ability and leaning, and works, studies and lives happily. In capitalist society where the means of production are privately held and the aim of production is unchecked profit for the capitalists and landlords, the producer masses struggle to keep body and soul together and have no interest in the development of production and technology. In socialist society, however, the means of production are publicly held and the producer masses work for the country, society and themselves. This encourages the people to give full play to their boundless creative initiative and talents for advancing production steadily and swiftly. In 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 in production nor crisis of overproduction as there is in capitalist society. The national economy is planned and balanced and all the country's manpower and material resources and potentialities 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 step with the rapid expansion of production.

The capitalist path is the course of exploitation and oppression, slavery and ruin, while the socialist path is the course leading to the abolition of class exploitation and national oppression, to the freedom and happiness of all the people and complete independence and prosperity for the country.

The two diametrically opposed systems, that in the north and that in the south of Korea, are striking examples. In the northern half of Korea, the most progressive system—socialism—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 US imperialism's colony and military base for aggression, its economy has been utterly ruined and the people groan under a regime of terrorism and tyranny, deprived of all political freedom, even basic democratic rights, and undergo unprecedented trials.

History confirms 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 resolutely crush the subversive manoeuvres of foreign imperialism and domestic reactionary forces, and tear down the imperialists' colonial ruling apparatus and destroy the economic foothold of imperialism and domestic reaction. They must zealously strive to reinforce the revolutionary forces, establish a progressive social system, and develop an independent national economy and national culture. Only by doing these things will they be able to hasten along the course to freedom and happiness, national independence and prosperity, bypassing the bitter history of misery and distress which capitalism has inevitably undergone.

Capitalism has already waned. It is racing to the verge of collapse. Socialism and communism represent the bright future of mankind. It is an immutable law of historical development that all nations progress to socialism and communism.

We will continue to advance steadily along the socialist path unswervingly.

Our people are facing the historic challenge of ensuring the complete triumph of socialism by zealously advancing revolution and construction on the basis of the brilliant successes already achieved in building a new society.

We have already established a firm base for socialism in the northern half of the country. We still, however, have much to do in order to win complete victory for socialism. Even after the creation of a socialist base, the socialist state should continue to carry through the revolution 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 effected in town and country, the exploiting classes are totally liquidated as classes and their socio-economic foothold ceases to exist. However, the remnants of those classes persist. They never abandon the dream of restoring their former positions and continually conduct subversive activities. Even after the triumph of the socialist system, therefore, hostile elements linger on 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 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.

In our country, in particular, the ringleader of world reaction, US imperialism, entrenched in the south of Korea, is continually instigating the reactionary classes in the south and the remnants of the exploiting classes in the north to conduct subversion and acts of sabotage as well as to counter our ideology, with the aim of overthrowing the socialist system in the north.

Even after the establishment of the socialist system, the vestiges of the outdated ideas that ensued from thousands of years of exploiter societies persist for a long time to have some sway over the minds of the working people. The triumph of the socialist system puts an end to the economic base that engenders retrogressive beliefs and it creates the social and material conditions for arming people with new ideas. Since the development of the ideological consciousness of people lags behind the changes in the material conditions of society, however, even after the socialist system has triumphed, outdated ideas left over from the exploiter society persist for a long time among the working people. The virus of alien bourgeois ideology infiltrates ceaselessly into socialist society owing to the ideological and cultural penetration of the imperialists.

In addition, for many years after the socialist relations of

production have been established throughout society, there remain anomalies between town and country, and also class anomalies between the working class and the peasantry. The sure evidence the countryside lags behind the towns is 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 less ideologically conscious than workers in industry. This backwardness is the repercussion of the former society. It is due to this backwardness that the cooperative economy remains the predominant form in agriculture, whereas all-people ownership reigns supreme in industry. As a result, the class distinctions between the working class and peasantry remain.

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 opened a broad avenue for the development of the productive forces and the continued enhancement of the people's living standards. We have, however, only laid the basis for industrialization and taken the first step in the technical revolution; we still have a long way to go in order to attain the high level of development of the productive forces commensurate with a socialist and communist society. Also, as regards the people's living standards, we have destroyed the social bases of exploitation and poverty and have accelerated production, thus solving the greatest material and cultural needs of our people. However, we have not yet been able to provide for them all that we intend to.

No society can be cited as a totally triumphant socialist society where the hostile classes persist in subversion; where retrogressive ideas have sway over the minds of the people; where there still remain anomalies between town and the countryside and class anomalies between the working class and the peasantry; where full-scale industrialization has not been attained; 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 historic goal of the working class, the socialist state must further

extend its role as an instrument in the class struggle and in the building of socialism and communism. In other words, the socialist state should strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, conducting the class struggle on the one hand and resolutely advancing 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 programme, can it guarantee the complete triumph of socialism and come to occupy the two fortresses, ideological and material, which must be seized on the course to communism. If any one of these tasks is neglected or overlooked, it will cause great difficulties and irremediable damage to the entire construction of socialism.

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 cooperate closely with each other as comrades and display creative initiative and voluntary zeal in their work for the common goal and interest. Past experience confirms that without developing the working people's class awareness and raising their level of ideological consciousness by intensifying the class struggle, the latent superiority of socialism cannot be evidenced and the working people are prone to indolence and apathy, thereby making it impossible to implement the tasks of economic construction and technical revolution successfully.

On the other hand, it is also wrong to lay great stress on the class struggle and ideological revolution and lesser emphasis on the building of the socialist economy. The ideological revolution is an important revolutionary task which the socialist state must not fail to conduct. The ideological revolution is important because through it the vestiges of retrogressive beliefs that have held sway over the minds of the

working people are eliminated and because it elicits their voluntary zeal and creative initiative to establish socialism and communism successfully. Communists fight not only for the freedom and liberation of the masses but also for the enhancement of the standards of their lives. An important task facing communists after they have overthrown the old system and liberated the people from exploitation and oppression, is the efficient building of the socialist economy. Concern for the growing welfare of the people is the supreme principle that governs 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 needs of all the people and ensuring them a prosperous 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 prosperous and strong and the living standards of the people conclusively raised. Only when the material and technological basis of socialism is firmly laid by resolutely promoting economic construction, can the political independence and sovereignty of the country be secured and, also, its defence capability increased.

If stress is laid only on the ideological revolution and the technical revolution is neglected, the revolutionary task of liberating the working people from onerous labour cannot be accomplished, nor can the ideological revolution itself be carried out successfully. Ideological consciousness of people is determined by the material conditions of society. In socialist society, therefore, 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 continually extend the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle and efficiently conduct economic construction. We should give definite precedence to the ideological revolution and forcefully advance the technical revolution at the same time. Only by so doing is it possible to remould the ideology of people, and build up the firm material and technological foundations of

socialism and thus achieve the complete victory of socialism.

We should first strengthen dictatorship over class enemies and effectively conduct the ideological revolution, in order 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 in order to revolutionize and working-classize them, in gradually eliminating all class distinctions and building communism, while liquidating the exploiting classes and ending their resistance. We should correctly combine the Party's class line and mass line to isolate and inhibit the handful of hostile elements and, at the same time, educate and reform the broad masses to rally them closer around the Party.

As you all know, the dictatorship of the proletariat means suppression for the minority hostile elements and democracy for the 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 majority of the people through education and reformation, 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 cooperation 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, alienate the Party from the masses and bring about unrest in 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 vestiges of retrogressive ideologies 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. As there has been no state without classes in the history of mankind, so there has not been, and cannot be, democracy which does not bear a class character. In any state, democracy is democracy for the class that holds power, and is combined with dictatorship over the hostile classes. Under the conditions in which remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes are engaged in subversion 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” in some socialist countries, describing these as a “necessary process” for 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 imperialists 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 entails finally liquidating the exploiting classes, fully guaranteeing true political freedom and rights

as well as material and cultural prosperity to the working class and other sections of the working people, and enhancing comradesly cooperation and mutual assistance between 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 vestiges of the old society are eradicated, and particularly at a time when the enemies at home and abroad continue to intensify their acts of aggression and subversion 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 slacken, 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 reinforcing the unity and cohesion of the people, while opposing all Right and “Left” deviations in state activities.

We should continue to extend the 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 ambition of restoring their privileged positions. We should opportunely launch a resolute counterattack and smash the imperialists’ counter-revolutionary plots to subvert our social system in collusion with the hostile elements within. We should in this course strongly defend the gains of our revolution and firmly guarantee the complete victory of socialism in our country.

While bridling the hostile elements, we should enhance the

leadership that the working class gives to all other social strata and carry out the thoroughgoing ideological revolution, thus revolutionizing and working-classizing all members of society.

True, suppression of the hostile elements is an essential function of the state of the proletarian dictatorship and a form of class struggle which the socialist state must not fail to carry out. This, however, is not the only function of the proletarian dictatorship nor does it represent the only form of class struggle. In addition to 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 out the retrogressive ideas that have some sway over 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 in a socialist society against the vestiges of retrogressive beliefs that persist in the minds of the working people is a class struggle in that it is a struggle between working-class ideology and bourgeois ideology. It is, however, 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 remould people's beliefs. The ideological revolution in socialist society is an internal affair of the working masses who advance hand in hand to attain the common ideal. Its goal is to educate and reform all the working people to become 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 must cement the unity and cohesion of the working people.

In socialist society the main targets of the ideological revolution are the vestiges of feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas that persist and the virus of reactionary capitalist ideology that infiltrates from

abroad. Through resolute ideological revolution the socialist state should root out all vestiges of retrogressive beliefs having sway over the working people and effectively ward off the virus of alien bourgeois ideology. This is especially true in our situation where the country remains divided and we are directly confronted with the US imperialists, the ringleader of world reaction. For these reasons the struggle against the enemy's subversion and sabotage and ideological infiltration acquires greater importance, and we must always pay special 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 to the rural question and the raising of cooperative property to the level of all-people property is one of the most urgent tasks facing 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 plot. Only when cooperative property is raised to the level of all-people property, can the agricultural productive forces be highly developed. Only then will the selfishness that persists among the farmers be rooted out, only then will all working people be guided undeviatingly along the course to collectivism under which they work for the whole of society and the entire nation with a high sense of purpose. Our Party, generalizing the achievements and the experiences gained in our rural operations, has already determined the basic principles and the concrete means to solving the rural question in socialist society. In accordance with the clear-cut policy set by the Party, we should resolutely accelerate the

technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside to end the technological imbalance between agriculture and modern industry, the cultural backwardness of the countryside in comparison with the advanced towns and the ideological anomalies between the peasantry and the working class, the most revolutionary class. Moreover, we should continue to extend the leadership and assistance given to the rural areas by the working-class Party and state and develop all-people property and cooperative property as an organic whole, steadily bringing the latter closer to the former.

To win complete victory for socialism, socialist economic construction should be resolutely promoted, while every kind of class distinction is eliminated and cooperative property is elevated to the level of all-people property. Our task in the field of socialist economic construction is 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 training 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 prepare all people to be well-rounded, competent builders of communism. In this way our people, who have already rid themselves of exploitation, will be relieved from backbreaking labour. The anomalies between industrial and agricultural labour, heavy and light work, physical and mental labour, will eventually be obliterated, making for the production of a greater amount of material wealth with less 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 former middle classes. By doing so, we will guarantee that all the people identify the indisputable superiority of the socialist system more clearly in their day-to-day life and devotedly fight for its consolidation and development, absolutely confident of the complete

victory of socialism. Only when this is realized can we say that the triumph of socialism is complete.

A pressing task facing 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 whole society by giving definite priority to the ideological revolution in accordance with the policy set forth in the decisions 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 decisions is the early overfulfilment of the national economic plan for the current year and the thorough preparation for next 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 must give priority to the electric power and extractive industries, which are essential to 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 so as to increase their capacity to the maximum. We should also promote 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 the programme of rural electrification completed by 1970.

There should be no complacency in the coal industry even if the target set in the Seven-Year Plan is achieved this year. Rather, we should persistently strive to increase coal production. Geological prospecting and tunnelling should be kept substantially ahead of other processes so as to provide sufficient cutting faces. Drives for technological innovation 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 exploiting of new nonferrous ore deposits with great potential should be stepped up. At the same time, the construction of ore-dressing plants now under way should be quickly completed and all requisite types of mining equipment supplied, so that the ore output can be increased.

It is of very great importance for the development of the national economy as a whole to regularize production in 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 aimed at putting the iron and steel industry on an independent basis should be conducted more purposively in this sector. We must promote the building of iron and steel plants that will use domestic supplies of anthracite, thus ensuring the 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 transforming nature can be carried out in the future. We should expand and bolster the production centres for heavy equipment such as heavy excavators and trucks, big tractors, vessels and machine tools.

In order to meet the immense construction projects scheduled for the coming year, we should direct great efforts to radically advancing the building-materials industry, and in particular the production of cement.

There is a great strain on existing transport facilities in our country, particularly on the railways. Easing this strain is a vital precondition for guaranteeing the success of our production efforts next year. With the aim of reducing the strain on the railways, we should promote 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 the field of agriculture, every effort should be directed to gathering 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 expand 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 be fulfilled in order that we achieve all the major targets of the Seven-Year Plan, our monumental programme for socialist construction. The fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan will be a historic event which will signal 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 become firmly independent, with a more developed infrastructure, 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 enhancement of the people's living standards. The material and technological bases of agriculture will be consolidated and the innovations of advanced agronomical science will be put into practice on a wide scale. As a consequence, all sectors of agricultural production including grain growing will develop rapidly and our farmers will be freed, to a large extent, from backbreaking tasks. Our towns and villages will be more beautiful and the life of our people will become more prosperous and cultured. Our country will be transformed 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 expediting the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan.

Comrades,

To achieve the final victory of socialism, it is necessary to strengthen the class alliance between the socialist countries, the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp. These 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 has triumphed throughout the world. 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 whole world.

It is in this arena that the formation of the socialist camp and its expansion and development are of great significance. The historical mission of the working class is the overthrow of all systems of exploitation and the building of socialism and communism, the highest ideal of mankind, throughout the world. 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 US-led imperialists, together with all other reactionaries, fear the existence of the socialist camp more than anything. 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-US struggle. They are manoeuvring to disintegrate from within, through intensified ideological and cultural infiltration, those countries which refuse to follow a positive revolutionary course, spreading illusions among the people about imperialism and only insisting on an unprincipled compromise with imperialism.

Under these circumstances it is necessary for the socialist countries, through their combined 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 consolidating 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 formidable 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 eradicated on the basis of the establishment of the public ownership of the means of production; Marxism-Leninism is the guiding principle 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 accidental 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, united into a permanent alliance given the obvious inevitable need for class solidarity.

If every socialist country firmly adheres to the class position and proceeds from the fundamental interests of the revolution, the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries will be constantly strengthened.

Differences may arise between fraternal parties and countries. Differences may stem 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 blurred 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 a matter for the socialist camp and the international communist movement; they are a problem which should be solved through 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 cause 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. Divisions 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 comradely cooperation. 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 purposive and lasting basis. If these standards are violated, complex problems will arise between fraternal parties and countries and the unity of the socialist camp will be seriously impaired.

The socialist countries and Communist and Workers' Parties are completely equal and independent. Due to 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 a superior to an 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 abroad and blindly trail other parties and countries. To follow others blindly, forfeiting one's own independence, does not serve to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp nor does it indicate 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 circumstances prevailing in 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 reciprocity and cooperation. 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 therefore to become independent and fulfil 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 cooperation 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 turn to good account its potential. Only in this way will national and international interests be secured in the course of building socialism in each country. Only by so doing, can the socialist countries foil the imperialist powers' policy of economic infiltration and blockade and, moreover, aggravate the general crisis of the world capitalist economic system.

Independence we advocate does not by any means conflict with proletarian internationalism. It is, on the contrary, aimed at strengthening it still further. Independence should serve to buttress proletarian internationalism and should never weaken it. There can be no internationalism without independence, and vice versa. If one reneges on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and falls to ethnocentrism, under the pretext of maintaining independence, 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, under the pretext of autonomy, is not an attitude befitting a communist. Such actions will do immense 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 cooperation 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-US STRUGGLE TO CRUSH US IMPERIALISM, REUNIFY THE COUNTRY AND DEFEND WORLD PEACE

Comrades,

The building of socialism in the northern half of Korea is one aspect of the Korean revolution and the Korean revolution is a link in the chain of the world revolution. Our people are striving to the utmost to accelerate socialist construction in the northern half of Korea and, at the same time, to force US 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 US-led imperialists and of making every effort for world peace and human progress.

US imperialism is the most barbaric and most shameless aggressor of modern times and the ringleader of world imperialism. It is working desperately to stave off its impending doom by exacerbating international tension, stepping up the arms race 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. US 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 US imperialists have intensified their acts of aggression and subversion against the socialist countries in recent years. While stepping up their savage 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 acts of aggression and provocative manoeuvres against the Republic of Cuba. The US imperialist manoeuvres to unleash a new war in Korea have already reached an advanced stage. They have made full preparations in south Korea for another war, committing military provocations more openly against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The US imperialists are brutally suppressing the national-liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and are showing themselves to be heinous stranglers of national independence. They are stepping up armed intervention in Laos as well as violating the territorial integrity of Cambodia, and continue to perpetrate provocations against its people. They instigated the Israeli expansionists to launch an aggressive war against the Arab peoples and maliciously attempt to stifle the Arabs' struggle for national independence and a new order.

In recent years the US imperialists' subversion and plots to overthrow the newly independent national states have become more overt. With "aid" as bait, they have penetrated the newly independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America to meddle in their internal affairs. Having bribed and assembled the reactionary elements, they are frequently engineering military coups in a number of these countries. The purpose of their plotting is to sway these countries to the Right and lure them away from the anti-imperialist front one by one.

The US imperialists have wilfully resuscitated 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.

Each of these facts confirms that US 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 have peace nor will

aggression and war disappear. Without struggling against imperialism—US 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-US struggle unremittingly, until imperialism is finally eradicated.

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 Korea, 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 check US imperialism and defend world peace, it is necessary to also fight against the lackeys and allies of US imperialism.

In US imperialist strategy an importance is given to efforts to promote the opposition by all the forces of reaction to socialism and the national-liberation movements. In executing their policies of aggression and war, the US imperialists depend on reactionary forces in many countries, which act as their agents for aggression.

Typical are the examples of Japanese and West German militarism. Abetted by US imperialism, these two militarist forces that caused so much misery and suffering to mankind have been rapidly resuscitated in Japan and West Germany. Japanese and West German militarism are once again becoming sinister aggressive forces in Asia and Europe. This is a grave development and no one who truly values peace in Asia, Europe and the rest of the world can simply remain silent.

At present, the US imperialists are directing their spearhead of aggression towards Asia in particular. Japanese militarism obsequiously serves as their “shock brigade” in the Asian aggression. In an unfeasible attempt to materialize its old dream of conquering Asia with US 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 its tentacles of aggression to other regions also. At the command of US imperialism the Japanese militarists are making every preparation for a new war. Moreover, Japan is serving it as a logistics base and bridgehead 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 US 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 promote the aggressive designs of the reactionary ruling circles of Japan and induce the consolidation of the US 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 must exploit 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 combined struggle against Japanese militarism in Asia as well as against US imperialism in general. Japan's aggressive ambitions should be checked and thwarted by concerted action.

In order to defeat US imperialism, struggles must be waged against it in all parts of the world. The broad forces of anti-imperialism should join together in dealing blows at US imperialism and in bridling 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 US imperialist aggression reach. Only this will make possible the maximum disintegration and debilitation of US imperialist strength and the 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 who conduct revolutions have complete confidence in victory and that they pool their strength to deal an annihilating blow to US imperialism. Experience confirms 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 US imperialism on each and every front. The peoples of all countries conducting revolutions should rip the limbs off the US imperialists and behead them in every part of the world. The US imperialists appear strong, but when the peoples of many countries attack from all sides and dismember them together, they will be rendered powerless and will, in the end, perish.

We should not tend to underestimate or to overestimate the power of US imperialism. Like all other imperialisms on the globe, it is also on the decline and nearing collapse. The increased aggressive manoeuvres of the US imperialists are not evidence of their strength but, on the contrary, proof of their vulnerability. The more barbarically the US imperialists act, the more precarious 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 US imperialism and of all shades 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 trend of our times which no force can check.

The unswerving policy pursued by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in foreign relations is that of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp, developing friendly and cooperative 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 endeavours. We consider this policy an internationalist duty and spare no effort for its implementation.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people decidedly oppose the criminal war of

aggression of the US imperialists in Viet Nam and resolutely support the just struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people. Our people regard the struggle of the Vietnamese people as their own and are fully prepared to fight together with the Vietnamese people whenever requested to do so by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The people of Korea sternly condemn the incessant acts of aggression of the US imperialists against the Republic of Cuba. They resolutely support the heroic struggle of the fraternal Cuban people who are defending their country and their revolutionary gains, and are successfully building socialism.

Our people extend warm fraternal greetings to the peoples of the socialist countries opposing the policy of aggression and war of the imperialists headed by the US imperialists, and fighting for the victory of the common cause of socialism and communism.

The Korean people strongly denounce the US 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 just struggle against the intervention of US 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 US 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 US imperialism and its expansionist lackey, Israel, and for the defence of national independence and the building of a fuller 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 Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and other African countries in their struggle for freedom and liberation. They support the Palestinian people in their struggle for the liberation and independence of their homeland against the imperialists headed by US imperialism and against the Israeli expansionists. They support the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against the “independence” of Southern Rhodesia, illegally and arbitrarily manufactured by the Smith clique, and the struggle of the South African people against apartheid.

We support the revolutionary struggle of the Latin-American peoples who are waging valiant armed struggles against US imperialism and pro-US 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 support in their struggle.

Our people will always stand firm 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 US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and reunify the country is advancing together with the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle which is progressing admirably in all parts of the world.

South Korea is not only an outright colony of the US imperialists but also their military base for the invasion of 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 ringleader of world imperialism. We must force the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and accomplish the reunification of our homeland, thereby fulfilling our national and international duties.

US 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 USS *General Sherman*. The US imperialists, despite their ignominious defeat in the first attempted incursion, constantly carried out acts of aggression and plundered our country, committing countless, unpardonable crimes against the Korean people. Before liberation the US 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 contemptuously acted as new colonial rulers.

The US imperialists have for over 20 years enforced the most reactionary, colonial fascist military rule in south Korea. They have reduced south Korea into being their virtual colony and bridgehead. They have plunged the south Korean people into a living hell where poverty and hunger, terrorism and massacre prevail. The brutalities committed by the US imperialists in the southern half of our country since liberation comprise one of the most odious chapters in the history of modern imperialist aggression.

In an attempt to conceal their nefarious role as colonial rulers of south Korea, the US imperialists claim that south Korea is an “independent state” and has an “independent government”. This, however, is no more than sheer window dressing 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 DPRK represents the real national interests and will of all the 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 our 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 US 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 atrocities, brutally suppressing and slaughtering those revolutionaries and other patriots who rose in the anti-Japanese struggle. They are militaristic thugs who, after the surrender of Japanese imperialism, changed their master and became fawning lackeys of the US imperialists, treacherous men who usurped power with the backing of the US imperialists.

Furthermore, the Government of the Republic is an independent and sovereign government, whereas the so-called “government” of south Korea is an outright colonial and dependent “government”.

The Government of our Republic is a power set up by ourselves on the basis of the programme formulated by us. It has been consolidated and developed by the deliberate 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” installed by the US imperialists by force of arms against the will of the Korean people. The US imperialist occupation forces dissolved the people’s committees instituted on the initiative of the south Korean people after liberation and proclaimed a “military government”, enforcing a flagrant colonial fascist military rule in south Korea. When the “military government” met with the powerful resistance of the south Korean people, the US imperialists replaced the emblem of the “US military government” with that of the so-called “Republic of Korea Government” with the

odious aim of camouflaging their colonial rule. This was how the south Korean puppet regime came into being and, as a consequence, this “government” only acts on the directives of the US 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 fiendish war of aggression in Viet Nam to die a dog’s death as cannon fodder for the US imperialists. This single fact clearly demonstrates that the so-called “government” of south Korea is a fawning stooge of US imperialism.

Moreover, there is no doubt that the Government of our Republic is a true people’s power representing and protecting the interests of the workers, peasants and other sections 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 luxury to the US imperialists and their henchmen. Therefore, south Korean society is a paradise for the US imperialists and their stooges, but it is a living hell for the masses.

All this shows that the actual rulers, those who really wield power in south Korea, are none other than the US imperialists themselves. The so-called “Republic of Korea Government” of south Korea exists, to all intents and purposes, as a smoke screen to “legalize” their military occupation and camouflage their colonial rule. It has only ever served as a reliable instrument in the execution of the aggressive policy of US imperialism.

US imperialism’s occupation of south Korea and its aggressive policy are at the root of all the misery and suffering of our compatriots in the south. The Korean people in the south should fight more stubbornly against the occupation of south Korea by US imperialism, to smash its colonial rule and overthrow its stooges—the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats. The south Korean people can defeat the oppressors and win genuine freedom and

liberation only through their own determined struggle. The south Korean people should link the struggle to drive the US imperialists out of south Korea and so 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 emerge spontaneously, without struggle, and only by revolutionary means 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 prevailing subjective and objective situations, thus developing the revolutionary struggle. It is quite wrong to simply wait for favourable conditions and not take an active part in the struggle on the grounds that the revolutionary course is fraught with too many difficulties. However, no matter what form is chosen, these struggles should all anticipate the decisive struggle for winning power, and this determined struggle can be crowned with victory only by force of arms.

It is naive to imagine that the south Korean people can attain power by a peaceful means, without a violent struggle. History bears no instance of any colonial rulers or reactionary ruling circles renouncing their rule over the people and relinquishing power of their own accord before their overthrow by revolutionary violence. Moreover, the US imperialists, the ringleader of world imperialism, are entrenched in south Korea and try to maintain their colonial domination over the south of Korea by hook or by crook, since they have expansionist ambitions for the northern half of Korea and Asia. The US imperialists have experienced many crises in south Korea owing to the heroic struggle of the people. Each time, however, the US-sponsored armed forces have desperately resisted and oppressed the people in cold blood. The fall of the Syngman Rhee puppet regime in the heroic April 19 Uprising of the south Korean people very nearly brought about the end of US imperialist colonial domination over south Korea. Even then, however, the US imperialists refused to withdraw from south Korea and reacted to the demands of the people for freedom and liberation by establishing the worst conceivable fascist military regime.

Their bitter experience of over 20 years has deeply impressed on the Korean people in the south that they must not harbour any illusion about the US imperialists and that only when they evict the US imperialists and their lackeys completely by nationwide resistance, can they achieve freedom and liberation and regain their people's power.

The revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people is now expanding and developing into different forms of resolute anti-US, 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 the broader masses of all social strata. While further expanding their revolutionary organizations, the revolutionaries and other patriots of south Korea are waging an unflinching struggle against the enemy in towns and villages, fighting underground and in the mountains, in the prisons and even 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, students, journalists, teachers and even conscientious national capitalists, have struck terror into the US imperialists and their lackeys and thrown them into utter confusion.

The remarkable gains of the revolutionaries and patriots in south Korea in their sacred fight for the freedom and liberation of the nation, for the reunification and independence of our homeland add lustre to our country's glorious history of revolution.

The US imperialists and their lackeys are raising a frenzied "anti-communist" hue and cry, presenting the revolutionary struggle of the patriotic people in the many areas of south Korea as "invasion from north Korea" and charging that the present crisis in south Korea is due to the "threat from the north". A striking example of this is the "case of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification" which the south Korean puppets have of late been describing as a creation of north Korea. It is common knowledge that all of the more than 100 revolutionary fighters involved in this case—university professors, journalists,

soldiers and officials—are from the south of Korea. Such being the case, how can it be said the north Koreans are responsible? This is a flagrant and unbelievable fabrication of the puppet ruling circles in the south that are past masters in fraud and deception. It is nothing but a stereotyped trick to divert public attention. Wherever exploitation and oppression exist, there is always people's 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 US imperialists and their lackeys any longer, the Korean people in the south have bravely taken up arms to overthrow US imperialist colonial rule, with the firm resolve that it is better to rise up and fight than to be passive and perish. The US imperialists and their lackeys can never disguise the stark truth that the present crisis in south Korea is precisely the outcome of US imperialist colonial rule.

In spite of fascist suppression and every conceivable distortion by the US imperialists and their puppet clique, the south Korean people continue to become awakened and tempered through struggle. They will develop into an irresistible revolutionary force which will eventually overthrow US imperialist colonial rule. In due course, therefore, they will, whatever the cost, drive out the US 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 difficult 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 achieved this without conditions of any state backing, without a regular army assistance and with a scale of support from the international revolutionary forces far less than that currently given. The Korean people in the south, however, have a

powerful bastion of revolution in the northern half of the country and enjoy the active support from the north. Under the leadership of our Party, everyone in the northern half of Korea 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 Korean people in the south.

When US 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 combined 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 task 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 bear to live with the north and south 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 all the 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 US 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 US imperialists and their successive lackeys are only devices for perpetuating the division of our country. The “elections under UN supervision” which they advocate, are, in fact, nothing but an artifice for handing over the whole of Korea to the US imperialists.

At present, the traitorous clique of south Korea, faithful henchmen of US imperialism, doggedly opposes the peaceful reunification of the country. It blindly 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 US imperialism and its stooges 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 by any means rule out the struggle against the US imperialists. 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 vital demands of our nation for an end to the catastrophic partition of the country, for the restoration of the territory and population extorted by foreign imperialist aggressors, and for the achievement of the country’s complete independence. National reunification, whatever the means by which it is achieved, can be realized only when the US 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 all the 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 organize the

anti-US, national-salvation struggle more energetically 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.

Our Republic has entered an era of unprecedented prosperity. Nurtured by the Republic, our people are marching forward with increasing vigour, working, learning, joyful and proud, 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 prevailing circumstances in 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 resolutely, holding aloft the banner of the Republic, for the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution and the bright morrow of socialism and communism!

Hail 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 COUNTRY AREAS AND DEVELOPING THE COUNTIES ON SOUND LINES

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting
of Chief Secretaries of City and County Committees
of the Workers' Party of Korea
*September 24, 1968***

Comrades,

All the chief secretaries of city and county Party committees are present here. Today I should like to discuss some questions which are related to the speeding up of socialist rural construction and the sound development of the counties.

1. ON SPEEDING UP CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN THE COUNTRY AREAS

Socialist rural construction occupies 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 they concentrated on developing the urban economy and culture for their

own enrichment and pleasure, the capitalists utterly neglected the country areas. To them the countryside was no more than an object of unlimited exploitation and plunder. The capitalists and imperialist rulers caused the rural areas to lag far behind the towns, and this was one of their biggest crimes which affected the development of human society.

Because of the Japanese imperialists' colonial rule the outdated feudal relations of production dominated our countryside, the technical foundations of agriculture were weak and the methods of farming were very primitive. The peasants also trailed far behind the industrial workers and urban dwellers in their cultural standards and way of life.

To bring the country areas up to the level of the towns and eliminate the distinctions between them by developing them rapidly is an important historic duty which 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 is that of rapidly developing the countryside and, on this basis, eliminating 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 to achieve the complete victory of socialism.

Unless agriculture makes rapid progress, it is impossible, above all, to solve the food problem.

The three problems of food, clothing and housing are of basic importance to the people's lives and the problem of food is entirely dependent on agriculture. This is true of all countries. Before industry developed, clothing also relied almost wholly upon agriculture. Formerly, our people wove and made their clothes mainly from cotton grown in the country areas; 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 yet be solved in this way. We cannot predict the future, but so far industry has failed to produce foods such as rice, meat and eggs by chemical means. Science has been unable to solve this problem up until now.

Needless to say, industry greatly affects the development of agriculture. The rapid growth of industry will enable us to make spectacular progress in the rural technical revolution and, accordingly, increase agricultural production speedily. Despite industry's quick development, however, it cannot directly take the place of agricultural production at the present stage of science and technology. In order to solve the people's food problem satisfactorily, we must continue to increase agricultural production through our emphasis on the development of the rural economy.

In addition, if we do not eradicate the backwardness of the country areas at an early date, we shall 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 cooperative economy exists. While the countryside remains backward technologically and culturally, the peasants' low level of ideological consciousness cannot be raised quickly. If the peasants are not awakened ideologically, feudal-Confucian ideas may revive in the rural areas and capitalist ideology may readily infiltrate. In other words, the backwardness of the countryside eases 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.

Playing down the importance of solving the rural question and paying only minimal attention to it in the process of socialist construction is a capitalist approach. If a socialist state fails to attach due importance to rural construction, its country areas will be left behind, and eventually it will even be compelled to buy grain for food from other countries. In a case like this the complete victory of

socialism would be impossible, and the country would be indefinitely crippled.

There is no need to point out that the elimination of all backwardness in the countryside at an early date and the correct solution of the socialist rural question are not easy. It is one of the most difficult and complicated questions in the building of socialism.

The imperialists, casting abuse at the socialist system, are now claiming that socialist countries are ruined because they have refashioned their rural areas along socialist lines. Of course, this is no more than the imperialists' 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 future through continuous, massive efforts in socialist rural construction.

In order to solve the socialist rural question successfully, great efforts have to be made to develop industry, heavy industry in particular, so that it will give forceful 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 items of 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 the greater use of chemicals in agricultural production.

The general principles and definite ways of solving the rural question are clearly set out in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural*

Question in Our Country. The theses are our Party's programme for socialist rural construction and the working rules for our Party officials and personnel in the field of agriculture.

As days go by, the situation in our country shows 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 direct one to the solution of the socialist rural question.

The point is that our officials must implement the Party's rural theses correctly, clause by clause.

To implement the theses correctly, the officials of the county Party committees, county cooperative farm management committees and county people's committees should work more efficiently than anybody else. At present some senior agricultural workers consider the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* to be merely a book and have not yet overcome conservatism in the struggle to put them into effect.

All workers, but particularly agricultural officials, should not only study the theses closely, but should work devotedly to put them into practice, point by point.

In carrying out the theses, emphasis should, at present, be placed on the forceful acceleration of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

As I have already said in my report at the 20th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Republic, we must not 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 hastening the construction of socialism and communism by successfully carrying out the technical revolution.

We should not neglect the ideological revolution, while attaching importance to the technical revolution alone, nor should we do the contrary. If we fail to pay close attention to the ideological revolution while stressing the technical one alone, we shall not be successful in preventing the corrosive action of old ideas and ideological and cultural penetration by the imperialists. If people are ideologically unawakened, become work-shy and choose an indolent, dissolute life, it will be impossible to build socialism successfully or even firmly defend the socialist system which we have already established, no matter how highly developed the economy and technology or how prosperous the people's lives. And if we do not vigorously promote the technical revolution but emphasize only the ideological one simply because it is important, we shall 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 carry out the tasks of the ideological revolution itself with any success.

We must forcefully advance the technical and ideological revolutions, taking them both firmly 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 level and carry forward the ideological revolution more energetically.

We have, of course, made great efforts in the technical revolution in the countryside for many years. But we were unable to introduce mechanization and the use of chemicals in agriculture on a large scale while our industry was not yet able to make use of its full strength. The situation is different today. Our industry has been placed on a firm foundation where it can produce and supply a sufficient amount of the modern means of production which agriculture requires, including 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 shall say nothing further about the ideological revolution since I have already dealt with it in detail on many occasions. Today I shall

limit myself mainly to some tasks for speeding up the rural technical revolution.

The rural technical revolution is an honourable revolutionary task which aims to develop agriculture rapidly on the basis of modern technology and to free the peasants from burdensome labour.

The rural technical revolution alone makes it possible to increase agricultural production rapidly, allowing the farmers to work more easily, and to bring in for the farmers the same eight-hour day which the workers have. An eight-hour day will enable the farmers to study more than they do 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 the energetic promotion of the rural technical revolution as an important fighting task.

First of all, we should zealously proceed with the mechanization of agriculture.

Our country areas now have large numbers of modern farm machines, including tractors, and the amount will increase greatly in the next few years. We can manufacture as many tractors as we need if the tractor factories are supplied with enough steel. Indeed, today there is no serious problem for us to supply the countryside with machinery.

An important task in speeding up the mechanization of agriculture is to increase the utilization of farm machinery, including tractors.

In order to make better use of tractors, we must strengthen our repair bases so that they can be quickly repaired and maintained and also re-align the fields properly.

Without re-aligning the fields effectively farm work cannot be mechanized, regardless of the number of tractors. Extensive work has to be undertaken to re-align fields on all cooperative farms. If every workteam copes with at least one or two plots of land a year, a large cultivated area will be re-aligned within the next few years.

Large, labour-consuming works of this kind cannot all be done by men carrying earth on their back. Bulldozers and other machines should be widely used. Where there is no bulldozer, one can use

tractors fitted with bulldozer blades. Every means should be employed to re-align all fields systematically in the near future, and paths to fields must be properly laid. In this way we shall ensure that machines can enter any field and work freely.

Great attention should also be paid to soil conservation at the same time as land re-alignment. 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 made to make greater use of chemicals in agriculture.

The use of chemicals in agriculture is very important in freeing the farmers from toilsome labour and conserving manpower in the countryside. It is also an important guarantee for increasing agricultural production.

The use of chemicals 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 country areas where they have helped in farm work agree. In the early period of our revolutionary activities when we went out and worked in the rural areas, we also did a wide variety of farm work which included weeding with the peasants; and weeding was indeed arduous work. If various herbicides are widely used as a part of our greater utilization of chemicals, the farmers can be freed once and for all from such backbreaking labour.

The experiments we have conducted with herbicides for several years at the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and on some cooperative farms, for example, the Chongsan Cooperative Farm, Kangso County, have convinced us of the excellence of this farming method.

I am told that the Chongsan Cooperative Farm expects this year's harvest to be as high as seven or eight tons of rice per hectare, 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 seedlings and weeding. A few days ago we went to Chongsan-ri and talked to an old farmer who has grown old farming there. He said that it was the first time in his life that he would reap such a high yield while working with ease, 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; his only regret was that he was now 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 hectare 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 hectare are expended when rice is directly sown on dry paddies and 67 on watered paddies. Thus, 60 man-days per hectare 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 cooperative farmer has difficulty tending even one hectare of paddy fields. In future when agricultural chemicals are extensively used, he will be able to cultivate more than three hectares even if rice is transplanted.

In bringing about the greater use of chemicals in agriculture we must first stress the use of herbicides so that the farmers are able to 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 defects. The first is that the plants are easily blown down because they do not strike deep roots; and the second, that they are frost-bitten before they ripen

as their growth rate does not coincide with the natural and climatic conditions of our country. For rice to be sown directly, we should further investigate the question of getting deeply-rooted rice plants and produce rice seeds of a 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. These experiments must be done intensively, mainly on a few experimental farms designated by the state; other cooperative farms should each test one or two hectares 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 as they are mass-produced.

According to the results up to now, herbicides like PCP and cimadin are very efficient. They can be used on both paddy and dry fields. In rice growing, herbicides should be sprayed first on the nursery to kill barnyard grass and then used again to kill other weeds after the young rice plants are bedded out. Herbicides should also be extensively applied in dry-field farming, including maize cultivation.

The use of herbicides in agricultural production is largely dependent on industry although it also hinges on the agricultural officials and farmers themselves. A greater range of chemicals cannot be used in agricultural production unless industry supplies a large quantity of herbicides.

A herbicide factory should be built as early as possible to supply large amounts of various herbicides to the rural districts. In order to free the farmers from arduous labour rapidly, we should produce large quantities of herbicides, although it is also important to continue increasing the output of chemical fertilizer. Chemical fertilizer is also completely effective only when weeds are removed from the fields through the extensive use of herbicides.

As well as a herbicide factory, we should also build a microelement fertilizer factory soon, so that the country areas will be supplied with

various fertilizers of this type from next year.

At the same time, frequent training courses should be arranged for senior agricultural workers and farmers so as 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 screen it for the farmers.

Meanwhile, senior agricultural workers must carry out expert explanatory work among the farmers. Farmers are reluctant to introduce new techniques because they are still plagued with many conservative ideas. Agricultural officials must patiently explain the use of herbicides to the farmers and conduct various kinds of organizational and political work to help them fully appreciate the advantages of the use of chemicals through practical work so that they will have firm confidence in them.

In this way, by making meticulous material, technical and ideological preparations, the use of agricultural chemicals will be increased, stage by stage.

Our next task is the effective encouragement of the cultural revolution in the rural areas.

In order to carry out the rural cultural revolution successfully, it is necessary, first of all, to ensure that every farmhouse is supplied with electricity.

Electrification in our country areas is now nearing completion. Some time ago I visited North Phyongan Province and inspected rural districts and I found that only a few isolated farmhouses in remote valleys did not yet have electricity. We must work a little harder to ensure that electricity reaches even all these mountain villages in the near future.

In order to provide all the farmers in mountainous areas with electric light, I think that we should take steps to concentrate the houses which are now scattered in ones and twos. If electricity is to be supplied to every house, there will not be enough electric cable, if we leave them where they are. That is not all. When houses are isolated, children have problems in getting to school and there are many

difficulties in everyday life. Some rural officials say that they leave isolated houses where they are in the mountains to prevent wild animals from damaging crops. But there is no need to do this. 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 site is chosen for a village and houses are built close together for each sub-work team of the cooperative 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; it would be better to site it at the foot of a hill where there is good water, sunlight and no danger of landslides.

Kumbu-ri in Sakju County, North Phyongan 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 picture-scroll. Every time I pass by, I purposely slow down to enjoy the view of the whole village. In future, all our villages should be built neatly and attractively in beautiful places like Kumbu-ri village.

In the case of a secluded mountain village far from the main power line it would be a good idea to relocate its scattered houses in one place and install a small generator. To bring electricity to a village like this, we need time and a great deal of material, for long lines have to be laid. A small generator should be installed in this kind of place to provide electric light for everyone at an early date.

In the rural cultural revolution it is also important to make it possible for the whole rural population to hear cable radio broadcasts.

Only when every home in the rural areas receives these broadcasts, can the voice of the Party Central Committee ringing out from Pyongyang simultaneously reach every corner of our country.

The cable broadcasting network covers almost all the rural ri in our country now, not to mention the county seats. This is a great achievement for us in the rural cultural revolution. But we must not be content with this. Some of the ri which have already been supplied

with electricity still have no cable radio service.

We should launch an energetic campaign to enable the entire rural population to hear the cable radio programme. All the ri which have electricity should get the first cable broadcast installations; as for ri without an electricity supply, they should be provided with a cable broadcast service as soon as electricity can be brought to them in the future.

Next, there should be a newspaper or a magazine in every country home. Only then is it possible to propagate our Party's policy widely among the farmers and raise their technical and cultural levels rapidly.

Our publishing work should be improved so that large quantities of newspapers and magazines are produced. Although we must increase the number of copies of the national newspapers, there should also be more copies of the provincial dailies in particular. Provincial daily papers should not confine themselves to high-speed rotary presses; they should make good use of existing printing machines in order to print more copies. It would be logical for local industry factories to produce the paper needed for provincial dailies.

While increasing the circulation of newspapers and magazines, we should radically improve distribution. At present the number of newspapers and magazines falls short of the people's needs. To make matters worse, very many of them are distributed to offices, which means that only a small percentage reaches the people's homes. Newspapers and magazines should be delivered to individual houses in future rather than to offices. Only then can working people peruse newspapers at home in the morning, or in the evening, or on their 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 which face us in carrying out the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

The successful accomplishment of those tasks will change the general aspect of our country areas beyond recognition and significantly 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 brought about, the farmers will not yearn for the city. They will not want to abandon the countryside with its beautiful landscapes, fresh air and fine living conditions for the towns.

2. ON DEVELOPING THE COUNTIES ON SOUND LINES AND INCREASING THEIR ROLE

Developing the counties on sound lines and increasing their role is a very urgent task which faces us today in promoting socialist rural construction.

As already mentioned at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Officials and as clearly elucidated in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, the county plays the role of passing on the Party's 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, being 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 carry out the tasks of the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside successfully, 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 improve the role which it plays.

To improve 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 uniform 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 proceed well; if it fails to fulfil its functions properly, the whole work of the country cannot go ahead 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 paid particular attention to strengthening them. As long ago as during the war, the Party reorganized the system of state administration, abolishing the sub-county which 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 steps 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 improved. Through the struggle to implement the tasks set forth at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Officials and in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* in particular, great success has been achieved in the work of developing the counties and increasing their role.

However, we still have a great deal of 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 must be strengthened and their sense of responsibility and their role must be improved.

It can be said that whether or not the county fulfils its role properly and guides rural construction correctly depends entirely on whether its cadres carry out their assignments responsibly. As experience shows, work at county level succeeds where the chief secretaries of county

Party committees and other county cadres uphold the ideas of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* and work zealously to put them into effect; county work, however, fails to develop and remains at a standstill where the cadres fail to study their work and do it in a careless 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, increase their sense of responsibility, improve 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 abuse Party authority, are temperamental and even commit acts which may cause people some inconvenience, thus worsening the relationship between the Party and the masses. They must not do this. As we have stressed on many occasions, the Party is not an organization which abuses 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 uniform way. The duties and responsibilities you assume before the Party are heavy indeed. Leadership workers of county Party committees must bear this in mind and organize county work in a responsible fashion.

To improve work at county level, it is also necessary to increase the sense of responsibility and improve the role of senior officials 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 Phyongan Provincial Party Committee some time 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 cooperative farm management committee and other officials of the administrative and economic bodies who directly execute this work, do not fulfil their role properly.

At present, many county administrative and economic officials do not study their tasks in detail, nor do they show creativity in their work; they are not firmly armed with the revolutionary spirit needed to carry through the Party's policies to the end. The chairman of a certain county people's committee in North Phyongan Province knew almost nothing about the economic life in his county; he did not even know well the officials whom he deals with in the course of his everyday work. When he was directed to make uniforms for pupils and students, he did not conduct any organizational work to carry out the task. 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 so ignorant about the affairs of his county and is irresponsible in implementing Party policies, it is scarcely possible for things to function smoothly in his county.

When we say this, we do not mean that you should punish all comrades who have failings. The question is that the county Party committee 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 many cases guidance in the organizational life of the county cadres is not undertaken by leadership officials, but is left to poorly qualified instructors who are untested in their work. This is wrong. The education of the cadres of county administrative and economic bodies should be conducted personally by senior officials of county Party committees.

The county Party committee must tighten the guidance it gives to the Party organizational life of cadres and, in particular, should strengthen its control over their studies.

A major shortcoming today is that chief secretaries of county Party committees and other county cadres do not study sufficiently. While ordinary Party members are all studying conscientiously, cadres do not do so, keeping on the move, on the pretext of suffering from pressure of work. If our cadres, the commanding staff of the revolution and

construction, do not study, the Party's policies cannot be implemented properly nor can their strength be demonstrated, regardless of how good they might be.

Society and science are constantly changing and developing. Those who do not study and constantly bring their knowledge up to date in keeping with the changing situation will naturally become uninformed and will fall behind the times. Some comrades do not fulfil their tasks correctly or make mistakes mainly because they neglect their studies.

We must strengthen study among cadres so that all of them can have a clear knowledge of the Party's policies and use them as a yardstick in carrying out their work at any time and at any place. At the same time, it is necessary for officials of county people's committees to study the work method of the people's committee, and for those of county Party committees to study the method of Party work, so that all the cadres proceed with a clear understanding of the functions they have to discharge. Only then can the overall work of the county proceed smoothly and the county improve its role in socialist rural construction.

In addition, the county should be developed on a sound basis. This is essential to ensure that the county fulfils its role satisfactorily as the base linking the towns and the countryside in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture.

One of the important tasks in building up the county is to organize its trade network properly and develop local industry so that it can successfully play the role of supply base for the villages.

In order to achieve smooth commodity circulation between town and country the county retail trade management office, which is in charge of commodity supplies for the villages, must be built up efficiently, the network of procurement shops must be rationally distributed and they must be given better guidance so that they can purchase farm produce at the right time. Only the prompt purchase of agricultural produce from the farmers can develop local industry and, particularly, increase their enthusiasm for production. Procurement shops should be logically sited 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 established from amongst people who are honest and faithful to the Party.

The 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 making use of unused reserves in local areas, it is more important to keep production on a normal basis 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 not established a sound material and technical foundation of their own, and the quality of local industry products is also low. Let me take county foodstuff factories as an example. Bean paste and soya sauce produced there are not palatable, nor is production proceeding as it should because of the shortage of raw materials. The counties should give effective guidance to local industries so that they can raise the quality of their products and achieve normal production on their own solid raw material bases.

A new slaughterhouse and a refrigerator plant ought to be built in every county. Farmers are now raising many pigs, but they are not purchased promptly because there are no storage facilities for pork. Constructing a slaughterhouse and a refrigerator plant in each county in the future will allow us to purchase their domestically-raised animals at the right time, refrigerate the meat and supply it to the people on a regular basis.

It is also necessary to build up solid bases for the repair of farm machinery.

For the county to play its role properly as a base for the technical revolution in the country areas, it should ensure the production and supply of spare parts for farm machines and the immediate repair of tractors and motor vehicles so that they can operate normally. Take

Pyongyang for example. No district there has a farm machinery repair station which is up to standard. I visited the workteam of a cooperative 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. Although there are many tractors and motor vehicles in the country areas, only a small number of them are actually working. Counties should build up farm machine repair bases efficiently so as to have tractors and motor vehicles repaired immediately; they should also manufacture their own simple farm implements, such as hoes and sickles.

It is also important to build up the county as a strong base for the cultural revolution in the countryside.

First of all, we should improve the educational institutions and give them better guidance.

A county should have higher technical schools, including a higher agricultural school, and a higher school. At present, there is no higher school where there is a higher technical school, and vice versa. In future, each county should have both kinds of school.

As a county cadre-training organ the county Party school, which mainly trains and re-educates rural cadres, will suffice.

While the necessary educational institutions and cadre-training organs are set up in the counties, the county Party committees should improve the quality of guidance given to the schools. Only then will it be possible to raise fine personnel who will serve socialist rural construction and successfully carry out the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the country areas, as outlined in the theses.

Because they still do not clearly understand the schools' role in fulfilling the ideological and cultural revolutions, some cadres do not attach sufficient importance to work with teachers and students. We must correct the mistaken views of cadres who regard work with schools as a matter of secondary importance and improve guidance to the educational institutions so that schools can play a greater part in carrying out the ideological and cultural revolutions.

The distribution of films should also be done more efficiently. 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 being produced now. If good films are produced but are not shown to the people promptly and thus not widely used in educating the masses, they are of no value. We should improve film distribution and show films to all the working people soon after they are released.

Proper attention should also be given in the counties to improve cable radio broadcasting and the work of the post offices so that rural dwellers can get newspapers, magazines and other mail quickly.

In addition, county hospitals should be improved to render 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. In particular, there should be a maternity hospital in every county; and in areas where it is difficult to establish a maternity hospital immediately, we should introduce a system of midwives for every district.

The county should also have a bus station. We must establish one in each county and introduce regular bus services between the county seat and all the ri, thus providing the farmers with better facilities.

At the same time, we should supply piped water and build sewage works to provide the county seats with modern amenities and sanitation.

I firmly believe that by working hard to develop the counties on a solid basis and improve their role, you will carry out the tasks of socialist rural construction even more successfully, the tasks which are laid down in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

