

**KIM IL SUNG**

**WORKS**

**WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!**

# KIM IL SUNG

## WORKS

### 21

*January–December 1967*

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE  
PYONGYANG, KOREA

1985

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**REPLY TO THE LETTER OF THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE KOREAN AFFAIRS INSTITUTE  
IN WASHINGTON**

*January 4, 1967*

I have received your letter dated the 12th of November 1966.

I regard it as an expression of your efforts to promote our country's independent reunification.

In my letter of January 8, 1965 sent in reply to yours, I elucidated in detail the stand of our Government on your proposal concerning the problem of reunifying our country.

In your last letter you have now proposed, as an initial step to promote reunification, the idea of setting up a coordinating commission consisting of an equal number of representatives from both sides and meeting in a non-aligned country which is free from the influence of all the states concerned. In this regard, we recognize that it has something in common with our stand to realize contacts and negotiations between north and south. As is well known, we have suggested more than once that representatives of north and south Korea should meet in Seoul or Pyongyang or any other place which both sides agree to. If the coordinating commission you proposed is set up and representatives of north and south meet to negotiate on the principle of independent reunification, it will be a step forward in achieving the cause of national reunification.

Those who are worried about the future of the country and the destiny of the nation must make the greatest efforts to explore every

possibility to bring about the nationwide cause of doing away with the tragedy of national division and reunifying the country.

We have consistently exerted, and are exerting, every possible effort to achieve national reunification, the supreme task of the nation.

As is commonly known, we always start from the stand that the reunification problem, an internal affair of our nation, should be solved on the independent principle without interference from any outside forces in a democratic and peaceful way.

The basic way of national reunification we have consistently proposed is to establish a united and democratic central government by means of free general elections throughout the north and the south following the withdrawal of all foreign troops. In the postwar period alone we advanced such a proposal repeatedly at the 1954 Geneva conference for the peaceful solution of the Korean question and the sessions of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Our proposal presupposes the withdrawal of foreign troops. It is self-evident that the nation's independence and the masses' freedom of declaration of their intentions can not be ensured as long as foreign troops occupy our territory.

In north Korea today there are no foreign troops. The question is to make the US withdraw its army which is occupying south Korea in the guise of "UN Forces".

The north-south general elections must be conducted on the condition that foreign troops should be withdrawn and all forms of foreign interference removed, while the complete freedom of activities of political parties as well as the liberties and rights of the masses are fully guaranteed. It should be ensured that all political parties, organizations and individuals can conduct political activities freely anywhere in north and south Korea, that the people can see the realities of the two regions without restraint and judge everything for themselves, and that they can discuss at will which way to follow for the independence and prosperity of the nation and make relevant conclusions on their own.

If, on the basis of creation of these conditions, we hold general elections in the north and the south in a way of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, we will be able to establish a united and democratic government which fully reflects the general will of the masses of all levels.

We firmly believe that this proposal is a most fair and reasonable one, and today, too, we are doing our best to bring it about.

But, since this has not been put into effect, we put forward, in August 1960, the idea of a Confederation of north and south Korea, as a transitional step to restore the severed national bonds even before the achievement of complete reunification. This idea of a Confederation is meant to strengthen economic, cultural and social ties and cooperation between the north and south of Korea, keeping the existing political systems in both regions as they are for the time being. Although the establishment of such a Confederation does not mean complete reunification, it will open up a favourable phase in increasing understanding between the north and the south and in promoting national reunification.

We also proposed the establishment of economic and cultural exchanges between the two parts, irrespective of the political problems, so as to ease the people's sufferings caused by partition and contribute to the promotion of reunification, and we have repeatedly suggested the opening up of travel between the north and the south and, to begin with, the exchange of letters, with a view to meeting the earnest desire of separated parents, wives, children, relatives and friends.

The Eighth Session of the Second Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK held in November 1960 again discussed the problem of facilitating the peaceful reunification of the country fully, and put forward concrete ways and means with a written opinion on establishing economic and cultural cooperation between north and south Korea and promoting the independent development of national economy in south Korea.

Converting the ceasefire into a lasting peace and easing the tense situation prevailing between the north and the south is of primary

importance in promoting national reunification. Therefore, we have given this matter due consideration and have availed ourselves of a number of opportunities, including the First and Sixth Sessions of the Second Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK, to propose the reduction of the troops of north and south Korea to 100,000 or less respectively and the conclusion of an agreement on refraining from recourse to force of arms against each other.

In addition, in order to lessen the south Korean people's suffering from hunger and poverty, we have many times proposed measures to accept the unemployed and orphans in the north and thus ensure them jobs and good living standards, provide the self-supporting students with grants to enable them to study, and save those who are suffering.

We have not abandoned for even a moment our continuing efforts for the independent reunification of the country.

In recent years alone, the Third Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK held in March 1964 suggested, at the initiative of our Government, that a joint conference of political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea should be convened, and that national unity and cooperation should be brought about through contacts and exchanges of opinions between representatives of all levels from north and south Korea; it also suggested that 2,000,000 *sok* of rice, 100,000 tons of steel, 1,000,000,000 kWh of electricity, 10,000 tons of chemical fibres, and supplies of cement, timber and machinery be offered to south Korea every year, so as to rehabilitate the devastated economy and help to stabilize the people's lives there, and that the unemployed of south Korea should be accepted in the northern half of Korea and that they should be provided with jobs and stable lives.

At the Fourth Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK which was held in May 1965, we also put forward a programme for national salvation to establish national unity and promote the country's reunification by rejecting foreign forces.

All our just and reasonable proposals are winning unanimous support from the south and north Korean people who are very anxious to achieve national reunification.

Instituting contacts and interchanges between the north and the south and hewing out the road of reunification has been repeatedly demanded by public circles in south Korea and is being continuously called for as an irrepressible requirement.

However, our sincere proposals and persistent efforts for hastening the country's reunification, the supreme task of our nation, have met no response from the south Korean authorities. They not only opposed, from the outset, our proposal to hold free general elections throughout the north and the south after achieving the withdrawal of all foreign troops, but also rejected the proposal to institute a north-south Confederation prior to complete reunification. They did not listen to our suggestion to establish economic and cultural interchanges, irrespective of political affairs and, moreover, they did not accept our proposal to allow mail to be exchanged between the two parts. They are opposed to any contact between the north and the south, and are peremptorily refusing to accept any proposal which is helpful to national reunification.

As these are universally-known facts, you must also know them well.

The south Korean authorities are not only opposing all our just proposals but are also responding with cruel oppression to the aspiration for reunification which is mounting amongst the south Korean people. They brand as "treachery" to the "state policy" even the call for economic and cultural interchanges, mail exchange and travel between the north and the south, to say nothing of the complete reunification of the country.

They prate about reunification, if it is to come about at all, only through so-called "elections under UN supervision".

This is aimed at drawing foreign forces into an internal affair of the nation. The UN has neither the qualifications nor the right to meddle in the Korean question and, moreover, in our country it is being used as an instrument to justify invasion by the US imperialists.

Reunification through "elections under UN supervision" which the south Korean authorities talk about aims, in the last analysis, to extend

to north Korea the system of US imperialist colonial rule established in south Korea. The fact that they continue to cling to US imperialism on the pretext of “elections under UN supervision” is nothing but a revelation of their unwarranted stand to perpetuate national division by leaving south Korea to foreign forces of aggression.

In recent years they have depended more and more on the aggressive forces of foreign imperialism, putting new obstacles in the way of national reunification.

In spite of the unanimous objections made by the north and south Korean people, they concluded the criminal “south Korea-Japan treaty” and are drawing the Japanese militarist forces, the sworn enemy of our nation, into south Korea. Japanese militarism, which is infiltrating south Korea by using the “treaty” as a stepping-stone, is becoming a dangerous force for invading south Korea and obstructing our country’s reunification.

Furthermore, the south Korean authorities actively follow the US imperialist policy of aggressive war, devoting themselves to preparations for a new war aimed at fratricidal strife and aggravating tensions in our country, while, at the same time, dispatching the south Korean “National Army” to South Viet Nam on a large scale. This attempt to drive the young and middle-aged south Korean people to the US aggressive war in Viet Nam as a cannon fodder is, by any account, an unpardonable criminal act on the part of the south Korean authorities serving the US imperialists.

To cover up such a traitorous act which their predecessors dared not to do, they raised the slogans of “national independence” and “patriotism”. “Independence”, “self-support” and “modernization” which they are shouting are nothing more than pretexts to justify their treacherous acts of bringing in foreign forces and selling the country. Achieving independence and sovereignty by leaving the country to foreign imperialism and building a self-supporting economy or modernizing the country by relying on foreign monopoly capital is like bringing up a lamb under the care of a wolf.

Every fact shows that the south Korean authorities are following the

road of dependence on foreign forces and treachery to the country and the people, instead of the road of national integrity and independence and self-reliance, and that they do not have any concern whatever for national unity and the country's reunification.

It is true that they are afraid, above all, that the question of national reunification will be solved by our people themselves. If not, why do they keep begging the US army so importunately to continue the occupation of south Korea and why do they want to live only under its protection?

The precise reason is that they fear the people. If this is not so, why do they go against free general elections in north and south Korea and stubbornly oppose the travel of people with the same blood and the exchange of letters?

It is quite obvious who should be blamed for the failure to reunify our country up until now, when twenty odd years have elapsed since the defeat of Japanese imperialism, despite the burning desire and efforts of all our people. The responsibility lies entirely with the US imperialists and the south Korean authorities who, fawning on and tailing behind them, are working as loyal executors of the US policies of aggression against Korea and of national division.

The US imperialists occupied south Korea, have turned it into a colony and a military base and have control of the ruling power in south Korea. From the first day of its occupation, they have been plotting the division of our nation and are planning to extend their domination even to the northern half, using south Korea as a stepping-stone. They are unwarrantably taking the Korean question to the UN, obstructing the reunification of our country.

We can in no way put an end to national division by depending on foreign forces. Neither the United States nor the United Nations can solve the question of our country's reunification and it is inconceivable that any country will present us with a reunified country.

As you rightly emphasize, national reunification is our own task, and a question which must be settled by our people themselves and it can be solved only in an independent way.

For the independent reunification of our country, we cannot ever tolerate the interference of foreign forces, be they the UN or anyone else.

As far as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is concerned, our Government always deals with its own problems according to its own opinion and resolve and strictly adheres to sovereignty in political, economic, cultural and all other fields. It is well known to the world that we do not tolerate any foreign interference in our country.

If an independent government is set up in south Korea or south Korea at least becomes neutral, there would be no great obstacle, as a matter of fact, in achieving the reunification of the country by our people themselves.

The point is that south Korea is under the occupation of the US troops and under US domination. The stationing of US troops in south Korea and the US policy of colonial subjugation are basic obstacles to our country's reunification. This is why we cannot talk about national reunification except in the context of the struggle to withdraw the US imperialist aggressor troops from south Korea and liquidate US colonial rule.

In order not to allow foreign intervention, we should also oppose the traitorous forces, a footstool for foreign aggressive forces.

Traitors such as Park Chung Hee who had been a watchdog of Japanese imperialism in the past, and then turned himself into a stooge of US imperialism and today has become a faithful lackey of US and Japanese imperialism, must be removed. With these forces left as they are we cannot exclude the interference of foreign forces and attain an independent national reunification.

In order to achieve independent reunification, all the patriotic forces of the country must unite and wage a persistent anti-US national-salvation struggle against the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges. If all the patriotic forces throughout north and south Korea struggle in close unity, we are quite able to drive out the US imperialist forces of aggression from south Korea and achieve the historic cause of national reunification.

All Koreans who are wholeheartedly desirous of the country's



independent reunification, in whichever side of the divided country they live, at home or abroad, should join in a nationwide struggle for driving the US troops out of south Korea and reunifying the country.

For the early accomplishment of the cause of reunification, we shall join hands at any time with those who cherish the national interests and want national reunification, irrespective of the differences in political opinions and ideas, of religious beliefs and past records. If those who have committed crimes against the country and the people repent their past misdeeds and set out on the struggle for the independent reunification, we will welcome them and go forward with them.

As in the past, we will also make every possible effort for the realization of the independent reunification in accordance with the interests of our nation and people. We are ready to discuss any proposal of any person and find common denominators, if it proceeds from the principle of reunifying the country independently against foreign forces.

As far as the south Korean authorities are concerned, they have not represented the people in south Korea and can never do so by the very nature of things. It is unthinkable that those who break up with their fellow countrymen and depend on foreign forces to maintain power, represent the people.

Do you dare believe that the south Korean authorities, which not only left everything in south Korea to the US imperialist aggressors so as to have our people subjected to all kinds of national insult and oppression, but also inflict fascist repression on the masses, persecute patriots and, moreover, bring in the Japanese militarist forces and sacrifice the blood of fellow countrymen for the US aggressive war, can represent the people?

If the south Korean authorities give up their policy of dependence on foreign forces and change to an independent stand even now, we will be able to negotiate with them in a neutral state or at any place agreed upon. For this purpose they will have to accept the following provisions:

- 1) to demand the withdrawal of the US imperialist troops of aggression;

2) to stop the criminal dispatch of their troops to South Viet Nam and withdraw all the “National Army” men already sent there;

3) to annul the traitorous “south Korea-Japan treaty”;

4) to set free all “political criminals” and patriots arrested and imprisoned because they struggled for the cause of national reunification; and

5) to stop fascist oppression and guarantee democratic liberties in social and political life, including the freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association and demonstration, and allow people to discuss the country’s reunification as they please.

If they swear to carry out these provisions, we will be able to seek with them the way of winning the cause of national reunification, although they have committed grave crimes against the country and the people.

We cannot but assume this stand towards the south Korean authorities who are following the road of treachery to the nation, but we want to negotiate the question of national reunification unconditionally with political parties, organizations and individuals in south Korea who are aspiring for the independent reunification of the country in opposition to foreign forces. We are ready to examine ways and means for national reunification with them at any time and any place agreed upon, and will be glad to join our efforts to put an end to the tragedy of national division.

National reunification is the most urgent task confronting our people and an honourable duty which must be fulfilled, without fail, in our generation. We cannot by any means hand the divided country on to posterity. We have a firm resolve to reunify the country in our generation.

The desire of all the Korean people for independent national reunification will certainly be accomplished.

In conclusion, I express my expectation that you will make an appropriate contribution to our people’s struggle for national reunification.

## **SOME IDEOLOGICAL AND AESTHETIC PROBLEMS IN WORKS BASED ON REVOLUTION**

**Talk to Film Artists after Seeing the First Copy  
of the Feature Film *The Road I Have Found***

*January 10, 1967*

The directing and acting in the feature film *The Road I Have Found* are excellent. The plot is also well knit.

But this film has many shortcomings in content and artistic representation, which must be corrected. It is an adaptation of a novel *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill* and it failed because of the shortcomings of the original piece.

The most serious fault of this film is that it misrepresents the working class and revolutionaries.

The hero of this film is a worker. But the film has erred in handling the working class. It depicts the hero as a man with strong fists, a man of physical power or a hooligan. At the beginning of the film Kang Min Ho, a worker at an iron works, appears as a ruffian who attacks people, and his fellow workers are shown as hooligans or drunkards. This description is seriously wrong.

A strong-fisted, powerful ruffian who likes to pick a fight is not typical of the working class. The mighty force of the working class is not to be found in the strong fists of individual workers, but in their organization and solidarity. Therefore, in order to portray the working class correctly you must not show the strong fists of individual workers

but their organization, revolutionary spirit, courage and the might of their solidarity.

It is an expression of the mistaken attitude to the working class that the film depicts them as a collection of quarrelsome or brutal people. We severely criticized the feature film *Through Darkness* for its misrepresentation of hired and poor peasants as fools and reactionaries, but a similar mistake has been repeated in the new film. There are some foreign films which depict the working class as scoundrels or anarchists. But we cannot allow such a practice.

This film makes it appear that Kang Min Ho was compelled to join the guerrilla army after being a ruffian and attacking people. This is also a serious mistake. Anti-Japanese guerrillas were true revolutionaries who started fighting with a noble revolutionary determination to defeat the Japanese imperialist aggressors and win back their lost country at the risk of their lives. So it is not correct to show them as people who were compelled to join the guerrilla army after such scandalous behaviour. Our fellow revolutionaries during the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle were neither men of great physical strength nor scoundrels. Among them were good storytellers, good harmonica players and men of various talents, but not a hooligan nor a quarrelsome fellow.

By describing the hero, a worker and revolutionary, as a hoodlum, the film has defiled the working class and insulted the revolutionary veterans.

The film failed to give a truthful picture of the hero's growth into a revolutionary.

I always say that there is no such thing as a born revolutionary. Through life and struggle men will acquire a revolutionary outlook on the world and grow up to be revolutionaries. Therefore, in works of art the character of a revolutionary should be described in the course of his growth and development and should be shown through his actual life and struggle. The film meant to show the hero's growth by introducing the fact that he ran away after beating up a foreman at a work site and that, while taking part in a strike, he drowned several cat's-paws of

Japanese imperialism. But this is not enough if you are to describe with accuracy the process by which the hero acquired his outlook on the world and the process of the development of his character.

In order to turn men into revolutionaries it is imperative to educate them systematically, test them by giving them tasks to perform and steadily train them through the practical struggle by giving them progressively heavier assignments. Therefore, the film should have shown the hero's growth through his initial participation and training in small group activities, for instance, and then through his gradual political awakening and eventual commitment to the revolutionary struggle. The form of struggle, too, should have been on a small scale at first, and then gradually developed into a large-scale struggle. Then the description would have been true to life.

But this film does not contain any scenes in which the hero systematically develops into a revolutionary nor does it deal with any person who has a great revolutionary influence on the hero. In order to show the hero as being influenced by Mun Kyong Thae, the film shows Kang Min Ho staying at Mun Kyong Thae's. But there are no specific scenes where Mun Kyong Thae exerts a revolutionary influence on him except the scene where Mun Kyong Thae remains faithful to the revolutionary principles to the last moment of his life when executed. In the film the hero is shown becoming involved in a vehement debate from the outset at a reading circle, but that is not truthful either. The hero has not yet developed to such an extent that he can take part in such a heated argument.

It is another mistake to show the hero as being involved in the "Black Shirt Corps" of the Sanwagumi. The "Black Shirt Corps" was a foreign terroristic organization. It did not exist in our country. Whether it existed or not in our country, why should you present the hero as a member of such a reactionary organization? Even if he joined the corps on purpose, presenting him like that is unjustified. Whatever the purpose is, you must not depict a revolutionary as entering a reactionary organization, still less as receiving a bribe from it. Just as a cat, when it has once tasted a dish, will always steal it, so a

revolutionary, once corrupted by money, cannot carry on the revolution.

In the days of our anti-Japanese armed struggle, some guerrillas marched into Japanese army units by pretending to defect and killed our enemies. We punished them severely, because such an act might disgrace the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

The scene in this film where the hero goes about drinking with a worker “Son of the Sea” is also undesirable. Although the hero is shown to be doing so with a view to winning him over, it may give people an impression that he becomes a revolutionary in the course of mixing with a drunkard or that he resumes the road of revolution after behaving in a degenerate way. The relationship between the hero and the “Son of the Sea” in the film should be re-established in such a way that the hero begins educating him to win him over to the cause of the revolution as soon as the hero knows that he is discontented with society.

The film also failed to deal with the labour movement in our country in the 1920s properly.

I have spoken of this movement on many occasions and also clearly evaluated it in my report to the meeting to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party. But writers and artists did not study this and mishandled this matter.

There was no “teacher of revolution” like Mun Kyong Thae in our country in the 1920s. The film describes the revolutionaries in the 1930s as having grown up under the influence of the people who launched the communist movement in the 1920s. If such a “teacher of revolution” had really existed in the 1920s, how good it would have been! Most of these people degenerated into drunkards, who used to sing degenerate songs in the moonlight lamenting over life in an alien land before they changed their allegiance. The film made a grave mistake by presenting Mun Kyong Thae as a “teacher of revolution” and a “leader” and showing Kang Min Ho as participating in a revolutionary struggle under his leadership. This means tracing the origin of our Party’s revolutionary traditions back to the 1920s.

The film handles the spread of Marxism in our country as if it came across from Japan, but that is not true. Marxism began to be disseminated by progressive patriots under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Marxism has never been disseminated in Korea by people like Mun Kyong Thae who had studied in Japan. What, then, is the need to make him a student studying in Japan and a “leader” of the labour movement? It would be better if the film showed him, not as a “leader” of the labour movement, but a friend of the hero Kang Min Ho.

The film also does not properly deal with the individuals who were involved in the communist movement in the 1920s.

It is true that they indulged in factional strife and most of them were ostentatious Marxists. But they contributed in some degree to the spread of Marxism in our country in the early 1920s. You must not, in disregard of all this, take a nihilistic attitude to the communist movement in the 1920s. The film shows those who were engaged in the communist movement at that time as people like the anarchists of Russia and as renegades. Should we depict them all as renegades and philistines in a work on the subject of revolution simply because they had many shortcomings?

If you are to give a proper representation of these people, you can deal with them in three categories—first, people who continued their struggle along the road indicated by Marxism; second, people who were reduced to reformists while talking loudly about Marxism for appearance’s sake, instead of plunging into the difficult struggle; and third, people who became sheer renegades and cat’s-paws of the enemy. Several ostentatious Marxists appear in the film, but their fate is not shown clearly. The fate of every character in the film should be handled clearly.

Another major defect of this film is that the middle class is not depicted properly.

In the film Sun Yong, who is an intellectual and the daughter of a nationalist, participates in the revolutionary struggle, but betrays the cause and marries the commander of the “punitive force” in the end.

This is preposterous. Her father is a nationalist who participated in the March First Movement and is living up to his patriotic principles, working as a doctor in his small pharmacy. Nationalists in colonies have an anti-imperialist revolutionary spirit. Having received some training from her nationalistic father, Sun Yong would fight to the end for national liberation.

A revolution involves a fierce struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, a struggle to win over the middle class. The question of who wins over the middle class is an important issue on which the victory of the revolution depends. As I have said more than once, the complete victory of socialism will be achieved only when the working class has won over all the middle class. So the communists regard it as a problem of great importance to achieve this.

The film ought to have shown the middle class as vacillating between the bourgeoisie and the working class and then siding with the latter. But it pushed the girl over to the enemy side, an intellectual of middle-class origin. In the feature film *Through Darkness* the intellectuals were represented as most admirable people, but this film shows them hesitating and then going over to the side of the enemy. These two films made mistakes in handling the Party's revolutionary line, its class line. The revolutionary struggle of the working class is a struggle to win over to the side of the revolution even hesitant intellectuals like Sun Yong and so save them. The film should deal with this properly.

Sun Yong is told by her father how Han Tal Su's father has secretly informed against many patriots including Kang Min Ho's father so as to have them massacred at the time of the March First Movement and how the traitor continued to act as a running dog of Japanese imperialism. She also saw her father rebuke Han Tal Su for annoying her by his courtship, and saw him demand that the boy keep away from her house. Not only that, but she finds herself more or less under the influence of Kang Min Ho and loves him. But she is deceived by Han Tal Su to betray her honour and become his wife. This reminds us of *Janghanmong*, a love story, published under Japanese imperialist rule,



a story of Sim Sun Ae who loved Ri Su Il but was seduced by a capitalist named Kim Jung Bae. You have insulted the middle class too much.

Of course, a woman like Sun Yong may hesitate about the revolution and go astray for a while. But you must not show a human being as hopeless just because she makes one mistake. It would be a different matter if the film showed two men of middle-class origin, depicting one as fighting well for the working class, and the other going over to the enemy. But it is not right that the only middle-class woman in the film is pushed over to the enemy side.

Today intellectuals in south Korea are fighting well. A large number of young people, students and intellectuals in south Korea are fighting bravely, risking their lives for national reunification and democracy. What good could the film do to these people in south Korea by describing the educated woman changing sides in the revolution? When they create a work, writers and artists must consider the effect it will have on the south Korean revolution and make sure that it will exert a revolutionary influence on the revolutionaries and people of south Korea.

The film also failed to treat the love affair of the revolutionaries properly.

It does this by putting the main characters in a triangular relationship, and by showing Kang Min Ho and Sun Yong starting with a love affair.

It would be better to put the hero Kang Min Ho and Sun Yong in a position of comradeship rather than of love between different sexes. In literature revolutionaries are often described as entering into a relationship, motivated by love between men and women. Of course, a love affair can come first, and then the lovers can educate each other in the course of struggle and go on fighting together to the end. But that is not typical of revolutionaries.

Revolutionaries do not love anybody blindly. They love only those who share the same ideology and will in the struggle. Men and women often help and save each other in the course of their revolutionary

struggle. But if they immediately fall in love for that reason, what would become of it? In this film Kang Min Ho loves Sun Yong without putting her on due ideological probation. It appears that Kang Min Ho loves Sun Yong to repay his indebtedness for allowing him to hide in her house. Sun Yong, for her part, follows him only for love's sake. In fact, this is a cheap love between silly people—love based on the bourgeois idea of philanthropy. The relationship between Kang Min Ho and Sun Yong is not comradeship but mere affection between male and female, so it cannot develop into anything lasting, withstanding the trials of the revolution.

Further, the film does not reflect the women's struggle truthfully.

Here Kang Min Ho's mother is presented as too weak a woman. Being the mother of a revolutionary, she must at least be determined to work for the revolution, although her revolutionary consciousness is not as high as her son's. The son's struggle must have an effect on the mother to the point where she assists him in his activities. However, Kang Min Ho's mother is a woman of soft will and does not fight at all. All she does is to seize the lawless son of a landlord by the throat and shake him when she is peddling bean curds.

Her husband was a patriot who was killed in prison for his participation in the March First Movement. And her son fights well for the revolution. She herself leads a hard life, harshly oppressed and humiliated by the enemy. Why should such a mother be so powerless? This is impossible. The film has to show her taking an active part.

You can show her as a revolutionary from the start. In the scene where mother and son make bean curds, you can show the mother instilling anti-Japanese ideas in his mind. The mother can also exert a revolutionary influence on Sun Yong and implant revolutionary consciousness in the mind of Kyong Hui, thereby revolutionizing them. In the film which we have seen, Sun Yong educates the mother rather than the mother teaching her. This will not serve the purpose of giving prominence to the character of the mother. If you show her carrying out women's association work, you will be able to give more prominence to her character. Anyhow, the mother should be shown in

her revolutionary awakening and in her revolutionary activities.

The film treats Sun Yong as a corrupt woman, but she must be saved so that she can fight to the end on the road of revolution.

While taking refuge in Sun Yong's house, Kang Min Ho should exert an ideological influence upon her to awaken her in a revolutionary way. When he finds her dreaming in a fascinating world of music, chanting poems and singing songs, Kang Min Ho should "attack" her: how can a Korean youth afford to sit idle, reciting poems and singing songs when we have no country of our own and when the whole nation is in dire distress? He must explain that there can be no real music for the people without their own country, that if she wants true music, she must first win back the lost country and that, to do this, she must fight. Sun Yong should thus be encouraged to have a determination to work for the revolution as soon as possible. Of course, Kang Min Ho, at this stage, is not yet a seasoned revolutionary. However, since he has anti-Japanese sentiments and wants to fight for the revolution, he can talk to her to that extent.

It would be preferable if Sun Yong were to tell Kang Min Ho, when they are boating, that she, too, will fight and wants assignments, rather than saying that she misses him when she is alone. You will be able to bring her character into bold relief, if you describe her working under the educative influence of Kang Min Ho's mother after his departure for a new theatre of struggle, and then show them being reunited to fight together.

It is important to represent the women's struggle in the film properly. Women in south Korea are now fighting very well. If the film vividly shows the activities of the mother and Sun Yong as well as the process of their being revolutionized, it will acquire a greater educational value.

Kyong Hui, Mun Kyong Thae's younger sister, should also fight. It would be advisable for her to be educated and awakened by her brother. A revolutionary must first revolutionize his own family. The film should give a picture of Mun Kyong Thae awakening his sister to class consciousness and leading her to the road of struggle by telling

her in the course of their daily lives about society and about how the people are exploited and oppressed, instead of showing him buying his sister rubber shoes and hair ribbons.

The film also has dialogues and scenes which need correction.

When leaving for the guerrilla army, the hero promises Sun Yong that they will meet again on the day of the country's liberation. But it would be better for him to tell her to meet him when there is a great revolutionary uprising. When the "Son of the Sea" talks nonsense, while in the company of the hero, he must be advised to refrain from talking such nonsense. This requires some additional dialogue.

When Sun Yong asks her father to work for the release of imprisoned Kang Min Ho even if it means selling her organ, the father says nothing. He should say that he will do his best to launch a campaign for his release.

Some changes are also needed in what Mun Kyong Thae says to Kang Min Ho. Talking about the need for prudent organization of a campaign to win consolation money for an injured longshoreman, Mun Kyong Thae tells Kang Min Ho that they should begin with a small-scale campaign and then gradually develop it into a large-scale one and that solidarity of the working class is the source of their strength. This is good, of course. But here it would be more effective in quickly awakening those people who lack political consciousness to say that an economic struggle should be developed gradually into a political struggle rather than saying that a small-scale struggle should be developed into a large-scale struggle. It is more important here to teach what kind of a struggle should be undertaken by united effort and how it should be done than emphasizing the necessity for solidarity.

Mun Kyong Thae's letter to his sister, written in jail on the eve of his execution, needs to be changed. In his last letter Mun Kyong Thae ought to give her some revolutionary instructions. But, instead, he tells her whom she should marry. As a revolutionary, he must tell his sister that she should remain Kang Min Ho's revolutionary comrade, rather than his wife, and that she should fight well with firm conviction even after his death and become an excellent revolutionary.

The scene where the landlord dispossesses peasants of their land is effective in showing how cruelly the landlords oppressed and exploited peasants in those days. I think the scene where strikers are shot to death by the enemy will stimulate people's hatred for the enemy as well as their class readiness.

Still, the film has many superfluous scenes.

The scenes showing cheerful Japanese are lengthy. What is the point of showing them like that? It will be sufficient to show them suppressing the striking workers to expose their ferocity and brutality. The Japanese financial clique has been exaggerated.

The scene where the mother and Kyong Hui weep on receiving the news of the death sentence on Mun Kyong Thae and Kang Min Ho is also lengthy. The scenes of the longshoremen's strike and of Kang Min Ho and Sun Yong's boating are boring. The superfluous scenes should be cut and the activities of the mother and Sun Yong should be inserted in their place.

It would be a good idea to add a scene showing Sun Yong reading a letter from Kang Min Ho and a scene of Sun Yong, the mother and Kyong Hui having an interview with Mun Kyong Thae in prison at the end of the first part of this film. At the interview Mun Kyong Thae should inform the visitors of the continued existence and activities of the underground organization so as to inspire them with confidence in their struggle. He should express his thanks to the mother for bringing up an excellent son and tell Kyong Hui to fight well with the good mother and her good elder sister.

This should be followed by a scene where the hero Kang Min Ho crosses a river to go to a new area of struggle. This will show that the underground struggle continues and that the struggle develops onto a new and higher phase.

The defect of this film is that it has failed to keep its own identity as a motion picture because of its fidelity to the original book.

A motion picture has its own characteristics, so it need not follow the original too rigidly; it must preserve its identity. Had it done so, this could have been a good film in spite of the shortcomings in the original.

If it is to be faultless the original must be revised. If it is patched up in one scene or another as if mending worn-out clothes, without revising the original, no good will come of it. The original and the scenario should be revised, and then the film must be shot again.

When you adapt a novel for the screen in the future, you must put the novel to public discussion. The screen version must come only when the original has won a good public reputation. A work with such a reputation will be the basis of a good film.

We can say that the novel *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill* was a failure because of the low level of the author's qualifications. Our writers are not good at creating works on revolutionary themes, mainly because they do not really know our Party's policy and Marxist-Leninist principles and because they lack a correct class viewpoint. Even veteran writers lack revolutionary training and personal experience because they did not play a direct part in the revolution in the past. Besides, they have little knowledge of revolutionary theory because they neglect to study.

This fact and their lack of deep knowledge have been revealed in this case. Many writers are not clear about our Party's class line and cannot distinguish clearly between the motive force and the target of our revolution. In a word they are not well-equipped with a revolutionary outlook on the world. This is why their works have shortcomings of this kind.

Their inadequate knowledge of our Party's class line and of the motive force of our revolution was the reason why they described the working class as hoodlums and sent the middle class to the enemy side in the novel *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill*, and handled the hired farm hand and poor peasant as fools in the scenario of *Through Darkness*. *The Family of Choe Hak Sin* is a good work which correctly presents the class line of our Party. This film correctly shows that we can form a united front with religious men, but not with pro-US elements. Only when writers have a firm class position and correct class viewpoint can they produce good works.

The writers' hazy idea of the history of the communist movement

and of the historical background to the 1920s in our country also explains why they failed to give a correct picture of the labour movement in our country in the 1920s and why they depicted Marxism as having been introduced into our country from Japan in the novel *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill*.

Writers must study hard. It is advisable to send them to university so that they can acquire a thorough knowledge of our Party policy, class line and revolutionary lines. In addition, they should be given many opportunities to hear the personal accounts of revolutionary veterans.

The authors of the novel *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill* and the scenario for *Through Darkness* have all been trained and cared for by the Party. They should be criticized and educated so that they can rectify their defects quickly and work well.

We should provide writers with adequate work rooms and various other working requirements. In this way, they will be encouraged to produce more works on the subject of revolution. Only when they create many such works will more good films be produced.

## **TO SUPPLY THE COUNTRYSIDE WITH A VARIETY OF GOODS IN LARGER QUANTITIES**

**Speech at the Consultative Conference  
of Officials in the Textile Industry**

*January 11, 1967*

Today I am going to talk to you about the tasks of the textile industry to increase the supply of fabrics and various other goods to the countryside.

I inspected some farm villages a few days ago, but there were only small amounts of good-quality cloth and other goods at the rural shops. The farmers receive their distributions in winter after a year's farming, so at that time of year we should concentrate on supplying a large quantity of fine goods which they need, but we are not doing so at present. This is not a new question which I am raising for the first time today; I have laid stress on it several times in the past.

The farmers have not yet been completely revolutionized and working-classized, nor have they become communists yet, so supplying the countryside with adequate amounts of good-quality commodities is very important. Doing this for the farmers will promote the worker-peasant alliance and stimulate the farmers' enthusiasm for production so as to increase the grain output.

Because very few good-quality commodities are in stock in rural shops, farmers cannot buy what they want, although they have the money to pay for it. So how can their enthusiasm for production be



high? Last year the state abolished the agricultural tax in kind, to the great benefit to the farmers, but the measure is not proving its great worth because of the shortage of goods in rural shops.

However much money farmers may have, it is useless unless they can buy goods with it. Money is valuable only when there are commodities. Otherwise, it is as useless as sheets of paper with pictures on them.

Of course, when we reach the communist society at some time in the future, commodities will no longer be bought and sold, and the law of value will cease to exist. Therefore, money will be unnecessary. But in a socialist society commodity production exists, and the law of value is in force and this means that there has to be money, and people can buy goods only when they have it.

If goods are out of stock at rural shops, the money in the hands of farmers is useless. So the farmers will not do their best to increase the grain output nor will they sell their surplus grain. But if a large variety of goods is in stock, the farmers will strive to increase grain production and save it to sell to the state so that they can buy the goods. If we are to stimulate the farmers' enthusiasm for production we must radically increase the supply of good-quality commodities to the countryside.

Supplying the countryside with a large quantity of fine goods is also urgently needed to revolutionize the farmers and achieve the complete victory of socialism.

For the complete victory of socialism, we should win over the middle class completely to the fold of socialism by re-educating them.

The work of remoulding the middle class cannot be done overnight by some coercive means. This work must be done by intensifying education to eradicate their surviving outdated ideas and by improving their material and cultural standards at the same time. In this way, we shall have to convince all of them of the advantages of the socialist system through their daily lives so that they will support socialism wholeheartedly. Only then can we say that socialism has emerged completely victorious.

The important factor in the struggle between socialism and

capitalism, namely, the struggle between working class and capitalist class, is the struggle to win over the middle class. Victory or defeat in the struggle between them depends on which class wins over the middle class.

As you know, the working class alone cannot make the revolution. If they are to win the battle against the capitalist class, the working class must win over the middle class. An important factor which contributed to success in the October Socialist Revolution in Russia was that Lenin worked well to win over the peasantry to the side of the working class.

Today our worker-peasant alliance is solid. The peasants give unqualified support to the working class who gave them land and paved the road of cooperativization, and sent them tractors and helped them in irrigation construction. But at the moment we only buy the rice which the peasants produce, without supplying the necessary goods to the countryside. If this continues, they will become discontented and the worker-peasant alliance will crack, which will have a bad effect on the socialist system. Therefore, we should supply the countryside with quantities of fine goods including cloth which the peasants need.

Our country now produces approximately 300 million metres of cloth a year and this is no small quantity. Today the output of fabrics per head in other countries whose people are said to be fairly well dressed, is much the same as ours. With that much cloth they are adequately meeting export demands, industrial needs and many other requirements. But in our country, we suffer from a shortage of cloth.

Why is this so when we produce a great deal of it? This is because it is not long lasting on account of careless weaving and because much of it is wasted and given away for nothing.

At the moment our fabrics are of low quality, so that they do not last long when they are made into clothes. If we improve the quality and make clothing with them, they will last a few years. Then, we shall not suffer from a shortage of fabrics.

The waste of fabrics is also great. Some officials are wasting them through careless use, instead of trying to save them. Waste comes also

from an excessive supply of work clothes to workers. Railway workers and miners, for instance, are supplied with uniforms and work clothes every year, but this need not be done. If you give them only uniforms and let them use these as work clothes after one year's use, you will not have to give them work clothes as well.

If we improve the quality of cloth and put an end to its waste, the present output will be quite sufficient to solve the problem of the shortage of cloth and increase the supply of good-quality cloth to the countryside.

After this we should improve the quality of cloth and increase its variety.

At present the quality of cloth is poor. In particular the cloth produced by local industry factories is very low in quality. Because of the low quality of the fabrics from these factories, the clothes made from these fabrics look unshapely.

Fabrics also lack variety. Suitable fabrics are not available for farmers' work clothes or for holiday dresses for women.

The textile industry should strive to improve the quality of fabrics and increase their variety and mass-produce various kinds of fabrics which are durable, of beautiful colours and which are capable of meeting seasonal demands and catering to the tastes of the people. Thus they will produce adequate supplies of good-quality suiting for men and provide women with a wide range of good fabrics for traditional Korean costumes and various other kinds of smart dresses.

Even staple fibre cloth should be well woven with twisted yarn, and blends should also come up to standard. If the quality of staple fibre cloth and blends is improved, farmers will not ask for cotton fabrics only. Their great demand for cotton fabrics is due to the low quality of staple fibre cloth.

If the quality of fabrics is to be improved, the dyeing process and various kinds of treatment in the textile mills will have to have suitable equipment.

Some of the local industry factories which cannot produce good-quality fabrics should be converted into machine or ironware

factories. Because of the shortage of raw materials at present, we are not supplying enough materials to large textile mills which produce good-quality fabrics. So it is inadvisable to supply materials to the local industry factories and let them produce low-quality fabrics. Needless to say, the local industry factories which are fed with locally available raw materials should be left as they are.

Some local textile mills should be made into branch mills of large ones. These mills cannot produce good-quality fabrics now but they have some assets for textile production. So they will be able to produce good-quality fabrics if they are furnished with some additional necessary machines and are given effective technical assistance in the future.

In addition, the quality of socks and stockings and other goods should be improved and their variety increased.

At present, the peasants suffer inconvenience because of the shortage of winter shoes and stockings in rural shops. This shortage is attributable to no one but the officials who do not organize their work properly. From now on, they should organize work meticulously to produce a large amount of good-quality winter shoes and socks and stockings of different kinds.

Mufflers and such like should be produced in large quantities. A muffler is not something that has necessarily to be made of wool. We can manage to make good mufflers from the napped fabrics produced in our country.

Padded clothes should also be made well. Gaberdine lined with a layer of a little cotton will make an excellent padded coat. They are now using too much cotton for a padded coat, so it is too thick and it does not look good.

We should increase the output of fabrics.

In this way we shall produce 400 million metres of fabrics in 1970. Only then shall we be able to meet the daily increasing demand of the people for fabrics.

We should mobilize and use internal reserves to the maximum to increase their output.

During the First Five-Year Plan, our officials used the existing equipment and materials effectively and explored and mobilized locally available sources of raw materials including wild fibre as much as possible in order to carry out the plan ahead of schedule. But now, the officials are not working as well as they did in the past. In the provinces, they are not using such sources of raw materials as cotton stalks, which are left in the fields as they are. These can be used effectively for the manufacture of sacking and window paper.

Some local industry officials now do not think of exploring local sources of raw materials, only expecting to receive raw materials and other necessities from the state. So the situation is such that local industry factories cannot produce anything unless supplied with these materials by the state. This is a most undesirable situation.

The textile industry should remedy this shortcoming as soon as possible and explore and mobilize internal reserves and use the existing equipment and materials effectively to increase fabric output. Just as the farmers are in duty bound to produce plenty of rice to feed the working class well, so are the workers of the textile industry in duty bound to produce good-quality fabrics in large quantities to dress the farmers well. All the workers in the textile industry should strive to provide the farmers with better clothing.

If we are to boost the output of fabrics, we will have to increase the number of spindles as well. We should increase these by approximately 180,000 by 1970 through domestic production and some importation.

We must take good care of fabrics and use them most economically.

It is of primary importance to make savings in the fabrics which are used for industrial purposes. Cloth is now often wasted because of the failure to supply factories and enterprises with the fabrics required to meet their production targets. For instance, if we are to produce shoes, we should arrange a specialized factory capable of producing cloth needed for the manufacture of shoes and supply that kind of cloth to shoe producers. Only then can they make good-looking and durable shoes and save on other fabrics, also. But any kinds of fabric are

supplied to shoe factories at random, not the ones they need.

From now on we should thoroughly establish the principle of producing and supplying the factories and enterprises with fabrics for industrial use which are required for their production targets so that these fabrics will be used rationally without any waste.

Factories and enterprises should strive to use substitutes for cloth to economize in fabrics for industrial use. If they do use these fabrics, they must not ask for more of them than necessary and stockpile them or use them at random.

If they are to economize in fabrics, they must strive to use work clothes and protective clothing economically.

Some working people lack the spirit to take good care of work clothes and various other protective clothing which is supplied free by the state, nor do they use them economically. Doctors and nursery school teachers, for example, wear overalls without taking care of them, so that these become worn-out quickly. Workers in other sectors, too, have not got rid of the habit of not using work clothes sparingly.

Working people should start a campaign to take good care of their work clothes. We should explain the rules of using work clothes to the working people properly and educate them to take good care of them. The trade unions, League of Socialist Working Youth, and Women's Union organizations should do organizing and political work effectively among the working people so that they will use work clothes sparingly to make them last longer.

We should thoroughly examine the regulations for the supply of protective clothing and revise them in keeping with the present situation. Of course, it will be impossible to fix the supply cycle of work clothes uniformly for all branches of the national economy. These supply cycles should not be extended but kept as they are for those sectors where, as in the case of doctors and smelters, overalls will have to be replaced sooner than elsewhere. But the provisions of the regulations which are not in accordance with the present situation, or which authorize the supply of unnecessary items, should be revised. For example, if the regulations for the supply of protective clothing

provide that woollen clothes should be issued to railway workers, these should be changed into vinalon blends. Vinalon mixture clothes, if made well, are not inferior to woollen ones.

From next year onwards, work clothes should be supplied according to the new norms. For those who do not need the resupply of work clothes even after the expiration of the prescribed term of the previous issue as a result of good care, it would be advisable to pay them money which is equivalent to their cost rather than to resupply them. This alone would save the state a great deal of cloth.

We should save fabrics in every possible way so that more of them can be supplied to the countryside.

In order to supply the farmers with fabrics and various other high-quality goods in season, it is necessary to organize the production and sale of commodities well.

At present, winter goods are produced and sent to shops in December and January. This is too late, and the goods do not sell well. As a result, a large stock of unsold goods worth hundreds of millions of *won* remains every year. This compels the state to sell them for a song, even suffering losses.

In future, winter goods should be produced in summer, and summer wares in winter. This will enable the people to buy necessary goods in season and will prevent the piling up of unsold goods.

It is necessary to organize the sale of commodities properly so that winter goods will be on sale at the shops from October every year. Then, the farmers will be able to buy them to use in winter.

In conclusion, I should like to touch on the matter of changing the organizational structure of light industry.

We have changed it in every possible way for the purpose of improving work in this sector. Once we organized the Light Industry Commission, and then reorganized it into the Ministry of Light Industry. But there has been little improvement in the work of light industry.

At present the Ministry of Light Industry has many bureaus and a large staff of officials, but they cannot manage and control the light

industry factories efficiently, for the number of these factories has greatly increased. If we are to develop light industry quickly, we must reshape its organizational structure on a rational basis, in keeping with changes in the situation. Of course, the organizational system is not the decisive factor, but it cannot be denied that it affects work considerably.

I think it would be advisable to divide the Ministry of Light Industry into two. We should set up a Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries which will take charge of the textile, paper, knitwear and shoemaking industries.

We should also set up a Ministry of Food and Consumer Goods Industries which will take care of those industries. This ministry should give its primary attention to the food-processing industry. Soya sauce and bean paste are non-staple foodstuffs indispensable to our people. So the Ministry of Food and Consumer Goods Industries should pay particular attention to developing the manufacture of these foodstuffs. The ministry should have a management bureau specifically in charge of the guidance of the production of soya sauce and bean paste and should allow it to supervise and direct the factories producing these foodstuffs.

The Ministry of Food and Consumer Goods Industries should also have a management bureau in charge of soft drinks. This bureau should manage and control the beverage industry which produces cider, liquor and similar items.

There should also be a management bureau which guides the cornstarch factories and canneries. The food industry in our country will continue to expand. The output of fruit, for example, is growing rapidly. So we will have to increase the fruit-processing capacity in step with the growth in fruit output.

The Ministry of Food and Consumer Goods Industries also needs bureaus to direct the production of consumer goods. It would be better to have several bureaus of this kind rather than one so that they can take care of specified branches of production.

If we divide the Ministry of Light Industry into two and set up the necessary management bureaus in each of them, we shall be able to



give more effective scientific and technical guidance to the factories and enterprises and solve one or two important problems every year.

We should improve the system of guidance for local industry.

The General Local Industry Bureau has so far failed to give effective technical guidance to local industry nor has it established an efficient system of supplying raw materials and other necessities. In consequence, local industry factories received raw and other materials mostly from the central authorities, instead of obtaining locally available materials on their own. Factories which are fed with raw materials and other necessities by the state cannot, in fact, be called local industry factories.

Those local industry factories which depend on the central authorities for these materials should be turned over to the ministries concerned. Suppose a factory produces fabrics with the raw materials supplied from the state, then such a factory should be made a branch factory of a large textile mill and turned over to the textile industry. The same applies to the paper industry.

Since those local industry factories which depend on the central authorities for raw and other materials are going to be turned over to the ministries concerned, the general local industry bureaus of the provinces should be abolished, and local industry management bureaus should be organized in the provincial people's committees to perform the functions of guiding and managing the earthenware, furniture, textile and grassware factories and the like which are supplied with locally available raw materials. Provinces should encourage the industries which use local raw materials and other necessities for the manufacture of goods. Local industry factories should make goods by processing medicinal herbs, stone and jade and produce rush mats and shell buttons.

If we are to develop light industry, we must set up scientific research institutes for this specific purpose. We should set up research institutes or research laboratories in the ministry, management bureaus and in major parent factories and intensify scientific research to develop light industry.

# **CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL MEETING OF MACHINE-INDUSTRY WORKERS**

*January 20, 1967*

Comrades,

We have talked for three days about developing the machine industry which plays the role of the core of our national economy. An analysis was given on the present state of our machine industry and a number of good opinions for innovations in mechanical engineering were proposed in the report and speeches. So I should like to refer to a few questions.

## **1. ON THE NECESSITY FOR DEVELOPING THE MACHINE INDUSTRY**

As all of you know, our country has favourable conditions for the development of the metallurgical and machine industries.

Our country is very rich in iron ore and other ferrous and nonferrous mineral resources. There are thousands of millions of tons of iron ore deposits and very many different nonferrous metal deposits. Other resources might be exhausted, but the metallic resources, vital to the development of the machine industry, are not likely to be used up even in the course of many generations.

As far as the sources of raw materials are concerned, the only restraint on the development of the metallurgical and machine industries is that coking coal is not yet available domestically. But we may find coking coal at some time in the future if we carry out prospecting properly; and even if we do not, we have the alternative possibility of developing the iron and steel industry depending on our domestic fuel resources by promoting scientific research on the use of anthracite in iron production.

The lack of coking coal can be offset by our large deposits of magnesite, a refractory raw material, which is indispensable to the metallurgical industry. Our country has the largest deposit of magnesite in the world. If we mass-produce magnesia clinker from it, we can exchange this for coking coal which we need.

A general review of the sources of raw materials and other resources thus shows that our metallurgical and machine industries have a very promising future.

Of course, we can sell iron ore and nonferrous minerals without processing them. But, if we do so, we shall not become prosperous, no matter what resources we have. If we are to live as well as others do, we must make effective use of our natural wealth. To this end, we should mine the mineral resources and process them before we export them rather than sell them unprocessed. A machine is the final product of metal processing. We should, therefore, develop the metallurgical and machine industries and process the mined ore to the end until we mass-produce machines not only for domestic use but also for export. This is the way to increase the nation's economic power, raise the people's living standards and consolidate our defence power.

Many countries, although they are small in size, are rich because they have developed their machine industries. There are examples of this amongst both socialist and capitalist countries. Switzerland, for example, covers a small area and has a small population. But she has become prosperous by developing the precision machine industry such as watchmaking. Although Czechoslovakia is not rich in iron ore and has meagre nonferrous metal resources, she produces a large number

of machines for export. Why cannot our country with rich mineral resources develop the machine industry, when other countries, even with little raw material resources, do develop it in this way?

We must develop the machine industry on a large scale, making the fullest use of our favourable natural conditions. In this way, we shall catch up with leading economic powers as soon as possible, and raise the people's standard of living. Our country is only 220,000 square kilometres in area. But if we produce a large number of machines and harness nature on a large scale by walling off the sea to reclaim tideland for grain production and by building large ships for deep-sea fishing, we shall be able to provide adequate food for a population of 40 to 50 million and live as well as others. This is the first necessity for developing the machine industry in our country.

The second necessity is that the machine industry is the basis for the development of industry as a whole and of the other sectors of the national economy. It is a material guarantee for the country's political independence and economic self-reliance.

Without machines we can neither exploit mineral resources nor can we process them or produce heavy and light industrial goods. Therefore, neither the problems of strengthening the country's economic foundations and of improving the living standards of the people nor the problem of increasing the nation's defence power can be solved successfully unless the machine industry is developed.

If we say that heavy industry is the basis of industry, then we can also say that the machine industry is the heart of heavy industry. That is why the economic power of a country and its economic progress are measured by its output of steel and also by the degree of the development of its machine industry.

Our industry, the machine industry in particular, is still underdeveloped. Our country started building industry much later than other countries. As a matter of fact, it is no more than 20 years since we began to build industry through our own efforts. When other countries effected an industrial revolution over a hundred years ago and were developing technology on a large scale, the feudal rulers of our country

were engrossed in factional strife, giving no thought to the development of technology. As a result, our country still remained an undeveloped feudal state, even when other countries embarked on capitalist development. Eventually it was deprived of its sovereignty by the Japanese imperialists.

When they invaded our country, the Japanese imperialists used five-chamber rifles, whereas our forefathers had to fight with matchlocks. So how could they repel the Japanese invaders? If we had had single-shot rifles at least, our country would not have been conquered so easily.

If we are to maintain the independent policy, in other words, independence in politics, self-support in economy and self-reliance in defence, we must develop the machine industry. If we do this, we shall be able to do whatever we want. If we want to increase the output of fertilizer, we can build a fertilizer factory; if we want to increase the output of fabrics, we can build a chemical-fibre factory and make weaving machines. That will do. This is also true of the matter of strengthening our defence power: if we develop the machine industry, we can produce all kinds of weapons.

It is no exaggeration to say that the strengthening of the nation's economic power, the improvement of the living standards of the people, the consolidation of defence power, and all other questions depend, in the final analysis, on the development of the machine industry.

It is essential to develop this industry in our country, not only from the point of view of our own interests, but also from the international point of view.

Newly independent countries in Asia and Africa ask us to help them in economic construction, saying that our country is a "model of self-reliance" and a "developed country". However, our machine industry is not yet developed to such an extent as to produce complete plants for these countries. A few years ago, we built a rice mill and a pottery factory in Mali, and now we are preparing to build a match factory in the Congo. But these factories do not require very sophisticated

technology. If other countries ask us for factories which need a higher level of technology, we must be able to comply with their request. To do this is our internationalist duty.

If we do not help those countries which have just freed themselves from the colonial yoke, they may be subjected once again to imperialist economic domination. If so, the victory of the world revolution will be delayed and our struggle against imperialism will become that much more difficult. Therefore, in order to fulfil our internationalist duty, we must develop the machine industry at all costs.

We are giving priority to this meeting of workers from the machine industry instead of meetings in all other sectors precisely because the machine industry plays an important role both in carrying out the task set forth by the Party Conference, the task of building the economy and defences simultaneously and in implementing the Seven-Year Plan as a whole, and because the machine industry must give a lead to all other sectors. Whether we carry out all the assignments of the Seven-Year Plan by 1970 or not depends on the machine industry, and whether we strengthen our country's economic independence and defence power or not also depends on the machine industry.

Today we have ample assets to carry out all the tasks set under the Seven-Year Plan and those set forth by the Party Conference. We must, of course, neither overestimate the capability of our machine industry nor underestimate it. Immediately after liberation, our country had only a few dozen cutting machines which managed to work with crude spare parts. But today we have very many thousands of cutting machines and more than one hundred large-scale machine factories which produce up-to-date equipment. This is a big capital asset. If we turn it to good account, we shall be able to accomplish a great deal of work.

We are not now in either a year immediately after the liberation when we had virtually no machine industry or in the period immediately after the armistice when we had to reconstruct everything bare-handed. The foundations of our machine industry are strong and its capability is great. The point is that we should use this capability

effectively by efficient organization and develop the machine industry to suit the situation in our country.

If the workers in this industry do their work well and give full play to its potentials, we shall be well able to hit the targets set by the Party to develop the national economy, improve the people's living standards and strengthen our defence power.

## **2. ON THE TASKS FACING THE MACHINE INDUSTRY AT THE MOMENT**

The Party Conference ordained that the basic orientation of our economic development at the moment was to turn the existing economic foundations to good account and improve the quality of production and construction. The machine industry has to play a greater part in this than any other branches.

The first and foremost task of the machine industry is to produce machines and equipment needed to increase and complete the equipment of factories and enterprises which we have already constructed.

We have built large numbers of factories over the past years. But these factories are not working properly. There may be many reasons for this, but we can cite two of them as being the major ones: one is that raw materials are in short supply and the other is that the equipment of these factories itself is not complete.

Many of our factories now can be likened to a cripple who cannot work properly because he lacks an arm or a leg. If we fill such gaps, all these factories will produce at a steady rate and at full capacity. The inadequate supply of raw materials to industrial sectors is mainly due to the fact that coal and ore mines are not provided with enough machines and equipment, and that the technical level of their equipment is low. If we develop our raw material production centres

properly and improve the technical level of their equipment, we shall be able to produce a great deal more raw materials and fuel than we do at present.

Many of the industrial facilities now need to be extended.

Let me take the Musan Mine as an example. We should supply this mine with additional excavators and hauling equipment to facilitate stripping operations, help them to repair damaged chutes and increase the ore-dressing capacity. We should also improve the equipment of its repair and power supply shop so as to ensure the prompt replacement of worn-out spare parts in order to keep machines working. If we round out the Musan Mine in this way, we can keep all its equipment operating regularly and increase ore output considerably.

The same is true of the metallurgical works. If we build another sintering furnace and manufacture an oxygen separator for the Kim Chaek Iron Works, its blast furnaces will increase their iron output and its converters will also improve the quality of steel. If we equip the Hwanghae Iron Works with a cold-rolling machine of ten-thousand-ton capacity and the Kangson Steel Plant with medium-size rolling machines, for instance, we can ease the shortage of steel of different specifications considerably, which is a problem in the machine-building industry and construction, and we can save that much more steel. Of course, some of the machines which are needed to improve the metallurgical works will have to be imported, but most of them should be produced by our machine industry.

Our present demand for cement is great. If the machine industry produces crushers for the Madong, Sunghori and Chonnaeri Cement Factories and provides them with kilns and auxiliary facilities, we shall be able to produce 4 million tons of cement annually.

This amount is enough to pave all the important roads, build embankments at the sites of possible landslides and a large number of modern dwelling houses.

If different industrial branches put on flesh even a little, we shall be able to attain all the targets set under the Seven-Year Plan.

Although we have introduced irrigation and mechanization in



agriculture, we have still a great deal of work to do.

As all of you know, we have not much land which can be reclaimed in our country. If we are to obtain new farmland we will have to reclaim the tideland, but this will cost us a huge sum of money and will take a long time, so we cannot afford to do it right now to increase the grain output. The reclamation of tideland will have to be tackled at some time in the future as far as can be seen. In order to solve the present grain problem, we must increase the yields of the existing farmland.

We have converted non-paddy fields into rice paddies on a large scale over the past years, so that the area of our rice paddies has increased to almost 700,000 hectares. I thought that our people would be a little better off, if they cultivated 700,000 hectares of rice paddies. However, the problem of food has not yet been completely solved. This problem is also one which depends on how to put on flesh in the final analysis.

Of course, there may be several reasons why the grain yields do not rise. But one of the main reasons is that the rice crop becomes flooded in the rainy season. We have not yet built all the necessary cement embankments nor have we finished erosion control projects and forest conservation. As a result, whenever it rains, the rivers are silted every year, flooding rice paddies.

The rise in the Taedong River bed causes flood damage to the rice paddies in the vicinity of the Kangson Steel Plant during the rainy season. Such flooding occurs not only in big rivers but also in small ones. Manual labour is too inefficient to dredge the river-beds; machines can cope with this work. But because of the shortage of such machines, we are helpless against the flood which damages a large area of rice paddies. Flood damage is partly due to the absence of drainage ditches which should have been laid out for the new rice paddies which have been converted from non-paddy fields, and partly to the fact that the existing drainage ditches were filled in when the fields were being re-aligned. I was told that approximately 10 per cent of the total area of rice paddies is vulnerable to flood. This, of course, covers only those

rice paddies which are submerged for a relatively long period. If we take into account even the ones which are flooded only for a few days, the area will be much larger. Officials in the agricultural sector seem to think that the flooding of rice plants for a day or two before they come into ear affects the yield very little. But they are mistaken. According to investigations by the scientists concerned, only two days of flooding approximately 15 days after transplanting reduces the yield of rice by 20 per cent. Then, what a great loss of grain we suffer every year simply because of this!

We must prevent the recurrence of such damage by all possible means this year. It is difficult, of course, to do it in a single year. But, if we buckle down to it, we shall be able to do it. For this work we need dredgers, excavators, bulldozers, pumps, motors and gas engines, and the machine industry must produce them.

This is not all that the machine industry has to do for agriculture. It must produce the necessary machines and equipment for increasing the production of agricultural chemicals and for building new fertilizer factories. At the moment we produce only nitrogenous fertilizer, but no potassic and phosphatic fertilizer. This is not because we do not have raw materials for this in our country. We have fairly large deposits of such minerals. But we cannot produce them because mining and dressing machines and equipment are not available for the purpose. Up until several years ago we produced a certain amount of phosphatic fertilizer from apatite which was imported from Viet Nam. In recent years, however, the escalation of the war there has kept us from importing the raw material, compelling us to suspend its production. So it is precarious to depend upon other countries for raw materials. If the workers of the machine industry manufacture the machines and equipment which are needed for dressing low-quality apatite available in our country, we will be able to produce as much phosphatic fertilizer as we need, using our own raw materials. Machines and equipment are also necessary for the production of different kinds of trace-element fertilizer.

As you can see, the machine industry should make dredgers to clean

out river channels, excavators to dig out stream beds, pumps and motors for drainage and machines and equipment for the production of agricultural chemicals and fertilizer. When this has been done, it will enable us to raise our grain output to at least 5 million tons. If, instead, we cling to the experience of the past as we do now, there will be no innovations in agricultural production.

If the mechanical engineering workers make a little effort to equip all the rice mills better, we can put an end to the great waste which occurs in rice cleaning every year. If we raise the output of cleaned rice by 2 per cent by improving this equipment, it means an extra 80,000 tons at least every year.

Although we land 600,000 to 700,000 tons of fish a year, we cannot supply people with fish regularly because of inefficient processing. If our machine industry builds refrigerator ships and manufactures refrigerators for fishing boats so as to freeze fish as soon as they are caught, we shall be able to supply fresh fish to the working people all the year round.

Much of our effort to solve the problem of clothing also depends on the machine industry. If this industry manufactures some equipment which we need, we can increase fibre output and spinning capacity and improve the quality of fabrics to a marked degree.

Recently I asked the workers in the light industry sector why the quality of cloth was low, and they answered that it was because they had no twisting machines. If we draw out fine yarn, twist it with a machine, weave cloth with it and then give it resin-treatment, such cloth will be as durable and attractive as any foreign fabrics. I have given the Sinuiju Textile Mill the task of producing more than 30 million metres of urea-resin treated blended suiting, and they say that they can do it without difficulty provided they are supplied with twisters by May. So I have taken measures to build a twisting machine plant to mass-produce these machines.

Today there is a great strain on our transport-railway transport in particular. This problem can also be solved without difficulty if the machine industry gives active assistance.

As I have pointed out more than once at the meetings of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party and of the Cabinet, in order to ease the strain on railway transport, we must consolidate the centres for locomotive repair. We must supply additional machine tools to locomotive depots and repair plants and make sure that they increase the capacity for the repair of locomotives and ensure the quality of repair to keep all the existing locomotives running.

We should also electrify the railways. If we do this, we can double the present hauling capacity. In order to electrify the railways, we must increase the output of copper and of electric locomotives and perfect the technology of mercury rectifiers and of quick acting circuit breakers as soon as possible.

In order to ease the strain on railway transport, we should also produce a large number of wagons. It would be useless to electrify railways and raise their carrying capacity, if we did not have enough wagons. So we must increase their production.

If we are to continue developing the railways, we must produce rails within the country. It is absurd that our country, an industrial state which has a number of big metallurgical works, cannot produce rails.

It is also a matter of urgency to provide the railways with a very large number of concrete sleepers. There is a great strain on the timber situation in our country. So we have to use concrete sleepers, and all the block factories will be obliged to produce concrete sleepers.

It is also important in easing the strain on railway transport to reduce the turnaround of wagons by making a determined effort to mechanize loading and unloading.

The machine industry will have to make a greater contribution than any other sectors to solving all these railway transport problems. It must produce machine tools for the locomotive repair shops, speed up the production of electric locomotives and wagons and increase the production of cranes and winches needed for the mechanization of loading and unloading.

Today, solving the problem of railway transport in our country is a

prerequisite to normal production and to further development of the national economy. Without easing the strain on the railways, it would be impossible to ensure the production of steel, fertilizer and cement and the operation of machine plants. That is why our Party fixed this year as the year to ease the strain on railway transport and decided to give priority to this sector both in investment and in the supply of materials. None of us should consider ourselves onlookers on the subject of railway work, but should regard it as our own and concentrate all our efforts on solving this problem rather than simply complaining about the strain. The workers in the machine industry, in particular, should take the lead in this struggle.

I could go on at length, but I think that what I have already said is enough to convince you of the weighty responsibility of the machine industry in carrying out the task set by the Party Conference of making the optimum use of the existing economic foundations. In short, if the workers of the machine industry do a good job and help all sectors of the national economy to round out and operate all their factories properly, production will continue to increase, and the living standards of the people will improve further.

In addition, an important task facing the machine industry is to make a positive contribution to the construction of new factories.

The Party Conference, while stressing the need for the fullest use of the existing economic foundations, put forward the task of constructing new factories to increase the economic foundations of the country. We have to build new power stations, a granulated iron works, and a textile mill by 1970. We have also to construct a number of other factories.

How, then, should we provide these many factories with equipment? Of course, complete plants will be imported for some of them, but we should import only those which are beyond our capability; the rest will have to be produced at home as far as possible.

The best solution would be to produce complete plants for these factories locally. But our machine industry is not yet capable of doing this. The numerous shortcomings of the factories we have built over

the past years and their inefficient operation, are also mainly due to the fact that they were equipped with machines collected one by one from different sources rather than with complete plants. This situation will be unavoidable until we can manufacture complete plants domestically. The machine industry should, therefore, strive to manufacture modern plants in the near future. This is the way to carry out the current Seven-Year Plan and continue to develop the national economy rapidly.

Another important task of the machine industry is to assist in increasing defence power.

Our enemies are committing provocative acts against the northern half of Korea almost every day. As you know from today's newspaper, yesterday an enemy naval vessel violated the demarcation line in the waters of the East Sea and committed a hostile act before she was sunk by our coastal artillery. She was sent to the bottom of our territorial waters, but the enemies are complaining about our action. The Americans are so shameless that you cannot tell what they might do against us or when. Therefore, we must be fully prepared to cope with a possible war at all times.

All sectors, and the machine industry in particular, must prepare themselves thoroughly against possible hostilities. But neither the machine industry nor the other sectors are well prepared.

Every one of us must provide his own field of service against a war situation and take measures to contribute to the efforts to defeat the enemy. The workers of the machine industry, especially, must do their bit in case of war. They must work out a detailed plan to cope with this possibility.

During the Fatherland Liberation War we had a situation which compelled us to retreat, and this was mainly because we had not armed all our people. The workers of the machine industry must not forget this bitter experience and should thoroughly implement the Party's policy on fortifying the whole country and on putting all the people under arms.

Today the machine industry has a heavy, but a very honourable,

task to perform. Needless to say, many difficulties and obstacles will arise when you implement this colossal task. The Cabinet's fact-finding of the factories last year shows that some of the factories which need improving have defective equipment requiring adjustments because it was carelessly manufactured by engineering factories as well as inadequate supplies of machines which were not filled because the industry could not produce them all. Making adjustments will be easy, but doing what is beyond their capability will not. Some people are in the habit of suggesting that we import foreign equipment, but we do not have enough foreign currency for this. We would like to import all the facilities which are beyond our production ability, but the foreign-currency situation does not permit it. Nor is anyone prepared to give us free what we need.

The only way out is for our workers to believe in their own resourcefulness and make what is necessary by our own efforts in the spirit of self-reliance. Just as we achieved big developments in 1957 under the banner of self-reliance, so we must work hard this year also to bring about a new improvement in all sectors.

Our situation today is not what it was in 1957. At that time, we were able to find enormous reserves with little effort, but, today, you will be unable to tap any reserve by wielding a "taskmaster's club", instead of organizing work efficiently, managing the economy correctly, and making a scientific assessment of all factors. It would be impossible to effect a fresh economic advance without an extraordinary resolve and effort on the part of the senior officials in charge of economic affairs and the working people and without a radical improvement in the management of the economy.

This year's plan for the machine industry which has been given by the State Planning Commission will allow you a margin because it was drawn up virtually according to the norms of the past when there was a great waste of steel. If the workers of the machine industry build warehouses under a careful plan, store materials and finished goods properly, do more precise casting and introduce forging presses on a large scale, they will be able to increase the output of lorries, tractors,

excavators and various other machines even without increasing the amount of steel permitted by the plan.

To sum up, the principal way to tap reserves and bring about an advance in production at the moment is to organize work efficiently and manage the economy on a scientific and technological basis.

### **3. ON SOME MEASURES FOR SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TASKS OF THE MACHINE INDUSTRY**

If you are to carry out the huge tasks confronting the machine industry successfully, you must first work well among the technicians and skilled workers.

If you do this well, you will be able to bring about a great improvement in our machine industry. Even in those days when there were not many technicians, our workers made tremendous progress in the machine industry by launching a let-one-machine-tool-make-another movement, and why should we not do so today when we have a great number of technicians and a solid foundation in this industry? The point is that you must work properly among the technicians.

It is true that our technicians are not well-qualified because they did not have adequate experimental and practical experience in their training period. Nevertheless, they all use their initiative and strive for the good of the country and their fellow men. Even people who have not had a formal education can make great inventions, so why should the dozens of thousands of our university-trained technicians not prove their great merits? We must not simply complain of the low quality of the technicians we have trained, but we must have faith in them, teach them and help them so that they will become competent in their jobs.

You must give up the idea of doing anything by depending on foreign countries. Even if we are to invite foreign technical advisors,



they will not work as hard as our own technicians do nor can we afford to invite so many consultants. It will be a different matter when communism is a reality throughout the world. But at the moment when every country manages its own economy, one must build up the economy of one's own country by one's own efforts. We must rely on our own resources all the more today when certain countries are pursuing national egoism and big power chauvinism. Otherwise we shall be unable to carry on the revolution and construction successfully. Low as the qualifications of our technicians and skilled workers are, we must work properly among them and raise their qualifications so as to solve difficult problems by our own efforts.

Technicians and skilled workers should be allowed to stay on their jobs for a long time. At present, they are frequently transferred from one job to another.

Such frequent transfers are due to inefficient work on the part of Party organizations and senior officials. This practice could have been prevented if the Party organizations and senior officials had exercised strict control over the matter. From now on they must work properly among the technicians and skilled workers and strictly control their change of jobs and encourage them to settle down in their existing jobs.

A suggestion has been made to assign technicians to the separate functions of technical management and technological research and to let them perform their own functions. That sounds good. Those who are involved in technical management will function directly on the floor level, organizing technical processes, ensuring the observance of these processes, bringing technical problems which arise to the technical department for consultation, helping inefficient people to raise their technical levels and doing similar work in technical management. Those who work in technological research will perform the tasks of drawing up new designs or of studying new ideas mainly for the development of technology. I deem it necessary to staff the technological research sector and designing institutes with relatively better-qualified people and to let them concentrate their efforts on

designing new articles and on test production. Since they cannot expect to achieve success in their research through desk work only, they can go to production sites as the occasion requires. Even in this case, however, their functions should be clearly distinguished from those of managing technicians. And those technicians should also study technology hard and make positive suggestions for improving technical processes.

In order to raise technicians' qualifications, we should provide them with conditions for study. Our technicians have studied under unsuitable conditions in the past. It is, therefore, very urgent to provide them with suitable conditions for study now.

First of all, they ought to have access to information on world science and technology and know the way in which they are developing. We should establish a translation department in the Ministry of Machine Industry and let it translate material on development trends and the present state of foreign machine industries and publish it in the form of a monthly journal.

In addition, they should be given technological information about our country as well. We cannot assume that the technical workers are well informed of technological achievements in our country. Recently, comrades from Kim Chaek University of Technology and the Academy of Sciences gave technicians lectures on the success and experience in our country's technological progress. Many of the audience said that the lectures were quite news to them. This shows that they have not been regularly informed of developments at home nor have they studied for themselves.

From now on technicians should be kept informed on a regular basis of technological affairs at home and abroad so as to broaden their outlook. Not only technical data, but also books on technology should be provided for them, and foreign technical books, too, should be widely translated and published.

In order to improve the qualifications of technicians, we should also organize frequent practical training and educational visits. Technicians should be sent abroad on tours of practical training and field

inspection, and the valuable experiences gained in this course should be introduced into production by coordinated efforts. Up until now the minister and other leading ministerial officials have neglected this work, only wielding the “taskmaster’s club”, but from now on they will have to do it properly.

Sending a large number of people abroad for the purpose of long-term practical training will involve too much expense and may adversely affect current production. So long-term training should be confined to essential cases, and other people should be sent on visits to see factories. In this way long-term practical training and short-term field inspection will be properly combined.

Practical training at home as well as abroad should be organized. There are many home facilities suitable for practical training—among them model factories and most other factories since they have at least a few highly-efficient precision machines of different kinds. Practical training and visits to factories should also be organized for technicians for the purpose of spreading the excellent experience of the enterprises which have set examples.

Technicians should be given short courses on technical matters so as to improve their qualifications. It would be a good idea to mobilize professors of Kim Chaek University of Technology and researchers of the Academy of Sciences and arrange a mobile course for the workers of the machine industry once a month or so, or we can choose Kim Chaek University of Technology or the Pyongyang University of Mechanical Engineering for the short course to which technical personnel are invited for ten or fifteen days’ technical instruction every year. This will help them to improve their qualifications.

We should re-establish the system of training skilled workers. We abolished it because there was a suggestion that such training would be unnecessary in view of the existing higher technical schools. But we must restore this system. The schools which train skilled workers should enrol middle school graduates who have undergone compulsory nine-year technical education and produce skilled workers to meet this shortage.

Second, you must improve the quality of metal products and increase their variety.

Today, our machine industry has the task of producing highly-efficient precision machines for every sector of the national economy. Not only that, but it has to manufacture different machines and instruments necessary for strengthening our defence power. If the machine industry is to be developed to meet the demands of both the national economy and defence, the metal industry must improve the quality of their products and increase the output of steel of diverse specifications.

It is true that the question of improving the quality of metals and increasing their variety depends largely on metallurgy, but it will be impossible for the metal industry to produce all of the several thousand kinds and sizes of metals immediately. Nor can we afford to import a huge amount of such materials from other countries. Some which are not available at home in spite of all our efforts may have to be imported, but we must produce the necessary metallurgical goods by our own efforts as far as possible. The workers in the machine industry should strive to produce metallurgical goods of the necessary specifications at their own machine factories, instead of simply waiting for these materials to come from the metal industry.

The General Bureau of the Precision Machine Industry under the Cabinet has had experience of solving the problem of metals by its own efforts. It had formerly used quantities of imported steel. But, since the Kanggye conference in 1961 it has been meeting its own demand for a fairly large amount of such materials. The success achieved by the workers of this bureau is a good example of displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. Other branches of the machine industry have experience in manufacturing a considerable amount of metallurgical goods for their own use. When I visited the Pyongyang Electric Appliances Plant in 1964, the senior workers of the factory said that they could increase the variety of products if metals of the necessary sizes and quality were available. So I asked why they did not consider making such materials by their own efforts. Later, the new

manager and the chairman of the Party committee of the factory organized work properly to solve this problem and produced new varieties of metals in quantity which culminated in an innovation in all the work of the factory. If the Party secretaries, managers, chief engineers and other senior workers in factories make up their minds and buckle down to it in this way, they will be able to solve the problem of improving the quality of metals and increasing their variety.

Machine plants should not only draw out steel but roll it in various sizes. This is the way to use steel more economically and develop our industry without depending on others.

Third, you must organize specialized and cooperative production on a rational basis.

At present, we are not enthusiastic about organizing specialized production; we only construct big machine plants, assign them a task of producing a wide variety of goods and frequently even change the items to be produced. If we rely on a few general plants and neglect specialized production, we shall be unable to increase the variety of products or improve their quality. Therefore, if the machine industry is to bring about a great change and produce large quantities of different kinds of high-quality goods, it must introduce specialized production by building branch factories and medium and small-sized factories in various places.

Specialized production in such factories will simplify technical processes and reduce the items of raw materials and workpieces handled by each of these factories, and, therefore, simplify factory management. A manager, a bookkeeper and a small technical staff will be able to manage a factory. And that is not all. Because each factory produces only one or two items the workers' technical skill will improve quickly, and accordingly, the quality of the products and labour productivity will rise.

Medium and small-sized factories are in a better position to produce all the items which are not in great demand. You said in your speeches that you could not manufacture light-weight motors because glass fibre

is not available. But that fibre can also be produced at a small factory. If we choose to do it and get down to the task, we shall be able to get the small factories to produce all those items, like glass fibre, which are not in great demand.

Medium and small-sized factories do not need large buildings. A couple of sheds the size of a modern dwelling house will be enough to accommodate such a plant. You need not construct new buildings for this purpose; you can manage it simply by altering and reorganizing the existing ones. The recent consultative conference of officials from the textile industry and the Cabinet meeting decided that 50 locally-run textile mills should be turned over to the machine industry. These buildings will be enough to house factories capable of producing 300 items. In addition, some other buildings which are being inefficiently used can be used to house medium and small-sized factories. The Ministry of Machine Industry should organize such factories properly by using the buildings to be taken over from the light industry sector, and also continue to increase their number in a planned manner by making some investments in this project.

If they are to develop medium and small-sized machine factories, the executives of the machine industry must, first of all, correct their erroneous ideological viewpoint. They assume that a machine factory must have all the manufacturing processes ranging from casting to assembly. Such people, in fact, are not clear about the superiority of communal management and cooperative production under the socialist system. In a capitalist society there can be no cooperation among capitalists because they compete with one another. So they cannot consider cooperative production in the organization of a machine factory. In contrast, the superiority of cooperative production can be given full play in a socialist society. That is why you should organize medium and small-sized specialized factories in large numbers and develop cooperative production rather than try to get each of the enterprises to provide all the processes of production and turn out scores of items by itself.

At present, each and every machine plant tries to carry out casting.

But casting should be concentrated and specialized as far as possible. Of course, you cannot and must not abolish all the foundries now existing at the machine plants simply because casting has to be specialized. Because our country was a colony of the Japanese imperialists for a long time, the equipment and machine parts handled by our factories have not been standardized. If you abolish the existing foundries right away without taking this situation into consideration, it may, on the contrary, hamper the production of equipment and machine parts of different standards. But separate casting operations like those at the factories under the Pyongyang City Construction Commission are unnecessary and should be undertaken by one factory.

Nonferrous metal casting, too, must not be done by different factories. It should be centralized in an efficient factory, and the products distributed to the other enterprises. This will reduce the wastage of precious nonferrous metals and improve the quality of casting as well. In my opinion, plating also needs to be concentrated.

Machine factories which will be built from now on should, as far as possible, not have foundries. They should receive supplies of castings from a specialized casting plant.

Machine plants which have foundries should build storehouses for moulding sand and store it according to its different specifications. This will help to raise the quality of castings and to reduce sub-standard products. If you leave the sand at the mercy of the rain as you do now without even a storage shed, you cannot raise the quality of castings. At present machine plants have neither sand storage sheds nor raw-material storehouses nor warehouses worth mentioning. Nevertheless, some managers build their offices first, instead of such stores. Managers can dispense with their offices but they cannot do without storage. If we are to manage the economic life of the country properly, we must correct this state of affairs as soon as possible.

Executives tend to upgrade their factories by making them all-purpose factories and by increasing the number of their employees. This practice must also be stopped. Machine plants, big ones in particular, are now reluctant to implement the Party's instructions on

setting up branch factories and organizing medium and small-sized machine factories. This is probably because they are afraid of their being downgraded by this devolution of functions. Of course, the factory executives who think so are wrong. But it seems that there are some shortcomings in the assessment of factory grades.

The Ministry of Labour has assessed the grades of factories mainly according to the number of their employees. This was permissible at the initial stage of industrial progress, but it does not conform to the present situation.

This mechanical form of assessment has produced a number of anomalies. With a view to raising the grades of their factories, the executives try to increase the number of their employees and set up all-purpose factories, without giving heed to the strain on the nation's manpower situation. It also hampers the assignment of technicians and specialists to small factories, and, therefore, holds back the development of production. For example, even if we want to appoint technicians to soya and bean paste mills in order to develop this industry, we cannot do so because these mills are classed as low grade.

Assessing factories' grades according to the number of their employees must be reformed immediately, since it does not suit our present economic situation. The more sophisticated is the technical equipment of industry and the higher is the level of its automation, the more a factory can produce with a smaller workforce, and even small factories will be able to produce items of great economic significance. For example, semiconductor goods which are very important in developing mechanical engineering can be readily produced in a factory with a small workforce. Therefore, you cannot and must not give this factory a low grade simply because it has a small workforce.

From now on, factories must be rated not only by the size of their work forces but also by the technical standards of their equipment, as well as the importance and volume of their output. You should define new criteria for the assessment of factory grades and reexamine all the grades now effective as well as correct anomalies. By doing so you will ensure that engineers, specialists or people with doctors' or



masters' degrees can be appointed to factories which produce important items, in spite of their small sizes and small work forces.

Medium and small-sized machine factories may be independent or subordinated to a parent factory. Branch factories will only have to process the workpieces such as castings and forgings which are supplied by their parent factories which will assemble the finished articles. Then, you will be able to improve the quality of goods and increase their output. Take bicycle production, for example. If you organize small branch factories in the neighbourhood of an existing factory to be designated as a parent establishment and invite housewives to work in the branches for the processing of one or two items to be assembled at the parent body, they will be able to produce 100,000 to 150,000 bicycles annually, not 40,000.

Independent medium and small-sized machine factories, too, need not each have a roughcast workshop; they can receive and process workpieces from the foundry of a large machine plant or from a specialized casting shop.

Some of the medium and small-sized machine factories will have to produce single-purpose machines and other equipment, but the rest should specialize in the production of one or two kinds of machine parts. A number of such specialized factories will quickly solve the problem of machine parts which are in short supply. Sewing machines and bicycles, for instance, are only manufactured in complete units, with no spare parts, so that they have to stop working even if a small part goes wrong. If you organize medium and small-sized factories and let them produce spare parts, this will not recur.

Medium and small-sized machine part factories will also lighten the burden on large machine plants, and thus will help them to increase the output of machinery and equipment. The Charyongwan Mining Machine Plant produces bolts and nuts at one of its workshops. It is really ridiculous that such a large machine plant should produce such simple machine parts. Because it diverts its efforts to the production of bolts and nuts, this plant fails to meet the demands of the coal and ore mines for equipment on time. It will be easier for women workers at a

small local industry factory equipped with a few single-purpose machines to produce these items than it is for them to weave fabrics at home. A few such factories will be able to meet the domestic demand for bolts and nuts completely.

In order to establish many medium and small-sized machine factories, it is necessary to produce single-purpose machines in large numbers. It would be advisable to launch a widespread campaign to increase the number of single-purpose machines for some three years from now to 1969 just as we encouraged the let-one-machine-tool-make-another movement in 1959 to equip a large number of local industry factories. The Ministry of Machine Industry should set up one or two plants devoted to the specialized production of single-purpose machines. These plants should mass-produce widely-used single-purpose machines for the specialized medium and small-sized machine factories. This should be combined with a nationwide campaign to increase the number of single-purpose machines. Then, these will replace many multi-purpose machines, which we can use to equip the medium and small-sized machine factories properly in combination with single-purpose machines.

Machine plants should not only produce single-purpose machines but also simple hammers or power presses and introduce stamp forging and pressing widely.

For a long time our Party has advocated this course in view of the effectiveness of these methods. This question was stressed again in the report of this meeting. You must implement this task, come what may.

One of the important problems in specializing machine production is to assign fixed production tasks to each of the factories and enterprises as far as possible.

If a factory is given the task of manufacturing different items from year to year, or if it is given another task before it can carry out its previous task by putting production on a regular basis, production will not be specialized nor will the equipment be used effectively, nor will the quality of the products improve. If a calligrapher writes only occasionally, he will be unable to develop his penmanship; if he takes

up his pen after a long interruption, he will feel his hand tremble and will be unable to write good letters. Likewise, if a worker is given different tasks—to cut one thing today, to repair a machine tomorrow, and cut something else the next day—he will be unable to do any of them properly. Nevertheless, officials of the Ministry of Machine Industry have frequently changed the production tasks of its enterprises without giving the matter prudent consideration.

I was told that this year the Pyongyang Electric Locomotive Factory was given no other task under the plan than that of repairing locomotives—producing not a single new engine. I do not consider that this is right. It is true that the repair of engines is urgent. But you cannot suspend the production of engines. A new plan which envisages the production of some 20 electric locomotives this year should be made for the factory, and separate measures must be taken to increase its repair capacity. If we are to ease the strain on the railways, we must have a large number of locomotives. If the production of electric locomotives is suspended, we shall be unable to increase the hauling capacity, and this factory may be thrown into chaos: they will have to suspend the use of quantities of materials and technical facilities which have been arranged for the production of electric locomotives, and will have to remove the equipment. Why should we waste materials and labour by such an absurdity?

The manager of the Pukjung Machine Factory said in his speech that he was resolved to make 1,000-h.p. diesel engines. But I think it would be better to improve the quality of 200-h.p. and 400-h.p. diesel engines now in production until they are perfect, rather than undertake a new task. Machines, and diesel engines in particular, require a high degree of precision. Nothing serious would happen to a lorry, for instance, even if it went out of order since it works on the ground, but it would be disastrous if a ship's engine developed trouble at sea. If his factory does not manufacture the engines now on hand without any faults, by vainly diverting its efforts to the production of 1,000-h.p. diesel engines, it may do us more harm than good. The Ministry of Machine Industry should, therefore, give this factory no other task

beyond that of improving the quality of the engines it is manufacturing now.

Fourth, we must organize the production of precision machines.

One of the defects of machine factories is the lack of balance in the variety of the machines they possess. This, of course, was unavoidable because we had to build a large number of machine factories in a short space of time and on the principle of self-reliance. At present some machine factories are neither working at full capacity nor can they guarantee the quality of machine products because of the lack of precision machines such as grinders and gear-cutters. To bridge this gap, we will have to take measures either to convert a shop of the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory or of the Kusong Machine-Tool Factory into one for the manufacture of precision machines or else construct another medium-size precision machine factory.

There is no reason why our country cannot make precision machines when other countries do so. We have tens of thousands of mechanical engineers and the Pyongyang University of Mechanical Engineering, Kim Chaek University of Technology and many other technological universities and research institutes. We have also made a little history with our machine industry over the past ten-odd years and gained experience in manufacturing excellent automatic or programmed lathes. If we make careful preparations and tackle it boldly we are completely capable of producing precision machines. If we only think of importing the necessary machines, instead of making high-precision machines of our own, we shall not be able to eliminate the shortcomings of our machine industry in a short space of time nor shall we be able to develop it any further.

Test equipment and measuring instruments should also be produced in larger numbers. I was told that because of the lack of such items at present, light industry and other industrial sectors cannot measure their products to see if they meet the technical specifications. Under these circumstances, you will never raise the quality of industrial products. We must produce testing and measuring instruments on our own. Officials must not regard these instruments as something complicated,

which can only be made by developed countries. There is a saying that “well begun is half done”, and you can solve the problem by coming to grips with it. Nothing will come of it if you simply discuss the matter all night and all day.

We shall have to import a few special testers and gauges, but those which are widely used and capable of domestic manufacture should be produced here. The Cabinet should hold a consultative meeting to take measures to solve this problem.

The demand for testers and gauges will increase in the future with the development of electronic engineering and industrial progress. In order to meet the growing demand, it is imperative to organize their production immediately.

Fifth, we must increase the production of large-size machines.

Large-size machines are indispensable for the gigantic projects for the transformation of nature—the development of mining and electric power industries, the conquest of the sea, river improvement, and the reclamation of tideland.

Excavators, lorries and bulldozers which are larger than those now in use will have to be produced in order to develop new mines and in particular to introduce open-cast mining on a large scale.

Our country has a large amount of undeveloped hydro-electric resources capable of producing several million kilowatts of electricity, for instance, in the tributaries of the Amnok and Tuman Rivers. If we take atomic energy into account, our power resources are boundless. These resources should be exploited in the future for the production of electricity, and this requires that we produce large turbines and other generating equipment on our own.

In order to conquer the sea and land large quantities of fish, we must build many large vessels by developing the shipbuilding industry. Deep-sea fishing will bring us a large tonnage of fish. But at the moment, large vessels are not available, which means that we cannot fish in the distant fishing grounds; and even when we occasionally do so, our fishing boats are so small that we have to throw away a large part of the catch, bringing back only the choice fish. If we have large

ships, there will be no need for us to throw away the fish which cost us so much effort.

There is nothing especially difficult about building a large ship. I inspected the *Paektusan* and found nothing extraordinary; it had refrigerators and large engines. We must build large vessels even if it means importing large engines for some time if it is impossible to make them here right now. We should enlarge the Nampho, Ryongampho, Chongjin, Rajin and Wonsan Dockyards so that they produce many 1,000 ton ships and also those of 3,000, 5,000 and 10,000 ton classes in future.

Large ships will not only facilitate deep-sea fishing but also develop marine transport. We have many harbours, so if we have large ships, we can use the sea freely and ease the strain on railway transport.

You should also build dredgers which are necessary for river improvement. If we build large numbers of dredgers and clear the beds of the Taedong and all the other rivers, we shall be able to remove the danger of flood damage and develop river transport as well. The bottom of the Taedong River is so shallow at present that ships cannot navigate it. But if we dredge it properly in future, ships can sail between Nampho and Sunchon.

You should also produce the machines which are necessary for the reclamation of tideland and for the construction of tide-water embankments. If we have large machines like excavators and loaders, we will be able to reclaim 100,000 hectares of tideland without difficulty. If we cultivate rice on those 100,000 hectares, it will be a great help in solving the food problem.

The machine industry has to manufacture large equipment for the chemical industry, such as compressors and nitrogen separators which are needed for the production of chemical fertilizer for the countryside. I have been told that the workers of the Ragwon Machine Factory are resolved to make chemical equipment. They are very enterprising. We should produce equipment for the chemical industry on our own at whatever cost. If we try to import chemical equipment to produce fertilizer and agricultural chemicals, instead, we shall not be able to

solve the problem.

Recently we have been studying the farming situation in different countries and a lot of information on the trends in agricultural development. Information on those countries which are good at farming shows that their success is not because they have a large area of farmland. The secret of high yields is that they use large quantities of chemical and organic fertilizer.

There are two million hectares of cultivated land including orchards in our country. If we raise good crops, we can afford to devote only 1.3 million hectares to the cultivation of cereals, and the rest to the production of animal feed and fruit. If a hectare of rice paddy yields 4.5 tons of rice and if the same area of non-paddy field gives us a yield of 3.5 to 4 tons of maize, then we will produce 5.25 to 5.55 million tons of grain from the 1.3 million hectares of cultivated land. This amount of grain will be enough and to spare. Fodder crops cultivated on the remaining area will be used to develop stock farming on a large scale. Then, we shall have plenty of meat to eat.

If we are to apply one ton of fertilizer per hectare as other countries do, we should produce it in large quantities, and, for this purpose, we must manufacture large chemical equipment at home.

We must also develop the defence industry so as to increase our defence power.

As long as US-led imperialism exists, we shall never be free from the danger of war. We must strengthen our defence power in every possible way to deter the enemy from attacking us recklessly. If they foolishly try to attack us, we must deal them a crushing blow. To this end, we must develop the defence industry and produce various kinds of weapons. Workers in this sector have so far increased the variety of products and improved their quality in the spirit of self-reliance. Drawing on this experience, they should make a firm resolution and go ahead with preparations for the production of large weapons and equipment, using their initiative, studying further and pooling their collective knowledge and resources.

#### **4. ON IMPROVING THE WORK OF FACTORY PARTY COMMITTEES**

The most important thing in improving the work of the factory Party committees is that they must put a stop to their practice of claiming administrative functions for themselves, and work well among the people, in other words, among cadres, Party members and the rest of the masses.

If a factory Party committee is to function properly, it should first be made up of good people and then give full play to their collective knowledge. The Party committee must collectively discuss matters of production, adopt correct decisions and then give each member an appropriate assignment, receive reports from time to time on how the assignment is being performed, appraise the results correctly, and give a new assignment when the previous one is completed so as to keep all its members fully occupied. The members of the Party committee should thus activate Party members, who should, in turn, mobilize the masses, so that they will carry out the factory's plan reliably.

Some factory Party committees are not functioning in this manner presently. Quite a few secretaries of factory Party committees walk around behind the managers or give orders in place of the managers and wield Party authority. A certain factory Party committee secretary even performs the function of approving the issue of spare parts and coal from storehouses and of allocating dwelling houses to workers.

Judging from the way Party committees are functioning, it is clear that these committees cannot do their work properly with people, their own duty, nor can they find time to educate cadres and other Party members. Administration and business affairs should be left to the managers of the factories, and the Party committee secretaries should not meddle in their work. If a manager is not allowed to issue spare parts and materials at his discretion, what need is there for him?



When we say that the factory Party committee should direct production, we mean that it should collectively discuss and decide on problems arising in production and supervise and control the implementation of the decisions rather than take upon itself all the administrative and economic functions. Administrative work should, to all intents and purposes, be left to the manager, and the Party committee should mainly work with people, and direct administrative and economic work by increasing, through criticism and inducement, the role of the manager and other executives in charge of administrative and economic affairs.

The factory Party committee should give the manager and the chief engineer who are members of the committee assignments which will help them to perform their administrative duties, handle economic affairs and direct production in a responsible way: it should give the manager an assignment of doing work with assistant managers, the chief engineer and shop managers, and give the chief engineer an assignment of doing work with technicians and of tackling technical production problems. The work of the Party committee is precisely to ensure in this way that all the Party members carry out Party assignments efficiently in their posts.

The factory Party committee should also consolidate the ranks of cadres and workers and carry on effective ideological education among them. As I stressed at the Party Conference, the most important task facing us at the moment is to revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society.

Some of our cadres, forgetful of their past conditions, have become easygoing and lax and tainted with bourgeois ideology. It is, therefore, necessary to intensify the education of cadres, revolutionize them and fill them with the ideology of the working class.

A great deal of steel is being wasted at machine factories at present, and this is also largely due to the fact that managers, Party secretaries and chief engineers are not armed with the working-class ideology. The senior officials in machine factories are all working intellectuals who came from among the workers and poor peasants, but they seldom

think how hard it is for the workers in mines, iron and steel works to produce steel and how much labour a ton of steel costs them. If they were firm in their working-class stand, they would not waste steel as they do now.

I think it might be necessary for the Party secretaries, managers and chief engineers of machine factories to work at a mine or a metallurgical works for a month or so. It will do them no harm to work, digging iron ore at a mine like the Musan Mine for about 15 days in winter or shovelling and sweating in front of a blast furnace in summer. This will train senior officials of these factories and give them an idea of how precious steel is and stimulate them to use steel sparingly. They will also get to know, in the course of this, how the machines and equipment which they themselves make function and what their defects are, and they will make every effort to improve their quality. In this way, they will benefit one way or another.

The factory Party committee should carry on effective political and ideological work among the workers, along with the ideological education of cadres. It does not follow that workers are all equipped with communist ideology simply because they belong to the working class. Among the workers are former peasants who recently joined the ranks of the working class and those who were private merchants and entrepreneurs. There is every probability that even long-standing workers still retain outdated ideas. It is a mistake to think that one adopts the working-class ideology automatically as soon as one becomes a factory worker. Therefore, the factory Party committee should conduct ideological education among the workers tirelessly to eliminate the remnants of outdated ideas from their minds.

Strengthening the ideological education of the working people is also urgent in view of our country's present situation. In providing against war, material preparation is important, but it is still more important to prepare all the working people ideologically, to equip the broad masses with our Party's ideology and unite them solidly around the Party.

Factory Party committees have neglected political and ideological

work among cadres and working people, with the result that departmentalism is still in evidence. At present, some factories will not turn over to other factories stockpiles of materials which they themselves do not need. This is a great obstacle to production. Preventing the use of valuable materials by refusing to turn them over to others when they do not need them is a manifestation of brutal selfishness motivated by departmentalism, a harmful act which inflicts a great loss on the state.

Departmental selfishness is also expressed in violating the discipline of cooperative production. Many factory executives are inclined to take no interest in whether other factories fulfil their plans or not; these people think that they need worry about nothing, so long as they carry out their own plans and receive bonuses.

Last year the Hwanghae Iron Works, for instance, carried out its plan in all production items and won praise and many bonuses. But the Kangson Steel Plant on the opposite side of the river failed to fulfil its production plan of seamless tubes because the Hwanghae Iron Works did not supply the material soon enough. The principle of cooperative production is that a factory should first produce supplies for other factories and then carry out its own assignment. Only when every factory observes this principle, can all sectors and all factories keep production going on a regular basis and carry out their plans completely. Our Party has long stressed this, and in particular, the 10th Plenary Meeting of the 4th Central Committee of the Party discussed the matter of observing the discipline of cooperative production seriously. All those present at this plenary meeting pledged themselves to observe the discipline of cooperative production, but they still do not do so. As a matter of fact, I think that the manager and the chief secretary of the Party committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works are to blame for the failure of the Kangson Steel Plant to implement its last year's plan.

I was told that the Tae'an Electrical Machinery Plant provided a smooth supply of equipment and materials to the Pyongyang Electric Locomotive Factory when the latter belonged to the Ministry of

Machine Industry, but that it does not do so since the electric locomotive factory has been transferred to the Ministry of Railways. This really cannot be justified. Whether this electric locomotive factory is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Machine Industry or of the Ministry of Railways, it belongs to our country, and to our people, doesn't it? Is it that the executives of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant do not understand that the proper repair of locomotives and the production of electric locomotives in large numbers are prerequisites for easing the strain on transport, that only then will coal mines and ore mines be able to solve their problems and that only when that has been done can all sectors of the national economy keep production moving on a steady basis?

Departmentalism has no connection with our Party's idea, the communist idea. Departmentalism is selfishness, a most dangerous capitalist idea. It may appear trivial at first, but it grows into parochialism, which eventually degenerates into factionalism.

Unless we get rid of departmentalism and selfishness, we cannot build socialism successfully nor can we succeed in reunifying the country, nor can we carry out the world revolution.

We are communists who are fighting for the victory of the world revolution. A man who is steeped in national egoism and forgets the world revolution is no longer a communist. We must never forget our class brothers around the world. We must be loyal to internationalism for ever.

We are not so well off as others, but we are helping our Vietnamese brothers as best as we can. We do this because we regard our internationalist duty as important and their sufferings as our own. We suffered all kinds of hardships in the Fatherland Liberation War against US imperialism. How, then, can we be indifferent to the sufferings of the Vietnamese people? Their revolutionary struggle is precisely our struggle. The more Yankees are killed by the Vietnamese people, the sooner we shall win our revolution. The more Yankees who are destroyed in Viet Nam or in Latin America, or elsewhere, the more advantageous it will be to us. We should, therefore, assist our

Vietnamese brothers in their struggle to the best of our ability.

If we are to build socialism in the northern half of Korea and carry out the south Korean and the world revolution, we must eradicate the idea of selfishness, a capitalist idea, from the minds of the working people.

Party organizations must forcefully combat selfishness, departmentalism and all other remnants of outdated bourgeois ideas among the cadres and working people and tirelessly educate them so that they place the collective, national interests above those of individual persons or factories and are faithful to the cause of our revolution and of the world revolution.

Factory Party committees should pay great attention to establishing order and discipline in factories.

Generally speaking, factories at present are in disorder and their discipline is lax. Some of them do not know exactly how many workers are at work or how many are absent. They even do not know who has left his work to go fishing.

Production also lacks order. Equipment is managed carelessly, there is no storehouse worth mentioning and raw materials and other necessities are scattered here and there, so that factory yards look very untidy. Because of such disorder, accidents continue to happen and the quality of the products does not improve.

Factory Party committees must not put up with disorderly practices, but must work forcefully to establish strict order and discipline. They must see that the managers tighten administrative discipline. Strict administrative discipline in factories will ensure system and order and regular production. The Party committees must give Party assistance to the managers in maintaining it.

Factory Party committees must pay great attention to the welfare service for the workers. This is most definitely an aspect of political work, and taking good care of it is very important. But this work is not done efficiently at present.

Factories are not providing their workers with necessities in the proper manner because factory Party committees neither show concern

for this matter nor organize this work. At present, factory Party committees leave it to the discretion of managers and simply criticize them instead of willingly making themselves responsible for this. Managers should be allowed to concentrate their efforts on directing production, and factory Party secretaries themselves should get assistant managers in charge of living conditions, and the officials of trade unions and of the League of Socialist Working Youth to improve the well-being of the workers.

Factory Party committees must not take over administrative functions but play the role of helmsman skilfully, build up the ranks of cadres and workers soundly, do political and ideological work among them properly, and concentrate their efforts on establishing order in factories and on improving the living conditions of the workers. The factory Party committees of the machine industry should be the first to improve their work in this direction and set an example for the rest of the country to follow.

The task of the machine industry is immense and difficult. It cannot be carried out in a short burst of activity. On your return you should fully inform all the workers and technicians of the matters discussed at this meeting, strive patiently for approximately three years to bridge the gaps in production processes and build them up with the necessary machines until the factories are fully equipped, set up many medium and small-sized factories and work properly with technicians so as to improve the quality of products radically.

I believe that you will bring about a further improvement in the machine industry by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, and thus will meet the Party's expectations with credit.

# **ON REVOLUTIONIZING TEACHERS AND INTENSIFYING THE EDUCATION OF STUDENTS**

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Officials  
of the Scientific and Educational Sector**

*January 27, 1967*

This year we are introducing universal compulsory nine-year technical education. From now on, all the younger generation in our country will receive compulsory nine-year education.

Since we are spending a large sum of money on this project, we must provide the younger generation with a good education and train them all to be workers who are equipped with rich general knowledge and technical skill. The main purpose of our universal compulsory nine-year technical education is basically to intensify both general and basic technical education so as to train the younger generation into becoming useful workers.

Several years ago we set up technical schools with a two-year course with a view to training the younger generation in technical skills in certain branches. The experience in the operation of these schools over a period of time shows that training in technical skills at these schools has not been effective because of inadequate facilities for practical work. So we decided to abolish these two-year technical schools which were mainly supposed to give technical training, and, instead, institute compulsory nine-year technical education which is designed to give basic technical training.

We must see that this form of education is devoted to teaching the pupils general knowledge and basic technical expertise or common technology which can be applied in all branches of the national economy. Of course, basic technical education should be given on a different basis in accordance with the characteristics of urban communities, workers' districts and rural communities.

If education is to be effective, the teachers must be revolutionized and their qualifications improved.

The question of revolutionizing teachers has been raised over a long period. But this work is not yet proceeding properly. The ideological education of teachers, for instance, is being conducted in a perfunctory fashion. The department of the Party Central Committee which is in charge of education is not pushing forward with the work of revolutionizing teachers by concentrating on it, nor are the Ministry of General Education and the Ministry of Higher Education in any way concerned about this work.

The revolutionization of teachers is a very urgent matter both in view of the prevailing situation today and of the spirit of the Party Conference and in the light of the importance of the teachers' revolutionary duties.

Whether the teachers' working-class standpoint is firm or not has a decided effect on the education of their pupils. Any teacher, who is not firm in his working-class outlook, will be unable to give a good education to his pupils. This could cause a great loss to the revolution and construction and could have serious consequences. Therefore, nothing is more important in the direction of educational work than to increase the teachers' class consciousness, harden their Party spirit and revolutionize them. All teachers must be infinitely loyal to our Party, equip themselves firmly with the Party's ideology, the revolutionary ideology of the working class, and have a good knowledge of Party policy. Only then will they be able to educate their pupils correctly.

We must make every effort to revolutionize teachers so that they all follow our Party and stand by the revolution, by the working class, firmly. We do not need teachers who lack Party spirit, the spirit of the



working class, teachers who do not support the Party.

There can be different forms and ways of revolutionizing teachers. But the most effective way is to give them training courses, and then hold meetings to temper them ideologically.

The Party Central Committee has already been applying this method to our work with the chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees, and recently also with the secretaries of Party cells. Some time ago, it organized a training course and a meeting for the cell secretaries and set an example for all the city and county Party committees to follow in their work with the cell secretaries. But some of the county Party committees gathered the cell secretaries of their counties in assembly halls, gave them training courses which were followed by several days' meetings as a substitute for their work. This is not the correct way to help cell secretaries in their work.

If they are to assist cell secretaries properly, the county Party committees must give them training courses, and then hold a meeting for ideological training in each ri. Only then will they obtain detailed knowledge of how cell secretaries are working among the cadres, among the hard-core elements, among the Party members, and among the masses from different sections, and how they are conducting Party study, Party life and their private lives. On this basis, the county Party committees can teach the cell secretaries the work method in concrete terms and help them to act appropriately in specific conditions. This may take a long time, but the county Party committees must use this method and educate, temper and assist cell secretaries efficiently. The same method applies to the revolutionization of teachers.

The training course for teachers should combine political training and practical training in order to give real assistance to the teachers in their ideological training, moral education and the performance of their duties. Political training should include education in Party policy—its educational policy in particular. Practical training should deal with the method of educating students, the method of class work and the method of school management. Training courses for the teachers in

higher education and for those in general education should be given separately, and the syllabuses for each of the courses should be geared to their specific requirements.

The lecturers should prepare their lectures well. Some time ago a short course was given to the chairmen of the county cooperative farm management committees prior to their consultative meeting. At that time, a well-prepared lecturer gave a good lecture, illustrating it by lively examples and speaking in simple language. But another man who was not well prepared gave an uninteresting lecture, only listing principles and propositions. Such a tedious lecture is boring to an audience. We must see that the lecturers for the teachers' training course are well prepared and deliver stirring lectures.

You must efficiently organize and conduct the meeting for teachers' ideological training which will follow their short course.

Meetings of this kind should be held on a school basis, taking each school in turn. The meetings for ideological training which are to be held in higher educational institutions should be guided directly by the Party Central Committee, and those to be held in the general education schools should be directed by local Party organizations.

Meetings of this kind may be difficult to handle and will take a long time because there are many schools and hundreds of teachers in each county. Nevertheless, the meetings should not be held in a perfunctory manner. These meetings must be conducted on a positive basis since they are important opportunities for examining and tempering the teachers ideologically.

At these meetings each of the teachers themselves should make a report on how he prepares his lectures, how he teaches his pupils, how he studies political affairs and practical subjects, and how he leads his private life. And then, his merits and shortcomings should be evaluated so that he will seriously examine and criticize his own work from the ideological point of view. Teachers should be given good education and assistance at such an opportunity so that they will be further awakened politically and ideologically and acquire revolutionary training.

The revolutionization of teachers is a very difficult undertaking which transforms their ideology so as to prepare all of them to be true educational fighters of our Party, to be revolutionaries, and to be communists. One or two short courses and meetings will not be sufficient to revolutionize the teachers completely. Even after these events, this work must be continued tirelessly.

Only by revolutionizing and working-classizing the teachers and other intellectuals can we achieve the complete victory of socialism. This will be impossible unless we win over the former well-to-do middle peasants, intellectuals and other people of the middle class.

The struggle for socialism and communism is a serious class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class to decide who will prevail. Victory or defeat in this struggle depends on who wins over the middle class. The working class, after the seizure of power and the establishment of the socialist system, can emerge victorious only by continuing with the revolution and winning over the middle class.

It is the former workers and poor peasants who really approve of socialism and give it unqualified support in our country at present. By their class nature, they accepted socialism at the outset and have given it their unreserved support.

When we were directing a conference of the Party organization in Kaechon County in 1956, we heard a speech from an old man. In those days the Party encouraged the cultivation of maize which is a high-yielding crop. But some farmers were doubtful. Nevertheless, in his speech the old man referred to his experience with a rural committee formed to distribute land at the time of agrarian reform, and his experience with an agricultural cooperative organized in the difficult postwar years, and then he expressed his firm conviction that he would not be mistaken if he followed the Party's instructions, and he said that it was his firm resolve to plant maize on a large scale to achieve a high yield, pursuant to the Party's policy. This was the authentic voice of a poor peasant who had acquired land by fighting with the working class.

In contrast, the middle class is still wavering, being doubtful about

socialism. Some of them have, of course, accepted the idea of socialism because they have shaped their revolutionary outlook on the world. But there are also quite a few people who are still unsure about the real superiority of the socialist system.

If we are to see that the middle class really recognizes the advantages of socialism, we must carry on economic construction successfully, raise the people's standard of living much higher, so that everyone is provided with a diet of rice and meat soup, with good housing and with ready access to any item of consumer goods he needs.

Socialist economic construction is important, but the ideological revolution must not be regarded as a matter of secondary importance. If we are to win over the middle class completely, we must transform their ideological consciousness on a communist line. This is more important than economic construction. The decisive factor in winning over the middle class is to equip them with communist ideology and revolutionize them.

It can be said that socialism is completely victorious when people's ideas have undergone revolutionary transformation and when the material and technical foundations of socialism have been built up to such an extent that the middle class supports socialism wholeheartedly. Therefore, it is a mistake to view the socialist reorganization of the old relations of production as the end of a transition period from capitalism to socialism and as the complete victory of socialism. If socialism is to triumph conclusively, the working class, after the establishment of the socialist system, must working-classize the whole of society by reshaping the peasantry and intellectuals in its own image, and must also develop the productive forces and raise the people's standard of living to such an extent that all members of society unanimously support socialism.

We must continue to intensify political work in order to revolutionize and working-classize the teachers and other intellectuals. They should be kept informed of Party policy in good time so that they will always have a correct understanding of the Party's ideas and

intentions and educate the young students and schoolchildren accordingly.

The teachers must improve their qualifications radically.

At present, university lecturers are not good at lecturing, and the academic records of students are unsatisfactory. This is mainly due to the fact that the lecturers' qualifications are low. The failure to establish Juche in educational work is also largely due to their low qualifications. Because of this the lecturers cannot escape from the old framework of dogmatism.

Higher qualifications for lecturers are necessary also for the rapid promotion and development of science and technology in our country, which are at present in a backward state, lagging behind development in the rest of the world.

Lecturers must thoroughly acquire the habit of study and improve their qualifications as soon as possible.

An important factor in raising their qualifications is that they should acquire a wide knowledge about Korea.

No matter how much they know about foreign things, this is useless if this knowledge cannot be applied to Korea. For this reason, I told the people who have been abroad to study that, if their foreign knowledge was of no relevance to our country, they should discard it and make a fresh start.

Take agriculture for instance. In a country with a large area of cultivated land they can apply crop rotation and raise crops by bringing more land under cultivation. But this is impossible in our country which has a small area of cultivated land. We have to apply intensive farming in our conditions. However rich a knowledge of foreign agriculture one may have, it is not applicable in our country. The agricultural university teachers should master our Party's policy on agriculture and the farming method of our country and should strive to acquire the scientific and technological knowledge of agriculture in our country and establish their own explicit point of view on this matter.

If we are to have a complete knowledge of our country, we must

wipe out dogmatism and flunkeyism towards big powers. Of course, this does not imply that we should close our doors. A knowledge of the world will help one to know one's own country better, and the study of advanced foreign science and technology will help one to catch up with the advanced countries and to wipe out dogmatism and flunkeyism.

We must ensure that university lecturers are provided with adequate supplies of books on science and technology to help them to improve their qualifications. In particular, a large number of foreign books on science and technology should be translated and published for widespread use amongst lecturers.

At present, many people cannot read foreign books even after a university education. Not many of the people who studied abroad can read foreign books easily, even books from the country where they studied. That is why the libraries which were furnished in the postwar years with a large number of foreign books on science and technology are not proving to be of much value.

Foreign scientific and technological literature should be translated and published so that it can be read by everyone. This work should be done on an annual plan, and the translated publications must be circulated to universities and scientific research institutes. This is the way to help the university lecturers, scientists and technicians to improve their qualifications and also to assist the students to do away with the bad habit of sticking to their lecture notes.

Even in the difficult years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we saw to it that foreign books such as *Foundations of Leninism* and *Problems of Leninism* were translated for the people's education. In our present conditions, we are in a position to do whatever we choose to do.

A translation publication bureau must be set up under the direct control of the Cabinet to ensure a large output of publications on science and technology. This bureau must have a small staff of linguists who have a good command of the Russian, English, Japanese and other foreign languages. Everyone, including the head of the bureau, should do translations.

The translation of scientific and technological literature can be done by any one who knows foreign languages well. University lecturers and people in scientific research institutes should actively participate in the translation of foreign books related to their special subjects.

The education of students has to be improved.

The most important task in this connection is to give effective class education and education in socialist patriotism.

With the passage of time, the revolutionary veterans grow old, and a change of generations takes place in the revolutionary ranks. Therefore, if the younger generation does not hate imperialism, landlords and capitalists and does not know how to fight them, revolution will not be carried forward, and even the revolutionary achievements might be jeopardized.

The revolutionary cause of the working class can be carried through to the end only when the younger generation is educated to hate imperialism, landlords and capitalists and to fight devotedly for the socialist system and the socialist motherland.

Having only grown up happily under the socialist system, our younger generation does not clearly understand what exploitation and oppression by landlords and capitalists are like. They know a little about such exploitation and oppression from what they have heard or read, but not through their own experience. They do not seriously feel that the socialist system is good and that the socialist motherland is precious. They take it for granted that they are living happily today. One day when we were passing by a newly built school, one of my company said that nowadays children considered it a matter of course to have such a fine school built and to be given free education by the state and that they seemed to think that things had always been that way. He was right. The younger generation does not really know what the grief of an enslaved nation is like, how agonizing it is to be subjected to exploitation and oppression by landlords and capitalists, and how their happiness of today has fallen into their laps. So we must clearly show the younger generation the grief of a nation which has been deprived of its sovereignty and the exploitative nature of

landlords and capitalists so that they will staunchly fight imperialism, landlords and capitalists, with ardent patriotism and a high degree of class consciousness. For the educational sector to prepare for war means that it educates the students properly so that none of them will become undependable characters and so that all of them will be true heroes like Ri Su Bok.

We must give the students a clear understanding of the superiority of the socialist system in our country.

Although our children are not clear on this subject, because they are growing up in contentment, the people who have come from south Korea are said to feel the great advantages of the socialist system in the northern half of Korea immediately. Indeed, it is said that south Korean society is terrible to see. I was told that Seoul, for instance, is disgustingly corrupt and squalid. The streets of Seoul are swarming with children of school age who beg for bread, who peddle cigarettes, and who polish shoes for money because they cannot afford school education. These streets are also full of unemployed people who are looking for loads to carry for hire as well as many lodging houses which harbour prostitutes. People from the corrupt south Korean society can only feel keenly the superiority of our socialist system when they see for themselves that in the northern half of Korea there is not a beggar nor an unemployed person, that all the children have access to school free of charge, that even adults study while on the job, and that everyone gets the benefit of free medical care and lives happily, free from worries.

Teachers must educate their students by means of comparison between socialism and capitalism, between the northern and southern halves of Korea, so as to convince them of the advantages of the socialist system and the corruptness of the capitalist system.

If we are to improve the class education of students and their education in socialist patriotism, we must build up the ranks of teachers. It is, of course, true that it would be ideal to appoint as teachers the people who have firsthand experience of being subjected to exploitation and oppression and of revolutionary trials. But there are



not many such people capable of teaching other than the younger generation who have grown up since the liberation. In these circumstances, it is necessary, in building up the ranks of teachers, to combine the veteran teachers with the experience of oppression by landlords and capitalists and of revolutionary trials with a proper proportion of young teachers. The educational department of the county Party committee, which maintains contact with teachers at all times and educates them regularly, should be staffed, as far as possible, with older people who have experienced exploitation and oppression by landlords and capitalists in the past.

Students should be actively involved in social and political activities.

In order to train them to be revolutionaries, political workers, it is necessary to draw them into giving publicity to Party policy, mass enlightenment work and other socio-political activities in their early years and, in the process, educate and temper them in a revolutionary way. Only then, will they acquire, from childhood onwards, a determination to work for the revolution and revolutionary stamina. Abstract words alone do them no good.

I started the revolutionary struggle at the age of 13 by forming underground revolutionary organizations. I knit young people into organizations, equipped them with revolutionary thoughts and educated people by establishing schools and night schools in rural communities. I also delivered lectures to peasants, disseminated songs and gave dramatic performances. In this way, I revolutionized rural communities one by one.

At that time, we conducted the underground struggle in very difficult conditions, indeed. We had to carry on information and revolutionary activities in the face of danger, avoiding surveillance and pursuit by reactionary police and special agents.

But what favourable conditions we have nowadays! Marxist-Leninist ideas and our Party's policies can be propagated in public, all the young students and schoolchildren lead an organizational life as members of the Children's Union or the League

of Socialist Working Youth while receiving free and compulsory education, and every school is equipped with a variety of musical instruments. In addition, they can travel anywhere by train or by bus.

Although conditions are so favourable, schools neglect the sociopolitical lives of the students. At present, students, and university students in particular, are left out of socio-political activities, and this is a grave shortcoming. They are indifferent to politics, lack revolutionary enthusiasm, and are growing up unlike revolutionaries. For the current vacation period, too, the schoolchildren of the general education sector are said to have been given only homework. All this is because the schools, the Children's Union and LSWY organizations did not organize work properly.

Schoolchildren should be encouraged from childhood to take an active part in socio-political activities by means of various forms and methods so that they can be awakened to class consciousness and trained in a revolutionary way. We must see that they disseminate Party policy and songs and give amateur art performances at factories and in rural communities. It would be a good idea to let urban schoolchildren do these things in the countryside, and the rural schoolchildren in the urban communities, and then they would share valuable experience gained in the process.

University students should be actively involved in the survey of the country's natural resources or in the fact-finding investigations which are necessary for the technical revolution. If the survey of tidelands, forests, irrigation canals, grazing lands and various other fact-finding investigations are conducted with the participation of university students who specialize in these fields, it will not only be good practice for them, but will prove effective in giving them a revolutionary education.

Students at agricultural universities alone number more than 4,000 in our country at present. If they are mobilized, nothing will be impossible. From now on, the university students must be encouraged to take an active part in fact-finding projects for different sectors of the national economy, so that they broaden their mental horizon and obtain a revolutionary education.

Literary works and other written material necessary for the education of students must be produced on a large scale.

Literature will have a great effect on the students, who enjoy reading it.

But at present, writers are not producing novels as they should. A novelist described a man who became a middle peasant by receiving land at the time of agrarian reform, as hesitating and causing trouble at the time of socialist transformation before joining an agricultural cooperative. This is a misrepresentation. A middle peasant who does not support agricultural cooperativization cannot be typical of the middle peasants in our country. Middle peasants, along with the working class, are the motive force of our revolution at this stage of the socialist revolution. The way in which the novel dealt with the middle peasant as a trouble-maker before he joined the agricultural cooperative is a serious violation of the class line of our Party. In another novel, the same author depicted a revolutionary of working-class origin, the hero of his novel, as a ruffian. The working class is not characterized by strong fists like those of a boxer but by a strong sense of organization and discipline and by a strong revolutionary spirit. This novel also failed to show properly the process of the hero's being trained to be a revolutionary through an organized mass struggle of the working class and it did not deal with the middle class correctly.

These shortcomings in his works are due to the author's misunderstanding of our Party's class line and mass line. Because he was not clear about these two subjects, his novels failed to reflect the position and role of different sections of the masses at different stages of the revolutionary struggle accurately and went so far as to create stories which are contrary to the Party's class line.

Writers should produce many good books which are necessary for the revolutionary education of the people and students, with a correct understanding of the Party's class line and mass line and from a firm working-class standpoint. Books must represent our Party's class line and mass line accurately and give a true picture of our society.

University lecturers and scientists should also write a great deal for the education of students. Their works must deal with real problems with prudence. From now on, writings should be published only after public consideration. The publication of novels will also follow the same pattern.

Cadres must visit the universities frequently, to give lectures there. They do not like doing this, and this is wrong. Secretaries and department heads of the Party Central Committee, vice-premiers and ministers of the Cabinet and other cadres should visit universities and give frequent lectures to the students on Party policy, on the present situation and other subjects.

The educational sector must implement our Party's class line and mass line correctly.

From this year onwards, the children of the people of all classes and sections will receive compulsory nine-year technical education, so it is important that the general education sector in particular implements the Party's mass line correctly. If teachers do not deal with this matter properly, they will stand in the way of uniting the masses around the Party. However, if they educate the schoolchildren well and work among their parents efficiently, they will help towards the strengthening of the political and ideological unity of society.

Schools should not only educate the younger generation to be loyal to the Party and the revolution, but make a proper contribution towards uniting the masses from different sections behind the Party by exercising a good influence on the parents of schoolchildren.

Of course, it will not be easy for teachers to work efficiently among the children of the people from all sections. If they are to do this properly in accordance with the Party's intention, they have to equip themselves firmly with our Party's policy and acquire a correct class point of view.

The Party's class line and mass line should be implemented correctly in the selection of students for universities and colleges. In particular, in their enrolment of students, the universities should give priority to the selection of fine people from among the children of the

people of basic classes including the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. The composition of university students at once determines the future composition of the ranks of intellectuals, the composition of the ranks of cadres.

It is also necessary for the universities to look into the composition of their students on the basis of the provinces from which they came. Many of the cadres now on the job came from a limited number of provinces. Such a bias should be eliminated by eradicating provincial prejudice first in the recruiting of university students.

The students who are to study abroad should be selected from among university graduates who have a strong Party spirit and are firm in their class standpoint, after two to three years of social training. Such people should be sent abroad to study technology for one year or two.

# **ON REVOLUTIONIZING THE PEASANTS AND CARRYING THROUGH THE PARTY CONFERENCE DECISIONS ON AGRICULTURE**

**Speech Delivered at a National Congress  
of Agricultural Officials**

*February 2, 1967*

Since you comrades have completed a one week training course prior to this meeting and there have been wide discussions about technical problems here, I am not going to dwell on those problems in detail. Instead, I shall draw attention to some other problems today.

## **1. ON REVOLUTIONIZING AND WORKING-CLASSIZING THE PEASANTS**

One of the most important questions in our rural work at present is to revolutionize and working-classize all officials in agriculture and all cooperative farm members. In order to do this the ideological revolution must first be carried out in the countryside. Our Party has already raised this problem as a vital revolutionary task in the theses on the socialist rural question.

The ideological revolution, however, is not proceeding

satisfactorily in the countryside at present. The technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside which were proposed by the theses have been promoted to a considerable extent, but the ideological revolution has fallen far behind. Many peasants are satisfied to earn just enough to keep the pot boiling, and are happy only when they satisfy their own needs, without considering the interests of the country. Many of them are very much inclined to concern themselves only with their own private affairs, with little thought for the development of the collective and the joint economy, and some agricultural officials are prone to be biased in favour of stimulating the material incentives of the peasants only. In the socialist stage, material incentives must be combined intelligently with political and moral incentives. If you put too much stress on material incentives, it can have a negative effect upon people. If you continue in that direction, egoistic ideas will grow in the minds of the peasants, gradually bringing about a dangerous trend toward rejection of collective life.

In your speeches, you have said a great deal about economic and technical problems, but you have all ignored the question of revolutionizing the peasants. That certainly indicates that you attach little importance to the ideological revolution. Needless to say, it is an important task of senior officials and management personnel in the field of the rural economy today to carry out farming in a scientific and technical manner. At the present congress, we have widely criticized you for not carrying out the technical revolution and for carrying on farming in the same unscientific way as before, and you had a training course prior to the congress. This was necessary, of course. However, this congress should by no means be a technical symposium or a consultative meeting for the solution of certain technical problems. Furthermore, you must always avoid giving too much importance to economic or technical considerations. Therefore, what I wish to stress first of all today is that you should pay great attention to the question of revolutionizing the peasants.

By its very nature, man's consciousness will always be left behind by changes in the material conditions of social life. Accordingly, if we

do not forcefully promote the ideological revolution in the countryside, the revolutionizing and working-classizing of the peasants will proceed at a snail's pace, and it will be difficult to turn our peasants into communist working people, firmly armed with the revolutionary ideas of the working class.

Socialist cooperativization was completed a long time ago in our rural areas. The land and all other means of production have thus become common property and all peasants work collectively in a joint economy. In addition, the state has invested heavily in developing irrigation works in the countryside, has supplied the rural areas, at little cost, with necessities for the technical revolution such as tractors, trucks, fertilizer and water pumps, has built dwellings free of charge, has set up clinics with free medical services in all the rural areas and has given children free education at school. Such things show that the system prevailing in our rural areas is of a highly advanced socialist nature. The free medical care for all people and the free education for students, among other things, can, in fact, be regarded as buds of communism.

In this way, our institutions are far advanced throughout the countryside. But the level of the peasants' ideological consciousness has not kept pace with them. Selfishness and petty-bourgeois ideas, obsolete ideas opposed to collectivism, are still deeply rooted in the minds of the peasants. Why are cattle on the cooperative farms carelessly looked after in the communal cowsheds, and tended well when allocated to individual households? Why do the peasants try to keep the best grain for themselves and deliver any stuff, and as little as possible at that, for the state procurement? These few examples are enough to convince us that the peasants are still far from free of the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas. This indicates that we have not done our ideological work among the peasants well and that the ideological revolution is not keeping pace with the advancement of the technical and cultural revolutions in the rural areas.

Of course, I do not mean that you have to stop cattle raising by individual households immediately upon your return home. Since our



farmers are not yet on a high level of ideological consciousness, it is necessary for the cooperative farms to let them look after the means of production, including cattle, in a way which is appropriate to their level.

As regards the composition of the cooperative farm members in our country at present, there is only a small number of former hired hands, that is, rural proletariat. As we saw at the time of the agrarian reform soon after liberation, there were not many hired hands while poor peasants made up the overwhelming majority of the rural population since the economy of rich farmers had not developed in our country in the past. Poor peasants are not completely working class. They are half working class and half small-propertied class, because they had cattle or farming tools and also owned a patch of land, although they sometimes worked for hire. Hence, the poor peasantry is literally semi-working class, in other words, semi-proletariat, and it cannot be called completely working class. As for the middle peasants, they represent a full small-propertied class, i.e., petty-bourgeoisie. Since our peasantry are mainly made up of former poor peasants who were half working class and half small-propertied class, and middle peasants who were a full small-propertied class, it goes without saying that they are greatly infected with a small-proprietor spirit and with selfish ideas.

It is true that the poor peasantry, the largest exploited class in the countryside, together with the working class, made up the major motive force of the democratic and socialist revolutions of our country. By relying firmly on the poor and hired peasants, in alliance with the middle peasants, we carried out agrarian reform and afterwards agricultural cooperativization. Needless to say, the means of production, including land and farm implements, which used to belong to the peasants, have become common property and all peasants have joined the socialist cooperative economy through agricultural cooperativization. In this respect, we can say that our peasants have undoubtedly become socialist agricultural working people and have become more working class. The accomplishment of agricultural

cooperativization, however, in no way means the total working-classization of the former poor or middle peasants. The working conditions and property relations of our cooperative farm members still differ, to some extent, from those of the working class. In ideology, especially, the former are far behind. That is why we now say that revolutionizing and working-classizing the peasants is the most important revolutionary task in the countryside.

The working class has a strong revolutionary spirit and organization and very highly developed ideas of service to the country and the people. It has few selfish ideas of becoming prosperous on its own and not caring about the country. The working class works for the welfare of all the people and it contributes all the products of its labour to society. This, of course, is also in its own interests. The cooperative farmers, however, are still a long way from this ideological level. Our farmers lack the spirit of working for their own collective and community, for the country and the people.

The workers and peasants are all socialist working people in a socialist society, and basically their interests correspond. It is simply that within the division of labour, the workers undertake industrial production and the peasants agricultural production. The workers have the responsibility to make machines, turn out fertilizer and weave fabrics for the peasants, and the peasants have the responsibility to produce rice and other agricultural products for the workers as provisions and industrial raw materials. Since the peasants get farm machinery, fertilizer and fabrics cheaply from the workers, they should naturally do their utmost to produce more rice, more meat, more vegetables and more edible oil for the factory and office workers. Only by doing this can our cooperative farmers claim that they are fully discharging their responsibilities and duties as a sector of the working people in charge of agricultural production in a socialist society. Only when the peasants have fully assimilated such ideas shall we be able to move towards revolutionizing and working-classizing them and arm them with the communist idea of working for the good of the collective and community as a whole.

Revolutionizing and working-classing the peasants means, in the final analysis, the elimination of the differences between the workers and peasants. In order to eliminate their differences completely, we must make technological progress and remove the distinction between industrial and agricultural labour, consolidate and advance cooperative ownership and gradually transform it into all-people ownership, and at the same time, change the backward ideas of the peasants into the advanced ideas of the working class. Our Party has worked tirelessly to eliminate the distinctions between workers and peasants. But some peasants want to retain them as they have been. This amounts to blocking their own way to complete liberation, that is, their way to liberation from the shackles of backbreaking and hard work and outmoded ideas.

In eliminating the differences between the workers and the peasants, it is very important to provide the same working conditions for both so as to enable the peasants to produce an abundance of crops easily. To this end, our Party has already set forth in the theses, and has put great emphasis on, the task of forcefully implementing the technical revolution to ease the work of the peasants through irrigation, mechanization, electrification and the greater use of chemicals in agriculture, and further, eliminating the differences between industrial and agricultural labour step by step. In fact, if we advance the technical revolution in the countryside in accordance with the policy set forth in the theses, we can carry out this task fully.

If we apply chemicals to agriculture in sufficient amounts and reach the point of spreading one ton of nitrogen, potassium and phosphorus fertilizer per hectare, as well as microelement fertilizer, then we shall be able to make our farming highly intensive. Furthermore, if we eliminate weeds in the rice and non-rice fields by using herbicides, the peasants can be freed from the chore of weeding. Since our scientists have not yet fully studied these problems and chemistry has not yet been applied to agriculture widely enough, our peasants are unable to raise production, no matter how hard they work. Once we have solved this problem, we shall be able to get yields of 4.5-5 tons per hectare

from the rice paddies and three to four tons from non-rice fields and so we shall have enough for our own consumption and, at the same time, for creating ample reserves, by using only 1,300,000 hectares of land to which mechanization can be applied without even bringing the entire two million hectares of available land under cultivation. And if we grow fodder crops on the remaining fields and develop animal production, we can produce large quantities of meat and so lead a prosperous life. This is no dream, but a fully realizable possibility. Agricultural development throughout the world is proceeding in this direction. It is for the achievement of this far-reaching plan that our Party has directed so much energy to the technical revolution in the countryside.

However, this is being hampered by the egoistic ideas which our peasants still retain, the outworn ideas of avoiding collective life, of not treasuring common property so much as their own, of not looking after the houses properly, and of failing to keep a proper control of the waterways, fertilizer and farm implements. The launching of an overall technical revolution must be backed up by the ideological revolution. Unless the ideological revolution is actively carried out in the rural areas to make a clean sweep of the petty-bourgeois ideas in the minds of the peasants, we can neither promote the technical revolution nor consolidate the system of socialist cooperative economy.

It is quite true that the peasants' level of ideological consciousness will improve as technology develops and production increases in the countryside and as their material and cultural standards rise. It would be a mistake, however, to think that the peasants' ideology will be transformed automatically without a persevering struggle to revolutionize them. As I said during the meeting, cooperative farms which distribute upwards of five tons of grain and 700 to 800 *won* in cash per household can be considered to be on a very high level as regards their material basis and the living standards of their farmers. As far as the material conditions are concerned, we may say that socialism has triumphed completely on such farms. However, it is unlikely that the ideology of such cooperative farmers has been fully

remoulded into that of the working class.

It is a far more complex and difficult task to revolutionize the peasants and make them real communist working people armed with a thorough working-class ideology than to reform the social system and develop technology in the countryside. The selfishness and petty-bourgeois spirit of the peasants is still so deep-rooted that the work of remoulding their ideology will have to be carried on perseveringly and energetically over a long period.

We should wage a tireless battle to intensify the ideological work in the countryside so as to increase the class awareness of the peasants, to educate them in the spirit of serving the country and the people, to oppose selfishness, to foster a collectivist spirit and cultivate the revolutionary spirit and organization of the working class in them. In this way, we should inculcate all the peasants with the communist trait of living and working under the motto of “One for all and all for one”.

## **2. ON THE THOROUGH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARTY POLICY OF CARRYING ON ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION IN PARALLEL WITH DEFENCE BUILDING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE**

There are many rumours current in the countryside at present. People there used to buy a large number of sewing machines, but recently they have not been buying sewing machines or radios, saying that if war breaks out, everything will be smashed to pieces, so there is no point in buying household articles. Some people have even sold the sewing machines which they had. In fact, it has now become apparent who are weak-kneed and faint-hearted. Those who will not buy sewing machines and sell their own household goods instead, lack courage and are cowards. And some people are making a commotion, I was told,

fashioning knapsacks and padded coats out of their quilts just in case war breaks out immediately. In my opinion, it is not such a bad thing for our peasants to go through this kind of experience. It is not bad for them to make padded coats out of their quilts. But it is wrong for them to think that it is certain that war will break out right now. We must explain the decisions of the Party Conference and the present situation to the masses more clearly.

The Conference of our Party did not say that a war will break out immediately, but rather that thorough preparations should be made beforehand to deal with the enemy's possible provocation of war. Preparing to face war is not the same thing as the immediate outbreak of war. We did not tell you to prepare for war because we thought that it would positively take place in the immediate future. Since the flames of the war in Viet Nam could possibly spread to our country, we ought to be completely ready for such an emergency. That is what we meant. There is nothing wrong in our making adequate preparations for war. If we have done so, we shall have nothing to fear if it comes about. Furthermore, we can prevent war from being unleashed by impressing the enemy through our total preparedness and so discourage him from attacking us. That would be even better. Moreover, the Party Conference did not mention war preparations only, but set forth the task of carrying on economic and defence construction in parallel. In other words, it meant that economic construction should be conducted on the one hand, and defence building on the other. We never meant to say that only war preparations should be made and that economic construction ought to be discontinued.

Then, what tasks devolve upon the agricultural officials to ensure the fulfilment of the decisions of the Party Conference on undertaking economic construction and defence development in parallel? The most important task which you must perform for the proper promotion of economic and defence construction would be to produce large quantities of grain, instead of making knapsacks or padded clothing out of quilts. As far as the rural areas are concerned, the production of an abundance of grain is the way to carry out economic as well as defence

construction properly and contribute to our preparations for war.

Grain production has not been satisfactory over the last two or three years. That is why we have had to import hundreds of thousands of tons of grain from foreign countries every year. If we produced grain in sufficiently large quantities so as to be able to stop importing it, we could then buy fishing boats with that money and increase our catch of fish or we could buy machines and establish more machine factories. Then we would be able to improve the people's living standards still further, and also develop our defence industry even more.

As you can see, large-scale production of grain is the most vital revolutionary task that agriculture must carry out in order to improve our people's standard of living and pursue defence construction properly.

The production of a large amount of grain is also of great significance in transforming the mentality of the people and in fostering socialist patriotism in them. The people's mentality cannot be remoulded by ideological work alone, in isolation from their economic life. You can talk about revolution day in and day out, print sensational stories in the newspapers or raise great cheers, but you cannot remould the ideological consciousness of people by these means alone. Since this is determined in the final analysis by the material conditions of social life, it can be transformed in a socialist society by augmenting economic power, raising the people's living standards and consolidating and developing the socialist system. Therefore, the sure guarantee for reforming the ideological consciousness of the people is to consolidate the material and technical foundations of socialism by paying due attention to economic construction and to give full play to the advantages of socialism by raising the living standards of the people. The true viability of our institutions and the correctness of our Party lines and policies find expression, in the long run, in the definite results of socialist economic construction.

In our country, at present, it is yesterday's workers and poor peasants who really welcome socialism, because they have rid themselves of the exploitation and oppression which they had suffered

under the rule of the landlords and capitalists, and they have now become masters of the country, and are incomparably better off than they were before. Let me cite an example. One summer some years ago, I was in Changsong and visited the house of a worker who had previously been a carpenter. His house was well cared for. It had two living rooms, with clean oil-papered floors and papered walls. There were flowers in the yard and everything was clean and tidy around the house. He said that in pre-liberation days he had had little to eat and had lived an indescribably hard life, but that now he was living free of worry or care. All his sons and daughters, and he had quite a few, were studying. He was very satisfied. Then I visited the house of a Party sub-cell secretary, who had also led a hard life as a poor peasant in the past. His house was in a dreadful condition. He had been allocated a good tile-roofed house, but he had neither oil-papered the floors nor papered the walls, and the kitchen was unspeakably dirty. The worker who used to be a carpenter had a monthly income of 46 *won*, and this secretary earned as much as 90 *won*. I asked him why his house was in such a bad state. He replied: "Premier, I am satisfied; what else could I wish for?" I suggested that he ought to take better care of his house. What can we see here? We can clearly see that since workers and poor peasants had lived a very difficult life in the past, they are quite satisfied with the present standard of living, and give unreserved support to our socialist system.

However, when we talk to those who were rather well off or living in relative luxury before, including middle peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals, we hear a tale about their having nothing, that they do not have this and they do not have that. It is true that we still lack many things. We have still not succeeded in satisfying the middle class as regards their living standards. That is why they still question whether the socialist system is really better than the capitalist one, and whether the socialist system will emerge victorious or not. There may be some amongst them who are against socialism at heart although they do not openly come out against it since they fear the proletarian dictatorship. When will they really come to like socialism?



Only when we develop the productive forces further, raise their living standards and make them far more prosperous than ever before. Only then will they really welcome socialism and risk their lives to defend it.

It might be said that the victory of the socialist revolution depends, in the final analysis, upon which of the two classes, the working or the capitalist, finally wins over the petty-bourgeois masses, including the peasants, to its side. If the working class succeeds, the socialist revolution will triumph. If, on the contrary, the capitalist class wins them over, capitalism will win. This is amply proved by the experiences gained so far by the socialist revolution. One of the important factors of the victory of the Russian working class in the Great October Socialist Revolution under Lenin's leadership lay precisely in the correct solution to this problem by Leninism.

If the middle class is doubtful about the victory of the socialist system and hesitates, socialism cannot be considered to have won a complete victory. This can be said to have happened only when the former small-propertied class sincerely acknowledges the excellence of socialism and supports our system wholeheartedly.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, people waged a life-and-death struggle to defend the people's power which had given them freedom and liberation and made them owners of the factories and the land. In other words, the battle at that time was to determine whether the people's power and the democratic system would be defended or lost. But things are different today. Now if war breaks out again it would be a decisive battle; it would mean defending or losing the socialist system. Undoubtedly, the more support for the socialist system there is amongst the people, the more favourably the war will end for us.

We can understand here how important it is to consolidate the economic basis of the country and improve the living standards of the people, by successfully carrying out economic construction. If you comrades produce abundant stocks of grain to strengthen our country's economic and defence power and improve our people's standards of living, it will demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system. Thus,

when all our people sincerely believe that the socialist system is really a good one, their spirit of socialist patriotism will increase enormously. In short, if grain is produced in large quantities, it will result in turning out guns, tanks and aircraft and even in developing socialist patriotism, besides solving the food problem.

This year, we should launch a campaign to produce an additional one million tons of grain over last year. If we succeed, we shall not only be able to do without the 500,000 tons imported annually, but can sell approximately 500,000 tons to other countries, and even build up reserves. Then, we would be in a position to develop stockbreeding rapidly, and to buy more fishing boats and catch large quantities of fish.

An increase of one million tons of grain in the rural areas this year would by no means be an impossibility. If we produce two tons of maize per hectare, we can harvest 1,400,000 tons of maize from 700,000 hectares and if we produce four tons of rice per hectare, we can reap 2,800,000 tons of rice from 700,000 hectares. With that alone, we would already have 4,200,000 tons of grain. If, in addition, we produced approximately 350,000 to 400,000 tons of soya beans and a bit more of some other grains, we could harvest one million tons more grain than last year. There is no reason why we should not achieve this target. If we can just do away with the damage caused by accumulated water, establish a proper system of fertilization and solve the seed problem properly, we can increase the grain yield by hundreds of thousands of tons. The state intends to provide the countryside this year with over 180,000 additional tons of chemical fertilizer compared with last year. With that amount, we shall be able to apply 370 kilogrammes of chemical fertilizer per hectare for rice paddies, 200 kilogrammes for dry rice fields and maize and millet fields, 235 kilogrammes for wheat and barley, 100 kilogrammes for foxtail millet and soya beans when they are the principal crops, 80 kilogrammes for other grains, 60 kilogrammes for potatoes, 150 kilogrammes for ordinary vegetables, 350 kilogrammes for choice vegetables, 80 kilogrammes for fodder, 250 kilogrammes for cotton and 200

kilogrammes for tobacco. If those responsible for agricultural work will only organize it properly, mobilize and utilize all the reserves and possibilities correctly and stimulate the peasants to action, as instructed by the Party, we can definitely reach the goal of an additional one million tons of grain this year.

At the same time as we wage the struggle for increased production of grain in the countryside, and with an eye toward preparations for possible war, we have to make adequate arrangements to take good care of farm machines and other facilities, and economize in provisions and materials while storing up reserves. We should take especially good care of the tractors, and from now on, stockpile a large amount of fuel so that we can farm with machinery even when there is a war. In addition, we must improve our livestock breeds and make use of artificial insemination to increase the number of young animals, and in particular increase the number of draught cattle greatly in order to guarantee their reserves. By doing all of these things we should implement the decisions of the Party Conference on the parallel building of the economy and defences to strengthen the country's economic base and improve the people's living standard thoroughly, while making all preparations to deal with a possible war.

### **3. ON THE 10-POINT TASKS FOR GUIDING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND FOR MANAGING THE COOPERATIVE FARMS**

For the further development of agriculture, it is vital for officials in this sphere to raise the level of guidance given to production and improve the management and operation of the cooperative farms. Today, I am going to put forward two 10-point tasks for agricultural officials and the rural Party organizations in directing production and in running farms. Of course, I may omit some points, but I am sure that

if you fulfil these two 10-point tasks first with credit, you will make great progress in agricultural production and in the management and operation of the cooperative farms.

Let me first touch upon the 10-point task for guidance of production.

First. Water should be well controlled and damage from storm and flood thoroughly prevented.

In order to boost agricultural production, the state supplies electricity to the countryside on a preferential basis to operate water pumps, even though factories might not be able to operate normally for want of electricity. However, our officials in the agricultural sphere pay only casual attention to water control, not realizing how precious every drop of water is when it is pumped at the cost of so much electricity. They do not repair broken ditches, and do not think of spreading even a cartload of clay over the highly absorbent rice fields. In this way they waste a great amount of water on the one hand, and on the other, keep the pumps running to draw water from the river. As a result, the factories produce less fertilizer, carbide, textiles and steel materials than they are capable of, all because of the lack of electricity. To pump 10,000 cubic metres of water, you need as much electricity as is required to produce a ton of ammonium sulphate. Therefore, the waste of 10,000 cubic metres of water amounts to throwing away one ton of valuable chemical fertilizer.

The cooperative farms should inaugurate a forceful campaign against the practice of wasting water and save as much of it as possible. At the same time, you should make preparations in advance to drain accumulated water quickly from the paddy and non-paddy fields after rain so as to prevent flooding. You must also improve the seeds, and distribute crops in keeping with regional conditions so that crops are not blown down by the wind. It is particularly important to eliminate the damage caused by the accumulation of water. It is said that if rice fields are submerged, the yield decreases by 20 to 30 per cent, which signifies a great loss. In the places where there is a danger of large amounts of water accumulating during the rainy season, big pumps

should be installed or tractor-driven pumps should be prepared in advance for quick drainage whenever flooding takes place.

Second. Soil improvement and conservation, land reclamation and the re-alignment of fields have to be intensified.

In his speech yesterday, the chairman of the management board of the Namjungri Cooperative Farm in Pyoktong County spoke about the many positive experiences he had gained. He and his fellow farm members discussed how to get better yields from the existing area of land. Consequently they tackled the problem of improving the soil. They spread lime on the acid soil to neutralize it, dug drainage canals in the fields in order to draw off accumulated water and spread clay on the paddy fields which suffered from leakage in order to prevent the loss of water. In addition, a land reclamation project was begun by the farm members; piles of stones were removed from the fields, and paths replaced at the edges of the fields and the foot of the hills, thus making a large area of land available. If all the cooperative farms would husband and care for the land in this way, agricultural production would increase significantly.

In the past, senior agricultural officials and cooperative farm management officials made light of the importance of land conservation, and as a result, we have lost 70,000 hectares of valuable land. There are various reasons for this loss. In some cases, soil was washed away by summer floods; in others, land was used for paths and houses which were built at random in the fields. Still other valuable land was wasted by unnecessarily giving up thousands of *phyong* for use as school grounds. As I have always said, if you plant trees like willows, tidily along the edges of the fields or on the banks of rivers, you can completely prevent the land from being eroded by the rain. If you move the field paths as far as you can towards the edges of the fields and if you build houses in places which the sun reaches at the foot of the hills instead of wasting valuable agricultural land by building on it, you will not only have more land but also a better place to live in and in case of war, a safer place. As regards the problem of school grounds, about 1,000-1,500 *phyong* should be enough for

recreation. The rest should be brought under cultivation again. In this way, 70,000 hectares of the lost land could be reclaimed, and the soil of all the existing rice and non-rice fields could be conserved and improved in the correct way.

Third. All farm machinery and equipment including tractors and their trailer implements should be kept in good repair for effective use, and the small and medium-sized farm tools like carts, sufficient numbers of hoes and sickles must be obtained and always kept in a serviceable condition.

In the countryside at present, there is a great deal of agricultural machinery and equipment, including tractors and their trailer implements and water pumps, and various small and medium-sized farm tools like carts, sickles, hoes, spades and pitchforks. These are all indispensable tools for agricultural production. We must ensure that workers and technicians engaged in agriculture, and cooperative farmers in general, always take meticulous care of these items, carrying out speedy repair and maintenance for their more effective use in farm work.

Fourth. Good seeds must be grown and properly selected and preserved; seeds should be treated carefully and sown correctly without waste.

Good seed is the prerequisite for a good harvest in agricultural production. Many cooperative farms treat seeds carelessly. They do not keep the seedbeds in good shape, and they thresh the seeds at random, putting them all, including the damaged ones, into straw bags without sorting them and then just stacking them anywhere. As a consequence, the planted seeds do not always sprout nor do the buds always develop, resulting in harvests which fall short of expectations. We should see to it that the cooperative farms select good soil for the seedbeds, look after them carefully and, in autumn, thresh only the food seeds, by selecting them individually. In winter seeds should be kept in bins and taken good care of, and they should be treated scientifically so that they will sprout well and be free of disease when sown in the spring.

Fifth. In planting crops other than rice, the principle of the right crop at the right place should be strictly observed, and they should be planted at the correct time and weeded properly. The yield of industrial and oil-bearing crops should be increased, and soya beans especially should be cultivated well. We should take good care of vegetables in order to supply the people with fresh vegetables in and out of season.

In order to ensure high yields from non-paddy fields, you ought to determine the crops to be grown in accordance with the characteristics of the soil and the topographical conditions, and whether conditions permit one or two crops a year. For example, maize should not be planted casually in swampy or windy places just because of its potentially high yield. You can make sure of a stable harvest only when you grow suitable crops like sorghum in the swampy places and low-growing crops in windy areas. The cooperative farms must specifically study the natural characteristics and the composition of the soil in their own localities; they must carefully investigate, field by field, which crop is most suitable and also what is the best way to propagate each crop. Farming must be made more scientific in this way.

Sixth. In cultivating rice paddies, only the triple ploughing system must be introduced. Young rice plants should be grown and transplanted carefully at the proper time, and fields should be weeded frequently and the rice should be well looked after.

Seventh. A correct system of fertilization should be established to suit the soil and the crops, and damage from blight and harmful insects must be thoroughly eliminated.

You cannot make certain of a good crop if you use fertilizer at random without taking into account the peculiarities of the soil and the crop. The same fertilizer has different effects on different soil and crops, and the same crop requires fertilizers of different chemical compositions during planting, growing and ripening. For that reason, cooperative farms should find out the particular needs of their soil and crops, and mix various kinds of fertilizer to get the proper combination for their specific conditions.

Eighth. Reaping must be carried out efficiently at the right time, the grain must be transported carefully and threshed properly and then stored correctly.

At present, we have a serious problem because management personnel and farmers are painstaking in their summer tasks, but take less care in autumn when crops are ready to harvest. They do not care about the ears of grain they leave behind in the fields during the harvest nor about the rice which remains on the stalks after threshing. As for storing the grain, when individual farming prevailed each house had its own storage-bin, but now valuable cereals are left piled up on the damp ground. As long as this continues, it is useless, no matter how carefully the farmers cultivated the crops. As for the ears of grain left in the fields, you can pick up all you want, if you get primary schoolchildren to glean them on Sundays. With regard to the threshed grain, if each workteam builds a couple of bins, you can store this safely. Cooperative farms should not wait for the state to give them bins, but should make them themselves.

Ninth. Orchards should be properly kept and chestnut trees be well cared for so as to supply the people with more fruit and chestnuts.

Today, our country has more than 130,000 hectares of orchards as a result of the campaign for their establishment which you have vigorously carried out since the Pukchong Meeting. The time has come for the orchards we have so laboriously planted to bear fruit. For these trees, too, like man, springtime of life is the most fruitful. In the 1970s, all our orchards will celebrate their springtime. If we reap 10 tons of apples per hectare, we shall get 1,300,000 tons from these 130,000 hectares. Make it a little less, and say that if we reap 1,000,000 tons and consume half of this amount ourselves, we could export the remaining 500,000 tons in exchange for 1,000,000 tons of wheat. With this amount of wheat, we could not only have flour for human consumption but enough bran to use as feed for domestic animals which could be converted into 300,000-400,000 tons of meat. Moreover, if we produce large quantities of canned apples, peaches, apricots, plums or similar fruits, we could supply them to the people cheaply all the year round



and export them as well.

Orchards are a valuable source of wealth for our country. We should take good care of them. We should fertilize the fruit trees properly, prune them at the right time, periodically use chemical sprays on them and rid them of harmful insects so that they all yield good fruit in 1970.

Chestnut trees should also be well maintained. At present, there are upwards of 30 million of them in our country, according to a survey, and this is also a great natural resource. But nobody looks after this valuable wealth. No one tends the chestnut trees or collects the ripe chestnuts. Consequently, the famous Pyongyang chestnuts have also disappeared, and it has become difficult to get chestnuts even for the table during memorial services. Henceforth we should assign chestnut production quotas to the cooperative farms and encourage them to take care of trees in a responsible manner. We would be wise to employ those from ore or coal mines, who are too weak to do hard work there, to care for the chestnut trees, instead of using healthy people.

Tenth. Collective and private stockbreeding should be combined competently for the positive development of this form of production.

It is most important in the promotion of livestock breeding to establish the fodder base. Unfortunately, our mountain slopes are steep, and are subject to landslides in the rainy season so that we cannot just cut down the trees and create fodder bases in the mountains. Therefore, we must, as far as possible, use places like treeless hills, river banks, riversides, or rice-field ridges. Ditches and river dykes alone stretch for several thousand *ri* in our country, I believe. If we plant fodder crops on them, we can get a great deal of feed for domestic animals.

We can also produce it by cultivating fodder crops in the rice paddies before the rice season or as between-row crops in the orchards. As for planting fodder crops in the rice paddies before the rice season, the Party has suggested this time and again, but it has not yet been carried out properly. There are 700,000 hectares of rice paddies in our

country; we should sow at least 50 per cent of them with rye and spring-ripening barley in autumn as early crops. We must not consider using the crops grown in the rice fields before the rice season for human consumption. They should be reaped for domestic animals as soon as the rice planting season begins so as not to prejudice rice production. If the grain is used for human consumption, it would simply be a case of eating barley instead of rice, but if you gather it at the right time for animal feed, you can produce large amounts of meat while producing rice as well. In the orchards you should also sow fodder crops of high nutritive value and high yield between fruit trees. According to the experience of Kangryong County, they say, you can produce sweet potatoes as a between-row crop in the orchards, extract their 25 per cent starch and make drinking alcohol with them and feed pigs satisfactorily with the residue. We should set up many fodder production bases by all possible means and actively promote our stockbreeding.

This, in general, is the 10-point task for guiding production.

Now, here is the 10-point task for the management of the cooperative farms.

First. You should scrupulously abide by the Cooperative Farm Rules and strictly observe democratic principles for management.

At present, on a number of cooperative farms, the rules are violated at will, and management board chairmen themselves do not abide by democratic principles. Some comrades abuse their authority, follow bureaucratic practices assuming that the chairmanship of the management board is the same as a government post under the old society. As long as matters continue in this way, you cannot manage cooperative farms properly nor can you rouse the willing enthusiasm of the farm members. The Cooperative Farm Rules explicitly stipulate how the farms should be operated. To begin with, the chairmen themselves should study the rules closely and immediately discontinue these practices.

Second. Management board chairmen, workteam leaders, secretaries of the ri Party committees and cell secretaries should be in

the forefront of all the work, and they should particularly take an active part in productive labour.

At present, some comrades say that it is difficult for people in management and workteam leaders to take part in productive labour. They even demand that Party sub-cell secretaries be completely freed from productive work to attend to Party matters exclusively. The long and the short of it is that they are unwilling to take part in productive labour. We cannot condone this kind of claim.

In the past, commanders of the anti-Japanese guerrillas always stood in the van of their men when it came to hard work and they trained them by their own exemplary deeds. In battle they themselves valiantly led the attack, and during retreat they covered the rear in spite of danger, repulsing the enemy who were on their trail. Upon arriving at a camp site they were the first to take up axes to cut wood and build the campfire. They would help the women soldiers set up the pots for cooking. Since the commanders themselves set an example this way, all the guerrillas observed discipline voluntarily and always fought gallantly even though they were tired and hungry because of the arduous battles and marches which took place almost every day.

As is noted in the Party Rules, our Party has inherited the revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. So our Party members, and more particularly our cadres, who are commanders of the revolution, ought to emulate the noble traits and revolutionary work methods of the anti-Japanese guerrillas and act as they did. Some officials, however, still do not do so. They claim to study and carry forward our revolutionary traditions, but in practice they prefer to issue orders and shirk hard work as soon as they reach the level of cooperative farm management board chairman or Party secretary. They must not do that.

All management staff and rural Party workers have to take part in the productive labour of the cooperative farms as a matter of duty, and they must work in the van of the farm members especially during the difficult and busy times when rice seedlings are being transplanted or weeding is taking place.

Third. Grain deliveries to the state should be prompt and the grain procurement plan must be fulfilled without fail. Accurate financial farm records should be kept and reported to the farm members.

At present, some cooperative farms have a tendency to comply grudgingly with the state's grain procurement programme, holding back delivery under such pretexts as that of using it for the relief fund and the like, or they deliver grain they have raked together at random instead of selecting it carefully. That is very wrong. The cooperative farms should not regard the grain procurement programme as trade but rather as a national duty, just like the grain deliveries to the state. Those who manage the cooperative farms and rural Party organizations ought to teach the farm members to have a correct understanding of the procurement of grain by the state, and see to it that assignments under the procurement plan are carried out promptly and without fail. They should see to it that cooperative farm property, developed with the assistance of the state and the labour of the farm members, is properly used for the further progress of the farms and the improvement of the living standards of their members. They should duly inform the farm members of how the funds of the cooperative farms are being used.

Fourth. Work should be well organized, workdays accurately assessed and the settlement of yearly accounts and income distribution conducted correctly. This is the most important question in managing and operating the cooperative farms.

Fifth. The sub-workteam system of management and the workteam premium system should be fully implemented. We tested the sub-workteam system of management last year, and we have come to the conclusion that this is the best organizational system for production and manpower, which suits the present conditions of our rural areas. In view of the level of managerial operation of our agricultural officials and the technical characteristics of our country's agriculture, it is more convenient in the field of agriculture to have a relatively small collective like this, as a work unit, than a large one. Making the most of last year's experience, we should enforce the sub-workteam management system with greater efficiency and give full scope to its advantages.

Sixth. The life of the cooperative farm members should be well organized.

Just as the senior officials in factories and enterprises assume responsibility for the life of the workers, so should the cooperative farm management staff be responsible for looking after the living conditions of the farmers. There may be many kinds of problems affecting the life of farm members, but you should, above all, assure them an adequate supply of items such as vegetables, soya sauce, bean paste and firewood for their daily needs, and help them all to make good use of their kitchen gardens.

Seventh. Nurseries, kindergartens, clinics, bathhouses, barbershops, tailor and seamstress shops and the like should be run efficiently.

Eighth. Houses, wells and roads must be taken good care of, repaired and kept in good condition always.

The state has used a tremendous amount of labour and materials to build modern houses for the farmers. You should persuade the farmers to carry out prompt repairs and to keep them neat and tidy at all times. It would be preferable to let the farm members make minor house repairs themselves, and let the cooperative farm management boards have their own funds to undertake medium and large repairs, which need a great deal of materials and labour. The county people's committees ought to manage hardware shops where building materials and tools which are necessary for house repairs are always available for sale to the farmers. It is also extremely important to build the rural roads well, to repair them in good time and keep them clean at all times. Only when rural roads are good, can our countryside become cultured; our tractors and trucks will have fewer problems and their lifespan will be prolonged.

Ninth. You must maintain well-run rural stores and see to it that management officials do not buy the good merchandise first.

To improve the living standards of the farmers, the Party has seen to it that every village has a store, which is stocked with as many fine goods as possible. Party organizations and management personnel in the rural areas should always pay attention to these shops and guide

them toward making a greater contribution to the well-being and productive activities of the farmers. In many rural villages, things are such that when the store gets a new supply of fine products, management officials, Party workers, school teachers and the resident social security personnel in the locality buy them up first, leaving almost nothing for the farm members. This is not only wrong in the moral sense; it is also a wrong practice which has a negative influence upon the management and operation of the cooperative farm and which, furthermore, separates the Party from the masses. From now on, such practices will be eliminated. You must ensure that the better products with which the store is supplied are sold to the farm members first and only then to the rural cadres.

Tenth. Everyone in agricultural leadership and all farm members alike should patiently endeavour to improve their political, economic, technological and cultural levels.

The Party Central Committee long ago promulgated the slogan that the whole Party and all the people should study, and a great deal of success has been achieved so far. But it is precisely in the countryside where this task is being carried out least efficiently. Now is the time for all the rural officials and the cooperative farm members to convert the slogan of study into practice. As long as your political and economic knowledge is poor and your technological and cultural level is low, you can neither direct the constantly developing socialist countryside nor become socialist agricultural working people.

The cooperative farm management, including the chairmen, should also be ahead of farm members as regards studying just as they are in productive labour, so as to establish the revolutionary traits of working and studying well throughout the countryside. The central authorities should provide the necessary conditions and positive assistance to the rural officials and cooperative farm members for their effective study. Magazines written in plain language on political and economic matters and technical and cultural subjects together with books on agricultural science and technology, should be published in large numbers for use in the country areas. Schools should be set up and training courses

organized frequently for rural officials. The state is now making preparations for the establishment of schools for factory managers, shop managers and workteam leaders. At a later date, it will also open schools for management board chairmen and workteam leaders of the cooperative farms. Until the schools are opened, cadres from higher bodies should personally visit subordinate units to give a few days of training courses, or else scientific and technical films should be frequently shown, so as to help the rural officials and cooperative farm members to acquire political and economic knowledge and raise their technical and cultural levels rapidly.

What I have spoken about above is the 10-point task for managing the cooperative farms.

Comrades, our working class has now risen in a body to bring about a great increase in industrial production, upholding the decisions of the Party Conference. This year, along with all other branches of the national economy, including industry, those of you who are in agriculture must also bring about a great improvement in farm production, upholding the Party Conference decisions and the spirit of this congress of agricultural officials. In 1961, our officials in the agricultural sphere and all the cooperative farm members launched the struggle to increase grain production by one million tons and achieved great results. So this year, too, let us launch the campaign for the production of an additional one million tons of grain to bring about still further progress in agricultural production. There is every possibility that we shall accomplish this. It depends upon how you organize your work when you return home, upon whether or not you translate into practice the determination you have demonstrated at this congress.

To triumph in the campaign for an additional one million tons of grain this year, we should begin with immediate overall farming preparations. The most important step in those preparations is to produce a large amount of manure and take it out to the fields early. We had great success in agricultural production in 1961 because we produced plenty of manure. This year, too, for the production of an additional one million tons of grain, the state should of course supply

the countryside with more chemical fertilizer, but the countryside should also prepare plenty of manure for itself. At the same time, you should undertake river improvement and take efficient measures in advance to prevent damage from accumulated water before the ploughing season begins.

To carry out the tasks confronting the agricultural sector successfully, it is most important for rural officials to conduct work with people properly so as to encourage the participation of all the farmers in the struggle for increased production. For this purpose, the Party organizations in rural areas and the organizations of the Union of Agricultural Working People should play a greater role. At present, the role of the UAWP is extremely weak. Its organizations should initiate an active campaign to revolutionize and working-classize all the farmers by strengthening their ideological education, while at the same time carrying on the battle to improve their material and cultural standards.

The Party organizations in the country areas must give efficient guidance to the cooperative farms so that they can attend to their work analysis in accordance with the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method in a positive way. You should make sure that the ideological education of the farmers is not an end in itself, but that its results show themselves in the farmers' productive activities.

If all senior agricultural officials and the cooperative farmers, under the guidance of the rural Party organizations, valiantly rise up in the struggle to bring about a new improvement in agricultural production, all the people including our working class will come out as one to join and assist them in the countryside.

I am convinced that all workers in agriculture will, in future, become more revolutionized and will thoroughly apply the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method to their work so as to fulfil the honourable tasks entrusted to the agricultural sphere by the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* and by the Party Conference with credit.



# **THE PEOPLE'S ARMY HAS GROWN INTO A POWERFUL ARMED FORCE WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF HARD-CORE REVOLUTIONARIES**

**Speech at a Luncheon Given at Unit No. 526 to Mark  
the 19th Anniversary of the Founding  
of the Korean People's Army**

*February 8, 1967*

Comrades,

With the Comrade Minister of National Defence, I came to Unit No. 526 to celebrate the 19th birthday of the People's Army.

Although it does not seem so long ago, 19 years have already elapsed since we founded the People's Army.

Since its foundation our People's Army has gone through many trials and has grown enormously.

The greatest and most valuable success which gives us pleasure on the occasion of the 19th birthday of the People's Army is that the number of its cadres has increased to a great extent.

When we were carrying out the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we had, of course, many cadres. But, in fact, not many cadres survived at the time of our liberation. When we organized the People's Army, the revolutionary backbone of this army hardened in struggle consisted of only several thousand veterans.

This small veteran corps, however, has now grown into a force of tens of thousands in the course of hard-fought struggles during the Fatherland Liberation War and in the postwar period.

I think that all of you present here experienced the war. Such war veterans all constitute a revolutionary backbone. Probably almost all our company commanders and higher-ranking officers have gone through the war. So we can say that our revolutionary backbone has grown into a corps of tens of thousands of veterans.

Not only in the People's Army, but also in the local Party and state bodies and economic establishments, the revolutionary backbone has grown a great deal.

In addition to those comrades who have fought as the backbone of the revolution for 30 to 40 years since the beginning of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, and on the basis of this backbone, the Party has trained and tempered new comrades since liberation to reinforce the revolutionary backbone and enlarge our revolutionary ranks.

It can be said that this is our great asset and the greatest strength for victory in our revolution.

A revolution is an arduous and protracted struggle, and it is carried out not by one man, but by many people. So the more the revolutionary ranks grow and its backbone increases, the greater the success a revolutionary struggle achieves.

We can have a proper pride and great confidence in the fact that our revolutionary backbone has grown and our revolutionary ranks have swollen.

Guns, tanks and aircraft are important, but even more important is the revolutionary backbone.

We cannot, of course, ignore the importance of technical equipment in war. But a proper use of this equipment and the victory in the war depends primarily and largely on strong-willed revolutionary fighters, on the commanding officers. Without the revolutionary fighters with a strong revolutionary will, without competent commanders, technical equipment, no matter how good, would be useless.

This is one of the main reasons why the US-led imperialists are doomed to defeat. Although they have techniques and they can make many of the latest machines in factories they have no strong backbone

hardened in arduous struggles nor can they have it.

We have a backbone of trained and seasoned revolutionary fighters who came from among the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. This fact is the most important guarantee for victory in the forthcoming great revolutionary upheaval.

On this joyful occasion of the 19th anniversary of the founding of the People's Army, I should like to offer my warm congratulations to our revolutionary hard core and all the other men and officers of the People's Army.

As I have stressed at the Party Conference, we must reunify the country by our own efforts.

I always say that we must prepare three revolutionary forces well in order to accomplish the historic cause of national reunification.

First, we must build socialism successfully in the northern half of Korea and thus increase our strength in all fields of politics, the economy, military affairs and culture.

Second, we should strengthen the revolutionary forces of the south. The country's reunification can be achieved only when the northern half of Korea and the revolutionary forces of the southern half are strong.

Third, we must strive to intensify the anti-imperialist struggle and increase the forces against imperialism on a worldwide scale.

Only when these three factors are closely integrated, will the Korean revolution triumph.

During the Fatherland Liberation War the north was strong, but the revolutionary forces of the south were weak. So we could not achieve further success.

From the tactical point of view, we conducted regular warfare well, but this was not properly combined with guerrilla warfare.

The experience of our Fatherland Liberation War and of the present struggle of the Vietnamese people shows that a proper combination of regular and guerrilla warfare is an important guarantee for victory in a war against strong enemies.

We must not neglect guerrilla warfare by concentrating only on

regular warfare, and vice versa. In particular, if we are not good at carrying out regular offensive battles, we shall be unable to solve the problem.

Our own experience, and that of Viet Nam, show that victory is possible only when the two elements in a divided country, that is, both the revolutionary forces of the north and the south, are well prepared.

If the revolutionary forces of the north are strong and those of the south are weak, it will be difficult for us to achieve reunification, and this is also true of the reverse situation.

It is now important for us to increase the revolutionary forces of south Korea more rapidly. The sooner these forces grow, the sooner reunification will be achieved.

The present international situation is unfavourable for us in one respect and favourable in another. It is unfavourable in that the socialist camp lacks unity, but favourable in that the enemies, too, are disunited because of the differences amongst themselves.

At present the socialist camp does not show close unity and solidarity. To a certain degree this hinders the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

Of course, the imperialists are in more serious disharmony. Sharp differences exist between France and the United States, and there is discord between Britain and the US. Although France participated in the Korean war under the command of the Americans, today they refuse to be involved in the aggressive war against Viet Nam and to act under the American baton.

Thus, not only the socialist camp but also the imperialist powers are in disarray. Therefore, the disadvantages can be totally offset. But we have an advantage: namely, the number of newly independent countries has increased compared with that at the time of the Korean war. These countries all desire independence and are opposed to imperialism and colonialism.

If the socialist camp unites and the ranks of the newly-independent progressive countries further increase at a time when the enemies are not united because of their internal differences, the situation will

become more favourable to our country's reunification. It will also be an important factor which can facilitate a successful end to the war in Viet Nam. We must strive to develop the international situation further in our favour and strengthen international solidarity with our revolution.

If we increase our military capability by gaining time and improving combat training on the strength of this valuable revolutionary backbone and if we increase our economic power further and augment and train the revolutionary forces of the south more quickly, the reunification of our country will soon be achieved.

Once again I stress that your most important task is to reunify the country.

I wish you greater success in your future sacred struggle to drive out the US imperialists from south Korea and reunify the country.

# **ON IMPROVING PARTY WORK AND IMPLEMENTING THE DECISIONS OF THE PARTY CONFERENCE**

**Speech at the Conference of Chief Secretaries  
of Provincial, City, County and Factory Party Committees**

*March 17-24, 1967*

Comrades,

On this occasion we have held a short course and a conference over a period of several days. At this conference many chief secretaries of provincial, city, county and factory Party committees have given an account of their work, but almost all their reports are devoid of substance and no experience worth mentioning can be found in them.

At the previous conference of chairmen of the provincial, city and county Party committees we gave you specific directions for your work and set out your tasks in detail. So we hoped that a great deal of progress had been made in your work in the interim. In spite of this, your reports show that, contrary to our expectation, you have not conducted inner-Party work satisfactorily, nor given efficient guidance to administrative and economic affairs nor organized specific work properly to implement the decisions of the Party Conference. The Party Central Committee is not satisfied with your work over the past year.

During this conference, however, we came to understand clearly what the main shortcoming in Party work is and how to rectify it. This can be regarded as the major success of the conference.

We are now confronted with the challenging task of effecting a new

revolutionary advance on all fronts of socialist construction in order to implement the strategic policy put forward at the historic Party Conference. This task can be fulfilled successfully only when all Party members and working people are rallied behind the Party and properly mobilized through radical improvement of Party work.

Now I should like to deal with some problems which need to be solved to improve Party work and implement the decisions of the Party Conference.

## **1. ON IMPROVING PARTY WORK**

### **1) ON ESTABLISHING THE PARTY'S MONOLITHIC IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM THOROUGHLY**

Establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system is the most fundamental problem arising in Party building. Unless this system is fully established in the Party, it is not possible to ensure the unity of ideology and will, turn the Party into a militant organization and, therefore, lead the revolution and construction with success. In particular, under the present circumstances when the situation is complex and ambitious tasks are facing the revolution and construction, setting up a firm monolithic ideological system in the whole Party presents itself as a more urgent requirement.

So far we have endeavoured for many years to establish this system within the Party. Up to 1956 I took care mainly of administrative work in the Cabinet. I therefore had no time to give consideration to inner-Party work. Taking advantage of this, factional elements within the Party came to the fore and secretly came together to cause mischief with the aim of destroying our Party's monolithic ideological system. These villains implemented the Party's decision in a distorted way as they wished. Worse still, such people as Ho Ka I and Pak Yong Bin did

not carry out the Party's instructions but, instead, visited a foreign embassy to get their instructions. Because of the moves of the factionalists many people did not even know what the Party's monolithic ideological system meant and were unable to distinguish factions and the class enemies.

In the past Juche was not firmly established in the Party and flunkeyism was rampant. Administrative work can be immediately put to rights, even when it goes wrong, but errors committed in Party work are difficult to remedy. I therefore took personal charge of Party work in 1956 and have been guiding it ever since. For more than 10 years since then I have striven to establish a monolithic ideological system in the Party and put the Party work as a whole to rights. So far the Party ranks have been built to some extent, the remnants of old ideas such as flunkeyism and dogmatism have been done away with, in large measure, in the minds of cadres and Party members and the revolutionary trait of thinking and acting in accordance with the idea and intention of our Party has been gradually established. In spite of this, our officials are still far from firmly establishing a revolutionary world outlook and arming themselves fully with the Party's monolithic ideological system.

At the moment the People's Army has thoroughly established the Party's monolithic ideological system. It has formed a revolutionary spirit of implementing the Party's instructions at all costs.

Whilst listening to the report at the recent meeting of political workers in the People's Army, I could clearly understand that the army unconditionally accepts the Party's instructions and works hard for their implementation. At that meeting deputy regimental commanders in charge of political work examined their work from a thoroughly critical point of view: they explained in detail which of the instructions I gave them at the plenary meeting of the Party Committee of the People's Army in 1958 they had implemented and which they had failed to carry out. They also spoke about the implementation of the tasks which I assigned to them at the 2nd Army and the tasks I gave them at the meeting of cadres of the Ministry of Defence and of the



other tasks and Party decisions. One of them said that some of the old cadres and men had fallen ill because he had failed to look after them well in compliance with what the Party had laid down and added that this was a great crime against the Party. Others even criticized themselves for their failure to implement the task of creating acacia forests, a task which I had given them on one occasion. The meeting was held after a lapse of ten years. And yet, they analysed the implementation of all the numerous decisions and instructions of the Party which had been adopted during that time, without a single omission. They were deeply grieved at their failure to implement some decisions and instructions and made a resolve to carry them out by all means on their return to their units.

The People's Army has formed the revolutionary spirit of accepting the tasks given by the Party and the leader unconditionally and implementing them punctually. However, our officials have not firmly established the Party's monolithic ideological system in the same way as the army has done.

On various pretexts, our officials do not carry out the instructions of the Party creditably. At first you assumed the air of following the instructions which the Party had given on many occasions, but you have given them all up halfway.

Let me cite several examples. As it has been pointed out in your speeches just now, I gave instructions on building a road leading to the Manpho Cement Factory a long time ago. But no road has yet been built. This is also true of the matter of building a school near this factory. I said that a school should be built near the factory as a matter of urgency, because it is a very important factory and there are many employees' children. But the officials concerned have not yet built one because they have the wrong ideological viewpoint.

At present the Party's monolithic ideological system has not been fully established among our officials. Therefore, they implement the Party's instructions in a superficial way, but carry out the instructions of individuals. I hear that in Jagang and North Phyongan Provinces they follow the instructions of a certain vice-premier and that in

another place they even refer to the “teachings” of the head of a certain department of the Party Central Committee. These are all wrong practices which do not follow the Party’s monolithic ideological system.

In our Party there are still many remnants of evil ideas which have been handed down from former days such as nepotism, parochialism and factionalism. You must be fully aware of this and sharpen vigilance in your work. Instead of doing so, some people blindly obey a man, no matter whether or not he works as required by the Party, when they see that the Party trusts him. If the Party praises someone and gives him prominence, they curry favour with him and flock about him in a bid to gain high rank, thinking that he is a man of importance.

Some people even rebuilt the house where a certain person was born. As I said at the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, we should evaluate the merits only of those who died while making revolution. When I went to Ryanggang Province I said that it would be good to build stone monuments in memory of those who were killed while fighting heroically against the Japanese imperialists in the past, so as to tell of their fighting exploits. But we should never do such things as rebuild a birthplace or erect a stone monument for those who are still living. Needless to say, it will be a different matter if the coming generation build a stone monument in praise of the merits of a man after his death. I have spoken to the officials of the Institute of Party History about this on many occasions. But my instructions have not been implemented properly.

Many of our officials display extreme “individual heroism” and are fond of showing off. The practice of showing off can be found among youths and students. I cannot understand why our officials, who are already of mature years, are fond of showing off.

Some of our officials tend to think highly of those who are conceited. As a matter of fact, such people know very little. Nevertheless, some comrades take them for great revolutionaries and greatly admire even their ordinary words as being something very stylish and worthwhile. These are all dangerous practices which will,

in the end, tend to grow into nepotism, parochialism and factionalism. Furthermore, they will only make people become arrogant and rule over the Party organization.

You must not overlook even the least practices which run counter to our Party's idea. It is all right if the cadre whom the Party trusts behaves modestly, sincerely supports our Party and works faithfully for the Party. On the other hand, if he pretends to support the Party outwardly but has an ulterior motive and tries to make himself prominent and win over people to his side, such actions must not be permitted. In the past the Korean Communist Party was dissolved and a large stain was left in the history of our communist movement because of the factionalists who liked to appear fashionable. We have wiped out the factionalists and achieved the unity of the Party. If we are to maintain this unity firmly, we must not tolerate the slightest tendencies towards nepotism, parochialism or factionalism within the Party and must promptly deal with any manifestations of "individual heroism".

In order to establish a monolithic ideological system thoroughly within the Party, the chief secretaries of county Party committees have to work properly. At present even when someone comes on a visit and does anything he pleases, the county Party chief secretaries do not say anything because they know little about Party policies.

Chief secretaries of county and factory Party committees must not curry favour with anybody who visits them no matter whether he is a chief secretary of the provincial Party committee, a departmental head of the Party Central Committee or a man of higher rank. You should not follow anyone blindly but should think and act in conformity with the Party's ideas and fight uncompromisingly against the slightest practice which violates Party principles and the discipline and order of the Party.

Needless to say, cadres visit subordinate units for the sake of business. Therefore, they should be informed of the work in progress and the tasks given by them must be carried out. For all this, one must promptly inform the Party Central Committee whenever anyone,

whoever he may be, does anything which goes against Party policy or a wrongful act which arouses public opinion. If you compromise with such actions this will harm the Party in the long run. Only when the misdeeds of cadres are promptly reported to the most senior officials will the Party Central Committee be able to adopt appropriate measures in good time and help them remedy their shortcomings quickly. Because this was not done in the past the misdeeds of some people multiplied until they became degenerate. It is very difficult to retrieve people who have already degenerated to that extent.

We have to train Party members so that subordinate workers promptly inform the authorities of the wrongdoings of chief secretaries of county Party committees and criticize them.

If we are to make the chief secretaries of the county Party committees think and act in conformity with the Party's monolithic idea and work and live soundly on Party principles, patient education from the higher levels should be combined with rigid Party control from the lower levels.

It is necessary to give regular instruction to the chief secretaries of the county Party committees by summoning them frequently to higher levels to hear about their work and inform them about the external and internal situation without delay. But it is more important to place them under the control of Party members.

In my opinion it would be a good idea to get the chief secretary of the provincial Party committee or a deputy departmental head or a section chief of the Party Central Committee to visit the county once in six months and arrange a general membership meeting of the county primary Party committee where every participant is encouraged to criticize cadres of the county Party committee unreservedly.

Meanwhile, chief secretaries of county Party committees should themselves make a conscientious effort to accept Party control. If they are to be under Party control, they have to give full play to inner-Party democracy. If they suppress inner-Party democracy they can not be controlled by the Party nor will they be able to rectify their faults. Whoever remains outside the control of the Party will inevitably

commit an error. You must clearly understand that if you do not develop inner-Party democracy this is as perilous as digging your own grave in political life. From now on chief secretaries of county Party committees should hold Party meetings on a democratic principle and participate in Party life faithfully and by so doing they should be put under the rigid control of Party members. Only when cadres are criticized at Party meetings will they be able to remedy their own shortcomings. Furthermore, even if they are not criticized personally, they will be able to repent of their errors and enhance their thinking when they see others being criticized. It is essential for all officials to imbue themselves with the Party's idea thoroughly and work well.

## 2) ON ELIMINATING FORMALISM IN PARTY WORK

A most serious defect revealed in Party work at the moment is formalism. There has been a great deal of discussion about formalism at this conference, and yet you do not seem to be clear about what formalism means and what has brought it into being. I think that this meeting itself, whose aim is to do away with formalism, has been conducted in a superficial way to a large extent. This shows that, having contracted the chronic disease of formalism, you are even unable to distinguish formalism from what is not formalism. In other words, you are unable to make a distinction between watermelon and pumpkin. In my opinion thoroughgoing measures have to be adopted to do away with this disease. It will probably be difficult to get rid of it completely within a couple of days. But we should wipe out formalism no matter how long it takes.

At the moment formalism is manifested in all work.

It is also found in personnel administration.

The important thing in personnel administration is not how many people vouched for the person in question or how many seals the reference has on it, but to know the person in question well. In spite of this, at present you carry on the work of understanding cadres simply

by examining the number of referees, following the old way of doing things.

Personnel administration should not be handled in a formalistic way. Getting personal reference, of course, may serve as one of the means of understanding cadres. But this can never be an infallible method. The number of seals affixed to the personal reference does not establish whether the person in question can be trusted or not. Even if you have many references concerning a certain cadre, you cannot claim that you have fully examined him. The reference will enable you to learn the curriculum vitae or family background of the person in question, but this is not enough to understand his ability, much less his thinking. In a nutshell, it is very silly to do personnel administration merely by relying on papers.

A document serves as reference material in understanding individuals. So it is necessary to get guarantees and apply to somebody for information about a certain person. What I mean is not that the papers themselves are wrong, but that it is wrong to do personnel administration chiefly relying on them. If one concentrates on paperwork one may misjudge even a good man and take him for a bad man, and, on the other hand, there is the danger of mistaking a bad man for a good one.

I will cite an example which shows to what extent the formalism of Party organizations has gone in personnel administration.

When the Jungsan County Party Committee received a document defining the uncle of a certain cadre as an erstwhile large landlord, they dismissed the man even without going into the matter in detail. When it was discovered that the document was fraudulent, they reinstated him. He must have suffered very much. On the other hand, there are even some cases where officials recklessly promote individuals, whom they have not fully understood, to posts of cadres, and later expel them when they receive very adverse reports about them.

It is not only the Jungsan County Party Committee which handles personnel administration in a formalistic way. Other provincial, city and county Party committees also have similar shortcomings. I think

that in some respects they make more mistakes, not less.

Since personnel administration is work with people, it must be handled with great circumspection and after inquiring into everything. Suppose one has received some reports concerning a certain cadre. One should not then judge the person in question hastily, relying solely on the document, but should go straight to where he is working and deal with him carefully after having made detailed enquiries about him.

In the days when we were engaged in the revolutionary struggle we did not concentrate on files. Moreover, because we were not in power, we could not obtain references about all the cadres. But now you sit on your dignity and only ask for references in a bureaucratic manner. All this is a manifestation of formalism.

The northern half of Korea is not so large in area; one day is quite enough to get to any part of it. Why then do you only rely on papers instead of going to the obvious place and making all the enquiries you need? The Party should not be engrossed in paperwork. From now on Party organizations must not become involved in paperwork, but should get to know people through actual work.

This work can be done in various ways—either through talks or through an inspection of their work. The most important thing in understanding cadres is to test them continually in the course of practical work. You must give them easy tasks at first, and then assign them tasks which are a little more difficult. In this way you should test them for about two years or for a longer period. Then you will know their capabilities and their way of working. Unless you have done this, you cannot say that you have fully understood people.

There is now no difficulty at all in meeting and testing people because our Party holds power. This depends on the enthusiasm of officials. From now on, when you want to appoint people to posts of leadership, particularly to those of Party organizations, you should install them first in other organs or other posts and test them for a few years, so as to get to know them fully before their promotion. You should never promote as cadres those whom you do not know, or those

whom you have not fully come to understand. You should not work in such a way that you promote people as cadres without investigating them fully, and then expel them if some undesirable fact about them comes to light. If you work in this way, you will make people unnecessarily uneasy, torment them and cause them to complain. You must let them work with an easy mind and in a spirit of optimism. There is no reason why you should cause them to complain.

Officials should know all the cadres in their charge. We have a large number of cadres. Secretaries, department heads, section chiefs and instructors of the Party Central Committee, chief secretaries and secretaries, department heads and instructors of provincial Party committees, chief secretaries and secretaries, department chiefs and instructors of county Party committees, secretaries of ri Party committees, secretaries of factory Party committees and Party cell secretaries—all of them are our Party's cadres. A small number of people cannot get to know so many cadres. Each official should know all the cadres in his charge well.

But now you officials do not know those cadres whom you should know. When officials are asked about a cadre, they do not even know his name, personal history, family background, where he has come from, the number of members in his family and his learnings, and they do not even care to know about such things. What is worse, they almost neglect the work of understanding cadres in the course of practical work. They confine themselves to allocating tasks and instructions to their subordinates, but they do not inquire into how these are being implemented.

What should you know about cadres?

First of all, you should know their thinking, and, in particular, you should investigate whether they have fully accepted the Party's monolithic ideological system. This is the most important thing.

Then you should know their way of working, practical ability, intellectual abilities and career as well as their family background.

You should have a clear understanding of the matter of inquiring into the family background in personnel administration. This is done in



order to know what influence the family background will exert on the ideological development of people. When we store something in a particular place we inquire whether or not that place is subject to damp, whether it will be affected by rust if it is left there or whether there is any danger of germs attacking it, and then we take the necessary measures to prevent its being spoiled by unsuitable conditions. In the same way, we inquire into people's family backgrounds in order to see what influence will be exerted on them and to take appropriate educational measures. We never do this just so that we can abandon people with undesirable family background.

In our country which has complex socio-class relations, it is wrong to examine all family backgrounds in exactly the same way. Our country was occupied by the Japanese imperialists for a long time. Moreover, during our temporary retreat the US imperialists occupied the northern half of our country, perpetrating all sorts of outrages, and even now our territory remains divided into two parts. Therefore, the socio-class composition in our country is very complex. If even remote relations are examined, there will be very few people whose family backgrounds are not questionable one way or another. But if we exclude all the dubious people, with whom shall we make revolution?

Recently I attended a meeting of political workers in the People's Army. The army deals with this problem properly. It has some comrades with complex family backgrounds. These comrades themselves went as far as the Raktong River during the war and bravely fought the enemy, for which they were awarded many orders and are now working in responsible posts such as a battalion commander or a regimental commander. But their fathers, brothers or relatives perpetrated outrages during our retreat, or are politically unreliable for one reason or another. How such cases should be dealt with had already been raised on an earlier occasion. At that time we said that the first consideration should be the person in question himself, and that if he himself fought well it would not matter what his father had done. How can he answer for the atrocities committed either by his father or his uncle or for his elder or younger brother having

gone over to the southern half of the country while he was away at the front? He cannot be responsible for any of that.

In the People's Army they are not particular about such things. They promote those who fought well to the post of a cadre irrespective of their family backgrounds. These people are now serving the Party faithfully.

At that meeting I once again stressed the following point: suppose that a revolutionary fighter took part in the anti-Japanese armed struggle for 15 long years. But during his absence his uncle or some other relative did something evil. Ought you not to trust that revolutionary? He did not urge them to do these things, so how can he be held responsible for the crimes committed by his relatives? If people in question work faithfully for the Party and the revolution, there is no need to be particular about their family backgrounds.

When young people are first appointed as cadres, it is of course necessary to inquire into their family backgrounds. This is because those who have not undergone the trials of the war and have not been tempered in hardships, are influenced by their family background to some extent. But there is no need to investigate the family backgrounds of those who are now working as cadres and who have already been tested.

Probably some of you comrades present here, also have something questionable in your family backgrounds. But we are not going to investigate it, nor do we deem it necessary to do so. Everyone is working hard to implement Party policies. Then why should we do such useless things? But you needlessly send out instructors, who have poor qualifications, to subordinate units and tell them to inquire into the family backgrounds of cadres and attach labels to them.

Even when you receive an unfavourable report about a cadre, you should deal with him only after carrying out a detailed investigation. In such cases it is advisable that chief secretaries of city or county Party committees should personally carry out the investigation, as far as possible. Let us suppose that the relative of a cadre, who is unreliable, lives in Hoeryong. Then you should go there and ask him everything

you want to know, such as: “Are you the cousin of so and so? May I see you? How did it happen that you joined the ‘peace maintenance corps’?” In this way you should ask him about the circumstances of those days. Thus, you should value and save the cadre, instead of unconditionally discharging him because you have got some information which says that his father or elder brother committed some crime or other.

Once again, I should like to stress the point that you should never concentrate only on paperwork in personnel administration and should not approach the problem of family backgrounds in the same way. In personnel administration you should not enquire too closely into family backgrounds, with the exception of those who are targets of dictatorship such as landlords and capitalists, as well as those who are suspected of being spies. The first consideration should always be the person himself.

Confidential details of personnel administration should be strictly kept. At every meeting I have referred to this point very emphatically. But some cadres still do not observe secrecy.

Some of our cadres thoughtlessly blurt out anything discussed by the Party and talk unwisely about things concerning personnel affairs which have been discussed in confidence. We should strongly combat these casual and undisciplined practices.

Formalism in personnel administration is also shown in the matter of increasing the percentage of people of working-class origin in the ranks of cadres as well as in promoting women to the posts of cadres.

Using this as an excuse, cadres of peasant origin who are core Party members and who have worked admirably since the time of agrarian reform, are now being dismissed on the pretext of incompetence and old age, to be replaced by those who have worked at factories for about two or three years. This is wrong. Not all workers can be indiscriminately regarded as good people. In the past capitalism was not developed in our country. Therefore, there are very few people whose families have been workers since the days of their great-grandfathers or grandfathers. Industry in our country started to

develop only after the liberation. It began to make rapid progress particularly from the days of postwar reconstruction. This entailed a quick increase in the ranks of the working class. Hence, many children of erstwhile middle and petty traders and industrialists as well as those of farmers joined these ranks. These people cannot be regarded as members of the working class in the true sense of the word, just because they have been engaged in industrial labour for several years. People of working-class origin whom we regard as qualified to be cadres are those who have acquired organization, capacity for united action and revolutionary spirit while working at a large steel plant or a big factory. We do not mean those who simply have done unskilled manual labour for a few years or those who roamed about the timber camps with carts for several years before liberation. As I said on an earlier occasion, these people cannot be considered to be genuine workers with a strong revolutionary spirit.

It would be better to promote as cadres former farm hands or poor peasants who have fought well against landlords and rich peasants since agrarian reform rather than promoting these workers. Although they are of peasant origin, these people have been educated and tempered during 20-odd years of Party life and have established a firm revolutionary outlook on the world. Frankly speaking, the comrade who is now chairman of a cooperative farm management board in Pyoksong County, South Hwanghae Province, is a good comrade with a strong revolutionary spirit, and he cannot be exchanged for even ten ordinary workers. What is the use of expelling such people on the pretext that they are not of working-class origin and, instead, promoting greenhorns who have not been tempered, just for the purpose of increasing the percentage of people of worker origin?

Party organizations should not thoughtlessly increase the percentage of people of worker origin in the ranks of cadres. As has been said during the current conference, it will not do to try to augment the ratio of people with working-class origin mechanically even in those places which have no big factories and enterprises and have a small number of workers, such as the Jungsan County of South Phyongan Province. The

provincial Party committees must choose cadres of working-class origin from other counties and send them to those counties which are mainly engaged in agriculture, such as Jungsan County. If it is impossible to send additional officials there, you must not insist that these counties have the same ratio of cadres of working-class origin as other counties. Nevertheless, the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee insisted that all the county Party committees increase the percentage of such members who are of working-class origin although they themselves did not send such people to the counties. This is a terrible manifestation of bureaucracy and formalism.

At the moment there are two irregularities in dealing with women cadres. One is that of underestimating them and being unwilling to assign them even to those jobs which are well within their power. Jungsan County has a large number of women who have graduated from either middle schools or technical schools, and so are quite able to do an excellent job in taking care of the house of culture. But they appointed a man to be its chief administrator. As a matter of fact, women can take care of this kind of establishment better than men. But why do they make a strong, healthy man, who is quite capable of weeding or ploughing the fields, look after a house of culture, while leaving women to waste their time at home? This shows that you have not yet completely discarded the obsolete feudalistic idea of looking down upon women. This being the case, the percentage of women cadres has not increased, but, on the contrary, it has decreased in such places as Jungsan County, although at the previous conference I so forcefully stressed the need to train women to be cadres by means of a planned programme.

Another tendency is that because they are told to promote women as cadres, they do this thoughtlessly without taking their capabilities into account. It is of course good to make cadres of many women. But you should not appoint incompetent women as cadres without serious consideration on the pretext of promoting them.

While keeping to the principle of promoting women boldly, we must always take their capabilities into account. If you recklessly

promote incompetent personnel on the pretext of boldly appointing women as cadres, it will be of no help to our work. We should take these two factors into consideration.

I think there are many women who are eligible to be cadres. The National Economy Institute trained many women, some of whose family members were killed by the enemy. They have now reached the age of about forty and now is the best time for them to work. We should not keep them in one post, but should give them training and promote them without hesitation.

Formalism in personnel administration is shown not only in their selection and allocation but also in the neglect of their education.

The training of cadres should be carried out regularly and according to a plan, no matter whether they have made some mistake in their work or not. We have to train both those who have committed errors and those who work well and accurately. I always say that chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees should always educate and train cadres kindly as a mother or an elder brother treats her son or his younger brother. Whenever her little son goes out, the mother gives him detailed advice on everything—he must cross the street after the vehicles have passed, after looking in both directions, against what he should take precautions when he walks along a side-street and he should not cross the ice-covered river.

You should also work with cadres with the gentleness of a parent. Whenever they send their instructors anywhere on a business trip, chief secretaries of county Party committees must give them detailed instructions—what they should be careful of, how they should treat the old folk and how they should educate Party members who have had to be disciplined. Then the instructors will not make mistakes.

But at present some of them simply summon their instructors to give them orders to visit such and such ri. So, in many cases instructors commit errors at the subordinate units.

Although I have already mentioned this to you very many times, I should like to refer to it once more. In the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle wise commanders told their men everything in detail

when they sent them on a reconnoitring mission: “If you reach such and such a place you will see such and such a peak. The enemy may be lying in ambush there. So you should bypass it. And if you get to such and such a spot, you will find a log bridge over a brook. The bridge is dangerous, so it is advisable for you to cross by a ford. When you enter the village you should find out the details of each household. Then you must meet such and such a person and do so in this manner.” When they did this every soldier succeeded in these reconnaissance missions without making any mistakes. But those soldiers whom their commanders sent on a mission, simply telling them that they should go to such and such a village and reconnoitre it, met with unexpected difficulties in many cases—they were either caught in the enemy’s ambush or walked into their trap or were drowned.

You should do efficient work with cadres just as intelligent commanders of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army did with their men. Suppose you work with the chairman of a county cooperative farm management committee. Then you must bring home to him the Party’s agricultural policy. You must also tell him: “Your mistake in the direction of agriculture last year was this. This year you must rectify it in such and such a manner. The task set forth by the Party for this year is this. In the course of its implementation such and such problems may arise. So you should be careful.” If you advise him in an analytical way like this, he will work well and will not make mistakes.

A really competent Party official is a person who values and loves cadres with the tenderness of a parent and always helps them so that they work loyally without committing errors.

At the moment some Party officials do not carry on work with cadres as day-to-day work. Then, if someone commits an error, they summon him and scold him. If Party officials treat other cadres so rudely, no one will open his heart to them. Party officials should give day-to-day training to cadres lest they should commit errors. And even if they have made mistakes they should not scold them, but should criticize them in a principled way for their errors and help them to put them right.

Party officials should meet not only those who have made mistakes, but should also regularly see those who work faithfully in order to assign them to some tasks and give them training in a planned way. It is also necessary to educate those who work well regularly in order to prevent them from committing errors. We cannot declare that those who work well now will not make mistakes in the future. Anyone is liable to commit errors if he is not given instruction.

Iron should be oiled or polished at all times. If, instead of doing this, it is left as it is, it will rust and will eventually become useless. In the same way, if cadres are not given training every day, they will degenerate under the influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideas because these ideas are continuously being infiltrated from outside and also because they themselves still retain the remnants of petty-bourgeois ideas.

Even some of those who are regularly educated through taking part in the meetings of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, become arrogant. And what will become of the other cadres if they are left without being trained? You must channel your utmost attention to the education of cadres and must always help them and train them continuously.

Party officials should never have illusions about people. In particular, they should not do personnel administration in an idealistic and superficial way.

Our experience shows that if one has illusions about cadres and does not examine their work regularly, one will fail in one's work. Inspection is not conducted because someone does not believe in his comrades; it is done in order to trust them even more. Had Party officials inspected cadres' work regularly in the past, so many people would not have been spoiled and greater achievements would have been made in personnel administration.

Formalism should also be eliminated in the work with the masses.

If Party officials are to work properly with the masses, it is of the utmost importance for them to clearly understand the social and historical circumstances which gave rise to the emergence of people



with involved class backgrounds in our country.

At present chief secretaries of provincial, city, and county Party committees as well as those of factory Party committees do not know the social and historical circumstances which gave rise to the formation of the “peace maintenance corps”, in our country, the emergence of the former prisoners of war and other sections of people with involved class backgrounds. There are differences between the Party Central Committee’s viewpoint and yours with regard to the masses of various sections. One of the reasons for your failure to work properly with the masses in line with the requirements of the Party Central Committee is precisely that you do not fully understand the social and historical circumstances which gave rise to the complex composition of our population.

It is not a serious crime that during the last war some people were dragged off to the southern half of our country taken in by enemy propaganda or unwillingly joined the “peace maintenance corps” in order to save their lives. During our retreat we could not take all of them with us. What is more, before the war we had not given them proper training. Had we given them regular tuition before the war as we are doing now, fewer people would have joined the “peace maintenance corps”. But in those days some flunkeyists like Pak Chang Ok ensconced themselves in the Party Central Committee and always spoke highly only of foreign ideas, denigrating their own nation, instead of propagating our own ideas. In consequence, when our People’s Army started retreating, many people thought it was the end of us and the enemy forced them to join the “peace maintenance corps” or they were taken away to the southern half of our country.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we set up guerrilla zones in east Manchuria and fought against the Japanese imperialists in one area for four to five years until there was no further need for them. The Japanese imperialists held the areas along the railway lines and the main roads as well as cities, whereas we occupied mountain gorges. At that time the arms of our guerrillas were negligible. We defended the guerrilla zones for four to five years with flintlocks,

hunting guns and five-chamber rifles.

If we had educated our Party members and working people with this experience of the revolutionary struggle and filled them with this revolutionary spirit from immediate post-liberation days, not so many hard-core members of our Party would have been caught by the enemy during our retreat only to be murdered so cruelly. Nevertheless, because our Party organizations had failed to instill revolutionary spirit in their members and the working people, many people were massacred at the hands of the enemy during our retreat which lasted only for 40 days. And a number of them thought that an end had come to our Republic and deferred to the enemy just to save their lives and joined the “peace maintenance corps” and carried out the vile deeds which they were told to do. Work with different sections of the masses will go satisfactorily only when our officials understand such things clearly. But because they themselves do not know this well and do not inform the masses correctly, this work is superficial.

You should also understand the former prisoners of war correctly.

You all know that they are people who were taken captive by the enemy during the Fatherland Liberation War because they were either wounded while fighting against them or were unable to retreat, and that they then returned to us at the time of the exchange of prisoners of war. Of course, some of them might have avoided being taken by the enemy, but were taken captive because they had had no combat experience and also because they were frightened because of their low level of political awareness. But the overwhelming majority of them were taken prisoner unavoidably under the then prevailing battle circumstances. Even after they were taken captive they fought bravely to return to the Republic, and we also made strenuous efforts to get them back to us.

At the moment many of them are working well after their return. As you all know, Comrade Jin Ung Won of the Kangson Steel Plant is a former prisoner of war, but he is working very well. Then why should we distrust and discriminate against former prisoners of war?

Party workers should not suspect people without reason. We should

always trust people, educate them with magnanimity and win over as many people as possible.

I will cite an example which occurred during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

I think probably all of you have read the reminiscences of the anti-Japanese guerrillas which dealt with the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle. Once we went to Fusong County to find many people under suspicion of being members of the “Minsaengdan”. A man who was in charge of political work there brought an armful of documents on the “Minsaengdan”. No matter how much I considered the matter, I could hardly believe that so many people had joined the “Minsaengdan”. In those days people under such suspicion were issued with no more than four to five bullets, but they still continued to follow us instead of surrendering to the Japanese imperialists. If they had really been members of the “Minsaengdan” they would not have done so.

So I summoned all those who were suspected of being members of the “Minsaengdan” and said: “From now on I shall not probe into whether you are members of the ‘Minsaengdan’ or not. Some say they have joined it and some others say they have not. There is no clear evidence of this and no one can prove it. And still others say that they said they were affiliated with the ‘Minsaengdan’ under heavy pressure, although they were not in fact. Nobody can guarantee the validity of their statement. Even if you have been involved with the ‘Minsaengdan’ up to now, it will be all right if you have nothing to do with it from now on. And if you are not affiliated with it, that is still better. Everything will be all right if you fight well from now on.” And there and then I set fire to the bundle of documents. Afterwards all of them fought well. Not a single one of them surrendered to the Japanese imperialists or took flight.

We should win over people by trusting and educating them. If we trust people, give assignments to them, test them through practical work and train them patiently, any one of them can be remoulded.

If we do not trust people but just suspect them, in the end we shall be afraid to do anything and will not be able to go outside at night. If

we are narrow-minded we shall not be able to win over the masses, and without doing this it is impossible to make revolution. But at the moment many officials are narrow-minded and work poorly with the masses.

Our officials have not yet had a true taste of winning over the masses. They only ask about production figures, but give no thought to how they can win over more people.

At present our officials are also not skilful in their work with the people who have returned from Japan.

At this time our compatriots in Japan have a very deep trust in their motherland. I think that you have probably seen the film of the performance organized by the Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) in which 3,000 people take part and the mass game. How good they are! This is enough to show their intense loyalty to our Party and the motherland. Our compatriots in Japan are working devotedly on behalf of our Republic.

That is why the Japanese government is trying in every way to obstruct the activities of the Chongryon. What is more, of late they have attempted to repress even the national education of our compatriots in Japan, hand in glove with the south Korean puppet clique. But the Chongryon is not yielding in any way and is fighting bravely in defence of their democratic national rights and it is continuing to build schools.

We must resist the policy of the Japanese reactionaries to repress our national education. Meanwhile, the more they repress it, the more actively we should support and encourage our compatriots in Japan. We must send more funds for the education of the Chongryon even if it means that we will have to tighten our belts, so that they may build more schools.

Even those who are affiliated with the “Mindan” (the Union of “ROK” Residents in Japan) support the national education introduced by the Chongryon. Even the well-to-do petty and medium traders and industrialists under the “Mindan” send their children to Korean schools set up by the Chongryon, saying that it will be better to keep them as

Koreans even if they will turn into “Reds”, rather than sending them to Japanese schools to make Japanese of them. In other words, they mean that they will not become lackeys of the Japanese even if they are to turn into “Red” Koreans. This shows that we Koreans have a strong sense of patriotism.

Our compatriots in Japan regard our Republic as their genuine motherland and they wholeheartedly support us. And the influence of the Republic increases amongst them daily. A growing number of compatriots in Japan are expressing their wish to return to the Republic and they are continuing to do so.

Our officials should work with the repatriates efficiently. But they work with these people in a desultory way. As a consequence, people at home and the repatriated compatriots do not mix with each other well. And there are even instances where they go against each other.

It will not do to treat people who have come to their motherland from Japan and who trust us, in this way. Of course they may have capitalist ideas to a large degree because they have lived in a capitalist society for a long time. So we should get on intimate terms with them and educate them patiently so as to make them our own people. Instead of doing this, some officials are unwilling to mix with them because they speak Japanese and have a capitalist aura.

The Party exists in order to educate the masses and mobilize them to the victory of the revolution. So there is no need for a Party organization if it neglects the training of those who have come to us.

In order to work efficiently with those who have come from Japan we should first of all know their situation prior to their repatriation. Although most of them led difficult lives in Japan, they do not belong to either the working class or the peasantry. In particular, those who are coming now have had no proper occupation. Because many Japanese are jobless, the Japanese imperialists did not employ Koreans in large factories, nor were they willing to rent land to them. So they sold noodles, or sold rice putting up the signboard of an inn or were engaged in retail trade. Some were carpenters or worked in smithies and did repair work. They were, so to speak, petty traders or petty

handicraftsmen. And the majority of those who were engaged in business simply resold commodities as though they were peddlers.

As I said previously, we cannot regard it as an act of exploitation to buy some flour and make noodles with it for sale or to resell cider and sundry other goods. The overwhelming majority of those who have returned from Japan barely earned their living through these means while they were there. We can therefore say that in fact they belong to the proletariat.

Of course it is natural that those who have lived for a long time in a capitalist society cannot be on a par with those who have received socialist education in the Republic for 20 years. What is more, they have been engaged in business up until recently. So they have a large degree of selfishness and may do undesirable things. For all that, you should not hate them or give them a wide berth. We should not only see their negative points but also their good points. They have a high degree of patriotism. Although they were clearly aware that we were building socialism and that there were no private enterprise or private trade in our country, they came to us because they love their motherland.

Our compatriots in Japan not only desired to come to us themselves, but we also fought to win them over. Had the Chongryon not been organized in Japan and had the Koreans been left there, all of them would have become Japanese. We have taken back many Koreans. What a good thing that is!

We should not regard those who have returned from Japan as being a nuisance because their ideology is somewhat backward, but should educate them more patiently and more diligently so as to make them a part of us.

When they are appointed to you, you should send Party instructors to them so as to conduct explanatory work, and should also assign the dong Party committee secretaries and the ri Party committee secretaries the task of conducting work with them efficiently. Then they will observe the state laws and regulations loyally and work sincerely for the country.

You should work well, not only with those people who have come from Japan, but also with those who have come back from China. All of these people are also our fellow countrymen and a part of our nation. They have come to us because they love their motherland. Therefore, you must treat their problems seriously.

Party organizations are not working well with intellectuals, either.

Needless to say, the greater part of the old intellectuals come from rich families. In the past they served Japanese imperialism and the exploiter classes. But they have revolutionary spirit to some degree because, being intellectuals in a colony, they suffered national oppression and received discriminatory treatment from the foreign imperialists. Our Party believed in their revolutionary spirit and adopted the policy of remoulding them into intellectuals who would serve the building of a new society and the working people. In the past 20 years many of our old intellectuals have faithfully served the country and the people along the road indicated by the Party and have contributed greatly to the revolution and construction. From now on we should further revolutionize and working-classize our intellectuals and thus train them into becoming genuine working-class intellectuals, into becoming ardent communists. Nevertheless, because some of our officials do not correctly understand our Party's policy on intellectuals, they do not believe in their revolutionary spirit and distrust and reject them. We should resolutely abandon such a narrow-minded outlook.

Because many officials have not experienced the ordeals of the revolution and also because they are not deeply aware of the truth of revolution, they do not understand that even those people, who at one time did evil doings, may stand on the side of the revolution after having been remoulded amidst the storm and stress of the revolution.

Today I am going to watch with you comrades a film based on the novel *Ordeal* written by a Soviet writer. This film shows how intellectuals set on the revolutionary road in the tempest of the revolution. Of course, it does not fully suit our situation and has some defects, but it can serve as a reference for us. The good aspect of this

film is that it shows the fact that although they have received reactionary education, intellectuals can start on the road of the revolution when they have patriotism.

Two intellectuals are presented in this work. One follows the revolutionary road from the outset, but the other takes a reactionary road. However, in the end, he also comes over to the side of the revolution. The second man has a bad family background. Claiming that he knows only Imperial Russia, he joins the White Army and fights against the revolution. But when he becomes disillusioned with the corruption of Imperial Russia and its advocates, he at last comes over to the side of the people.

Similar incidents may also occur some time in future in the course of our revolutionary struggle. Already during the Fatherland Liberation War we experienced many such incidents. Many intellectuals came barefooted from the Raktong River to Kanggye to join us, braving the fierce flames of the war. How could we regard such intellectuals as bad people?

By saying this I do not mean that you may entertain illusions about the hostile class such as the landlords. What I want to say is that you should know that you can examine, temper and win over to our side even people with involved family backgrounds through struggle and that you should therefore not treat them too narrow-mindedly. I do not mean that you should have illusions about the hostile classes or that you should not fight them.

If you are to succeed in your work with various sections of the masses, you should properly rouse 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 to action.

Working people's organizations embrace various sections of the masses. So, if the Party organizations direct these organizations correctly and rouse them to action properly, a number of problems can be solved in uniting broad sections of the masses around the Party. Nevertheless, at the moment some chief secretaries of the provincial,



city and county Party committees do not correctly understand the importance of this task and almost totally neglect work with the working people's organizations.

Take, for example, work with the League of Socialist Working Youth.

The chief secretary of a certain provincial Party committee is said to have received only one report on the work of the provincial LSWY organization during the course of last year. This is absolutely wrong. In the past, even under the difficult circumstances when we waged the guerrilla struggle against the Japanese imperialists, we paid close attention to rousing the youth organizations in various places and to training young people. But under the favourable conditions of today, when we hold the power, some chief secretaries of Party committees do not work satisfactorily with youth organizations and neglect to show interest in work with young people.

We should see to it that Party organizations pay due attention to the work of the organizations of the League of Socialist Working Youth. From now on the Party Central Committee should hear a report on the work of the Central Committee of the League of Socialist Working Youth at least once in every quarter. The provincial, city and county Party committees should also hear details from the chairmen of their respective LSWY organizations at least once a quarter on how they direct the activities of the Children's Union organizations and how they work with young industrial workers and rural youth. And if anything goes amiss, they should indicate detailed ways to correct mistakes without delay. From time to time, chief secretaries of Party committees should also check the lecture plan and material for talks, which have been prepared by the LSWY organizations.

Chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees should improve their work with the organizations of the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People and the Women's Union, as well as with those of the League of Socialist Working Youth. If they do this they will mobilize all the working people's organizations and will thus unite various sections of the masses around the Party and enrol

them in the implementation of the Party's policies.

Party organizations not only work in a superficial way with people of varied backgrounds, but also work inefficiently with the masses. As has been mentioned at the present conference, it is said that because they are not adequately trained from the class standpoint, some of those who were either hired farm hands or poor peasants in the past, still have illusions about landlords. As the report to the Party Conference pointed out, if we are to meet the forthcoming great revolutionary upheaval fully prepared, we should first of all strengthen the Party and closely rally Party members and the masses behind the Party. To this end, we should work with Party members and the masses more energetically and in great depth.

In many cases at present meetings are held in a formalistic way. We must boldly change this outmoded system.

In the past when we were engaged in underground struggle and waged the guerrilla warfare, we did not hold meetings in a formalistic way from habit as you are doing now. In those days, when people gathered from various places, we held meetings sharing lodging for several days. When someone delivered a report at the meeting, we expressed our opinions about it freely. We criticized it, expressing our views on what was wrong with it and saying that that was not the correct way of analysing things. In this way everyone made a report and addressed the meeting. And when they returned to their own places of work, they worked in line with what they had learned at the meeting.

Had we conducted meetings after liberation in the same way as we had done when we fought in the past, formalism in meetings would probably have already been done away with. However, on the pretext of holding them in a new style, at the meetings someone reads the report, several people make speeches and resolutions are adopted in keeping with the established practice. When the meeting is over, therefore, you very soon forget what has been discussed. We have emphasized for a long time the need to avoid formalism in conducting meetings. But formalism has become endemic and so far it has not been overcome.

When we fought the guerrilla war, a draft resolution of a meeting was prepared by the joint efforts of many people. Prior to opening a meeting we informed the would-be participants of the agenda. Then we let everyone express their opinion with regard to the agenda. Then the secretariat put their views in order and let the expected participants examine the document and put in it their views in detail. A draft resolution was mapped out taking these views into account. Then we opened the meeting, widely discussed the draft resolution and finally adopted it as the formal resolution with the approval of the participants.

However, at the moment the county and provincial Party committees assign poorly qualified instructors to the task of drawing up the draft resolution. Then chief secretaries of county and provincial Party committees get this draft resolution adopted at the meeting without even checking it properly. One of them is said to have even asked an instructor to write down the text of the speech with which he was to close the meeting. No matter how qualified instructors are, they cannot know everything about the work of county or provincial Party committees. So it is clear for everyone to see that a resolution drawn up by such instructors cannot be of much help to our work.

From now on you must categorically rid yourselves of this formalistic method of holding meetings. First of all, the central authorities should boldly introduce changes. A draft resolution should not be drawn up carelessly by one or two persons; it ought to be mapped out after adequate discussion by many people. The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee has already been using this method for a long time. We inform the participants beforehand of the agenda which will be discussed the following week and by doing this we prepare them for the discussion. And when an important document is to be adopted, I personally tell the people concerned about what should be included in the draft resolution. When the draft is completed, it is circulated among the Members of the Political Committee who express their views on it. Then they gather and deliberate on the draft resolution. They express their opinion, such as: "This is wrong." "This

should be added.” “It would be better to put in this phrase instead of that one.” “This expression is too exaggerated.” Through this process the resolution is perfected.

The provincial Party committees could also do this.

If the provincial Party committee wants to draw up a draft resolution, its chief secretary, secretaries and department heads can either gather and express their views on the resolution which will be adopted on a particular subject, or else they can tell the officials concerned to consider the draft resolution. Then these officials can meet and express their opinions as follows: “It would be good to put in this point.” “That is not suitable, so I propose deleting it.” “That is too excessive. So it would be better to replace it with this expression.” You can draw up the draft after fully discussing the matter in this way. Then you can hand the draft over to the secretaries to get the phrases polished. That will suffice.

After this meeting you must never again make instructors draw up draft resolutions which do not suit the existing situation and then adopt them by a show of hands.

Now some comrades allege that they cannot farm properly because of frequent meetings. But I think that the problem is not that there are many meetings, but that they are conducted in a careless way. It is, of course, true that holding meetings frequently during the farming season interferes with farming to a certain extent. That is why at the previous conference we told you to refrain from holding meetings in the busy farming seasons as far as possible. But it is wrong to oppose meetings being held even in winter. If meetings are not held in the rural areas both in summer and in winter, how can you train the peasants and eradicate their outdated ideology? If meetings are not held in the countryside and therefore the farmers are not trained, they will fall behind. As a result, neither rural ideological revolution nor farming would be successful.

Although it is difficult to hold meetings in summer because of pressure of work, you should conduct them on a regular basis in winter. The important thing here is to prepare for the meetings well. If the

meetings are prepared properly and if the meetings themselves are brief, the peasants will be able to have adequate rest and their work on the following day would not be disrupted at all. I think if the habit of formalism is eliminated from meetings, the question of frequent meetings in the rural areas will not arise.

Some chief secretaries of county Party committees say that they cannot work properly because they are under pressure on account of frequent meetings. They are wrong to look at the problem in this way. If the chief secretary of a county Party committee is to organize all the affairs of the county, including politics, the economy, education and culture, those meetings, which are now called, cannot be regarded as being too frequent.

Only when they often take part in meetings organized by the provincial or central authorities, will they be able to learn about the international situation and how economic construction in our country is proceeding. And only then will they be able to gain the knowledge which would enable them to manage the county. But if, instead of doing so, you merely stay in Usi or Jonchon County, you will not learn how things are going on in the world.

If chief secretaries of county Party committees visit their provincial headquarters this would also assist in eliminating their errors. Frankly speaking, in the counties nobody will wash off your dirt, because neither instructors nor department heads and secretaries dare to criticize you for your shortcomings.

It is therefore not bad for you to visit your provincial headquarters for a few days in every month and be subjected to criticism or be influenced when you hear others being criticized. Otherwise you might go astray.

As you will by now have seen, meetings are essential for the work of chief secretaries of county Party committees. Meetings themselves are one of the methods of Party work. The main thing in Party work is education of people and playing the steering role in administrative and economic affairs. How can we do Party work if we do not even hold meetings? The problem is not that there are too frequent meetings, but

that you convene them in a superficial way without making thorough preparations and adopt resolutions which will be of no help in your work. Consequently, not a single problem is solved properly at the meeting and you only waste time to no purpose. You should not complain about frequent meetings. Instead, you should do away with formalistic habits and prepare for them thoroughly, so that they will actually help you in your work.

A great deal of formalism is also obvious in Party information work as well as in its organizational work.

Let us see first how formalism is revealed in establishing the habit of study.

Our Party has long stressed the need for establishing the habit of study among officials. But this has not yet been implemented properly. This is because Party organizations simply stated the need to study, but have neglected to make detailed organizational arrangement to enable it to be done.

In the past the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee only expressed in general terms what people ought to read for the study of ideological principles. They simply instructed people to read Marxist-Leninist classics and study the Party's policies, but did not specifically name which books which should be read. This is a serious manifestation of bureaucratism and formalism.

As a matter of fact, it is ambiguous just to urge people to study Marxist-Leninist classics without even saying which books they should read. There are very many works by Marx and Engels, and *Lenin's Works* alone amounts to scores of volumes. Cadres, who are not scholars, cannot read so many books in a short time. Because the Party continually urges them to read the classics, some comrades only skim through a number of books. Then they give up reading them partly because they are beyond their comprehension and partly because they think that these books which were written some 50 years ago or much earlier, will be of little help in their work. And some other comrades simply dare not start reading them because they are far beyond their capabilities.

You should not urge people, other than those who major in the social sciences, to read all these classics. As I said at the Central Party School, you must not give officials too many Marxist-Leninist classics to read. If officials read only a few works such as the *State and Revolution* by Lenin and *Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism* by Stalin and understand their essence clearly, I think this will be of some help to them. Then they should study something about political economy. After that you should devote yourselves wholly to the study of our Party's documents.

In studying these documents you must first study and master the most important documents such as the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. Then you should also read other documents in order to enrich your knowledge of them and study them in greater depth.

If you had specified to the cadres and Party members what they should study regarding our Party's policies and the classics and made them study with a definite purpose, the habit of study would certainly have been established and the qualifications of officials would definitely have improved.

In the past, however, the Party information department only told people in a superficial way to read various things to establish the habit of study. Instead of giving the important books to our Party members and cadres—books which were indispensable to them—they simply sent them some study materials and the *Information Workers' Notebook* which did not meet our officials' qualifications and requirements. It can be said that they made one failure after another. Although they say that the higher authorities send many study materials and that they study regularly, our officials' qualifications do not improve, and if we ask them detailed questions about anything, not one of them knows even a single subject properly. This proves that so far the Party's information work has been conducted in a very slipshod manner.

Officials in charge of the Party information work think that only Marxist-Leninist classics are profound in content and consider that they are difficult to understand. They feel that these books are

comprehensible only for university graduates or doctors or associate doctors. They are wrong.

Any of you present here can read Marx's *Capital* as well as *Lenin's Works* and a *Selection of Stalin's Works*. And simply reading them over and over again will get you nowhere. What matters is whether or not you are able to apply those theories which you have learned from the books to our country's situation.

Even if you have read many books, this will be of no value if you are unable to apply in your work the things which you have learned from those books. Frankly speaking, university graduates are not much better than those who have learned from their actual work and from the realities of life. Those who have only pursued courses of study are no more than "locked chests of knowledge". Such people are of no use in our society.

Because Party information and educational work was conducted in a superficial way, the documents of the Party Conference were discussed only once. The Party Conference was an epoch-making event of great historic significance in the development of our Party, and its documents are very important because they set out our immediate revolutionary tasks. The documents of the Party Conference give a correct analysis of the present situation and clarify everything with regard to the action which we must take to cope with the situation. When these documents are fully explained to our Party members and working people, neither revisionism, nor great-power chauvinism, nor any other unsound ideological trend will penetrate into our country. Therefore, you should continue to make a deep study of the documents from various angles. While studying these documents intensely in this way, you should draw up your work programmes for implementing the tasks set out in the documents and should then carry them out one by one.

When we fought the guerrilla war, we even had serious discussions about every single letter sent to us by the International. But our officials have read such a historic document as the report to the Party Conference only once and think that they know everything about it.



At the moment there are many divergences in educating people in socialist patriotism.

We have always said that socialist patriotism should stem from the love of one's own native place, in other words, from the love of one's own village, of one's own fishing village, of one's own factory and one's own town. But by saying this we do not mean that one should give prominence either to the landlords of one's home village or to those people who are of no worth in our time. Nor do we mean that one ought to value antique objects which serve no purpose in our time, or that one should encourage parochialism by inventing so-called local histories.

Loving one's own native place means loving the people there as well as the mountains and rivers, grass and trees. This also means thinking always of how to make one's neighbours happier and still more comfortable, and devoting everything to this end.

An important factor in education in socialist patriotism is to arm people with revolutionary ideas and thus closely unite them behind the Party, and to make certain that everyone has a love of work and so works, studies and lives according to the communist principle "One for all and all for one" and fights uncompromisingly against the enemies who intrude upon their native places and their socialist country. Another important thing is to ensure that all the working people concentrate their efforts into building up their socialist native places—keeping their workplace, their village or town in good condition, where they can live and work happily free from exploitation and oppression, planting many trees in the mountains, converting much more arable land into paddy fields, taking better care of the paddies and dry fields and erecting sound school buildings for our children.

Only when people are inspired with the spirit of loving their own neighbourhoods, will they truly love their socialist country. And only those people who ardently love their country can become genuine proletarian internationalists.

In spite of this, some of our officials now have a very wrong understanding of what is meant by loving one's own native place. On the pretext of retaining local traditions they have treated as important

local antiquities which are completely worthless. In some parts of North Hamgyong Province, on the pretext of compiling the history of their local areas, some people even wrote about the activities of factional elements. In North Phyongan Province, on the pretext of compiling the history of their own native places, some people assigned some importance to an utterly worthless individual as being a prominent man and publicized him among the local population.

It can be said that parochialism is much more in evidence in North and South Hamgyong Provinces. People in Yonghung, Pukchong and Hongwon in South Hamgyong Province boast a great deal about their former peasant movement. This is due to the ideological venom spread by O Ki Sop. People in the cities of Kilju, Myongchon and Kim Chaek in North Hamgyong Province make much of the traditions of their respective localities. But truth to tell, their former struggle is not worth mentioning. At best they distributed a few leaflets, for which they were arrested and kept in prison for some time. If each province regards these as their traditions and educates their population in these traditions, this will only result in the emergence of parochialism or factionalism.

This, of course, does not mean that we are altogether opposed to the propagation of historical facts. The reason for our passing on historical facts and preserving historical relics is not that they can teach us anything, but that they help us to know what happened in the past. Our aim is to know things of the past and make up our mind to do everything better than it was done in former days. We do not aim to imitate what was done in the past.

Even when we see a drama based on a historical fact, we should always analyse and evaluate it from a class point of view. For instance, if we see the play which shows Admiral Ri Sun Sin, we must understand how viciously the feudal rulers attempted to put down the people's patriotism. At the same time, while watching the play, we should make a resolve to display greater patriotism than Admiral Ri Sun Sin, who, even though he was born in a noble family, launched a patriotic struggle against the Japanese villains, because we are people of worker and peasant origin. We are building socialism and in our

time people can freely display incomparably greater patriotism than in the days of Ri Sun Sin. Watching the drama, we must, therefore, take pride in the fact that a hero in our era is far superior to Ri Sun Sin and that not only one, but thousands and tens of thousands of heroes can emerge in our time.

Despite this, our officials try to describe Admiral Ri Sun Sin as being a great individual who is superior to the heroes of our time. Among those who were killed during the Fatherland Liberation War many were superior to Admiral Ri Sun Sin. All the same, our officials give prominence only to him.

At the moment our officials also fail to educate the people properly by using historic relics.

When talking about a particular wall in Changsong or Kusong, it will serve no useful purpose if people are simply informed of the fact that our forefathers fought bravely in that wall. It is much more important for them to know that because foreign aggressors continually invaded our country in the past, our people built walls and repulsed them. In this way we ought to inspire the people with the resolve that they will fight the foreign invaders more resolutely, because even our forefathers fought against them.

Another shortcoming in ideological work is that information work is not conducted in a dynamic way, but in a passive way.

Although this is true for all other work, in Party information work it is always particularly important to take a firm initiative instead of being driven into inactivity. Party information work which is geared to opposing the moves of the opportunists will also be successful only when this work is conducted effectively.

Taking the initiative in this branch of information work means to bring our Party's ideas and policies home to the senior officials, Party members and all the rest of the people, to give them a clear understanding of why the activities of the opportunists are wrong, and to improve education in socialist patriotism and thus to see to it that they all have great national pride.

At present the People's Army conducts information work among

the servicemen both energetically and efficiently. For example, if the ideological work concerns agrarian reform, the army anticipates this work by starting a few days before March 5, the day of the promulgation of the reform. By doing this the army tells the servicemen in detail that agrarian reform was a great victory for us and that, because of it, the life of the former exploited and hunger-stricken peasants has improved to a great extent. Therefore, no matter what evil propaganda the enemy may put out about agrarian reform, our army men are not deceived by them.

It is important for us to do ideological work competently lest the people be duped by the enemy's reactionary propaganda. Taking the initiative in this work is a positive method of doing things.

From now on we should conduct the ideological education of Party members and working people with initiative and efficiency. We should intensify education in Party policies among Party members and the working people, tell them what successes we have achieved in the building of socialism, further stimulate their national pride, and should show them what flunkeyism is and why it is dangerous and, by doing this, should firmly arm them to oppose it.

We must also eradicate formalism in the social sciences. At the moment our scientists, theoretical and information workers do not write about our Party's policies and about the successes and experiences we have gained in our revolution and construction work. So we are cheated of many of our achievements by other people.

In fact we are far in advance of others in the theories on both socialist revolution and on the building of socialism and have gained a great deal of valuable experience in our practical work. The Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method, as well as the Tae'an work system and the new agricultural guidance system, have all been created by our Party and they have great theoretical and practical importance. So we must study them in detail and develop them still more. In addition, many of the policies proposed by our Party are original.

If we had studied them thoroughly and written many articles about them, and had thus taken them a stage further, nobody would have

been able to claim those ideas which we had developed, as their own work. But because our scientists and theoretical and information workers have only written a few articles about our Party's original policies in a superficial way, and do not evolve them further, people of other countries publish them and claim that they are their own ideas.

Party schools are also committing errors of formalism and the quality of their instruction is poor.

As I have mentioned more than once, the Central Party School should teach methods of Party work. But if, instead of doing this, it simply teaches political economy in general terms as well as the Party history and philosophy, it cannot be called a Central Party School. It is true that the Central Party School teaches our Party's documents and the *Manual on Party Work*. But this school does not give instruction on them in such a way that the students will be able to use them in their practical work. Party officials should be taught useful knowledge. If they are only taught some propositions from the classics and the *Manual on Party Work* in a superficial way all the time, this is useless.

I think that because the lecturers at the Central Party School are not quite versed in the methods of Party work, they are unable to give the students useful knowledge on this work. We must arrange for these lecturers to do Party work and, in the course of this, we have to teach them how to do this work. The Organizational Department ought to examine the lecture plans prepared by the lecturers of the Central Party School. Meanwhile, you should see to it that heads of chairs of this school take part in important meetings such as conferences of chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees, so that they will be able to learn how to do Party work.

The University of National Economy should not teach completely useless knowledge to its students, but should teach them useful knowledge which can be applied to practical work. In this way we shall be able to improve the quality of the training of economic officials.

At the moment formalism is also much in evidence in administrative and economic affairs as well as in Party work.

This can be seen in the way the chairman of the Pyongyang City

People's Committee does his work. He should always think of how he can ensure a more comfortable life for the population of the capital, how he can provide them with better and smarter clothes, how he can supply them with decent non-staple food, and also how he can make life more convenient for them by improving the heating system, and should work hard to achieve this. But he has not directed the work of the city properly and has only driven around the city in his car all the time like a sightseer. As a consequence, not a single problem arising in the administrative and economic affairs of the city has been solved satisfactorily.

The problem of heating can be cited as an example. Pyongyang is the capital of our country, and so it is visited by foreigners. So, in order to make the working people more comfortable and to make the city cleaner by introducing central heating, we decided to build a thermal power station in Pyongyang.

Once the central heating has been introduced in Pyongyang, we shall be able to save a colossal amount of coal—600,000 to 700,000 tons—every year. We shall also not have to worry about buildings being blackened by smoke, the city dwellers will not have to make briquets and the houses and the city will become considerably cleaner than now. But the central heating system has not yet been put into operation in Pyongyang, although the power station has been built.

Over a long period of time we have told the chairman of the Pyongyang City People's Committee more than once to take measures to introduce central heating in the city. In spite of this, he has neither given thought to this problem nor endeavoured to implement the task which the Party gave him. This has caused the power station to dispose of hundreds of tons of hot water to no purpose every day, and has also compelled all the houses to continue to use coal, which means wasting a tremendous amount of fuel.

Formalism is also revealed in a large measure in the work of the State Planning Commission.

Take the problem of equipping rice-cleaning mills, for example. If the Party gives the task of building up rice-cleaning mills, the officials concerned should draw up their working programme after taking into

account the number of those mills which should be repaired and maintained and those which should be rebuilt, as well as our capacity for producing rice-cleaning machines and the building capacity, and how long it will take them to complete the whole project. Then they should carry out their work programme dividing it into several stages. But the officials of the State Planning Commission who were in charge of this undertaking ordered that all the rice-cleaning mills throughout the country be demolished simultaneously. They simply demolished these mills at random without even calculating whether or not they could be rebuilt at the same time. So, the end result is that they have only caused a loss to the Party and the state.

In the past there have been many other manifestations of formalism in economic work.

Formalism is also manifested both in the work of public security organizations and that of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards, as well as in all other branches.

Our officials have now got into the habit of doing everything carelessly. Whenever they are assigned to a new task, instead of studying it thoroughly and seriously discussing how they should set about it, they make a great show of accepting the task and then pass it on to their subordinates without even studying it.

When the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee discusses and decides on a particular matter, the central authorities pass it to the provincial authorities, and the latter again pass it on to the county authorities, and the chief secretaries of county Party committees inform their instructors of what they have been told and then simply sit back with folded arms. Our officials, therefore, bustle about for only a short while and very soon their enthusiasm cools down. They do not carry out anything seriously and do not solve a single problem properly.

Everything is done superficially. As a result, no tangible success has been achieved although we resolved to do many things, in just the same way that actors' faces are left bare of any expression once their greasepaint is removed after a performance.

Unless we do away with formalism in Party work, we shall not be able to advance our work. When the Party gives them some instructions, formalists are quick to respond to them by saying “Yes, I see.” But in fact they do not accept those instructions wholeheartedly. And although outwardly they pretend to uphold the Party’s policies, they do not actually support them.

Unless we eliminate formalism, no matter how good the policies we put forward and the resolutions we adopt may be, they will be of no use.

We must endeavour, tenaciously and continuously, to put an end to formalism once and for all in all our affairs—in Party work and administrative and economic affairs.

### 3) ON ELIMINATING WIELDING PARTY AUTHORITY AND BUREAUCRACY AND ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF COMPLAINTS MADE BY PARTY MEMBERS

I always say that a party is not an administrative or power organ. It is a political and educational organ which directs the organizational and political life of its members. The basic mission of all Party organizations—such as provincial, county and factory Party organizations—is to make Party policies known to Party members and the masses, to mobilize them for their implementation and to educate various sections of the masses so as to unite them around the Party.

However, instead of doing their own work in keeping with this basic mission of Party organizations, at the moment many Party officials meddle in administrative and economic affairs and wield Party authority and resort to bureaucracy. These comrades wield their power instead of doing Party work. Wielding power is something which a party in power should be wary of above all else. When they wield power, Party officials will in the end become bureaucrats.

At the moment chief secretaries of county Party committees wield Party authority and practise bureaucracy to such an extent that those



officials who take charge of administrative and economic affairs have to consult them even on trifling matters which they are authorized to deal with. Because you wield Party authority and practise bureaucracy to this extent, it is natural that you have no time to study Party policies, to learn methods of doing Party work and to direct the political life of Party members.

You should leave administrative and economic affairs to the officials concerned—such as chairmen of county people’s committees or of county cooperative farm management committees—in accordance with Party policy. And you must do your own work—work with senior officials, Party members and the masses and the provision of Party direction to all the affairs in the county. This is the only way for you to avoid making mistakes in your work with people and, when you have made some mistakes, to spot them promptly and remedy them and also succeed in promoting the general economic and cultural development of the county. But because you have acquired the habits of being bureaucratic and of wielding Party authority, you put on airs, simply rushing about and dealing with everything as you please.

As you all know, our people today are fundamentally different from what they were in the past when they were exploited and oppressed. Under Japanese imperialist rule our people had no one to appeal to even when they were ill-treated, oppressed or unjustly dealt with. And when they expressed what was on their minds to anyone, they were arrested, beaten and suffered even greater misfortune instead of having their needs met.

On the other hand, in our society all our people have become true masters of the country. Every one of them belongs to an organization and has the right to express himself and put forward his opinions. Furthermore, all our people are awakened because they have received education as well as social and political training under the socialist system.

You are therefore grossly mistaken if you think that you will be allowed to treat people as you please or punish and repress them as you wish. Our people do not remain mere onlookers when anything is

going amiss, and if they are treated unfairly they open their hearts even to the Party Central Committee by whatever means are available.

Because you have power, you should not behave arrogantly or treat people as you please and repress them. Our power aims to put down landlords, capitalists and other reactionaries, but not the people. This power is geared to protecting the interests and rights of the people.

In our society where the people have been awakened and a well-regulated organizational system has been set up, wrongs cannot be hidden for long. Last year it was finally shown that the complaints section under the Organizational Leadership Department had not handled complaints properly. The complaints department of the Cabinet also does not deal with complaints made by the people properly. Local Party organizations such as the provincial, city and county Party organizations are even worse in this respect.

Even now the Party Central Committee receives many complaints. This fact patently proves that you practise bureaucracy and wield Party authority and do not deal with complaints made by people fairly. If you junior officials dealt justly with them, people would not continue to complain to the Party Central Committee.

At the moment Party cells and primary Party organizations handle serious problems which are related to people's political life carelessly. And so they complain to county or provincial Party organizations. But these bodies do not comply with their requests. Then they forward their complaints to the Party Central Committee. But they do not answer their complaints fairly, either. So in the end they write letters of complaint to me, the General Secretary and Premier.

For this reason, I studied some of their complaints, and found that because our Party officials practise bureaucracy and wield Party authority, many problems have been badly handled and a large number of people have been unjustly disciplined.

Now I shall once again stress the need for you to stop wielding Party authority and desist from resorting to bureaucracy, as well as the need for you to look after the living conditions of the people for whom you are responsible and prudently and responsibly deal with their

troubles, citing some of their complaints which I have received recently.

First I would like to say a few words about the complaint which was addressed to me from a man in Pokgye-ri, Phyonggang County in Kangwon Province, some of whose children are now serving in the People's Army.

This man fought well during the war, but now he is old and ill. His two sons are in the People's Army and the rest of his family—five in number—are being supported by his wife. So there is no need for me to say that they are in poor circumstances. He wrote that neither the Party organization nor the government organ concerned take care of them, and that even the group which visited their area from the central authorities to give them guidance, did not call on needy families such as his own and only visited more prosperous families.

This proves that although our Party officials say that they work hard for the sake of needy people and are responsible for the living conditions of all the people, in fact they do not take care of these people and are totally indifferent to the living conditions of the people. From this we can also see that although our officials talk a lot about increasing our defence capabilities, they do not really work satisfactorily with those families who have one or more members serving in the People's Army. You should remember that if officials do not care about the living conditions of the people as they should and, particularly, if they do not work properly with families of this kind, this will greatly affect the strengthening of our defence power. If this man's sons, who are now in the army, learn that their family is hard up, they will not be able to devote themselves to their military duties because they will naturally worry about their family affairs.

As I have emphasized more than once, Party organizations should pay particular attention to living conditions of the families of People's Army men. Only when these families are able to lead comfortable lives, will their children who are serving in the army be able to take part in military and political training and carry out their combat duties devotedly and without worrying. Taking good care of the servicemen's

families contributes to strengthening the People's Army and making thorough preparations for war.

If all our officials had looked after needy people with the attitude of masters who sincerely make themselves responsible for improving the people's living conditions, and if they had worked with the dependents of servicemen as they should, people would not have complained about their impoverished circumstances. If cooperative farms and county authorities devoted just a little concern to the living conditions of these people, they would take care of them quite well. The trouble is that our officials still lack the spirit of truly loving the People's Army and do not have the right ideological approach needed to make themselves sincerely responsible for improving the people's living standards and to serve them faithfully.

Those complaints which have been sent to me recently show that Party organizations work very unsatisfactorily with orphans.

An orphan who is working at a factory in Hamhung says in his letter that although he went to the factory and district Party committees and asked them to give him more assignments, they did not assign him to a task. And he set out many views expressing his resolve to do his work better. In a nutshell, he says that although he wants to be faithful to the Party, the local officials do not admit him to the Party.

As you all know, our orphans are the new generation of our revolution whom our Party and state have brought up with great care at tremendous cost. They are firmly resolved to work faithfully for the Party and have a high degree of class determination to fight the enemy to the very end. Whom should we admit into the Party, if not these good comrades? Party organizations should work efficiently with orphans and thus train all of them to become reliable reserves of our Party and core elements.

In spite of this, some city and county Party organizations as well as factory and enterprise Party organizations do not work with orphans as they should. Senior officials of factory Party organizations never meet their orphans and are utterly indifferent to them even when they are ill and when they have problems. Because Party organizations and

factory and enterprise officials are indifferent to their orphans and do not train them properly, many of them become troublemakers. In such circumstances, although the Party has exerted great efforts to bring up the orphans, this has all proved fruitless.

At the moment the People's Army works efficiently with orphans in line with the Party's policy. When orphans join the army, the army allocates them to appropriate posts, pays special attention to work with them and gradually trains them to become officers. As a result all the orphans in the People's Army work at important posts and play a key role.

From now on all Party organizations must pay more attention to work with orphans. Simply sending out notices on the need of improving the work with orphans will get you nowhere. Senior officials must personally take charge of the work with orphans and take meticulous care of them as their own parents would do. Meanwhile, they should train the orphans so that they have a clear understanding of their class position and also have greater hatred for the class enemy who have deprived them of their parents, brothers and sisters. Thus they will train all the orphans to become genuine revolutionary fighters who will faithfully serve the Party and the people. Only then will the great efforts of the Party be fruitful, the efforts which have been geared to bringing up the worthy orphans.

You even handle those important problems which relate to Party members' political life badly. Consequently you cause people mental pain and anguish and inflict losses on the Party. Party organizations and officials should regard the distress of the people as their own and should judge and handle all problems from the point of view of the people.

Party organizations at all levels should, as soon as possible, remedy the shortcomings which have been revealed in dealing with those complaints which people at the grass-roots level submitted to them, and should dispose of them wisely and in a responsible way. In submitting complaints some people may probably write only about the mistakes of others while they mention nothing of their own faults. And

some of them may not conform to the facts. For all this, it is true that when someone complains against somebody, there must be something wrong, even if it is only a minor thing. You must realize that even if the complaints which are submitted by people at the grass-roots level contain anything, however small, which is justifiable, they involve something which has to be solved.

From now on you should establish rigid discipline under which the leading officials examine and deal circumspectly with those complaints which have been submitted to them.

Complaints which are addressed to the county Party committee should be examined by its chief secretary, and those which are sent to the county people's committee should be handled by its chairman. There is no need to set up a separate section dealing with complaints in the county Party committee. It will suffice if its chief secretary personally examines the complaints and charges the organizational department with the task of dealing with them. In doing this he should study the problem seriously and give detailed instructions on how the officials of that department should deal with them. Only when you deal fairly with the complaints which are submitted to you from the grass-roots level, will less complaints be submitted to the central authorities.

Dealing with complaints is an important task. Therefore, from now on the county Party committees should set aside days which will be devoted exclusively to dealing with them. For instance, chief secretaries of county Party committees should fix the first, 11th and 21st of each month as days for handling complaints and on these days they should deal with no other problems. They should check the complaints which have been sent to them and should assign the officials concerned to the task of dealing with them. They should also inquire into how those tasks which they gave previously have been dealt with.

Provincial Party committees must also fix separate days for dealing with complaints and on these days chief secretaries of the committees should examine and deal with all the complaints which have been

addressed to their committees or directly to them. Provincial Party committees have a wide range of work, and also many problems may confront them. Therefore, it would be a good idea to have a few people under the direct jurisdiction of their chief secretaries, people who will deal exclusively with complaints.

The Party Central Committee should ensure that its Organizational Leadership Department deals with those complaints which are related to organizational life, and that those which are related to other problems should be examined and dealt with personally by the heads of the departments concerned. Many complaints which are now addressed to the Party Central Committee have something to do with organizational life. Therefore, other departments should not have a separate complaints section but it is advisable to retain only that section which the Organizational Leadership Department has got.

This section should perform two kinds of duties. One is to deal personally with and settle those complaints which are forwarded to the Party Central Committee and which are related to organizational life. The other is to check on how all Party organizations, including the provincial, city and county Party committees, deal with complaints and direct them so that they dispose of them properly.

Organs of people's power should also establish a rigid system and discipline under which complaints are dealt with in a responsible way.

Like the complaints section under the Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee, the complaints department under the Cabinet must deal with those complaints which are addressed to the Cabinet, and, at the same time, it must check on and supervise all people's committees so that they deal fairly with complaints.

New regulations on dealing with complaints must be drawn up. In this way a rigorous discipline should be established under which all complaints which are submitted from the grass-roots level will be dealt with promptly and in a responsible way. The complaints section under the Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central

Committee and the complaints department under the Cabinet must regularly investigate how the complaints are dealt with and must promptly remedy any defects.

Dealing with complaints is work which deals with important problems such as the political life of people. Therefore, this work must always be done wisely and in a responsible way. All of you are in your forties and fifties, so you must have children; and some of you probably even have grandchildren. Nobody but their parents can take care of and solve the problems of children. In just the same way, no one but our Party, which is responsible for the destiny of the people, can take care of them and solve their problems.

I always stress that Party officials are not like former government officials, but are faithful servants of the people. Our officials should regard it as the greatest honour when the people call them faithful servants. Party officials should not deal as they please with complaints which people submit to them or regard it as a nuisance when they call on them. On the contrary, they should regard all problems as their own and should solve them sincerely. A film depicts comrades of the department which deals with the conferment of orders under the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly. In this film those comrades find Hero Ri Myong Sok and confer decoration upon him. If all our officials work with the same sincerity, they will be able to solve the problems of the people promptly.

Even those people who have so far been good, often abuse their authority once they enter into service in Party organs. I have been told that when they are transferred from other organs to Party organs, some people put on airs and their manner of speaking and walking becomes different from what it was before. They are very misguided.

Party officials should not wield power or abuse their authority. Misuse of authority on the part of Party officials shows their impotence. Ignorant and incompetent people misuse their power. Because they are incapable of persuading and educating other people, these people try to solve everything by wielding authority. Wise and capable people never use power. There is no need for them to do so,



because they can solve everything quite well even without resorting to it.

If Party officials stand on their authority, they can neither mix with the masses nor unite them behind the Party. Even if they manage to unite people around the Party by resorting to their power or by means of threats and blackmail, such unity will not be solid. Party officials must not abuse Party authority, but must work in accordance with Party policies. Figuratively speaking, Party policies are like a yardstick. If we judge everything by Party policies, we shall be able to distinguish right from wrong.

Party officials should work using Party methods. Applying Party methods in one's work means doing it with parental feelings.

Some comrades do Party work by detective methods. But these methods have nothing to do with Party methods of work. Party organizations need not spy upon cadres. If cadres reveal shortcomings in the course of their work, Party organizations should reason with them sincerely about their mistakes and should thereby help them rectify them.

It can be said that the Party is like a mother. Party officials should always work with the feeling of a mother. They should broad-mindedly approach cadres, Party members and the masses with the feeling of a mother who loves her children. They should share their worries and should sincerely help them lest they go astray.

Sometimes children deceive their fathers because they are afraid of them, for they occasionally scold and beat them. But they divulge everything to their mothers who always treat them broad-mindedly and are kind to them. They even tell their mothers that in the evening they will go to see a girl in secret.

Our Party should be a genuine mother to its members and the masses. Our Party can truly be called a mother party only when all people will always come to Party organizations and consult them frankly, not only on their work but also on their personal lives, and only when they will unreservedly tell them everything that is in their minds.

#### 4) ON ELIMINATING ARROGATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS AND STEERING ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS PROPERLY

For a long time, I have referred to the need for Party officials to refrain from taking over administrative and economic affairs, and I have also emphasized this point at meetings and on other occasions. But this practice has not yet been eliminated. Now chief secretaries of county and factory Party committees have gone so far in taking over administrative affairs that they do not even know the difference between steering administrative affairs and taking them over.

When we say that Party organizations should steer administrative and economic affairs, we mean, in the final analysis, that they must do Party work—political work, and that in this way they must ensure that these affairs are done properly. However, chief secretaries of county Party committees do not do Party work, but, instead, they carry around with them ropes which are used for bedding out young rice-plants and tell the farmers how many seedlings they should plant, and they instruct their subordinates on how much coal should be given to each household and how many kilogrammes of fertilizer should be allotted to each workteam.

Because chief secretaries of county Party committees take over administrative and economic affairs and give orders and instructions like this, the committees which are political organs have become something like administrative organs. The county has the county people's committee which takes charge of education, culture, public health, procurement and food administration, commerce, labour administration, financial affairs, land administration, and local industry. It has also the county cooperative farm management committee which directs the rural economy. But chief secretaries of county Party committees ignore all these administrative and economic

organs and are busy single-handedly undertaking administrative and economic affairs.

It is true that chief secretaries of county Party committees are deeply steeped in taking over administrative affairs. But chief secretaries of factory Party committees go even farther in this regard. We call the factory Party committee the supreme body of leadership at the factory. And chief secretaries of factory Party committees have misinterpreted this and they meddle in everything.

I have mentioned on many occasions that when we say that the factory Party committee is the supreme body of leadership in the factory, we have in mind the Party committee, which is an organ of collective leadership, but not its chief secretary himself. The factory Party committee collectively discusses and decides on the important problems which arise in the implementation of the revolutionary tasks which confront the factory. Once the Party committee has taken the necessary steps for the solution of these problems, the manager should take charge of administrative affairs, the chief engineer should direct production and the chief secretary of the factory Party committee should do Party work, in line with these steps. Only by doing so shall we be able to prevent the manager from controlling all matters himself, just as he did in the past, and also be able to manage the factory properly by enlisting collective wisdom. Nevertheless, chief secretaries of factory Party committees think that they can represent the committees—organs of collective leadership—and hold a monopoly of administrative and economic affairs, ignoring those who are in charge of managing such affairs.

Chief secretaries of some factory Party committees even prohibit the supply of spare parts and the allocation of houses without their approval. If some officials come to see them to get spare parts and houses, Party chief secretaries would do well to tell them that they have no right to dispose of such things, and to advise them to go to the managers to get them supplied. But they must not interfere even in such matters. Needless to say, if the manager does not deal with some matter properly, the chief secretary of the factory Party committee

should help him to rectify his mistake. Suppose that the manager has not given a house to a man to whom he should have allocated one, the factory Party committee's chief secretary should advise him to give a house to the man. Criticizing and rectifying the mistakes revealed in administrative and economic affairs is entirely different from taking over administrative affairs.

Not only chief secretaries of county and factory Party committees take over administrative affairs. Chief secretaries of provincial Party committees and the departments of the Party Central Committee also have this fault.

When we ask chief secretaries of county Party committees why they act for administrative officials, they answer that this is because their higher authorities continually assign them tasks related to administrative and economic affairs. Their answer has some truth. Chief secretaries of provincial Party committees ask their county counterparts even such things as whether they have finished sowing and how much fertilizer they have prepared. Because they frequently pass economic shock campaigns to their county subordinates, county Party committees have no alternative but to ignore everything else and always ask their subordinates how much fertilizer they have secured and how much of the arable land has been sown. As for sowing, it would be better if provincial Party officials ask chairmen of provincial rural economy committees, who are exclusively in charge of this matter. I cannot understand why they only ask the county Party committees about this.

The province has a people's committee, a rural economy committee, a construction committee, and other administrative and economic organs. As for those problems which relate to administrative and economic affairs, chief secretaries of provincial Party committees will do well to ask those people who work in these organs. And they should ask chief secretaries of county Party committees about Party work in the counties as a whole—such as how they work with cadres, Party members and the masses, and how they train administrative and economic officials as well as educational, public health and commercial officials,

rather than about administrative and economic matters. However, instead of doing this, at the moment provincial Party committees ask their subordinate Party organizations how they have implemented their plan for grain production and how they have increased industrial production. County and factory Party committees, therefore, are naturally engrossed in administrative and economic affairs.

But we should not consider that county and factory Party committees act for administrative officials only because their superiors force economic affairs on them. If the provincial Party committee asks what percentage of the area has been weeded, which concerns the rural economy, chief secretaries of county Party committees would do well to summon the chairmen of county cooperative farm management committees and tell them that the provincial Party committee criticizes them for a low percentage of weeding and order them to go to the fields immediately and take appropriate measures. Because the provincial Party committee inquires about the percentage of the area which has been weeded, chief secretaries of county Party committees need not carry a measuring line and measure it.

Chief secretaries of county and factory Party committees say that they have no spare time for study because their superiors assign them too many tasks. But in fact you make work for yourselves. You are now very busy because, without need, you take over even those matters which should be dealt with by administrative and economic organs. You would not be busy if you made all the officials who work in these fields do what they should do. Besides, no matter how many instructions you are given by your superiors, you will not have to involve yourselves, if you draw up a working programme for implementing these instructions by deciding which of them should be implemented through inner-Party work and which should be carried out by administrative and economic bodies, and then give specific assignments to the officials concerned.

Some comrades think that the practice of taking over administrative affairs is caused by the fact that there is no theory on Party work. They are wrong. If you study Party documents, you will find everything in

them—how Party work should be done, how meetings should be held, how assignments should be given, how government organs should be stimulated to action, and how economic bodies should be directed. Since 1956 I have talked about Party work on many occasions, and I also spoke about how to do Party work at the training courses arranged for Party officials. Furthermore, very many documents on Party work have been published. It cannot be said that there is no theory on this work. The trouble is that you just like to tour many places and do not make a deep study of Party documents. You say that attending this meeting is as beneficial for you as graduating from a university. But, frankly speaking, what I have said at this meeting has been mentioned on many previous occasions.

You chief secretaries of county and factory Party committees do not primarily take administrative affairs upon yourselves because the provincial Party committee dictates administrative and economic affairs to you or because there is no theory on Party work. You do so mainly because you have acquired the habit of running the show thinking that things will go smoothly only when you personally give orders and instructions to your subordinates.

You should clearly understand that your taking the role of officials who are in charge of administrative affairs only hinders administrative and economic affairs, instead of giving any help to these activities. Some comrades claim that what has been achieved in farming is attributable to the fact that they meddled in this sector, driving about in a car, and say that if they had stayed in their offices the results would not have been so good. But their argument does not conform with the facts.

The successful farming which was witnessed last year in Jungsan County, South Phyongan Province, is attributable to the county Party committee which kept the agricultural officials in their posts and stimulated them properly to act as they should. This success is not due to the chief secretary taking over rural work and issuing instructions. It is obvious that chief secretaries of county Party committees know little about farming. And even if they did know something, their knowledge is not so wide as that of agricultural specialists. So it is unreasonable

for them to ignore agricultural officials and interfere in even technical and practical matters. If you force your subordinates to do something because of your subjective desire without knowing much about farming, this will only hinder farming and put pressure on the peasants.

Peasants do not like Party officials ruling the roost and taking administrative duties upon themselves. When senior agricultural officials and farmers in Sukchon County in South Phyongan Province made cold-frames for rice seedlings near the roadside, every official who drove past the fields in a car aired his opinion on the defects of the cold-frames. So they say that they do not know to whom they should pay attention and that they will never again build the frames near the roadside. They say that they have made up their minds that from this year onwards they will build them in places which are difficult of access, not only for cars, but also for critical officials in their best clothes. When I heard this, I said that the peasants in Sukchon County were quite correct to have decided to do this. In a situation like this, can county Party committee chief secretaries claim that they have given any help to farming? Now our farmers are fed up with your taking on administrative affairs.

You should not visit various places by car without a reason. You must allocate those tasks which are related to farming to chairmen of county cooperative farm management committees and ensure that they do their work efficiently. If you do this, farming will be more successful and you will be able to find more time to devote to Party work.

If you do the work of administrative officials you will not be able to deal with all the administrative and economic affairs nor will you be able to conduct inner-Party work properly. In the final analysis, you will be unable to manage either administrative and economic affairs or Party work efficiently.

At the last conference of chairmen of provincial, city and county Party committees I stressed the need to promote agriculture. We can say that in the past year almost all chief secretaries of county Party committees mainly played the role of chairmen of county cooperative farm management committees. If they are asked what they have done

for farming, they will talk fluently about how they meddled in farming—where and what they instructed their subordinates to sow, where to make cold-frames for rice seedlings and when and how to apply fertilizer. But if they are asked about trade, education and other administrative and economic affairs, they are unable to tell how matters stand with them. So it is natural that work in these fields is not going as it should.

Take trade, for instance. At present, work in this sector is not proceeding smoothly because county Party committee chief secretaries do not devote their attention to it. Some time ago when I went to Onchon County in South Phyongan Province, I visited the local shop. There were not many serviceable goods in stock.

The peasants have raised good crops, and, in addition, they have been exempted from the payment of the tax in kind. So their cash income has increased. But they have nothing to spend the money on because the shops are not plentifully stocked.

No matter how good the crops the peasants raise and how large a share they get, they will think, if the shops do not stock the things they need, that it is pointless for them to earn much money when the shops have nothing to sell, and that it will suffice for them to earn just a moderate sum of money. This will result in damping the peasants' enthusiasm for production and thus hamper farming. You should clearly understand that if you do not oversee administrative and economic affairs as a whole and fail to provide a proper direction for them, and if you continue to act for officials who are in charge of administrative affairs, no work—be it farming, or trade or education—will progress properly.

If you take administrative affairs upon yourselves, you cannot do Party work well, either. Because you act for administrative officials you do not know cadres well, nor are you efficient in your work with Party members, various sections of people and also in your work of rousing the social organizations to action. At this time, many of our technicians have a doubtful family background, but chief secretaries of factory Party committees do not give them good ideological education.



Neither are they successful in fostering core elements and rousing them to action.

From what you have told us at this conference on your work, we can also see that chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees take upon themselves administrative functions only to fail both in directing administrative and economic affairs as a whole and in inner-Party work. Your written reports deal at length with what you have done as regards farming, but very little with trade, education and public health services. Moreover, they make almost no mention of how you have fought against practices of waste and against espionage. That part of your reports which deals with inner-Party affairs does not properly analyse the growth of Party membership, nor does it mention what guidance you have given to the organizations of the League of Socialist Working Youth, the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People and the Women's Union. This kind of report may pass as a report of the chairman of a county cooperative farm management committee, but it is not acceptable as the report of a county Party committee chief secretary.

It is clear that even those county Party committee chief secretaries who have referred, in part at least, to Party work and other matters, had not included these things at all in their reports at first. But when they underwent a short course and sensed the atmosphere of the conference, they became aware that they could not just speak about farming. So they amended their reports after hurriedly asking their subordinates in their county offices about various matters. But even their revised reports are not rich in content because they cannot inquire into every aspect of their counties over the telephone in a short time.

In the past you were called county Party committee chairmen, and now county Party committee chief secretaries. If you attend only to farming instead of working with Party members and steering administrative and economic affairs as a whole, you should not be called county Party committee chief secretaries, but should rather be called county cooperative farm management committee chairmen. And if you only engage in the work of the people's committee because you

are interested in it, it would be more correct to call you people's committee chairmen.

A county Party committee chief secretary should direct all affairs of the county responsibly; he should leave nothing out of his control. I have said on many occasions in the past that each county Party committee chief secretary is responsible to the Party for a 200th of our territory as well as the population living in it. You are each in charge of a 200th share of our country's industry, agriculture, commerce, procurement and food administration, land administration, education, culture and public health services. Furthermore, you ought to direct the Party life of the Party members and cadres in your own county and rally the masses around our Party and guide public security work and the work of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards as well as that of 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. The responsibility of county Party committee chief secretaries is indeed very heavy and there are many things which they ought to do.

If you are to lead the whole work in your county properly, you must stimulate all the officials who work in the administrative and economic organs and in the working people's organizations. If, instead of keeping on their toes the many officials who are in charge of administrative and economic affairs and of the work of the working people's organizations, the county Party committee chief secretaries themselves run everything on their own as they are now doing, there will be no end to their work even if they work from early morning until late at night, nor will their work progress successfully. As the proverb says "A general without an army is no general", a man cannot accomplish great things all alone. You say that one should mobilize ten, ten a hundred and a hundred should stimulate a thousand people to action, but you do not abide by this principle of Party work and rule the roost. You should not merely say that one should mobilize ten, ten a hundred, and a hundred a thousand as you learn chemical or mathematical formulas by heart, but should do Party work to rouse

each person to action in fact.

In order to put an end to your practice of arrogating to yourselves administrative functions, which is a major shortcoming in your Party work, you should have a clear understanding of the steering role. Some Party officials seem as yet not to have a correct understanding of this.

At the moment some comrades think that Party work and steering administrative and economic affairs are different things alleging “two tracks” and the like. They are fundamentally wrong.

Party work and the work of steering administrative and economic affairs cannot exist separately. The latter is also part of Party work. When we say that you should steer administrative and economic affairs we do not mean that you should undertake these affairs separately from Party work but that you should give direction to them by Party methods. Party work and economic affairs are inseparable; when the first is successful, the other will also proceed well. Some comrades say that farming seems to be going well even though Party work does not proceed satisfactorily. This view is untenable. If farming has shown a good result where Party work fails, this must be a temporary and chance phenomenon. Where Party work is unsuccessful farming and other economic affairs cannot go well.

In recent years South Hwanghae Province has failed in farming. This shows that when economic affairs are not backed by Party work and political work, production cannot achieve the desired success. Party officials should guarantee by Party work, by political work, that administrative and economic affairs are done. Nevertheless, because they regard Party work and economic affairs as something separate, some of these officials claim that there are “two tracks”, “two different systems”. But we have only one track. You must stimulate the Party organizations and members in the economic sectors to action by means of efficient Party work and lead them so that economic tasks will be completed.

Party officials must bring Party policies home to those officials who work in economic sectors so that they will devote themselves to their implementation, and must point out the right direction to them so that they follow the right path in accordance with the Party’s line and

policies. Doing these things means ensuring Party direction to economic affairs and this is precisely what the steering role is.

What needs to be done if administrative and economic affairs are to be steered properly?

First of all, the meetings of the Party committee, which is the organ of collective leadership, should be run properly.

We should clarify the distinctions between the Party meeting and the administrative and technical conference. Of course, a Party meeting ought to discuss administrative and economic problems. For all this, it should always be a political meeting, and must never take on the form of an administrative and technical conference.

The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee also discusses many administrative and economic problems. But it is confined to the discussion of problems of principle and problems concerning the indication of the necessary orientation to be followed. It entrusts to the Cabinet those problems which involve detailed measures. When the Political Committee discussed the introduction of compulsory nine-year technical education, we decided only on matters of principle and problems concerning the orientation which this undertaking should follow, such as what funds would be needed for this purpose and from which year it should be introduced, and saw that specific measures for its implementation were discussed and taken by the Cabinet. We also decided only on the basic direction of such problems as keeping the mining industry ahead of other industries, easing the strain on railway transport, concentrating on the electricity industry, increasing the variety of light industrial products and improving their quality and making the utmost use of the production capacity of the existing factories. And we gave assignments to the Cabinet to implement these measures.

The factory Party committee should also discuss those administrative and economic problems which confront the factory politically and from the point of view of the direction they should follow; it should not discuss them from a technical and practical point of view. For instance, if the factory is faced with the problem of

improving the quality of pencils, the factory Party committee should open its meeting and take the necessary measures to this end and make either the factory manager or its chief engineer responsible for taking specific technical and practical measures and report to it on the implementation of these measures at its ensuing meeting. That will suffice. The Party committee need not discuss such technical matters as the lead and colour of the pencil. The Party committee should give either the manager or the chief engineer, in accordance with its resolution, the task of calling together the technicians and the workshop managers at a technical conference to discuss the practical measures which are needed to solve these problems.

This is not the first time that I am referring to the need to refrain from holding a Party meeting like a meeting discussing technical and business problems. During the war I attended a Party cell meeting held at the Ragwon Machine Factory. That meeting proceeded like an administrative and technical conference. Even then I mentioned the need to refrain from conducting a Party meeting like an administrative and technical conference but that it should be made a political meeting—a meeting which discusses ideological problems. Since then I have stressed this point more than once. But my instructions have not yet been put into effect.

I am told that in many factories and enterprises they still discuss technical and practical problems at Party meetings far into the night. Because Party meetings waste time in this way discussing these problems, Party committees lose sight of such fundamental problems as the education of the working people in Party policies and indication of the right direction to be followed in administrative and economic matters. You should put an end to these practices as soon as possible.

For a Party committee meeting to be successful, you should prepare for it well. You should not hold it casually without any preparations just because some urgent problem has cropped up. No matter how busy you may be, the meeting should be held after thorough preparations have been made for it. The Party committee chief secretary should not prepare all the reports to be submitted at its meetings. He should appoint either

the manager or the chief engineer to do this according to the character of the matter which will be discussed. Only then will the reports reflect the opinion of many people and conform to the current situation.

If the factory Party committee is going to discuss the problem of drawing up a plan, it may get the manager to make a report to the committee on how this should be done. Then the manager will prepare his report on a draft plan with the assistance of the chief engineer. After he has given the task to the manager, the factory Party committee chief secretary should, on his part, prepare for the committee meeting and should work out the comments which he will make in closing the meeting. If he attends the meeting without having made his preparations for it, he will know nothing about the plan. Moreover, he will have no choice but to accept the draft plan even when the officials dealing with administrative affairs have drawn it up in a faint-hearted way, contrary to Party policy. If things come to this pass, the Party committee will be following the administrative officials instead of playing a steering role in administrative and economic affairs.

Therefore, after he has given the manager the task of preparing a report on the draft plan, the Party committee chief secretary should work in such a way that he is fully aware of the production situation at the factory, and what the potentials are. It would also be a good thing if he adopted the method whereby he directed the Party meeting of the most important workshop or department at the factory. If, for instance, the carbide shop is the most important one at the Pongung Chemical Factory, the Party committee chief secretary should take part in the branch Party committee meeting of this shop to explain to the Party members how its plan should be drawn up. He should explain in detail to the Party members that if we are to improve the people's living standards in accordance with the spirit of the decisions of the Party Conference, we must produce larger quantities of vinalon, nitrolime fertilizer and vinyl chloride, and that to do this we need more high-quality carbide. Then he should discuss how they can do this. If he does this, because they are directly engaged in production, they will

put forward many suggestions—such and such a thing can be produced in greater quantity and what is the potential capacity to attain this and how something else can be done.

Then he should organize a conference of workers and technicians and let many of them express their opinions. He should discuss their suggestions either with the manager or the chief engineer.

He must hold the factory Party committee meeting when he is completely ready to do so, after having taken part in Party meetings, consulted with workers and technicians and had discussions with those who are in charge of the administrative sectors. It will suffice if the report and speeches made at the meeting conform to the requirements of Party policies and the data he has collected. And if this is not the case, he must lead the meeting in the right direction, by using the material he has studied at the lower units. For one thing, he should say—the workers say that they can do such and such things, and he should also quote the technicians' opinions. If he does this, the conclusion on the problem under discussion will follow naturally, and if the Party committee chief secretary sums up what has been discussed at the meeting, this will serve as his closing speech.

If the officials in charge of administrative affairs and other members of the committee do not readily accept your explanation but press their opinions, it is advisable that you adjourn the meeting and discuss the matter with the shop-floor workers again and then resume the meeting later. This is necessary in order to convince the administrative officials of defects in the draft plan.

If you gather the producers and ask them to express their views on next year's plan, they will say that there is no reason why they cannot accomplish more because they can also do such and such a thing and they have such and such a potential capacity. When he listens to them, the manager will also regret his mistaken idea. If the meeting is resumed and the problem discussed after fully convincing the manager and other administrative executives, they will also advance constructive suggestions and consequently a correct plan will be compiled. If factory Party committee chief secretaries discuss and

decide on everything in this way, there will be no conflict of opinion between them and the managers, and they will also be able to direct administrative and economic affairs properly.

To continue. If you are to play your steering role over administrative and economic affairs properly, you should give clear-cut Party assignments to all the Party members working in these organs so that all of them are kept on their toes. Then you should give continuous Party direction to these officials so that they will carry out their assignments faithfully.

Let us take an example. If the subject of improving public health services or educational work is raised, the executive committee of the county Party committee must discuss the measures which are needed to have this problem solved and adopt an appropriate decision. Then it should give a Party assignment to the county people's committee chairman to put this decision into effect.

This also holds true for the factory Party committee. If there is some complex problem in the production process, the executive committee of the factory Party committee should discuss the matter and give the manager or the chief engineer the task of taking detailed measures to solve the problem.

I continually give assignments to my subordinate officials to stimulate them to action at all times. If I notice that something is wrong while going through a newspaper, I telephone the Secretary of the Party Central Committee in charge of information work to get it put right. Furthermore, if it is necessary to deal with a particular problem in the newspapers in view of the prevailing situation, I tell the International Affairs Department under the Central Committee of the Party to prepare such and such a commentary and give instructions to the Information and Publicity Department to issue such and such an editorial. I do not allow anyone who should be active to relax.

After they have given Party assignments to the officials dealing with administrative and economic affairs, Party officials should not occupy themselves with them, but should inspect and supervise how



they are implementing the tasks given by the Party.

If Party officials are always in the company of administrative and economic officials they cannot know whether things are going smoothly or not. This is just the same as when a man on the land can see clearly whether or not a boat is following the right course, but the man on board does not know whether the boat is going straight or veering from its proper course.

There are many ways in which you can ascertain how administrative and economic officials are implementing the tasks given by the Party. You can either receive reports from the economic departments or personally visit the subordinate units for this purpose. A factory Party committee chief secretary should, above all, read the report on production every morning or should go to the producers to find out how production is going. If you do not even examine production figures by misinterpreting the order that you refrain from arrogating administrative functions to yourselves, you will not be able to direct these matters. If the chief secretaries cannot examine the production figures in person, they can receive reports from a secretary or an instructor who is in charge of economic affairs at the factory Party committee. No matter which method they use, Party committee chief secretaries should always be familiar with how production is going on throughout the whole factory. If, while doing this, they notice anything which is going wrong in administrative and economic affairs, they must issue prompt warnings so that these defects can be rectified.

This is also the case with the county Party committee chief secretaries. They can either receive reports from the officials of the relevant economic bodies or they can learn how things are going on by attending the Party cell meetings of a particular workteam of a cooperative farm, the county people's hospital or a post office. If a county Party committee chief secretary attends a Party cell meeting of his county people's hospital, he should find out in detail what instructions the hospital has received from the county people's committee with regard to public health services and how it is organizing

its work. If the hospital organizes its work correctly as required by Party policy he should see to it that its work goes on in the way in which it has already been organized; if its work has been organized contrary to the Party's intention, he must immediately return to his office and call the leading officials of the county people's committee and tell them that the public health services in the county appear not to be up to the mark and give them the task of getting them put right quickly. Only when this is done will the people's committee chairman be able to improve his qualifications and the other officials of this committee be able to take an interest in their work.

The Party Central Committee always uses this method in giving direction to economic matters. Let me quote an example. The Party Conference set forth the task of catching larger quantities of fish in order to improve the people's living standards. Despite this, the State Planning Commission had not given thought to building our own boats, nor had it even considered buying them, using as an excuse the shortage of foreign currency. So I investigated the matter and found that we would be able to build boats using our own resources if we made the attempt, and that we would also be able to import them if we mobilized our potentials. So I informed them of their mistake without delay and saw that they drew up a correct plan.

As we see, the essential content of the steering role is to help the officials in charge of administrative and economic affairs work properly in line with Party policy and, when they follow the wrong path, to correct their error so that they take the right course. This is precisely the method which Party officials should use in directing administrative and economic affairs. This is exactly like the example of people on the shore who, upon seeing a boat failing to keep to the right course, tell the boatmen by radio to turn the bow of the boat in the right direction so that it can reach its destination.

Another important thing in ensuring that administrative and economic affairs are done, is to give priority to political work amongst the officials.

In a capitalist society workers are driven to their workshop under the

whip or under the threat of being dismissed. But this method cannot be applied in a socialist society. In this society the most important method for getting economic construction working smoothly is to give priority to political work so that all the workers willingly work for the people.

Economic work cannot succeed unless political work is kept ahead to encourage the officials in economic sectors and all the working people to support Party policy wholeheartedly and willingly devote themselves to its implementation.

By doing political work Party officials should see that farming and other administrative and economic affairs are improved. Suppose that a Party official goes to a ri with a view to improving farming, he should gather the Party members there and carry out political work for them: "You should cultivate all the arable land without keeping so much as a centimetre of it idle, distribute the crops on the principle of sowing the right crop on the right kind of soil, sow seed in season. You should be economical in the use of water because we have carried out irrigation at the expense of an enormous amount of manpower and money. If you do so, you will economize in the electricity which is used for irrigation and that electricity will help you to increase the production of fertilizer." In this way, you should get them to take the lead and bring the laggards forward. Then farming will naturally proceed smoothly even if you do not rush around.

Furthermore, if it is necessary to improve land management, you should convene a Party cell general membership meeting of the people's committee concerned, and should do political work, saying: "At the moment the mountains are bare, so when it rains farmland will be lost because of landslides. If we lose even a centimetre of the valuable land which is associated with the sweat and blood of many people, we shall commit a crime against our revolutionary forebears who died while valiantly fighting for the land. We Party members should therefore lead the movement to plant trees in the mountains." Only then will the officials in the field of land management under the people's committee clearly understand the requirements of Party

policy and work willingly to implement it.

In order to improve commercial work it is necessary to select cadres in this sector from amongst those who are efficient and train them so that they work willingly. In this way you should ensure that these officials provide good facilities for the people by keeping a variety of good-quality articles in the shop according to the season, and, in particular, supply the peasants promptly with those commodities which they want, lest they should be inconvenienced. Only when you send large quantities of good-quality articles to the rural areas will it be easy to purchase rice and increase the peasants' enthusiasm for raising agricultural production.

If the Party officials are to do political work as they ought to do it, they will have no time to take over administrative functions for themselves.

In order to play their steering role over administrative and economic affairs properly, it is important for Party officials to develop the capacity to approach and analyse every problem from the Party and political point of view.

Party officials should be able to judge and analyse from a political angle any problems which are raised in production activities as well as those which are presented in the course of people's work and outside it as well. Only then will they be able to know what is going wrong and what the main reason for the shortcoming is, take appropriate steps to remedy the fault and also play their steering role over administrative and economic affairs as they should.

At present, however, if something comes up our Party officials do not analyse it first from a Party and political point of view, but analyse and deal with it in a technical and practical manner like officials dealing with economic affairs.

Party officials should consider every problem from a Party point of view, from a political point of view. If the officials who deal with administrative and economic affairs say that they have difficulties in production because of shortages of materials or manpower, they should not approach this problem merely from a technical and practical

standpoint, but should look at it from the point of view of Party policy which calls for managing the economic life of the country assiduously and should ensure that measures are taken to increase production with the existing materials and manpower.

If materials are in short supply, chief secretaries of factory Party committees should go to the work sites and find out about the rate of material consumption per unit and whether any materials are being wasted and should discuss with the workers how they can lower the rate of consumption and use less of them and should take the necessary measures to do this.

Any problem will be solved if it is analysed from the Party point of view and proper attention is paid to its solution. On one occasion, the management of the Songhung Mine asked for more workers because they said they were short-handed. So we told the workers, technicians and managerial personnel of that mine: "At the moment there is a great strain on labour in our country. You must, therefore, increase production with the manpower you have." Then they said that they could reduce the number of managerial staff and indirect labour to make up for the shortage of the labour force needed in the pits and that they would dispense with additional manpower.

Some comrades seem to misinterpret the notion of visiting lower units. You should have a correct understanding of this. At this conference some chief secretaries of factory Party committees criticized themselves for calling people into their offices instead of visiting them. But I do not think there is anything wrong in this.

It is, of course, wrong for officials of provincial or county Party committees to summon their subordinates frequently over long distances instead of visiting subordinate units. If they do this, they will not know well how things are progressing at the lower units. Moreover, such a work method will interfere with their subordinates' work because they lose a great deal of time on their journeys. Chief secretaries of provincial and county Party committees deserve criticism for summoning people at frequent intervals.

However, I consider that there is nothing wrong when chief

secretaries of factory Party committees who work within the same premises as the workers, summon their men. It makes no difference whether they meet their men at the work site or in their offices. The distance between the workplaces and their offices is no more than several hundred metres at the most. So it is unnecessary to take issue with them for summoning men from their workplaces. I think there is no great difference whether the chief secretary of the factory Party committee holds a Party cell meeting in the field or in his office by summoning its members there.

When we say that chief secretaries of factory Party committees should visit their subordinates we mean that they should constantly pay attention to the workers' living and working conditions—whether their homes and hostels are not cold, whether the mess hall provides them with lunch as it ought to, whether children are brought up as they should be at the nurseries, whether there are any bad smells in the workplaces, whether the workers come to the factory and leave it at the set time, and so on. Furthermore, we mean that they should know how factories manage their affairs as well as their production conditions such as whether the machines and equipment are maintained well and repaired at the right time, whether raw materials are supplied as they should be and whether the warehouses store materials properly. We do not mean that they should not meet their men in their offices but always see them in their workplaces.

When they are told to give efficient direction to county people's committees and other administrative and economic bodies, some chief secretaries of county Party committees ask for the management staff of their committees to be increased. But this is unnecessary. We cannot say that the present staff of county Party committees is small. Besides, in the county Party committee only its chief secretary, the secretary in charge of organizational affairs and the secretary in charge of information work are entitled to work with the leading cadres of the county people's committee. The increase of a few instructors will therefore be of no great help. The number of officials does not matter. The problem is the shortage of competent and qualified people. Party organs do not need to

have many people on their staff because they do not often have to compile statistics like administrative and economic bodies.

Party officials should not put too much stress on inner-Party work and give up or ignore direction given to administrative and economic affairs because they have been told not to arrogate these affairs to themselves. You must carry out inner-Party work and at the same time play the steering role in administrative and economic matters. I think that chief secretaries of county Party committees would do well to devote some 60 per cent of their working time to inner-Party work and spend the remaining 40 per cent playing the steering role in administrative and economic affairs. This means that they should devote 60 per cent of their time to the work of building up the Party's ranks and to the education of the people and spend the other 40 per cent on propagating the Party's economic policy to the officials in the administrative and economic sectors and directing and supervising them so that they implement the tasks proposed by the Party correctly. This does not mean that they should spend 60 per cent of their working time on office work and the remaining 40 per cent on going to various places and acting as a taskmaster. I fix even the respective percentage which should be devoted to the two kinds of work like this because those of you who are chief secretaries of county Party committees are still falling into the error of putting too much stress on either inner-Party work or on playing the steering role in administrative and economic affairs, although I have always stressed that you should tackle both of them. As a matter of fact, you may not always follow these percentages exactly. However, if you work in terms of what I have said, I think Party work will go smoothly without going very far wrong.

I have so far referred to some shortcomings which have been revealed in our Party work.

In the final analysis, it can be said that at present there are three main shortcomings in our Party work. In other words, they are formalism, the misuse of Party authority and bureaucratism, and the practice of arrogating administrative functions. Without remedying these three maladies Party work will not be improved and therefore the

revolution and construction will not succeed.

What then is the cause of these shortcomings in Party work? The cause does not only lie in the poor quality of Party officials. All our Party officials are graduates of Party schools and almost all the chief secretaries of county Party committees, in particular, have graduated from the Central Party School. Moreover, there are Party policies and easily-recognized ways of implementing them for each sphere of activity as well as specific methods of doing Party work. In addition, short courses, which are necessary for Party officials, are frequently organized.

The major reason for the shortcomings in Party work is that the officials lack Party spirit, class spirit and loyalty to the people. In the final analysis, they are not firmly armed with the Party's monolithic ideological system. If our Party officials truly support the Party and the leader, are really determined to devote themselves to the Party and the revolution and sincerely fight to implement Party policy, they will never abuse Party authority or practise bureaucratism and they will not resort to formalism and to the practice of arrogating administrative functions to themselves.

All Party officials must arm themselves firmly with the Party's monolithic ideological system and rid themselves of formalism, the misuse of Party authority and bureaucratism, and the practice of arrogating administrative functions to themselves. They will thus bring about a great change in Party work.

## **2. ON SOME TASKS IN ECONOMIC WORK AND FORMAL EDUCATION**

### **1) ON IMPROVING ECONOMIC WORK**

This conference has mainly discussed the matter of intensifying inner-Party work, so you might feel inclined to do inner-Party work



only, neglecting the direction of economic affairs. But you must not do so. Although there are people who are directly in charge of economic affairs, you have the responsibility of directing economic affairs in general. The chief secretary of a county Party committee, who is master of the county, can never say that he is responsible only for Party work and not for economic affairs.

Our Party work is, after all, aimed mainly at constructing the socialist economy successfully and thus improving the people's standard of living. While directing economic affairs, you can build up the Party's ranks and work amongst cadres. The point is that you should discard once and for all the work attitude which is characteristic of loafers, sightseers or arrogant persons, and adopt Party methods and work according to a plan. If you work to a good plan just as the Party has instructed, you will be able to do inner-Party work properly and also direct economic affairs efficiently.

Since I have already mentioned how to guide economic work, now I am going to talk only about some major economic tasks on hand which should be carried out to implement the decisions of the Party Conference.

You must, first of all, direct agriculture efficiently.

It is very important to raise crops well. Successful farming is the key to a perfect solution of the problem of food for the people and to success in socialist construction as a whole.

This year, in accordance with the Party's policy, we must inaugurate a vigorous campaign to increase the grain output by one million tons and attain this target by making every effort.

There is no secret for success in farming. We have already said many things about the agricultural question and also put forward specific tasks at the recent national meeting of agricultural workers. All that you have to do is to carry them out. The only thing I should like to add is that the county Party committees must give active assistance to the transport of fertilizer and other farming equipment and materials by mobilizing the county people's committees and all other county institutions and enterprises which possess means of transport. In this

way, we must make every effort to ensure that all counties raise a bumper crop this year.

Next, we must continue to strive to ensure that the extractive industries such as coal and ore mining and forestry develop in advance of all other sectors.

If we are to develop the mining industry we must first give absolute priority to prospecting.

We must also provide the additional labour required for the development of the mining industry. This requires a great deal of manpower. Since mines have not yet been completely mechanized and modernized, a larger workforce is needed to increase the output of coal and ore. Pursuant to the Party's policy on giving absolute priority to the mining industry, we must see that more workers are allocated to this industry. At the same time, labour organization has to be improved in the mining industry so as to use labour most economically.

There is an acute strain on the manpower situation in our country as a whole at present, and the strain is expected to increase especially in the next three years or so as a consequence of the war. So it is more urgent today than ever before for us to organize labour well and use it effectively and economically.

On your return, you chief secretaries of the Party committees of the factories, central counties and provinces must hold earnest discussions with the managers of factories and enterprises, drastically reduce the manpower in indirect sectors and surplus management personnel and transfer them to reinforce the direct sectors. According to our investigation of the present distribution of labour, the workforce in indirect and managing sectors is excessive in comparison with that of the direct sectors. It seems to me that you can slash the managing personnel by some 30 per cent.

In addition, you must refrain from asking for more labour, but introduce mechanization widely so as to use the least possible manpower.

Furthermore, we must increase the production of steel and make more effective use of it.

As I stated at the national meeting of machine-industry workers some time ago, power presses must be introduced widely and extruding machines installed so as to eliminate the wastage of steel. Thus, if we suppose that 10,000 machines were produced from 10,000 tons of steel in the past we must ensure that 12,000 to 13,000 machines are produced from the same amount of steel from now on.

Workers in the metallurgical industry must work hard to improve the quality of steel and increase its varieties and sizes.

We must resolve the problem of transport once and for all.

At present there is a strain on transport in our country. This is because the State Planning Commission has neglected investments in this sector, and the Ministry of Railways is also responsible for this situation. We must ease the strain on transport by every possible means. The Party has defined this year as the year for solving the railway transport problem.

The foremost task in this regard is to electrify the railways. If we do this, we can double the present hauling capacity. Then, factories will no longer have to suffer hold-ups in their operations because of the shortage of transport to bring even the coal which has been brought to the surface at the mines, and all sectors of the national economy will continue producing on a regular basis. We must increase the output of copper so as to manufacture more electric locomotives and press ahead with the electrification of the railways.

We must also mass-produce wagons. A large number of electric locomotives alone is not enough to ease the strain on transport. No matter what powerful engines you have, you can do nothing unless you have the necessary wagons to carry the loads.

At present railway factories produce wagons, but their production capacity is small. Therefore, other machine factories should work harder to help this sector by manufacturing quantities of machine parts necessary for the production of wagons.

Another important task in easing the railway transport shortage is to mechanize loading and unloading. Although we have stressed this matter for a long time, the problem has not yet been solved properly.

Loading and unloading must be mechanized as soon as possible in those districts where there are large enterprises like the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Songjin Steel Plant, the Kangson Steel Plant, large chemical factories and lumber stations, which require a large volume of freight. Major factories and enterprises must arrange the equipment needed for mechanization on their own by striving for increased production, although they have not been given specific tasks under the state plan. In this way they will load and unload speedily when a train arrives.

The important task for light industry is to improve the quality of goods. In particular, efforts should be concentrated on raising the quality of fabrics.

The quality of the fabrics which we are producing now is low, but, if we do a good job, we can improve it considerably. Some time ago I summoned managers and Party secretaries of textile mills to a meeting and discussed the matter for several days. It seemed to me that the quality of fabrics could be improved in a short time. I was told that even the cloth now in production can be good-quality suiting, if it is properly treated with resin.

If things go well, we shall be able to produce tens of millions of metres of good-quality suiting this year. The Sinuiju Textile Mill is resolved to produce 32 million metres, and the Pyongyang Textile Mill 49 million metres. The Hamhung Woolen Textile Mill now under construction will also produce high-quality suiting when the project is completed. These will add up to a large amount, without even taking into account the output from the Kusong Textile Mill.

The light industry sector must pay particular attention to the production of fabrics for winter, spring and autumn wear and to raising their quality. In summer we wear white jackets, short-sleeved shirts or the like, so there is no problem about summer clothes; but it is not so easy to provide clothing for winter, spring and autumn. We must radically increase the output of good-quality materials for clothes for these seasons.

At the same time, we must work hard from now on towards the goal

of 400 million metres of fabrics which is to be attained by 1970.

We must also see that well-fitting clothes are produced. If you are instead simply concerned about increasing the output of fabrics alone, you will not solve the problem. Every county has tailors' shops and these tailors should be given short training courses and sent on visits to see tailors' shops in the capital and also some practice must be organized for them so that they will be good at tailoring.

In addition, dry cleaning must be widely introduced. If precious clothes are boiled in lye and pounded with a club as we do with cotton, they will not last long. Nowadays, some women who do not know that their clothes are spoiled by improper washing, complain that they are made of poor-quality fabrics.

We must make greater efforts to develop the paper industry.

At present we are very short of paper. Without taking radical measures to solve this problem, it will be impossible for us to carry out the cultural revolution successfully.

As you all know, universal compulsory nine-year technical education will be brought into effect in our country on April 1, this year. A large-scale student demonstration is now being prepared in Pyongyang to celebrate the occasion. Of course, this is a good thing. But what would happen if we fail to provide students with new textbooks because of the shortage of paper? We should drastically increase paper production and raise its quality considerably.

We must strive to improve the food-processing and consumer goods industries.

At present, the working people in some parts of the country are not supplied regularly with bean paste and soya sauce which are indispensable to their diet, and the quality of these foodstuffs is low. It is more than ten years since local food-processing factories were set up, but the taste of bean paste and soya sauce is as bad as ever—or even worse than before in some parts of the country. We must all get down to the task of improving bean paste and soya sauce production as soon as possible. The processing of vegetables, fruit and seafood has also to be further developed.

At the same time, we should continue to develop the production of furniture, utensils, articles to meet the needs of cultural life and, particularly, miscellaneous goods so as to provide the people with a comfortable life.

The quality of construction should be greatly improved.

Some building workers are still in the habit of doing their job in a slipshod manner and this is due mainly to their lack of responsibility. We must intensify ideological education amongst them so that they will make strenuous efforts to improve the quality of construction. When we started reconstruction from scratch immediately after the ceasefire, we had to construct as many houses as possible in a short time, but now quality is more important than quantity, and so we must make every single house both serviceable and attractive.

In order to improve the quality of construction it is imperative to increase the variety of building materials and improve their quality, the quality of cement, fittings and metallic building materials in particular, in line with the Party's policy.

At present some countries are said to have stopped building houses for fear that a war may break out, although they are far away from the Yankees. If we, in direct confrontation with the US imperialists, tremble with fear as they do, we shall not be able to sleep soundly at night for fear of the enemy, let alone build houses.

We must not give up construction for fear of destruction in a possible war but continue with it until war breaks out. In fact, we live and engage in construction without worries because our dependable and valorous soldiers of the People's Army are defending the country indomitably.

I was told that some foreign students studying in our country say that they do not understand why the Korean people accept the danger of war and yet continue to build good houses; but we need not listen to them. Our Party's policy is to continue construction until midnight, even if war breaks out tomorrow morning. To do this is good both for the ideological education and mental training of the people.

We must continue construction and drastically improve its quality,

no matter what anyone says.

The system of directing construction has to be corrected. The State Construction Commission is now directing construction projects throughout the country, but in all probability there are some shortcomings in this system. So the Party entrusted the Cabinet with the task of studying how to correct it. When the Cabinet puts forward a definite idea, we shall discuss it and take measures at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee.

If we are to ensure success in carrying out the tasks of the economic sectors, we must strongly combat passivism which is now in evidence among the senior officials in charge of economic affairs.

In order to attain the targets of the Seven-Year Plan by 1970 we must increase the value of our industrial output by 13 per cent each year. To do this, every sector of the national economy must organize itself and work hard.

But a number of senior officials in economic establishments now lack initiative and try to plan as low targets as possible.

In the course of learning about the situation at the Songhung Mine, we came to understand how unenterprising the senior officials of the Ministry of Metal Industry were. At the outset, these officials planned this year's production target for this mine at a very low figure. So we summoned the officials in charge of the mine and its hard-core workers, explained the situation to them and then discussed how to increase production. They resolved to produce much more than the original plan.

Passivity is apparent not only in the metal industry but in all other sectors of the national economy, although in varying degrees.

At present, the light industry workers are very half-hearted about improving the quality of products.

The Party has been strongly stressing the task of improving the quality of fabrics, but the light industry sector still goes on producing them negligently. They do not do this because facilities to weave high-quality fabrics are lacking in our country. Recent investigation shows that more than 30 million metres of good-quality suiting can be

produced with the use of the existing twisters which need minor repair, even without manufacturing new twisters. But workers in this sector have never thought of twisting yarn with such machines to improve the quality of fabrics but continued weaving with untwisted yarn, with the result that the products are not durable. If they work in such a half-hearted and irresponsible manner, they will not be able to implement the Party's policy on improving the quality of goods.

Why is passivity apparent among the leading officials who are in charge of economic affairs?

It is because they are lacking in Party spirit, class spirit, and people-oriented spirit. The Party has appealed to them to make great strides on all fronts of socialist construction to consolidate the economic foundations of the country, improve the people's standard of living and increase defence power in accordance with the decisions of the Party Conference, but they, infected with petty-bourgeois ideology, are still indolent, passive, conservative and apathetic.

Needless to say, the senior officials in charge of economic affairs are to blame more than anyone else for their passive attitude to the Party's economic policy, but Party workers who failed to combat it strongly must take their share of the blame. Has any of you—the chief secretaries of the factories and enterprises under the Ministry of Metal Industry—fought against the negligent attitude of the officials in charge of this ministry? I should say that some of you, far from fighting against it, even adopted this attitude yourselves.

Perhaps factory Party workers are interested in getting bonuses like the officials who are in charge of economic affairs. Party workers must never hope for bonuses or decorations. For Party workers to do this would be childish and indecent. Political integrity is what makes a man's life worthwhile; how can a man find life worthwhile if he simply lives comfortably by getting a bonus and eating his fill?

Party workers should always work for the Party and the revolution and for the people. Then the Party will appreciate them.

In the past the anti-Japanese guerrillas fought for 15 long years at the risk of their lives, but none of them wanted any reward. They



devoted everything to the fight for the revolution and for the liberation of the country.

Can there really be anything more honourable than dedicating ourselves to the cause of building an earthly paradise in our country to provide the people with a happy life and also to the cause of reunifying the country? Only when you fight well for the Party and the revolution, can you take pride in your work and have confidence in it for a long time to come.

You must acquire this spirit yourselves and also educate the members of your family, your sons and daughters in particular, in this spirit. You must tell them that you are a revolutionary, that you have fought for the Party and will do so in the future, too, and that your children should also struggle devotedly for the Party and the revolution and for the happiness of the people rather than for a few pence or their own fame. Only when you constantly educate them in this way can you revolutionize your own family.

We must not tolerate passivity but fight it without compromise. In 1957 when the imperialists were furious and great-power chauvinists brought pressure to bear upon us, we wiped out passivity and displayed the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and thereby brought about a great increase in production. Now once again the imperialists are running wild and the great-power chauvinists are trying to put pressure upon us. In this situation we must bestir ourselves and bring about another great new surge forward on all fronts of socialist construction.

We must increase the output of rice, nonferrous minerals, steel and fabrics. Only when we consolidate the nation's economic foundations further and improve the people's standard of living in this way, can we bring the true advantages of the socialist system into full play. The more clearly the people understand these advantages, the more devotedly they will fight to safeguard the socialist system which brought them freedom and happiness.

We still have many things to do if we are to demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system. We must oppose all kinds of inertia, conservatism, indolence and passivity and in a high revolutionary

spirit continue to make innovations and advance, without resting on our laurels.

Next, we must launch a widespread campaign to reshape our way of life and ensure that economic life is managed more efficiently.

At present, some people do not manage their economic life properly; they manage it in a slipshod manner. This shows that our people are not yet civilized and that their level of culture is still low. There are still many things to be rectified in the organization of their lives.

Take the consumption of food for example. We are one of the countries where the rate of consumption of cereals is high by world standards. In a certain country the average person is said to eat no more than 150 kilogrammes a year. But in our country 300 kilogrammes are required per capita a year. This means that we still have shortcomings in organizing our diet. If we eat only 150 kilogrammes each a year like other people, we shall be able to use the surplus grain to develop stock farming and produce a great deal of meat.

Of course, this does not mean that we ought to reduce the rate of food consumption to 150 kilogrammes at once. But we must gradually reform our diet towards reducing the consumption of cereals. As a matter of fact, if various kinds of nutritious subsidiary food are supplied in adequate quantities, we shall be able to consume much less cereals than we do now. We must strive to improve our diet and save cereals.

Not only food but also cloth is wasted to a large degree. Although our cloth is not tough and its colour is not beautiful, the output is enormous. But now much of the precious fabric which costs enormous amounts of labour is being wasted. According to the survey made some time ago, the fabrics allocated for what they call productive use and office use amount to tens of millions of metres.

The waste of coal is even more serious. Our coal output is no less than that of other countries, but we experience a shortage because it is wasted. Factories have no storage sheds worth mentioning, and so coal is washed away by the rain; they do not bother to shut the doors of workplaces when coal is burned in boilers and so waste much heat.

Why? It is because our officials have a weak Party spirit and lack

the attitude befitting masters of the country's economic life.

The Party Central Committee, at its plenary meeting, discussed the problem of improving heat management and even adopted decisions. For some time after the plenary meeting officials pretended to be doing something to prevent the waste of heat—arranging thermal insulation or scraping off the fur on boilers—but now they do nothing.

Many other examples of careless management of the nation's economic life can be found everywhere. If we do not correct this bad habit, we cannot stand the waste nor can we improve our standard of living, no matter how many goods we produce.

We must intensify the struggle against the outdated, careless habit of economic management and launch a mass campaign to reshape our way of life so that everyone leads a more frugal and cultured life. This must be explained and disseminated widely among the masses and many articles must be carried in newspapers and magazines. If well edited, the magazine *Cultured Life* which is now in circulation can contribute greatly to improving the organization of life.

To proceed, we must ensure that state discipline is strictly observed.

At present, state discipline, law and order are lax. The practice of undertaking construction projects which are not planned still persists in spite of warnings from the state, and the law is being violated unhesitatingly. Most of such infringements of the law have something to do with chief secretaries of city or county Party committees. Indeed, are there any such projects which have been undertaken without the knowledge of the chief secretary of a city or a county Party committee? To be frank, it is impossible that chief secretaries of provincial Party committees knew nothing about this practice.

Since Party officials violate state discipline, it is inevitable that state discipline has grown lax and that the nation's law and order have got out of hand.

State discipline and laws are binding on all citizens without exception. Party officials cannot be an exception in keeping state laws. Since they are also citizens of this country, they should be censured by the law when they violate state discipline.

An uncompromising ideological struggle must be waged to make everyone observe state discipline, law and order voluntarily. In particular, Party officials should be exemplary in observing state discipline voluntarily and, at the same time, they must begin an uncompromising ideological campaign against its violations.

## 2) ON IMPROVING FORMAL EDUCATION

As you all know, schools play a very important role both in the education of all the people and in ideological work. Since, in our society, everyone now goes into the world through school, we can say that important problems in the education of people are basically solved at school. An economic establishment which has suffered some loss due to mismanagement can easily make up for it later; but if a school instills evil ideas into students' minds because of improper education, the mistake can hardly ever be put right. Indeed, to improve school work is a very important matter both in carrying out the cultural revolution successfully and in intensifying communist education.

However, quite a few Party organizations and senior officials are now very indifferent to school affairs. Our officials' neglect of school affairs and their superficial direction of education have resulted in grave shortcomings. If chief secretaries of county Party committees are indifferent to school affairs and fail to give proper guidance to them as they do now, their sons and daughters may also go astray. If we fail to give proper education to students, they may try to restore capitalism or indulge in revisionism or flunkeyism while we work hard to construct socialism and communism.

Chief secretaries of county Party committees must tighten their control of school affairs and intensify their guidance. In future, any of these secretaries who fails to direct school affairs properly will be regarded as disloyal to the Party.

I always say that what is most important in education, especially in general education, is to give proper ideological training.

At the moment, some educationists are almost indifferent to the ideological education of students but insist on the theory of genius, talking only about the quality of education. In the past the Minister of Higher Education also spoke on behalf of the theory of genius by making a mystery of knowledge, and saying that our country was lagging behind in physics and mathematics and so on. All this stems from bourgeois ideological opinions.

Fundamentally, there is no such thing as a born genius. Of course, there can be some men who are duller than others owing to congenital defects or nervous breakdowns. Everyone except such people can study well and become able workers, if they try hard. Whether students study well or not depends not on whether they are geniuses, but on how teachers teach them, on how their educational environments are arranged, and on how social and home education are combined.

Immediately after the liberation some people advanced the theory of genius. They said that only geniuses could play instruments like violins or the piano. But we did not believe them.

At that time we supplied a large number of musical instruments including violins and pianos to the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and saw that the pupils played them as they wished. These pupils were all ordinary sons and daughters of revolutionaries, and they had been badly off with no access to education. Although they were not geniuses, they became good at studying and playing instruments through careful training.

If there are any geniuses, they will be the sons and daughters of our working class. Because those who produce trucks, aircraft, tanks and the like belong to the working class and those who build houses and weave cloth also belong to the working class. Everything is made through the labour of the working class. Indeed, the working class is the wisest in the world. So there is no reason why their sons and daughters should be stupid.

In the old bourgeois society sons and daughters of capitalists acquired technology, not because they were cleverer than others, but

because they had more time to study and good conditions for learning technology since they did not need to work to earn a living for themselves. In former days, the sons and daughters of workers and peasants could not afford school education even if they wanted to study. So how can we ascribe their lack of knowledge to stupidity?

Today, our social system offers everyone wide opportunities to study so that they can do so as much as they wish. Under our system whoever tries hard can become an engineer, an assistant engineer, a master or a doctor.

If we simply talk about geniuses and teach so-called pure knowledge to students, neglecting their ideological education, they will not hate landlords and capitalists nor will they know how to fight against the exploiting system and they will not work faithfully for the Party and the people. No matter how good the technology they might possess, they will be useless to us.

The educational sector, and general education in particular, should put the main emphasis on the ideological education of students and regard it as the primary revolutionary task. In this way we shall firmly arm the students from their early years with the idea of faithfully serving our Party and people, with hatred for the landlord and capitalist classes, and with the spirit to fight uncompromisingly against our enemies.

In order to strengthen the work of formal education it is imperative to build up the ranks of teachers with good persons. Only then can schools implement the Party's educational policy and train students to be true revolutionaries.

Schoolteachers have a great influence over the masses, as well. So revolutionaries often work in the guise of teachers when they fight underground. In the days when we struggled underground, too, many of the revolutionaries engaged in teaching in farm villages. This was the easiest way of fighting underground. When a teacher came on a visit, everyone respected him, calling him "Sir" and inviting him to share their food. If there were any feasts or on festive occasions, teachers, among others, were always invited. So we were able to revolutionize a village quickly by sending one or two political workers

disguised as schoolteachers.

You must not forget that if you do not build up the ranks of teachers with good people and if you entrust the work of teaching to anybody, evil people may slip into educational institutions and easily spread their influence even in our society today.

Therefore, it is very important to staff the schools, the schools of general education in particular, with fine people. Since university students are adults who are relatively well prepared politically, they will not remain silent if a lecturer makes an unsound statement; but primary or middle school pupils are still too young to distinguish right from wrong in what their teachers say.

Now that the working class is in power there is no reason why we cannot appoint good people as schoolteachers. We can do so because a large number of new intellectuals of worker and peasant origin has been trained during the period of more than 20 years since the liberation of our country.

Teachers in general, and those of primary and middle schools in particular, should be ideologically sound people who are all of worker and peasant origin. In this way we shall ensure that not a single undesirable person has a place in the ranks of teachers in both primary and middle schools.

Some comrades now say that if the sons and daughters of landlords are removed from educational institutions, it will have a bad effect; but there is no need to be afraid of that. That communists are opposed to landlord and capitalist classes is well-known. As is clearly stipulated in our Party Rules, we have long proclaimed that we are opposed to these classes. So why should we be afraid of removing the people of landlord origin from the ranks of teachers now?

If we are to build up the ranks of teachers with good people, we should recommend excellent students for enrolment in teacher-training schools.

As you all know, a normal school is a very important establishment for teacher training. In order to educate the younger generation to be able workers and fine communists, the normal schools, among others,

should train good teachers. It is not possible to expect a bumper harvest unless seed farms produce good seeds; it is also impossible to educate the younger generation to become competent workers if teacher-training schools fail to produce good teachers.

If we are to produce good teachers, we must select good students and enrol them in teacher-training schools. This is important. These schools should enrol the students who are of good origin and who are sound in ideology, although their school records are not so high. When they recommend students in future, the Party organizations at all levels should, for preference, select ideologically sound people for enrolment in the higher normal schools, teachers training colleges and universities of education.

We must not only build up the ranks of schoolteachers with good people but also work well with them.

Chief secretaries of county Party committees should meet teachers often to see what kinds of books they read, whether they study the revolutionary traditions hard and whether they have a correct understanding of the major political and theoretical problems and the current situation.

They should also take a deep interest in how the teachers teach their students. You cannot see how teachers usually do their work by visiting a class at work once or twice because all teachers say good things in your presence. Therefore, in order to see how teachers teach students you must inspect teaching plans and the students' notebooks and talk often to students and instructors of the Children's Union as well as parents of students. Only then can you see correctly whether schoolteachers are equipped with the Party's monolithic ideological system, have a correct understanding of Party policy and whether they educate students properly with our Party's idea.

Next, for the better education of students, you must increase the role of organizations of the League of Socialist Working Youth and the Children's Union at schools.

All our young people, students and schoolchildren belong to organizations of the LSWY or of the Children's Union at school. So



the work of these organizations is very important in their education.

I was told that at present chief secretaries of county Party committees do not give proper assistance to the LSWY even in organizing lectures for the Children's Union instructors of schools. In these circumstances you cannot educate our valuable younger generation well. You must not only direct the schoolteachers to educate students properly but also show due concern for the school organizations of the LSWY or of the Children's Union and help them to give proper guidance to the students' life in their respective organizations. You should build up not only the ranks of schoolteachers but also those of the LSWY workers and the Children's Union instructors at schools with good people, and intensify your work with them.

If we do school work properly, we can educate the children of people with complex backgrounds to support us and also win over their parents to our side through them.

We must have a correct understanding of the importance of the education of young students and schoolchildren and show great concern for school affairs and thus train all students and pupils to be dependable heirs to our revolutionary cause and true reserves for socialist and communist construction.

### **3. ON MAKING GOOD PREPARATIONS TO MEET THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY UPHEAVAL**

#### **1) ON HAVING A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY UPHEAVAL AND ON FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES**

To begin with, I should like to talk about the matter of having a

correct understanding of the great revolutionary upheaval.

Nowadays, our cadres and Party members talk a great deal about the great revolutionary upheaval, but they have no clear understanding of this matter.

By the great revolutionary upheaval we mean a decisive moment at which to accomplish the south Korean revolution and achieve national reunification. Therefore, when we speak of preparing for the great revolutionary upheaval, it implies strengthening the revolutionary base in the northern half of Korea, zealously increasing the south Korean revolutionary forces and creating an international environment which is favourable to our revolution, in order to achieve national reunification.

The coming of the great revolutionary upheaval does not depend on the people's desire or will. The creation of the necessary revolutionary situation is essential for victory in the revolutionary struggle. In other words, the objective and subjective conditions must be ripe for the revolution. This has been proved by both the history of world revolutionary movements and by the experience of our people's revolutionary struggle.

Let us take an example from the history of the Russian revolution. The revolution in 1905 failed because the subjective conditions, that is, the internal revolutionary forces, were not adequately prepared, although the objective situation was not bad because the revolution broke out immediately after the defeat of Czarist Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. In contrast, in October 1917 not only the objective revolutionary situation but also subjective conditions were ripe, and the working class, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, succeeded in defeating the Czarist system and in seizing power. At that time, the reactionary rulers of Czarist Russia, which was seriously weakened as a result of World War I, were not in a position to suppress the revolutionary movement, and the Western imperialists were also too exhausted by the war to help the Czar. On the other hand, the Russian people who had undergone all trials in the war, were bitterly discontented with the Czarist system and with the very corrupt

reactionary rulers. They enthusiastically joined in the revolution demanding freedom, land, equality and their rights. As you have seen in the Soviet feature film *Ordeal*, not only workers and peasants but also those who had been opposed to the revolution, that is, men and some officers of the Czarist army, were awakened gradually, in the vortex of war, to the anti-people nature of the Czarist system and were disillusioned about the ruling bureaucrats of the corrupt Russian Empire, and at last came over to the revolutionary fold.

Since the objective situation was good and since the internal revolutionary forces led by the Bolshevik Party were fully prepared, Lenin was able to inspire the working class and other people of Russia to an heroic struggle against the Czarist system and at last win the Russian revolution. Also, since powerful revolutionary forces had been prepared, the Russian people, after the victory of the October Revolution, succeeded in repelling the armed intervention by the imperialists of 14 countries including Britain, Germany and Japan who helped the White clique and in firmly protecting the state power of workers and peasants.

The Chinese revolution, too, was successful because at that time favourable subjective and objective revolutionary situations existed in China.

Japanese imperialism, the major enemy of the Chinese revolution, occupied northeast China and then launched an attack to conquer the whole of China, but was defeated in World War II. At that time Jiang Jieshi's army was powerless because it was rotten to the core and most of its main force was destroyed by the Japanese. Western imperialists, too, were defeated or exhausted by World War II, and they were in no condition to help the Jiang Jieshi clique. The Yankees alone reportedly gained from the war rather than suffered loss, but they, too, were tired and exhausted by the war to such an extent that they were not strong enough, single-handed, to put down the Chinese revolution and save the Jiang Jieshi clique from collapsing. This was the favourable objective situation which facilitated the victory of the Chinese revolution.

The subjective conditions of the Chinese revolution were also favourable. The Chinese people had undergone exploitation and oppression for very many years, and had suffered heavily under the corrupt rule of the Jiang Jieshi clique. In addition, they had been plundered by the Japanese imperialist aggressors. That was why everyone came to fight for the revolution against the imperialist invaders and domestic reactionaries.

So it was not until the favourable subjective and objective situations existed that the Chinese revolution emerged victorious.

The Algerian people's struggle to liberate themselves from the rule of French imperialism also triumphed when conditions were created in favour of the revolution. Had the French imperialists directed all their efforts to suppressing the Algerian revolution at that time, the liberation struggle of the Algerian people might not have succeeded so soon. But the French imperialists in those days were beset by recurrent economic crises and were hard pressed by the powerful revolutionary struggle of the people of their own country. Furthermore, the national liberation struggles raging simultaneously in a number of colonies including African countries prevented the French imperialists from directing all their efforts to putting down the revolutionary movement of the Algerian people. Under such favourable conditions the Algerian people, who had been suffering for a long time under imperialist rule, took up arms and rose in heroic resistance to drive out the French colonialists and at last achieved national independence.

In contrast, the revolution in a certain country failed because it broke out when the subjective and objective situations were not ripe for revolution. The communist party of this country had suffered repeated failures in the revolution. But, instead of learning a lesson from these failures, it made another futile attempt at a time when the objective situation was unfavourable and when its own revolutionary forces were not fully prepared.

The failure in this country again shows revolutionaries and the people that no revolutionary struggle which is prompted by a mere subjective desire can ever be successful and that a revolution can

triumph only when both objective and subjective conditions are ripe.

The experience of the Spanish revolution also tells us that a revolution cannot be successful in an unfavourable objective situation even if the internal revolutionary forces are prepared to some degree.

During the revolutionary years, all the Spanish people fought bravely against the fascist regime of dictatorship, and the internal situation, too, was developing in favour of the revolution. However, this revolutionary struggle ended in failure in 1939 because the world alliance of imperialists suppressed the struggle of the Spanish people.

A serious lesson was learned from the Fatherland Liberation War in our country.

When the US imperialists unleashed a war in 1950, we drove the enemy southward with the intention of completely driving out the US imperialists from south Korea and reunifying the country. At that time, however, two factors were unfavourable for us.

One was that in south Korea there were not sufficient revolutionary forces which were ready to rise up behind the enemy lines in step with the advance of the People's Army.

The other was that we had to engage the formidable forces of US imperialism at first hand. When the war broke out in our country, US imperialism was no longer what it had been at the time of the Chinese revolution. When the Chinese revolution broke out US imperialism had not yet recovered the strength it had lost in World War II, but by the time hostilities were opened in Korea, it had not only recovered but also grown militarily stronger than before. So it was not an easy task for the young People's Army to defeat it completely.

Because of these two unfavourable factors we failed to meet the noble national desire to liberate the southern half of the country completely and reunify the whole country.

What can we infer from the experience of the victorious revolutions, from the lessons of the frustrated revolutions in many countries and from the lessons of the Fatherland Liberation War in our country? We can see that success in a revolution does not depend on the people's subjective desire or will but on whether the objective

situation is favourable or not and on whether or not the internal revolutionary forces are fully prepared.

What, then, must we do to create subjective and objective conditions favourable for the great revolutionary upheaval? We have already clearly stated this at the 8th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee in 1964 and stressed it at the recent Party Conference, but I think it necessary to repeat it for you today.

In order to complete the south Korean revolution and reunify the country, we must first of all strengthen the revolutionary forces in the north politically, economically and militarily; second, we must prepare strong revolutionary forces in south Korea; third, we must intensify solidarity with revolutionary forces of the world and thereby develop the international situation in favour of our revolution. Only when these three factors are ripe, shall we be able to meet the great revolutionary event.

The revolutionary forces in the north are the prime mover of the Korean revolution. Unless we strengthen them in every way—politically, economically and militarily—we shall be unable to achieve the complete victory of our revolution.

In order to strengthen our revolutionary forces we must, first of all, carry out socialist construction well. Only when this is done properly, can we consolidate the economic foundations of the country, and only when the economic foundations are stable, can we improve the people's standard of living and strengthen our defence power.

I always say that we must continue construction today, even if war breaks out tomorrow and reduces everything to rubble. War cannot destroy everything. It is true that in the Fatherland Liberation War everything was literally reduced to ashes. But we can avoid it in the event of war in the future. It is fundamentally wrong to neglect economic construction for fear of war destruction.

Without powerful material foundations it is impossible to win a war. We must never forget the bitter experience of the Fatherland Liberation War. At that time we were unable to produce sufficient amounts of the necessary arms and ammunition by our own efforts

because our economic foundations were still weak. And because of the shortage of arms our People's Army and people had to undergo many hardships in the fight against the enemy. We must not forget this bitter lesson and so must carry on economic construction and the build-up of our defences simultaneously in accordance with the policy set forth at the Party Conference, so as to strengthen the nation's economic foundations and modernize the People's Army, fortify the whole country and put all the people under arms.

The successful construction of socialism is of great importance in educating the people in socialist patriotism and strengthening our revolutionary forces politically. The more we improve the people's standard of living by efficient economic construction, the more clearly the people will realize the advantages of the socialist system. The more clearly the superiority of the socialist system is proved, the dearer the people will love this system. Then, if war breaks out in the future, our people will fight at the risk of their lives to defend the state power and the socialist system which freed them from exploitation and oppression and which provided them with a happy life. When all the people are firmly armed with ardent socialist patriotism and are prepared to fight at the risk of their lives to defend this system, the politico-ideological unity of our people will be more solid and our revolutionary forces will be stronger to that extent. Therefore, the more tense the situation is, the better we must build the economy and look after the people.

It is very important in strengthening the revolutionary forces in the north to build up the ranks of the Party and cadres. If renegades appear amongst their ranks in an emergency, because these have not been built up properly it will inflict an irretrievably great loss on the revolution. The undesirable elements who try to slip into the ranks of the Party and cadres will never show their true colours. They are more likely to pretend to support us outwardly and show false enthusiasm with an ulterior motive. So, if you do not learn about people, you might admit undesirable people into the ranks of the Party and even appoint them as cadres.

You must remember that if you do not build up the ranks of the Party, especially the ranks of cadres, with good people who have

served a suitable period of probation, someday you will inflict a great loss on the revolution.

Only when we build up the revolutionary ranks into a steel-like contingent which is thoroughly prepared politically and ideologically while at the same time consolidating the economic foundations and increasing our military strength in every way in the north, can we say that we are prepared for the great revolutionary upheaval.

In addition, we must prepare strong revolutionary forces in south Korea.

However well we build socialism and strengthen our military capabilities in the northern half of Korea, things will turn out just as the Fatherland Liberation War did, unless strong revolutionary forces are prepared in south Korea. In order to carry out the south Korean revolution and achieve national reunification we must strengthen the revolutionary forces in the north and, at the same time, must prepare powerful revolutionary forces in south Korea.

At the moment, the US imperialists and the south Korean puppets are indulging in various kinds of false propaganda in a frantic effort to deceive the south Korean people and block their revolutionary struggle. They are sending south Korean youths to the battlefield in South Viet Nam as bullet-shields for Yankees, and yet they are issuing false propaganda that they are doing it for the sake of our country and to help the Vietnamese people. In fact, the south Korean puppet clique has sent its army to South Viet Nam under pressure from the Americans and for the purpose of reducing its own expense on the puppet army to the minimum and as well as to receive maximum “aid” from the United States to fill its own pockets.

The south Korean people will not be deceived by the misleading propaganda of the enemy or remain indifferent to the present state of affairs. The longer the war in Viet Nam drags on and the more puppet army troops are sent there, the stronger the forces opposed to war, to US imperialism and to the Park Chung Hee clique’s plot to send troops abroad, will grow in south Korea. As time goes by, the south Korean people will be further awakened and more and more people will rise in



the revolutionary struggle against the enemy. The point is that we should build revolutionary organizations well and intensify information work in south Korea and awaken the south Korean people as soon as possible and knit them into powerful revolutionary forces, into an organized unit, so that they can rise up as one man in case of need.

In bringing the day of the great revolutionary event nearer, it is also very important to strengthen solidarity with international revolutionary forces.

The Korean revolution is a part of the world revolution and, accordingly, only when the world revolution is successful, can we hasten the victory of the Korean revolution. We must firmly unite and closely cooperate with all the revolutionary forces of the world and make strong efforts to ensure that the world revolutionary situation develops in favour of our revolution.

It is of prime importance to strengthen solidarity with the socialist countries and the international communist movement. At present, socialist countries do not take concerted action in the anti-imperialist struggle. Some of them oppose US imperialism in word, but not in deed. They are afraid of the aggressive war of imperialists, shun fighting and seek only their own comfort, instead of giving assistance to the fighting people. People who sincerely support the world people's revolutionary struggle can never do so. This is an action of which only those who virtually give up the world revolution are capable. People of a certain country say that they are opposed to imperialism, but in fact they are afraid of fighting against US imperialism and disrupt the unity and solidarity of socialist countries and the world anti-imperialist revolutionary movement on one pretext or another.

Of course, we cannot agree with such a wrong attitude and policy, nor can we suspend the struggle against Right and "Left" opportunists. But we must unite with all socialist countries and with Communist and Workers' Parties for the benefit of the Korean revolution and of the international revolutionary movement. Our Party's consistent policy is to unite while struggling and to struggle while uniting.

In particular, we must strengthen unity and cooperation with the Vietnamese and Cuban peoples who are fighting heroically against the aggression of US imperialism, the common enemy, and actively support and help the Japanese people in their struggle against the US and Japanese reactionaries. To unite firmly and cooperate with the peoples of these countries is of great importance in speeding the victory of our revolution. The heavier the blows which are struck against the Yankees in all parts of the world, the easier will be our struggle to drive them out of south Korea. Also, if we give valuable assistance to those who are fighting now, they will give us as much assistance if we encounter difficulties in the future.

Our Party and Government have given and are still giving selfless aid to the fighting Vietnamese people. Of course, we have many difficulties because our country has a small economy and is building socialism in direct confrontation with US imperialism. But it would be an attitude unworthy of revolutionaries if we, using these difficulties as an excuse, did not give active assistance to the Vietnamese people who are shedding their blood in a war against US imperialism, our common enemy. We must continue to help the Vietnamese people by producing and saving more despite all difficulties and trials and, at the same time, educate all our Party members and people in the true internationalist spirit.

We should also extend active support and encouragement to the struggle of the Japanese people so that the democratic and socialist forces can grow rapidly in Japan. To develop the revolutionary struggle of the Japanese people is of great importance in promoting the victory of the south Korean revolution. If the sentiments against Japanese militarism mount high in Japan and south Korea and especially if the revolutionary struggle of the Japanese people gains momentum, the Japanese militarists will not be able to make inroads into south Korea, and the revolutionary situation there will become favourable to that extent.

It is also very important to exert a revolutionary influence upon newly independent countries and unite more of them in the ranks of

struggle against imperialism.

When the newly independent countries grow up to be more powerful anti-imperialist revolutionary forces and beat the Yankees in various places, our enemies will be compelled to surrender to the world people. Although at present the Americans swagger about in all parts of the world, they will not survive long once they begin to decline. This was also true of Japanese imperialists. At one time in the past they seized all the Pacific area and then tried to conquer the whole world, but they collapsed overnight once they began to totter. There is no doubt that, even though they are now being boastful, the Yankees will suffer the same fate as the Japanese imperialists.

If the revolutionary forces in the northern half of Korea are strengthened, if powerful revolutionary forces are prepared in south Korea, and if our solidarity with the world revolutionary forces is cemented further, our people will certainly be able to drive out the US imperialists and emerge victorious. In other words, when our revolutionary forces are stronger and when the objective situation is favourable enough, we shall be able to meet the great revolutionary upheaval which we expect. When such a situation will come depends entirely on how we work. We must never forget that in any case we can only win the revolution through our own struggle.

The slogan that we must prepare ourselves for the great revolutionary upheaval is good, and we must strive to put it into effect. I am afraid you might waste several years by simply repeating the slogan of “great revolutionary upheaval”. Or you might take it as routine and become weary and indolent. If we become weary and relax, we may find ourselves helpless. We have not yet reunified the country, so we can never allow ourselves to relax or seek comfort.

The present situation demands that we should do all our work with greater revolutionary strength and ardour and subordinate all our efforts to the struggle for the accomplishment of the south Korean revolution and national reunification.

We must give positive support to the south Korean people in their struggle and spare nothing if it is for the south Korean revolution. The

south Korean people are now ill-treated and humiliated in every way by the Yankees, and they are suffering from hunger and bloodshed. In these circumstances, can we remain onlookers, content with our happy life in an earthly paradise in the north? A man of national consciousness cannot do so. All the people, not only in the south but also in the north, are in duty bound to take part in the south Korean revolution. The people in both Kyongsang and Jolla Provinces and those in Hamgyong and Phyongan Provinces must be ready to fight for the south Korean revolution.

The entire membership of our Party and all the people must have such a revolutionary resolve and must always be ideologically ready for action.

## 2) ON KEEPING OURSELVES WELL PREPARED FOR WAR

The matter of preparing ourselves well for war has been mentioned on many occasions, and, at the Party Conference in particular, as an important revolutionary task. This matter was also stressed at a National Congress of Agricultural Officials this year and whenever an opportunity offered itself. But there are still some people who dread war and there is still the tendency to neglect this task. So I consider it necessary to reemphasize the politico-ideological and military aspects of this matter.

If you are to be well prepared to cope with a possible war, you must first clearly know what a war means.

We must not oppose war in general. There are two categories—a just war and an unjust war. It goes without saying that the aggressive war of imperialists is an unjust war. We should oppose this kind of war.

But the people's fight to defend their country from imperialist invasion or to liberate themselves from the colonial yoke of imperialists is legitimate, and this kind of war is just. We never oppose such wars.

We are communists who are opposed to imperialism and fight for the revolution. As long as imperialism exists in this world, our struggle against the imperialists is inevitable. In particular, in the situation where the US imperialists occupy half of our country and are watching day and night for a chance to swallow up the northern half as well, we must not oppose war in general nor must we be afraid of it. Instead, we must clearly accept that someday we shall have to fight against the Yankees to drive them out of south Korea and reunify the country. We must imbue not only our cadres and Party members but also the old people and women and even children with this revolutionary idea.

In the future we shall also not abandon the slogan of peaceful reunification. But it is unreasonable to reject the idea of fighting US imperialism, simply calling for peace and singing of a happy paradise all the time because we want peaceful reunification. We must tell everyone that the Americans are now occupying south Korea, part and parcel of our territory, that only when we drive them out can our country be reunified, and that someday we shall have to fight a war against them. This idea must be kept impressed on the minds of all our people. Each of the songs they sing should pulse with vigour, revolutionary stamina and militant spirit, and even sports and entertainments should be directed to training them physically so that they can contribute to national defence.

If we prepare all our people fully to fight bravely against the imperialist aggressors in case of war by believing in their own strength, free from fear of the invaders, we shall have nothing to be afraid of.

The most important thing in preparing for war is a thoroughgoing ideological education of the people. Of course, I do not imply that war is imminent, either tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, nor are we certain that it will come in a year or two. But we must prepare everyone ideologically to such an extent that he is sure that he is not afraid of war, that he can fight even if war breaks out tomorrow.

Party organizations have neglected such ideological work, and some people tend to be afraid of war. There are also some flunkeyists

who doubt whether a small country like ours can fight and defeat the Americans, without any help from big countries. If we fail to erase the fear of war and the flunkeyist tendency to depend on big countries from the people's minds, we shall be unable to drive out the Yankees and reunify the country.

The history of our country shows that the first example of our national disaster was seen when the feudal rulers became afraid of war and disgusted with fighting and when they lost independence, because they had been affected by flunkeyism. In the end, the country was conquered by the Japanese. At the time of Koguryo the people took part in horsemanship and archery from childhood and they were willing to fight foreign aggressors. Every one of them was thus under arms and had regular training in peacetime, so that they fought valorously on the battlefield, without fear of their enemy. At that time, aggressors dared not invade our country rashly and if they did, they were all repelled. Thus our country at the time was known as a powerful country.

But the foreign idea of Confucianism which penetrated our country at the time of the Ri dynasty corrupted the feudal rulers and nobles into "rejecting military service in favour of civil service"—into indulging in argument about Confucian Scriptures and the Discourses of Mencius while despising military endeavours. Military officers were ousted from their posts of government and civil officers were in power, indulging in the worship of useless feudal Confucian ethics and in copying foreign things while rejecting their own. They used Chinese characters and adopted foreign names for their own. When constructing a palace in the capital, they refrained from making it bigger than a foreign one, and they became so timid as to give up the freedom of calling their beautiful country "the most picturesque country in the world" for fear of upsetting foreigners. They offered all the good horses which had been bred from the time of Koguryo as tribute to another country. They rode about on donkeys or wasted time, cooped up, wearing horsehair hats and reciting poems all the time without paying attention to national defence.

The feudal rulers of Korea indulged in this practice neglecting military preparations when the Japanese imperialists were bent on building up their arms in preparation for the conquest of our country. That was why our country was deprived of its sovereignty by the Japanese. If our rulers had obtained good weapons and trained a regular army of a few dozens of thousands even if we had to tighten our belts, it would not have been conquered so easily.

Nowadays, the Yankees are making vicious attempts to swallow up our country, but they dare not do it because we are not afraid of war and all the people are armed. The Americans have not been deterred from this venture by their fear of other socialist countries. In fact, they fear all our people under arms more than atom bombs or rockets.

If we arm the entire nation and fortify the whole country and prepare ourselves fully to fight the enemy at any time, we can deter not only the Americans but any other imperialists from attacking us. We can fight and defeat the enemy from any quarter by our own efforts.

We must imbue Party members and the people in general with a sense of national dignity and with the pride of being revolutionaries and communists. We should let them know how flunkeyism ruined our country in the past and how harmful it is to the revolution. Only then can we equip them firmly with the Juche idea of our Party and instil in them a sense of pride and a strong belief in their own ability to fight and defeat any enemies.

We must also remember the great harm done to our revolution by flunkeyism after liberation, to say nothing of the loss of national sovereignty caused by this evil in the remote past. Flunkeyists who had slipped into our Party spread the poison of flunkeyism everywhere.

The Party took note of the serious harm caused by flunkeyism to our revolution, and since 1955 it has uncompromisingly combatted the evil in order to establish Juche.

We are Korean communists. We are fighting in Korea for the Korean revolution and are thus doing our bit in the world revolution.

All cadres, Party members and working people must study the

report to the Party Conference in depth, thoroughly oppose Right and “Left” opportunism and acquire a firm spirit of national independence, the Juche idea. Only then can they believe in their own strength, fight bravely against enemies from any quarter, drive out US imperialism from south Korea, and reunify the country.

Now, some words on the military aspect of preparing for war.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the military aspect of war preparations.

It is also of paramount importance in military preparations to equip all the servicemen and Worker-Peasant Red Guards with strong politico-ideological beliefs.

An important advantageous feature in the superiority of the revolutionary army is precisely that it is an armed force with a high politico-ideological consciousness. Unlike a capitalist army which is hired for money and under coercion, our People’s Army soldiers are all sons and daughters of the working people and they volunteered for the revolution. For this very reason, the People’s Army is quite capable of defeating numerically and technically superior enemies.

In order to develop our People’s Army into a more powerful revolutionary army, we must intensify politico-ideological work among the servicemen so as to prepare them to rise to the occasion in case of war. At the same time, we must build up the ranks of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and improve politico-ideological work amongst them to prepare for war. It is particularly important to imbue the People’s Army soldiers and the Worker-Peasant Red Guards men with the firm conviction that they can fight without fearing the enemy and can defeat him.

Their effective ideological education must be combined with efficient military training so that they can be good at shooting and fighting. Party organizations at all levels must ensure that every one of them is trained to be skilful in handling weapons and firing them. Put all the people under arms and let them handle and fire guns regularly, and they will not be afraid of fighting.

Party organizations must work properly among the families whose



members are away serving in the People's Army as well as among the demobilized soldiers. This has great significance in further strengthening the People's Army, our Party's armed forces. The question of strengthening the People's Army is a major item which was stressed in the report to the Party Conference. But the mere chanting of slogans on this matter through the media will achieve nothing.

Party and working people's organizations must organize meticulous endeavour to educate people to take loving care of the People's Army and always help and look after the servicemen's families so that none of them suffer any discomfort.

During the Fatherland Liberation War and for some time immediately after the war, Party and working people's organizations helped the People's Army servicemen's families well. In those years members of the Party and the Democratic Youth League would visit their houses to assist them in many ways; they helped them to get firewood, to paper walls, and to carry out threshing and weeding. But this work is now being neglected.

We must realize that good care of the servicemen's families contributes greatly to helping their sons and daughters in the army to do their military duties properly. Our Party workers should remember this and ensure that the servicemen's families receive the constant care and support of the organizations of the Party, the League of Socialist Working Youth, trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People and the Women's Union.

It is also of great importance in strengthening the People's Army to appoint demobilized soldiers to appropriate posts and to take good care of them in their work and outside it.

The present company commanders and higher-ranking officers of the People's Army are all veterans who courageously fought against the enemy, advancing as far as the Raktong River at the time of the Fatherland Liberation War. They are now over forty years old on the average. So it is tough for them to continue to work as company or battalion commanders. For that reason, some are promoted and some are demobilized. A large number of them have already been demobilized.

However, their appointment to civilian posts has not been handled properly. This matter should have been dealt with by Party organizations, but was left to the discretion of the Ministry of Labour, which has appointed these veteran officers just like ordinary people according to their skill without regard to their past records. As for their skill, it is obvious that they have no other skill than that of military leadership since they have served for a long time in the army. As a result, quite a few of them are doing commercial and distributive jobs which do not require any particular skill. That is wrong.

In future, the Party Central Committee and other Party organizations and Party officials must pay deep attention to this matter, direct their appointments correctly and ensure that the problems arising in their work and life are resolved promptly and in a responsible manner.

In terms of the policy of the Party Conference, we must strengthen the People's Army and arm all the people strongly and so make full preparations to drive out the US imperialists from south Korea and reunify the country as soon as possible.

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Comrades,

I have spoken a great deal about the major shortcomings in our Party work and about the remedies for them. For the purpose of helping you in carrying out the tasks proposed here, I intend to get the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee to adopt a resolution for you.

On your return, you must convene a plenary meeting, based on that decision, and sort out the shortcomings in your work and take measures to remedy them. The meeting need not be held in a hurry. The chief secretaries should first examine their own work seriously. In the light of the matters stressed at the current short course and conference, they should make a full study of the defects in their work and how to improve

Party work before convening the meeting. If possible, an enlarged meeting is advisable in which all instructors can take part.

The meeting should give rein to democracy so that senior officials can be criticized freely by their subordinates and also so that a wide range of constructive suggestions to correct errors in Party work can be made. In this way this meeting will be a fine opportunity to improve Party work.

I hope you will bring about a great improvement in all fields of the revolutionary struggle and constructive work by radically improving Party work in line with the spirit of the discussion at this conference and by working hard to implement the decisions of the Party Conference.

# **ON THE QUESTIONS OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**

**Speech Delivered to Party Ideological Workers**

*May 25, 1967*

Recently, while studying documents of the Party Conference some scholars and others responsible for ideological work have put forward diverse opinions on the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In particular, following the publication of an essay on these questions, opinion was all the more divided. So, I studied the data on the subject, exchanged views with scholars, and gave a short summary. But those who heard my views interpreted and conveyed them to others in their own way, with the result that they were distorted in many respects. Since the subject under discussion relates to the documents of the Party Conference, it is a very important matter and can in no way be neglected. I will therefore deal with it in some detail.

Like all other scientific and theoretical problems, the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat must also be solved from our Party's Juche viewpoint. You should neither cling to propositions of the classics and try to settle the questions dogmatically nor be enthralled by the ideas of flunkeyism and try to interpret the issues as others do. Judging from the written opinions of several

scholars and from other essays, almost all comrades either interpret the propositions dogmatically or tend to flunkeyism and attempt to follow the thinking of other countries. Consequently, they advance these subjects in a direction which is entirely different from that of our Party. You cannot study problems and solve them correctly in such a way. You can only arrive at a correct conclusion if you use your own faculties to do so, free from flunkeyism and dogmatism.

Let us deal first with the problem of the transition period.

To explain the issue correctly, it is necessary first of all to consider in what historical circumstances and on what premises the classics, particularly Marx, advanced this question.

Firstly, as we see it, Marx obviously had in mind the developed capitalist countries when he laid down his definition of socialism and formulated the question of the period of transition from capitalism to communism or to socialism. I think we must be fully aware of this fact at the outset if we want to find a correct solution to this question.

What, then, are the developed capitalist countries we have referred to? They consist of those countries where both rural and urban areas have become completely capitalistic and capitalist relations predominate throughout society, with the result that peasants no longer exist but there are agricultural labourers, side by side with the industrial labourers. Marx had this kind of developed capitalist country in mind when he put forward his theory, and England, which he had visited and where he had lived and worked, was precisely such a country. In formulating the question of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, therefore, Marx assumed first of all a condition in which no class distinction existed between the working class and the peasantry, and he proceeded from that.

Now, to cite the instance of the most developed capitalist countries of modern times, their productive forces have become so highly developed as to make even the countryside fully capitalistic and, as a result, the working class is the only labouring class both in town and country. In a certain capitalist country there are tens of thousands of farms, all of which are very highly mechanized. Not only is this so, but

the electrification, irrigation and extensive use of chemicals in the countryside are also on a very high level. Thus, it is said, one agricultural labourer can look after 30 hectares of land in that country. What does this mean? It means not only that no class distinction actually exists between the working class and the peasantry but also that the agricultural and industrial productive forces are almost on the same level. The only difference, if any, lies in the working conditions of the industrial labourer in the factory and the agricultural labourer on the farm.

That is why Marx thought that the stage of transition to socialism following the seizure of power by the proletariat in those developed capitalist countries would cover a comparatively short period. In other words, he believed that because there were only two classes in society, the capitalists and the workers, the tasks of the transition period could be carried out in a relatively short period of time and that it would be possible to pass quickly to the higher phase of communism, once the capitalist class was crushed and dispossessed and its property turned over to the ownership of all the people in the course of the socialist revolution. Yet Marx did not say that it would be possible to progress to communism directly from capitalism, without going through the stage of socialism. No matter how highly the productive forces may have developed and how completely the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry may have disappeared, it is essential to solve the tasks of the transition period before advancing further. These tasks include liquidating the remaining forces of the exploiter classes and eliminating the survivals of the old ideologies in the minds of people. We must first of all take account of this point.

The second point is the Marxist view of the uninterrupted revolution, which we must take into consideration in studying Marx's theory on the transition period and in expounding this question correctly.

As you all know, Marx lived in the era of premonopoly capitalism, so that he could not clearly see the imbalance in the political and economic development of capitalism. Therefore, he believed that the proletarian revolution would break out almost simultaneously in the

major capitalist countries of Europe and that the world revolution would triumph relatively soon. Proceeding from such premises, Marx assumed that the period of transition from capitalism to socialism would be a comparatively short historical epoch, and he stated that the dictatorship of the proletariat would exist only during the time of the transition period, that is, these two could never be divorced. We must also take account of this point.

We can say that Lenin also followed the Marxist standpoint in the main, when he raised the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Unlike England or Germany where Marx had lived and worked, Lenin's Russia was of course not at all advanced, but was a backward though nevertheless capitalist country. Consequently, Lenin considered that the stage of socialism, the transitional stage, would be relatively long and not short as Marx had theorized.

But Lenin, too, following the Marxist view, said that a society where the working class had overthrown the capitalist system and seized power but where class distinction still remained between the workers and the peasants, was a transitional society being not yet communist nor fully socialist. He further said that in order to implement total socialism, it would not be enough to merely smash the capitalists as a class; the distinction between the workers and the peasants would also have to be eliminated. Thus it was that Lenin finally considered the period up to the establishment of a classless society—where there would be no distinction between the working class and the peasantry following the overthrow of the capitalist class by the working class—to be the period of transition from capitalism to socialism or the period of transition to communism. I think that such a definition of the transition period is fundamentally correct.

But the problem is that our comrades interpret the propositions of Marx and Lenin dogmatically, without taking into consideration the times and historical circumstances in which they were formulated and, above all, they think the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat coincide with and are inseparable from each other.

It is true that the period of transition from capitalism to socialism or communism will only end when a classless society with no distinction between the working class and the peasantry emerges following the overthrow of the capitalist class. It can also be taken for granted that should the socialist revolution take place consecutively in all countries and the revolution emerge victorious on a worldwide scale, the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat would coincide with each other, and with the termination of the transition period, the dictatorship of the proletariat would also cease to exist and the disappearance of the state would follow.

And yet, if socialism has been founded and a classless society has been established in one country or in certain areas, the transition period should be regarded as terminated there even though the revolution has not brought victory on a worldwide scale. As long as capitalism remains in the world, however, the dictatorship of the proletariat will not vanish, and we cannot even talk about the disappearance of the state. Therefore, in order to find a correct solution to the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat, we ought not to cling dogmatically to the propositions of Marx or Lenin, but proceed from the practical experiences in socialist construction in our country to consider the questions.

At present, certain people accept the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, but do not appreciate, in any sense, the concept of the period of transition from capitalism to communism, that is to say, the period of transition to the higher phase of communism. However, they use the expression: gradual transition from socialism to communism.

It is the deviation of the Right opportunists to regard the transition period as the period from the seizure of power by the working class to the victory of the socialist system, and to suppose that the historical mission of the proletarian dictatorship will end with the termination of the transition period, equating the transition period and the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat to each other. Therefore, people



with such a viewpoint say that following the attainment of the complete and final victory of socialism, which is the first phase of communism, and with the transition to the all-out construction of communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historical mission and is thus no longer necessary. This is a Right opportunist view, which is entirely contradictory to Marxism-Leninism.

What, then, is the “Left” opportunist view? Those who have the “Left” view used to regard the question of the transition period exactly in the same light as those who have the Right opportunist view, but, proceeding from their standpoint that communism can be realized some generations later, they contend that the transition period should be regarded as the period of transition from capitalism to the higher phase of communism. By doing this they apparently mean to criticize Right opportunism. It is all very well to criticize the Right deviations; but we cannot consider such views on the question of the transition period to be correct.

As mentioned above, it is clear that all these people alike have fallen into deviations in viewing the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We think the transition period can either be called the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, or the period of transition from capitalism to communism, because socialism is the first phase of communism. But the trouble is that some of our comrades, bewitched by flunkeyism, either regard the transition period as the period from capitalism to the higher phase of communism following the “Left” opportunist view or regard it as the period up to the victory of socialism following the Right opportunist view.

Therefore, the point at issue concerning the transition period is not a terminological matter of whether it is the transition to socialism or to communism, but rather the question of where to draw the dividing line of the transition period. Many people, having made a muddle of determining this line, are now confused and have created various problems. Both of the dividing lines, drawn by those with either the

Right or the “Left” view, are incorrect.

By the higher phase of communism is meant not only a classless society where there is no distinction between the workers and the peasants, but also a highly advanced society where there is no distinction between mental and physical labour and each member of society works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. So, it is, in fact, tantamount to drawing no dividing line at all to regard the transition period as the period extending up to such a higher phase of communism. Some people not only regard the transition period as a period right up to the higher phase of communism, but also say that it is impossible to bring about communism in one country only. They say that we will enter communism only when the world revolution is consummated. According to this view, the transition period cannot end before the world revolution is completed. These people interpret the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat as corresponding to each other, regarding the former as the period up to the higher phase of communism, while people with the Rightist standpoint consider the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat as coinciding with each other, regarding the former as the period up to the point of victory of socialism. In our opinion, this is an extreme opinion.

It is also questionable that people holding Rightist views regard the transition period as the period up to the victory of the socialist revolution. This viewpoint stems from the ideological view of abandoning the class struggle against survivors of the overthrown exploiter classes internally, and internationally refraining from the world revolution, by choosing to live at peace with imperialism. Moreover, they claim that the dictatorship of the proletariat will disappear when the transition period comes to an end. But how can this be? They are fundamentally wrong.

It will not do, therefore, to follow mechanically what is set by those who hold the Rightist views, or to take as a model what is set by those holding the “Leftist” views.

We must firmly establish Juche and settle problems from the

practical experience which we have gained in the revolution and construction of our country.

As already mentioned, the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat as defined by the classics were perfectly correct under the historical circumstances of their times and the premises they had developed from.

However, our present situation demands that we develop them creatively and not simply apply them without full consideration. We carried out the socialist revolution under conditions where we had taken over the very backward productive forces of a colonial agrarian country, and are building socialism under circumstances where capitalism still exists as a considerable force in the world.

We must take these specific realities into account in order to give correct solutions to the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Bearing this point in mind, I consider it to be incorrect to regard the transition period in our country as the period up to the higher phase of communism, and deem it right to regard it rather as the period up to socialism. But it is wrong to believe that the transition period will come to an end as soon as the socialist revolution has triumphed and the socialist system is established. Considering the issue either on the basis of what the founders of Marxism-Leninism said or in the light of the experiences we have gained in our actual struggles, we cannot say that a complete socialist society has already been built just because the capitalist class has been overthrown and the socialist revolution carried through after the working class seized power. Therefore, we have never said that the establishment of the socialist system means the complete victory of socialism.

When will the complete socialist society ever come into being? Complete victory of socialism will come only when the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry has disappeared and the middle class, particularly the peasant masses, actively support us. As long as the peasants are not working-classized, the support they may give us cannot be firm and is bound to be rather unstable.

The seizure of power by the working class is only the beginning of socialist revolution. To build a complete socialist society the revolution must be steadily advanced and a firm material basis of socialism laid. I have already stressed this time and again in my reports and speeches. Nevertheless, some of our comrades, because of their flunkeyist mentality, have not studied the documents of our Party properly but have shown a great deal of interest in what others have said. They are very wrong.

We must base ourselves on the situation as it is today and take a correct view of all questions from there. Because our country did not go through a capitalist revolution, its productive forces are very backward, and the division between the working class and the peasantry will have to remain for a very long time, even after the socialist revolution. In fact, there are only a few highly developed capitalist countries in the world today. Most countries are backward, and were formerly colonies or semi-colonies like our country, or are still dependent on others. In such countries the construction of a classless society and the consolidation of socialism are possible only by developing the productive forces for a comparatively longer period even after the socialist revolution.

As we did not go through the normal course of capitalist development, we have the task of developing the productive forces in our socialist era—a task which we should have tackled under capitalism. There is no need to make society capitalistic and go to the trouble of fostering the capitalists just to smash them and then build socialism, on the basis that we could not discharge the task which we should have completed in the capitalist stage. The working class in power should not revive capitalist society, but should carry out this task under the socialist system which it could not tackle in the stage of capitalist revolution, in order to build a classless society.

We must continue to consolidate the material basis of socialism and boost the productive forces at least to the level of developed capitalist countries, and completely eliminate the distinction between the working class and the peasantry. To this end, the technical revolution

must be carried out to the extent that the developed capitalist countries have turned their countryside capitalistic, so that farming can be mechanized, irrigation and the greater use of chemicals can be introduced, and the eight-hour day adopted.

It was precisely for this purpose that we published the theses on the socialist rural question. But, our comrades do not even study the theses properly. We must always solve problems through our own knowledge, drawing on our Party documents. What is the central idea of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*? The basic idea is to carry out the technical revolution in the rural areas and develop the agricultural productive forces to a high level. At the same time, it seeks to promote the ideological and the cultural revolution and gradually abolish the differences between the working class and the peasantry in the spheres of technology, ideology and culture, and bring cooperative property up to the level of property of all the people.

And these tasks cannot be realized unless the working class gives guidance and assistance to the peasantry. It is our Party's line to give material and technical assistance to the peasants and carry out the technical revolution in the rural areas by relying on the solid basis of industry. To this end, large numbers of tractors have to be provided for the countryside, fertilizer and agricultural chemicals should be supplied in quantity to increase their use, and irrigation should also be carried out. At the same time, the working class must help the peasantry in their ideological remoulding and also exert a cultural influence on them. Only in this way can the peasantry be completely working-classized.

To turn the peasantry into the working class is, in fact, one of the most important questions in building socialism and communism. In this way we will working-classize the peasants and abolish the distinction between them and the working class.

We should not adopt flunkeyism, but ought to hold fast to our Party's stand of Juche in solving the question of working-classizing the peasantry. We must develop the productive forces to a higher level, get

rid of the disparity between town and country and raise the people's living standards by putting into effect the spirit of the theses and laying the firm material basis of socialism.

Only by doing this can we win over the former middle class completely. We cannot say socialism has been consolidated or consider it has won a complete victory until the middle class stops hesitating and supports us fully. Only when they actively support us, can we say that socialism has been completely accomplished. When we advance socialist construction and thoroughly win over the middle class to our side, when we eliminate the distinction between the working class and the peasantry and build a classless society, we shall be able to say that the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism have been accomplished.

I consider it right to draw the dividing line for the transition period at the border of the classless society, unlike those who are biased to the Right or to the "Left".

What, then, shall we say is the society which will exist, after the triumph of the socialist revolution and the accomplishment of socialist transformation, until the disappearance of class distinction between the working class and the peasantry? It can only be called a socialist society, since it is a society free from exploitation even though it undoubtedly belongs to the transition period.

Needless to say, the end of the transition period will not immediately be followed by the higher phase of communism. Even after the close of the transition period, the revolution and construction must be continued and the productive forces developed to such a level that every individual works according to his ability and each receives according to his needs, in order to enter the higher phase of communism.

In my opinion, this approach to the question of transition period accords with the definitions laid down by Marx and Lenin, and it proceeds from the new historical conditions as well as the practical experience of the revolution and construction in our country. This is a preliminary and not a final conclusion reached by us. It is desirable that you make further studies in this direction.

Having given such a definition of the period of transition, how should we view the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat? The classics, as already mentioned, understood that the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat would coincide. Then, if a classless society materializes and the complete victory of socialism is achieved in our country, i.e., if the tasks of the transition period are accomplished, will the dictatorship of the proletariat become no longer necessary? The answer to this is no. Even when the transition period is over, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be continued up to the higher phase of communism, to say nothing of its necessity during the entire period of transition.

Even after we have carried out the technical revolution in the rural areas, raised cooperative property to the level of property of all the people, working-classed the peasantry and done away with the distinction between the working class and the peasantry by solidifying the material and technical basis of socialism and carrying into effect the theses on the socialist rural question, the level of our productive forces will not yet be high enough to apply the principle of communism that each works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. Therefore, it will be necessary to continue to build socialism and strive to realize communism. It is quite clear that these tasks cannot be fulfilled without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, even when the transition period is over, the dictatorship of the proletariat will have to continue to exist until the higher phase of communism is attained.

But here is another question. What will become of the proletarian dictatorship once communism is realized in one country or certain areas while capitalism still exists in parts of the world? Even if communism was attained in one country or certain areas, that society would not be free from the menace of imperialism and the resistance of internal enemies who conspire with external enemies, because the world revolution has not yet been accomplished and capitalism and imperialism continue to exist. Under such circumstances, the state cannot disappear and the dictatorship of the proletariat must therefore

remain in existence in the higher phase of communism. Inasmuch as we accept the theory that it is possible to build communism in a particular country or certain areas, it is entirely correct to view the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat separately in this way.

It is no revision of Marxism-Leninism on our part to consider the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat in this manner. It is our standpoint to apply the propositions of Marx and Lenin creatively to the new historical circumstances and the specific practices of our country. I think that this is the way to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism against dogmatism and flunkeyism.

I am now going to say a few words about the question of the class struggle in connection with the dictatorship of the proletariat. As long as the class struggle exists, the dictatorship of the proletariat will exist, and this dictatorship is essential to the class struggle. The class struggle, however, takes various forms. At the stage of overthrowing capitalism this struggle differs in form from that after its overthrow. This has already been expressly set out in the documents of our Party. Many people, however, commit Right or "Left" errors, simply because they have no clear idea of this.

The class struggle at the stage of the socialist revolution is a struggle to liquidate the capitalists as a class, and the class struggle in socialist society is a struggle aimed at achieving unity and solidarity, and is by no means a class struggle waged between the members of that society at war with each other. In a socialist society the class struggle certainly exists, but it is carried on by means of cooperation for the purpose of achieving unity and solidarity. It goes without saying that our present ideological revolution is a class struggle; and it is also a form of class struggle to render assistance to the rural areas to working-classize the peasantry. Because the state of the working class aims, after all, at eliminating the peasants as a class and completing their working-classization through the supply of machines and chemical fertilizers and through providing them with irrigation works. Our class struggle is designed not only to working-classize the peasantry and



terminate its existence as a class, but also to revolutionize the previous middle class including the intelligentsia and urban petty bourgeoisie and remould them on the pattern of the working class. This is the principal form of the class struggle we are now waging.

Also, within our social system subversive counter-revolutionary influences infiltrate from without and the survivors of the overthrown exploiter classes agitate within; so, the class struggle is necessary to suppress these counter-revolutionary activities.

In this way, there is, in a socialist society, a form of class struggle exercising dictatorship over both external and internal enemies, along with the basic form of class struggle which aims to revolutionize and remould the workers, peasants and working intellectuals through cooperation so as to achieve unity and solidarity.

In a socialist society, therefore, the class struggle does not disappear but continues in different forms. It is perfectly correct to consider the question of the class struggle in socialist society in this way.

In connection with this question, I should like to direct a few more words to the issue of revolutionizing the intellectuals. We cannot yet say that we have fully worked out the correct approach to this question. We once sent our intellectuals into factories to labour among the workers with a view to revolutionizing them. But it is doubtful if that is really a good system. We have cultivated the intellectuals because we want them to write, study science and technology or serve as teachers. If they were intended to work in factories, we should obviously have made them workers from the outset, instead of providing them with expensive training. So, this way, too, is not quite appropriate.

Of course, it is a good thing to bring the intellectuals close to the workers to learn from them their organization and fortitude as well as their devotion to the people they serve by their physical labour. But this is still far from being an adequate answer to the question of revolutionizing the intellectuals. Many of our writers have been to factories, and yet some of them made little progress in spite of all their work there. So, we cannot revolutionize the intellectuals merely by

sending them to work in factories.

The important thing here is to make them strengthen their organizational life, including their participation in Party activities. At present, some of our intellectuals do not like the strengthening of Party and other organizational activities, and do not conscientiously take part in organizational life. They think that by strengthening their Party life and by taking part in organizational life they are losing their freedom.

Those cadres who neglect both their Party activities and Party study, also go against the Party's policies. Even the Central Party School does not strengthen the Party life of its students, so that, after graduation, they cannot make the most of what they have learned and fail to work and live in a revolutionary way.

It is, therefore, of paramount importance in revolutionizing the intellectuals to make them take an active part in revolutionary organizational life. Above all, it is essential for them to strengthen Party-cell life, refrain from displaying their knowledge, and conduct Party study well to arm themselves with revolutionary ideas. Further, they should neither be afraid of being criticized nor be unwilling to criticize others; they should intensify criticism and self-criticism and strictly observe organizational discipline. This alone will help them revolutionize themselves. People should cultivate collectivist ideas in the course of their organizational life in the Party or any social organizations, and acquire the revolutionary spirit of receiving definite revolutionary assignments from their organizations and carrying them out without fail. The members of the Party and social organizations must clearly equip themselves with the Party's policies and propagate them, and should become the kind of revolutionaries who carry out their revolutionary tasks to the letter and in accordance with the Party's policies. A revolutionary is a genuine communist. The communist has nothing to do with selfishness, which means serving one's own interests alone. Revolutionaries must have the communist traits of working and living under the motto: "One for all and all for one". They must temper themselves with the Party, class and popular spirit of serving the working class and all the people.

The intellectuals will become spoilt in the end, if they do not take an active part in all organizational life including that of the Party. There are many such instances. I should like to stress once again that both the old and new intellectuals should strengthen their activities in the Party and other institutions, in order to do away with their self-indulgent and petty-bourgeois mentalities and train themselves to become revolutionaries.

Today I have dwelt on the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat in considerable detail. I think this should be enough to give you a general idea of the questions raised in the course of studying the documents of the Party Conference.

## **ON DEVELOPING THE PHARMACEUTICAL AND MEDICAL INSTRUMENT INDUSTRIES**

**Concluding Remarks at the Political Committee  
of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*June 6, 1967*

I have recently inspected hospitals only to find that medicine was in short supply. Without drugs it is impossible to treat patients.

When we adopted the decision on free medical care, we envisaged developing the pharmaceutical and medical instrument industries to meet the demands for medical supplies and medical appliances. But we did not take measures to develop the production of drugs and medical appliances quickly, although we set up many hospitals. As a result, there is a shortage of these supplies in county hospitals at present.

We have laid a firm foundation to increase drug and medical instrument production in our country. So, if the officials organize work well, they can produce as much as is needed. But no one has organized their production, although much lip service has been paid to this matter. This shows that our officials lack humanity and the sense of responsibility to implement the Party's policy.

Because our officials have not paid proper attention to the development of the pharmaceutical industry, we barely meet 30 per cent of the demand for drugs, in spite of the large sum of foreign currency spent on importing them.

We must not depend on other countries for pharmaceuticals and

medical instruments. We must take positive measures to produce these things ourselves.

In order to develop the pharmaceutical and medical instrument industries quickly, we must build up the centres for the production of drugs and medical instruments by importing the equipment which is needed for their production.

Moreover, the chemical-industry workers and scientists should actively help the pharmaceutical and medical instrument industries and the machine industry should also do so.

It is important, in the production of pharmaceuticals and medical instruments, to raise their quality. We must intensify political work to ensure that the workers in these sectors make every single item of medicine or each medical appliance with the utmost care while at the same time introducing specialized production. If scores or hundreds of items are produced in one factory, the quality of drugs and medical appliances will not improve. We should build more pharmaceutical and medical instrument factories and set up a number of medium and small-sized chemical factories to ensure specialization in the production of these items. As a matter of fact, we can meet the demand for a certain kind of medicine, provided that we have only several kilogrammes of it a year. Such items can be produced quite easily at a medium or small factory. A couple of modern rural houses will be enough to accommodate such a factory.

At present, county hospitals use rough paper to pack doses of medicine. We must improve the packing of medicine, also. We will have to have a factory which specializes in the production of bottles and packing paper for drugs.

For the development of the pharmaceutical industry we must also establish a university of pharmacy and train a large number of specialists for the production of medicines and medical instruments.

We must increase the production of medicinal herbs on a large scale so as to develop this industry.

I gave instructions that medicinal herbs should be cultivated on Rungna Island, but Pyongyang did not implement the task. Good

patches of land on Rungna Island have been lying idle for several years. If you cultivate medicinal herbs here, you will get plenty of crude drugs. If medicinal herbs are cultivated as an inter-row crop in orchards, the output will be high. But officials in this sector have neglected to carry out the task given by the Party.

They have neglected not only the cultivation of medicinal herbs but also the management of the raw materials which had been produced. That is why they are left to rot in many cases.

We must launch a mass campaign to cultivate medicinal herbs and organize two to three farms which specialize in their cultivation.

We must also set up a stock farm for the microbiology institute in a remote mountain area so that they can solve the problem of animals and eggs necessary for the production of prophylactics on their own. It will be a good idea to give deer to the army and let it breed them on an island.

In this way, we will ensure the internal supply of drugs to meet the needs of the Ministry of Public Health in the coming two to three years and further strengthen the work of scientific research in the pharmaceutical industry.

In addition, I should like to make a few remarks on improving sanitation.

Because the Ministry of Public Health has neglected to educate and train doctors to serve the people, the doctors fail to fulfil all their obligations to improve health and sanitation work, although they know how to work in operating theatres in overalls.

We should intensify political work to encourage doctors to protect the people's lives and health with a high sense of responsibility and mobilize them widely for sanitation work by helping them to increase their knowledge of sanitation, assigning them the task of directing this work and reviewing their implementation of this task in time.

Our senior officials lack humanity. Even tincture of iodine, mercurochrome and tincture of soda, rhubarb and peppermint oil are not available at lower units. The Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries do not make mosquito nets which are necessary to prevent

Japanese encephalitis. The Ministry of Public Health should see to it that mosquito nets are mass-produced rather than do such inefficient work as spraying anti-mosquito powder in the air. We must make every effort to prevent Japanese encephalitis from becoming endemic in our country.

Because human excrement is still used for vegetable cultivation, parasites have not yet been eradicated. We should launch effective information work among the people to encourage them to eat clean vegetables by washing them several times before cooking. We should also encourage them to use chemical fertilizer in vegetable cultivation rather than human excrement so as to eliminate the source of parasites. We have enough chemical fertilizer for the cultivation of vegetables. Where they do use human excrement, it should be completely broken down into compost.

Slackness in the campaign to exterminate distoma has resulted in the recurrence of cases of this disease.

We can wipe out Japanese encephalitis, parasites and distomiasis by efficient hygiene and preventive work. We must improve sanitation and anti-epidemic work radically.

We must first intensify hygiene information work.

Doctors should contribute many articles on hygiene and sanitation to the magazine *Cultured Life* or to pictorials, and a lot of posters for sanitation information should be produced and put up.

The Women's Union produced a diagram which shows how to feed children properly. It is fairly well-made. Information work should be conducted in this way.

It would be a good idea to publish sanitation calendars. For example, if August is marked as a month of struggle against Japanese encephalitis, people will see it and make and use mosquito nets in advance.

At present such information work is not efficient. It is true that sanitation has improved nowadays, for instance, in combating flies, which have decreased in number. But this work is still lagging far behind the development of the national economy.

We should adopt another decision of the Political Committee on improving sanitation work so as to launch a mass campaign to promote this work. We should mobilize schools, the Children's Union, the League of Socialist Working Youth, the Women's Union, the General Federation of Trade Unions and the Union of Agricultural Working People in another powerful campaign for hygiene.

Public health workers should visit institutions and enterprises and widely organize sanitation information work such as short courses and lectures.

We should apply mineral-water treatment on a larger scale. I have, more than once, stressed the need to develop and use mineral springs. A little improvement has been made, but there has been no notable progress in this work.

It seems to me that nowadays the Chollima Movement has abated and the movement for devoted medical service has disappeared in the public health sector. These movements must be revitalized on a large scale to bring about another improvement in public health and hygienic work.



**LET FACTORIES BE KEPT IN GOOD  
ORDER JUST LIKE THE HAMHUNG  
DISABLED SOLDIERS' PLASTIC  
CONSUMER GOODS FACTORY**

**Talk with Members of the Chollima Hamhung  
Disabled Soldiers' Plastic Consumer Goods Factory**

*June 13, 1967*

I believe you have many handicaps in your work and lives. We must take good care of disabled soldiers who shed their blood in battle to defend the Party and the country.

It is laudable that almost all the wives of disabled soldiers at this factory come to work with their husbands. I was told that each household earns about 100 *won* on a monthly average as both husband and wife work. That amount of income, although not of a very high level, will be enough to provide you with a fairly good standard of living.

We must provide disabled soldiers with good working conditions. It is necessary to take measures to remove the noxious fumes from the rolling shop. Since this is not a very difficult problem, why can we not remove them? Ventilation facilities should be installed to remove these gases.

You are making consumer goods efficiently. The belts and the women's bags which you produce are good and the raincoats are also fairly good. The sheet vinyl chloride made here is good because it is thin. All plastic sheets should be made like this.

Your factory is really in good shape. You have built it up well and have managed it efficiently. This factory is a Chollima factory now. At its present level it deserves the title of a Chollima factory. It is very good that disabled soldiers work well in this way.

This factory should be shown to the executives of other light industry factories, so that those factories can be built up in the same way. When soldiers who were disabled in battle can manage their factory well like this, why cannot able-bodied people do so? If our officials make the effort, they can build up their factories to a reasonable degree.

Over the past years the disabled soldiers have worked well for the Party and the country in spite of their physical handicaps. Just as you have worked well in the past, so you should continue to do so in the future, too. With the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's Army being celebrated next year, you should bring about still greater innovations in production, study well and also take an active part in amateur art activities, thus setting an example for other people to follow. It would also be a good idea to give art performances in the city after you have made good preparations. We should write about the fact that disabled soldiers are working well for the sake of the revolution and print such articles in newspapers also.

In future we should admit to the Party those disabled soldiers who went as far as Mt. Phalgong and the Raktong River and fought well during the days of the Fatherland Liberation War. Even if their uncles and other relatives committed some offences during the days of our retreat it is not important. Even though there are undesirable persons among their relatives, their admission to the Party should be decided on their own merits.

**OUR INTELLECTUALS MUST  
BE REVOLUTIONARIES FAITHFUL  
TO THE PARTY, THE WORKING  
CLASS AND THE PEOPLE**

**Speech Addressed to the University  
Lecturers in Hamhung**

*June 19, 1967*

Comrades, recently I have been kept well informed about the work of the universities in Hamhung by the Department of Science and Education of the Party Central Committee.

The Hamhung University of Medicine, the Hamhung University of Chemical Industry and the Hamhung University of Hydraulics have done a great deal of work. When the Chollima Workteam Movement was at its height in our country, the Hamhung University of Medicine carried out skin grafting and saved a boy named Pang Ha Su and did many other worthwhile things. This has been favourably received by the public. The Hamhung University of Chemical Industry also made a great contribution to the reconstruction of factories immediately after the ceasefire and to the development of the chemical industry. It has also produced a large number of good cadres.

In recent years, however, it seems to me that you have not been working very well. Of course, there are people who are still working devotedly, but I cannot say that some of you are doing a good job. It appears that such instances are to be found not only in the universities in Hamhung but also in those in other parts of the country.

Recently, the Party investigated the sector of science and education and found serious shortcomings in this sector. Because of their neglect of the study of Party policy, scientists do not clearly understand the Party's intention. There is evidence of many unsound elements among them, elements which have nothing to do with the idea of our Party.

This is due mainly to the inefficient direction of efforts in this sector. Not only have the administrative workers who are in direct charge of the work in science and education failed to perform their duties properly, but also the officials of the Party Central Committee have not directed the work in this sector as they should. Scientific work has not been done under effective leadership, nor has educational work, higher education in particular, been given proper attention; it has been almost completely ignored.

Now, I should like to deal with the shortcomings revealed in the sector of science and education and with the tasks necessary to rectify them.

The first important task is to eradicate flunkeyism and dogmatism and establish Juche firmly in scientific research and in education.

The most serious shortcoming in our academic circles at present is that scientists are not firmly equipped with the Juche idea of the Party. Our Party has long stressed that Juche should be established in all sectors. Academic circles were affected by flunkeyist elements more than any other sectors, so the Party Central Committee has, on several occasions, seriously discussed the matter of establishing Juche thoroughly among scientists.

But some officials in charge of education, affected by flunkeyism, have not tried to meet Party requirements properly; they have indulged in bombastic talk only.

That is why our scientists are not yet firmly imbued with Juche, and they still retain a great deal of susceptibility towards flunkeyism. I was told that many lecturers, including some heads of departments, of the Hamhung University of Medicine, the Hamhung University of Chemical Industry and the Hamhung University of Hydraulics have a flunkeyist idea which is expressed in liking only foreign things, instead

of judging everything by using their own intelligence. With this idea you cannot develop science and technology quickly in our country.

Because they are infected with the idea of flunkeyism, these scientists have solved virtually no scientific or technological problems from the point of view of Juche. Frankly, it would be no exaggeration to say that nothing has ever been done in the sector of natural science in our country by applying the Juche idea of the Party correctly, except the establishment of the vinalon industry. I respect Comrade Ri Sung Gi precisely because he studied science by holding fast to our Party's stand of Juche and thus invented vinalon.

Why, then, does the idea of flunkeyism still persist in the minds of our scientists? The main reasons are, first, that they are not firmly armed with the policies of our Party and, second, that they lack scientific knowledge. Flunkeyism is able to breed amongst those who are not thoroughly equipped with the idea of our Party and with deep scientific knowledge.

As I said before, in view of the geographical situation of our country, there is a great danger that flunkeyism will breed in the minds of our people. Our neighbours are larger than we are, both in terms of territory and of population. The Soviet Union has a vast territory which accounts for one sixth of the surface of the globe, as well as a population of more than 200 million. China, too, has a large territory and a population of 700 million, the largest in the world. Although an island country, Japan is larger than our country in size and her population is as large as 100 million. As far as progress in science and technology is concerned, Japan is far ahead of our country by going through a normal process of capitalist development since the "Meiji Restoration", to say nothing of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world. Under these circumstances, people who are equipped with neither Party policy nor deep scientific knowledge are not completely free from flunkeyism towards the Soviet Union, China or Japan.

In particular, many of those who studied abroad in the past have a flunkeyist tendency to copy foreign things. Those who studied in the Soviet Union would like to copy something from Russian books, and

those who studied in China try to get something from Chinese books. And those who studied under the rule of Japanese imperialism would like to boast about the knowledge they gained from the Japanese. Some heads of departments of the Hamhung University of Medicine who studied in the days of Japanese imperialism consider that they are the most knowledgeable. This is also an expression of flunkeyism towards Japan.

At present flunkeyism is in evidence in different forms among our scientists. Since the Party stresses the need to refrain from flunkeyism, some people do not follow it openly but in a secret way. Affected by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and prompted by ambition, a man with little knowledge plagiarizes one thing from one foreign book and another thing from another foreign idea and then puts them together into an article which is published under his own name.

At the moment there are a great number of textbooks which are put together from foreign ideas. Some of our scientists even receive payment for such plagiarisms. This is a serious offence against the honour of scientists.

The flunkeyist tendency is mainly in evidence amongst the natural scientists and also amongst quite a number of social scientists. Because they are not thoroughly armed with the Juche idea of our Party, some social scientists are incapable of judging things on their own and in a Marxist-Leninist way. They simply try to copy foreign ideas, arguing in favour of one foreign theory or another. A typical case of such a practice can be found in the treatise of a certain comrade on the questions of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a case which you probably know well. This has recently been criticized by the Party Central Committee. He should have written a Juche-oriented treatise by analysing the situation with the idea of our Party. But he adulterated his treatise with ideas copied from the theories both of "Left" and Right opportunisms, with the result that his treatise lacked Juche and became self-contradictory. How can he put such a work before the public with impunity? On publication, this treatise provoked a widespread protest

from academic circles, and quite a number of people attacked his illogical theory. Such a complicated state of affairs obliged us to give a conclusion on this matter recently.

In connection with our criticism against the tendency towards flunkeyism revealed among scientists, some people may ask why we tell them to learn foreign languages. The aim of our learning foreign languages is not to follow flunkeyism, but to learn about the trend of scientific progress in other countries and further develop the sciences from the standpoint of Juche in our country. In dealing with any problems you must use your own intelligence based on the idea of our Party and solve these problems in conformity with the situation in our country and to meet the needs of our people. It is absolutely useless to copy foreign things blindly.

Flunkeyism towards the United States and Japan is said to be epidemic now in south Korea. It is said that people have been so seriously infected with flunkeyism that they even do not speak their own language but express themselves for part of the time in English and the rest of the time by many words of Japanese and Chinese origin. As a result, it is said, the Korean language has nearly disappeared. What would become of our country, if south Korea follows flunkeyism towards the United States and Japan, and north Korea towards the Soviet Union and China? Our Party does not tolerate any kind of flunkeyism. If we do not combat flunkeyism, our people can neither have national pride nor develop their country into a rich and powerful state which is independent in politics, self-reliant in the economy and capable of defending itself.

Even when communism has emerged victorious throughout the world, the Koreans will live in Korea. Even when communism has become a reality everywhere, the Koreans will not need to abandon their land of three thousand *ri* with beautiful mountains and clear rivers and go to live in cold Siberia or in the wilderness of Manchuria nor will they go across the Korea Strait to live in Japan or America. The Korean communists must build a paradise in the land of Korea. To this end, we must establish Juche thoroughly in accordance with the Party's policy.

I always say that establishing Juche means considering all problems by using one's own intelligence and solving them by one's own efforts and in the interests of the Korean revolution.

Only when we establish Juche thoroughly can we successfully advance the revolution and construction. Therefore, it is necessary to establish Juche in all sectors.

As I said at the Academy of Sciences, industry, for instance, can be called an independent national industry only when it can depend on domestic production for at least 70 per cent of its raw materials. An industry which depends on a foreign source, and not on domestic output, for most of its raw materials is not an independent national industry but a dependent industry. Until communism is established throughout the world and as long as states exist, the people of each country will have to continue to develop their own national industry. Only when we build an independent national industry can we develop the national economy safely and continue to provide the people with good living conditions through our own efforts under any difficult circumstances.

The vinalon industry is a completely Juche-based industry of our own. This is firstly because the inventor of vinalon is a Korean and the designers and builders of the vinalon factory are Koreans, and secondly because it depends on rich supplies of domestic raw materials. Vinalon is produced from carbide. And our country has unlimited deposits of limestone and anthracite as well as a large output of electricity, all of which are needed for the production of carbide. Therefore, there is no need to worry about a shortage of raw materials and no one can put pressure on us in the matter of the supply of raw materials, nor do we need to ask anyone for these materials. All we have to do is to produce vinalon fabrics with our raw materials to provide ourselves with clothing. Vinalon is a Juche-oriented fibre obtained from domestic raw materials. It is a good fibre with which we are completely familiar.

The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee recently considered the situation of the February 8 Vinalon Factory and looked into the possibility of its expansion. During our current inspection of



Hamhung we were convinced that this factory is very promising. It is true that the factory has some problems for a time at first because it was built without going through the process of adequate testing. At that time the technical and skill levels of our workers were low, the rate of material consumption per unit was great, and the quality of the product was not high. But much has now been improved. At the initial stage of vinalon production, the rate of consumption of carbide per-unit output was very high. But now it has dropped to a considerable extent and the quality of fibre has markedly improved. We are going to increase the production capacity of the February 8 Vinalon Factory to 30,000 tons.

We must strive to produce not only vinalon but also other fibres from domestic raw materials.

In addition to increasing the capacity of the February 8 Vinalon Factory to 30,000 tons, we will, in the future, put production at the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill which uses pulp as its raw material, on a firmer basis, and raise the capacity of the Sinuiju Chemical Fibre Mill which uses reeds as its raw material to 20,000 tons by planting more reeds on Pidan Island. Then we shall be able to produce 80,000 tons of fibre in all every year. It will be a great success if we attain an annual output of 80,000 tons of fibre which is produced from our own raw materials during the period of the Seven-Year Plan. At the same time we are now going ahead with preparations for producing various chemical fibres such as Orlon and Tetoron by processing crude oil imported from foreign sources. If we process crude oil and thus produce chemical fibres for ourselves we shall finally solve the problem of fibre, the raw material of the textile industry, largely from our own resources.

Other industrial sectors should also be Juche-oriented in this way. In order to develop the whole of our industrial sector as an independent one which depends mainly on domestic raw materials, our scientists should redouble their efforts.

In all fields of science, both natural and social, you must implement the Juche idea of our Party. If you are to establish Juche firmly, you must reject flunkeyism thoroughly.

In opposing flunkeyism and establishing Juche, you must not give prominence to the *silhak* school. Of course it was a good thing that the *silhak* school was opposed to flunkeyism in the past. We should consider that it played a progressive role under the circumstances in those days. But you must clearly understand what was the theoretical basis on which it was opposed to flunkeyism. The doctrine of this school was not materialistic, but mostly idealistic. Therefore, the struggle of the proponents of this school against flunkeyism towards foreign countries could not be thoroughgoing.

Only when you firmly depend on the Juche idea of our Party can you thoroughly oppose flunkeyism. You must arm yourselves completely with the Juche idea of our Party and, on this basis, you must combat flunkeyism.

The second important task is to uproot egoistic, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideas which still survive in the minds of intellectuals and to working-classize and revolutionize all of them.

Many of our university lecturers were educated in the days of Japanese imperialism. Some of them came from the families of landlords, and some of their fathers served in institutions of Japanese imperialism. And among their relatives there could be people who were policemen or sub-county headmen and those who have questionable backgrounds. Most of the old intellectuals are those who received education because they were formerly rich. In the days of Japanese imperialism only the children of the rich could go to university. But the children of poor people like workmen and peasants could not afford to go to school, still less could they think of studying in higher institutions of learning such as a university, in spite of their thirst for education. Some poor people worked their way through school, but they were very few in number.

After liberation we did not reject the old intellectuals because they came from rich families. Our Party set forth a policy of treating all of them magnanimously whether they were sons of landlords or took service in the establishments of Japanese imperialism so long as they themselves were not landlords or policemen, so as to make effective

use of their knowledge for the building of a new country.

It is true, of course, that they had not studied to serve the working class and the rest of the people. Most of them studied to work for landlords, capitalists and Japanese imperialism. However, now that Japanese imperialism had perished and landlords and capitalists were liquidated, we had to open a road for them to serve the interests of the people. Immediately after liberation we told the intellectuals that those who wanted to work for the people could join us and that those who wanted to continue their service for landlords and capitalists could not do so. As a result, most of the intellectuals remained in the northern half of the country although some of them fled to south Korea. Meanwhile, a large number of intellectuals came over to us from south Korea to work for the people.

By their nature, intellectuals are apt to hesitate between the two choices: whether to serve the landlord and capitalist classes from which they came or to serve the working class, an advanced class, and the rest of people, because they have seen the truth. Our Party hoped that our intellectuals would work in the interests of the working class and the rest of the people, and it firmly believed that it could re-educate these intellectuals.

Although our old intellectuals had been educated because they were rich, as colonial intellectuals, they had been subjected to national oppression and extreme national discrimination. Take the living standards of engineers during the days of Japanese imperialism for example. A Japanese engineer received a monthly salary of 100 *won*, whereas his Korean counterpart earned only 50 *won*, that is, half as much as the Japanese. Housing for the Japanese engineers was superb, whereas that for Korean engineers was shameful. Because our intellectuals had suffered such oppression and discrimination we thought that they would come over to the working class and the people.

Since immediately after liberation our Party has taken a magnanimous approach to a broad section of intellectuals and has made tireless efforts to re-educate them.

As you all know, a Marxist-Leninist party is the vanguard of the

working class and, accordingly, only the most awakened and progressive elements of the working class can be admitted to the party. But under the conditions in our country immediately after liberation, it was impossible for us to organize a party with only a small number of such qualified communists. If we had admitted only those who unreservedly approved of communism, by examining them one by one by the standard of a communist programme when organizing the Party, none of the intellectuals who had served the capitalists could have joined it.

Our Party decided to go hand in hand with the intellectuals who deeply repented of their past service in the interests of the capitalists or Japanese imperialism and expressed their resolve to serve the working class and the people.

We reorganized the Communist Party into the Workers' Party, a mass political party, and decided to admit not only the working class but the intellectuals who wanted to work for the people. As a result, many intellectuals joined our Party and since the first days of its foundation our Party has endeavoured to embrace and re-educate the intellectuals. In founding the Party we did not copy foreign experience in a dogmatic way but organized it thoroughly from the standpoint of Juche.

Our Party not only forgave the crimes committed by the old intellectuals by serving Japanese imperialists and even admitted them to the Party. It also excused some intellectuals for their crimes committed during the days of the Fatherland Liberation War. During the war many intellectuals advanced southward as far as Masan with our People's Army. During the difficult days of the temporary retreat they walked back on bare foot without yielding for a moment in support of our Party and the Government of the Republic. But some of them did not retreat and hid. When the enemy came they wrote letters of surrender and served the Americans as interpreters or stooges. Although their crimes during the war were serious, we treated them generously and tried to re-educate all the intellectuals so long as they had no direct hand in killing Party members and people or in other atrocities.

This is of great significance also in re-educating the intellectuals in south Korea in the future. In south Korea today there are many intellectuals serving the Americans. When we reunify the country, even if it is tomorrow, we shall meet a number of south Korean intellectuals. But it would be impossible to accuse all of them of heavy crimes because they served the enemy. We will have to win them over and re-educate them.

Intellectuals should have a proper understanding of this generous policy of our Party and its policy of revolutionization and should strive to be loyal to the cause of our revolution. However, some of our intellectuals are making no effort to re-educate themselves and are acting contrary to the needs of the revolution.

Of course, many of them have been remoulded. They lead a frugal life and work faithfully for the Party and the people. I am not going to speak highly of people who are alive. As a matter of principle, the Party says little in praise of a living man.

Let me take an example of the late Comrade Kang Yong Chang. As I still remember him, Comrade Kang Yong Chang was infinitely faithful to the Party and the people. He lived very frugally, trying hard to work as best as he could for the Party and the people. So I respected him very much. Once, he was the director of the Department of Heavy Industry of the Party Central Committee. I was thinking of setting up a Party policy study room and letting him work there. But we had to develop natural science in our country; so, though I was reluctant, I appointed him to the post of President of the Academy of Sciences. It is a matter of great regret that he died so early without doing more work for the revolution.

I will take another example of an intellectual who was loyal to the Party and the people. As I still remember vividly, I gave a certain comrade the task of reconstructing the Kangnam Ceramic Factory when the war was still going on. He knew nothing about making bricks. Nevertheless, he carried out the assignment given by the Party admirably, undergoing great hardships amidst the savage bombing by enemy aircraft.

A large number of our intellectuals fought well during the Fatherland Liberation War with a determination to offer even their lives for the Party, the country and the people, and many of them fell while fighting valiantly.

These examples prove that the old-line intellectuals can be revolutionized and remoulded to serve the Party and the people loyally.

In recent years, however, our officials have neglected efforts to revolutionize intellectuals. They did not educate the intellectuals properly either in communist ideology or in revolutionary traditions in particular. As a result, arrogance began to grow in the minds of some intellectuals, and also the bad habits which they had acquired while serving the bourgeoisie in the past began to revive.

At present there are many people who talk bombastically in academic circles. And there are also many scientists who act against their conscience. We know that our scientists translated and plagiarized quite a number of the results of foreigners' researches, and that some of them even stooped and picked up what had been discarded by others after some studies, and published them as a success of their own.

What is worse, certain university lecturers do not try to understand correctly the superiority of the socialist system, but are dreaming of the old system under which landlords and capitalists alone enjoyed a good life. They are trying to educate our students with this ideology. This shows that they are taking the road of counter-revolution against our Party's policy of revolutionization.

Not only scientists but also old-line intellectuals who are now cadres are degenerating because they do not continue to strive to revolutionize themselves.

And not only those old-line intellectuals but also some of the new intellectuals we have educated are now degenerating because they are not revolutionized.

All this shows that the work of revolutionizing intellectuals should be further strengthened. We must realize that if we neglect the struggle to revolutionize intellectuals, many of them may degenerate even now.

The present situation demands that the intellectuals be more thoroughly revolutionized. At the moment, the solidarity of the socialist camp is weakening because of its internal differences; and our enemies, taking advantage of this opportunity, are viciously plotting to undermine the socialist camp. In these circumstances, the intellectuals, by their very nature, may waver more than anyone else.

Our intellectuals must strive to revolutionize themselves. The old-line intellectuals in particular, being clearly aware how dishonourable it is for them to have served the interests of capitalists or imperialists in the past, must endeavour to refrain from repeating their past mistakes and must always educate their children to avoid their own disgraceful acts. This is the way for the intellectuals to shape a hopeful future for them and pave the road to happiness for their children.

Many south Korean intellectuals are now participating in the revolutionary struggle for the country and the people. Many scientists in south Korea are bravely fighting without yielding to brutal fascist suppression by the US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique, although they well know that they will be shot if they are arrested. Many of them are prosperous. But they regard it as an honour to die in the fight for the revolution, for the country and the people, and they are convinced that only when they fight as revolutionaries can they bring happiness to their descendants. Some time ago a south Korean newspaper reported the case of a roundup of 18 intellectuals including professors and assistant professors at Kyongbuk University, and the principal of a secondary school, in North Kyongsang Province. It is said that even when they were arrested they fought bravely, upholding their revolutionary honour.

Why, then, can our intellectuals not faithfully serve the people by revolutionizing themselves? A man is worthless if he does not fight for the people, but tries to eat and live alone in a privileged position. Our intellectuals must continue to strive to be loyal to the Party and the revolution.

The most important thing in revolutionizing intellectuals is to

strengthen their life in Party and other organizations. A man, whoever he may be, undergoes continuous ideological training in the course of abiding by organizational discipline, cultivating collective spirit, criticizing himself and others, directly receiving criticism from others and examining himself when hearing criticisms directed at others. Therefore, strengthening organizational life is the best way of revolutionizing people.

At present, some scientists do not even take part in their Party life as they should nor are they willing to criticize, thinking that they are above organizational life, control or education. Whoever dislikes organizational life cannot be revolutionized and, accordingly, is prone to error. Experience shows that people who disliked organizational life and refused to accept comradely criticisms sincerely have all committed mistakes.

For a long time we have laid stress on the question of strengthening the organizational life of intellectuals and keeping them under constant control to lead them along the right track. Immediately after liberation I met quite a number of intellectuals. Once I had a talk with an electrician, whose father had been a landlord. I said: "You are the son of a landlord. Will you work for your nation and people or for landlords and capitalists? We shall expropriate all your estate. What will you do?" He answered that all that had been done by his father was mistaken and that he would work for the good of the people. We talked with many intellectuals in this way at that time and, furthermore, helped them to work well for the Party and the people by encouraging them to take part in organizational life and educating and controlling them in various aspects. Strengthening the organizational life of intellectuals and keeping them always under control like this really means helping them.

In the past, however, the wicked men who were entrenched in the Party pretended to look after the intellectuals, but in fact corrupted them. They claimed that people holding a doctor's degree need not take part in Party life and that doctors had only to strive to increase their specialized knowledge because they were so clever that a cursory



glance at Party documents would give them a full understanding of Party policies. These people also encouraged double standards of discipline in the Party by giving instructions that Party organizations should neither criticize nor take issue with doctors who did not attend Party meetings. This was how intellectuals were corrupted.

I have heard that university lecturers in Hamhung have also a tendency to dislike Party life, and hate exposing their shortcomings to criticism and that double standards of discipline are encouraged in the Party. Although students know the shortcomings of their lecturers well, they dare not criticize them because they are their teachers, nor do the lecturers criticize each other. As a result, an undesirable habit of putting on airs has developed among many of them. Schools are not places where double standards of discipline can be tolerated. Only monolithic discipline should prevail throughout the Party.

You must clearly understand that the neglect of Party organizational life and of the efforts to revolutionize yourselves is, in the long run, to ruin yourselves. This will be harmful not only to yourselves but to your children and descendants.

Intellectuals must be clear about the fact that they are working for the revolution. I was told that, at present, some of the intellectuals assume an air of importance, saying that they graduated from the Severance Medical School or a sort of university in Japan in days gone by, instead of thinking about how well they can serve the Party and the people. This is absurd. We are not in such a difficult situation that it would be impossible for us to give university education to students or run hospitals without the people who graduated from universities in the past.

Even if we do find it difficult to run hospitals without doctors who were educated at universities in the past, we shall never compromise when they are not loyal to the Party and the revolution. Even in the days of our armed struggle we did not beg the bourgeoisie for medicine nor did we compromise with them even when we had to use the bark of the Amur cork tree for the treatment of bullet wounds. Why, then, should we ever beg for medical care today from anyone who refuses to serve the people?

No matter what profound knowledge a man may have, his knowledge is worthless to us if he wants to serve the bourgeoisie. His knowledge will be useful only when he works for the well-being of the people. Whoever refuses to work for the good of our Party, our working class and our people, is of no use to us, no matter what knowledge he may have. We revolutionaries have no need of such intellectuals.

But I do not mean to say that the intellectuals who committed errors in the past should be dismissed at once. The point is that we should establish strict Party discipline, strengthen the Party life of intellectuals, and criticize their shortcomings before it is too late to correct them.

The question of revolutionizing people will not be solved by a campaign lasting a day or two. A man, whoever he may be, can be revolutionized only when he steadily trains himself through a long period of organizational life. Anyone who revolutionizes himself by unremitting efforts can faithfully serve the Party, the working class and the people.

A revolution is not an undertaking exclusively for the men who work with hammers, directly under capitalist oppression and exploitation. We, too, had had no firsthand experience of working under capitalist oppression and exploitation when we started the revolution. Seeing our fellow men undergo hardships we knew that the society of landlords and capitalists was really bad, and we set about the revolutionary struggle. Since then, we have trained ourselves in revolutionary ideas through the revolutionary struggle and Party organizational life over a period of very many years.

You can also train yourselves to become revolutionaries by making unremitting efforts to participate well in the activities of Party and working people's organizations. Our Party wants intellectuals to become revolutionaries and faithfully serve the Party and the people. You should sincerely practise self-criticism and take part in your organizational life, revolutionize yourselves steadily under strict Party control and work as revolutionaries until the last moment of your lives.

Intellectuals must not waver in any circumstances. We revolutionaries cannot join with people who hesitate in the revolutionary struggle. There is a revolutionary song which says: "Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer; we'll keep the Red Flag flying here." This is a slogan we revolutionaries have long upheld.

At present some waverers are scared by the howling of the imperialists who ignite war everywhere they can. They regard socialism and communism as something which is as worthless as the enemy's misleading propaganda says, taking advantage of the differences within the socialist camp. Some of you comrades may probably have lost faith in the Marxist-Leninist principles and regard imperialism as eternal. But you must not falter like that in the slightest.

Did you ever think in the past that Japanese imperialism would perish? At that time many people might not have thought so. But the Japanese imperialists were destroyed in the end. Nowadays, the Yankees are boasting about their strength, but they, too, will inevitably perish some day. The law of social development tells us that it is inevitable that imperialism will collapse and communism will emerge victorious. You must firmly believe in this truth. Of course, imperialism will not collapse by itself. Its downfall can be hastened only through battle.

Today the US imperialists have recourse to every means to maintain their colonial rule in south Korea, but they will never be able to curb the struggle of the south Korean people. They installed Park Chung Hee as president on the assumption that the people in south Korea could not rise under his rule. But the struggle of the people is mounting as the days go by.

Now south Korean students come out against the fraudulent "election" manipulated by the Park Chung Hee clique, 40,000 students marching in demonstrations in a single day. It is said that the Park Chung Hee clique was so hard pressed that it ordered the schools to close temporarily to scatter the students to their homes.

This shows that the US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique are being driven into a tighter corner. It is inevitable that the US

imperialists will be driven out of south Korea, that the south Korean revolution will triumph, and that our country will be reunified.

Firmly based on the Marxist-Leninist principles and convinced that our revolution will emerge victorious, the intellectuals should make unremitting efforts to acquire the revolutionary qualities, and lead their lives in a revolutionary way.

In particular, you must resolutely combat all erroneous ideological tendencies which are contrary to the ideas of our Party. Some intellectuals have not even quickly countered those who have had illusions about the reactionary system of south Korea, instead of having a correct understanding of the superiority of the socialist system. If we give up the ideological struggle within the Party and leave the counter-revolutionary viruses as they are, they will take root among our people. We must attack such ideological poisons hard.

How can our socialist system be worse than the reactionary system of south Korea? Of course, it is true that our people as a whole do not live as well as the bourgeoisie did in the past. Nevertheless, you cannot ignore the advantages of our system. Those who close their eyes to the advantages of the socialist system are people who are still wavering.

Not everyone actively supports our socialism at the moment. Those who actively support the socialist system are the working class, the poor peasants, the new intellectuals we have trained and the old-line intellectuals who have become awakened. The people of the middle class appear to support us, but in their minds they still doubt the ultimate victory of the socialist system. Therefore, we cannot say that we have achieved the complete victory of socialism.

As I stressed in my speech on the questions of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, only when we have won over even the middle class to our side, can we say that we have accomplished the complete victory of socialism. In other words, the complete victory of socialism will come when a classless society has become a reality, that is, when all class differences have been eliminated. Only then will the middle class also give unqualified support to our system. To win this support, we must

further consolidate the material and technical foundations of socialism and revolutionize and working-classize all the people. This is an important, practical conclusion which we have reached in the course of building socialism.

Even some of the intellectuals who still retain middle-class ideas have no correct understanding of the superiority of the socialist system because they try to see everything from a selfish viewpoint. Some of the people, who lived well in the past, simply think that today they are not so well off as they were in the years of the bourgeoisie, blinded by their own selfish interest; they cannot see that all the people work equally and are equally prosperous in our country. In the final analysis, those who are imbued with egoism cannot and will not see the superiority of the socialist system.

People who came to north Korea from south Korea for the first time, although they had not been systematically educated by us, say that the socialist system is really good, after seeing places like Pyongyang and Hamhung for three days or so. They say so because they compare the developing reality of the north with the dark society of south Korea. They have always seen many beggars roaming about in south Korea, many homeless children sleeping on straw mats under bridges and polishing the shoes of Americans and bourgeois ladies and gentlemen. And they know everything about social miseries—a large number of women being degraded into prostitution which is beneath human dignity, the streets with a heavy traffic of taxis whose services only the bourgeoisie can afford, not workmen and peasants, large crowds of unemployed people trying to carry loads for hire around the South Gate and the Seoul Railway Station and university graduates roaming about the streets, unable to find a job. So they can see the real advantages of our system at a glance on their arrival here.

Our intellectuals cannot clearly see the superiority of the socialist system simply because our officials have not educated them and revolutionized them properly. Because intellectuals have not been properly educated in the Marxist-Leninist principles, in our Party's policies and revolutionary traditions, and because their Party spirit has

not been tempered as required, they cannot see the superiority of the socialist system, adopting a selfish approach towards everything. That is why they easily waver if they are confronted with a little difficulty.

As everyone knows, agriculture has not been successful in our country in the last few years, and there has been some strain on our food situation, but no serious difficulty in our people's living conditions. Nevertheless, some intellectuals are vacillating, talking such nonsense as: what is the good of the socialist system under which the people are not well off?

In passing, I should like to talk briefly about farming. Why was our farming unsuccessful during the past three years? Even the Agricultural Commission did not make an analysis of this matter. So the Party analysed it in a scientific way and found some major reasons.

These are: first, drainage construction has not been undertaken for the wide area of new rice fields which have been reclaimed over the past few years, although the necessary embankments have been built. When turning dry fields into paddy fields, one should take into account the usual water level of the rice fields, and how much it will rise in proportion to a given amount of rainfall, and then plan the drainage system needed to cope with the rainfall. But our officials simply overlooked this factor. Dry fields absorb the rain, but paddy fields need to be drained of rain-water because these are always water-logged. So the absence of a drainage system resulted in these fields being flooded and their yields reduced.

During the past three to four years the area of rice fields has increased by 100,000 hectares on a national scale. How much flood damage these crops must have suffered over such a wide area which is provided with virtually no drainage system! I was told that in South Hamgyong Province alone 7,000 hectares of paddy fields had been flooded. There might be more flood damage which has not been covered by the statistic survey.

We knew this last year when we were talking to farmers, inspecting the countryside to get to know the rural situation. So we seriously criticized this shortcoming in South Hwanghae Province last year and

saw to it that appropriate measures were taken.

The Hamhung University of Hydraulics is largely to blame for the damage which is due to the absence of a draining system. This university teaches hydrography, irrigation and similar subjects. But the graduates of this university did not calculate the rainfall nor did they set up a proper draining system. The lecturers at this university should reflect on this.

The second reason for inefficient farming is that fertilizers with different properties were not adequately supplied. The result of investigation shows that the low crop yields in our country have occurred since the outbreak of the war in Viet Nam. We can say that the low crop yields have much to do with the unavailability of apatite supplies from Viet Nam. We imported a large amount of apatite from there in the past, but we import none at present. So the phosphatic fertilizer factories with a capacity of more than 500,000 tons which have been built in Hungnam and Nampho are not in operation. And the import of potassium fertilizer has also decreased. It is not by chance that our farmers say they are now growing only grass. The liberal application of nitrogenous fertilizer stimulates plant stalks to grow fat and tall, but they are easily blown down and bear no large ears and their yields are low because of the inadequate supply of phosphatic and potassium fertilizers.

During our current inspection of Hamhung we are told that our country is very rich in apatite. Hundreds of millions of tons of apatite deposits are said to exist in Tongam, South Hamgyong Province, which can be extracted by opencast mining. Although the phosphatic content is not very high, we shall be able to produce as much phosphatic fertilizer as we need from our domestic apatite if scientists will diligently study this problem and work out an effective method of dressing the ore. At present, however, our officials do nothing about this matter. This problem has something to do also with the Hamhung University of Chemical Industry and the Chongjin University of Mining and Metallurgical Engineering.

I do not think it a very good idea to use liquid ammonia on paddy

fields. Your dogmatic work attitude over the past years resulted in the indiscriminate use of liquid ammonia on paddy fields. Of course, the production of liquid ammonia has an advantage in that it dispenses with the solidifying processes and with the expense of building these facilities. But, if the effectiveness of fertilizer decreases, the saving on the construction cost is of no significance. Liquid ammonia can be applied to dry fields. Foreign magazines say that liquid ammonia is effective in the cultivation of maize and other dry-field crops. But there is no information yet that it is effective in paddy fields.

During my present inspection tour I could not visit many cooperative farms because I had not much time. I visited only one and talked to the farmers there. They all advised against the use of liquid ammonia on rice fields. They say that just as a human being becomes weak if he suffers from illness for a long time, so the rice plant suffers for a long time from the noxious effect of liquid ammonia, so that it bears no rich ears. I think it likely that the rice crop on the Hamju Plain is being badly affected by liquid ammonia. I do not think that the farmers are against it because of any conservative attitude. I doubt the effectiveness of liquid ammonia applied to rice fields. In fact, no scientific experiment has yet been made to confirm whether the rice plant can take in liquid ammonia. I think that this matter deserves some botanical research.

Generally speaking, these are the main reasons for the low crop yields in our country over the past few years. We communists must not accept things as being accidental, but must analyse problems in a scientific manner like this. At present, some comrades complain of bad weather and what not in their attempt to lay the blame for low crop yields on natural conditions. They are mistaken. The problem is that we have not worked out measures to overcome natural damage. This is the way we should consider the matter.

In the past years we have made great investments in agriculture. We have reclaimed a large area of paddy fields, have undertaken a great deal of irrigation construction and have built several fertilizer factories. But we have failed to achieve what we should have done



because we have overlooked a few tasks which should have been carried out.

These were the causes of low crop yields and of the slight shortage of food for about three years. But this is a passing phenomenon in any case. Unable to endure such difficulty, some people waver. This shows that they cannot see the problem broadly from the revolutionary point of view. They see the matter short-sightedly from the point of view of their own individual, narrow and immediate interests.

Communist ideas and selfish ideas are not compatible. Hence the need for a struggle between communist ideas and selfish ideas; in other words, a resolute struggle between the idea of one for all and all for one and the idea of one's own comfortable life, without paying attention to anyone else.

In future we must educate intellectuals thoroughly, by improving the work of both the Ministry of Higher Education and the Ministry of General Education and by giving more effective Party direction to these sectors.

The ranks of intellectuals are now increasing steadily. Of course, the new intellectuals are working intellectuals whom we have trained. But they have not experienced hardships or oppression and exploitation by imperialists, landlords and capitalists. We should, therefore, pay particular attention to the education of young intellectuals, along with the education of the old-line intellectuals. And we should intensify the education of intellectuals in Party policies, educate them properly in communist ideas and in the revolutionary traditions in particular.

Education in the revolutionary traditions plays a very important role in reforming people's ideas. Some people seem to think that the *Reminiscences of the Anti-Japanese Guerrillas* are unimportant. They should not do so. Why is it not important to study such a story as *A Bowl of Parched-Rice Flour*? If our people acquired the spirit of this tale they would not be selfish nor would they waver because of a slight shortage of food. You should not read the *Reminiscences of the Anti-Japanese Guerrillas* just as you read novels nor should you listen

to them as if you were listening to a fairy tale. You should make unceasing efforts to learn revolutionary ideas from them.

If you endure the struggle to revolutionize yourselves, you can go on to communism with us, otherwise you cannot. It cannot be helped if laggards refuse to go on the road of revolution and slip away to the road of capitalism. We do not hesitate to tell them to go their own way. We cannot tolerate double standards of discipline in the Party for those who do not want to revolutionize themselves. We hope that all lecturers and intellectuals will strive to revolutionize themselves.

The struggle to revolutionize people must not be prejudiced in favour of the people of good origin or against those of bad origin. This struggle must be directed to their ideas in any circumstances. Those who are loyal to the Party and work well for the working class and the people are good, even if they came from bad families. But we must uncompromisingly fight against those who retain bourgeois ideology and try to eat well and live in comfort, thinking only of themselves, out of selfishness and in pursuance of their former happy lives under a capitalist society, who are opposed to our socialist system and give publicity to the reactionary capitalist system. We should break with such people. Of course, people who made some inadvertent mistakes in words and deeds can be forgiven and welcomed if they criticize their mistakes sincerely in order to reform themselves and turn to the side of the revolution.

The revolutionization of intellectuals requires that shortcomings and mistakes be corrected through criticism and self-criticism rather than that we should imprudently dismiss or punish people. You cannot transform people's ideas by dismissing or punishing them. We must strive to revolutionize people through tireless ideological education and ideological struggle and to save every single man to take him along the road of communism. This is the consistent policy of our Party.

All our intellectuals should live up to the expectation of the Party by thoroughly revolutionizing themselves. The older and the better informed they are, the more modestly they should behave. The longer standing intellectuals they are, the harder they must strive with a

resolve to revolutionize and working-classize themselves comprehensively and to devote their lives for the good of the Party, the working class and the people. This is the way in which they can become genuine communists and render distinguished service for the revolution and their fellow men. Nothing is more honourable than to work and lay down one's life for the Party, the working class and the people.

The third important task for the intellectuals is that they should eliminate the tendency to imagine that they are better than they are and should establish the constant habit of studying to improve their qualifications steadily.

At present our scientists are not in the habit of studying hard. Whoever does not study continuously cannot make progress. Some university lecturers in Hamhung seem to think too highly of themselves for what little they learned in the past. They must not do so. You must never be complacent. Today the sciences have made great strides and are developing daily. The developing situation continues to set new challenges for the scientists. So, if they neglect study, content with the knowledge which they already have, they will not be able to keep up with developments in science, nor will they be able to meet the requirements of the situation. Both new and old intellectuals must continue to study diligently.

It is most important for the intellectuals in their study to initiate themselves properly into Party policy and thoroughly equip themselves with the monolithic ideology of the Party. If they do not know Party policy and do not equip themselves with the ideology of the Party, they will turn out useless, no matter how much they study. Past experience eloquently proves this. As I said earlier, a certain scholar, although he had read a great deal and studied quite a lot, could write nothing more than a hotchpotch of plagiarized foreign ideas because he was not thoroughly equipped with the ideology of our Party. If one is to do scientific research as required by our revolution, one must first have a deep understanding of our Party's ideology. So all our scholars, without exception, must first have a good command of

Party policy and then acquire scientific knowledge in their special fields of study.

Intellectuals should study what our Party requires and our people need. In other words, they must follow their scientific pursuits from the firm standpoint of Juche of our Party. Only then can they develop the sciences which are needed by the Korean revolution and which can benefit the Workers' Party of Korea, the working class of Korea and the Korean people. Since states and their boundaries still exist, and since distinctions are made between "mine" and "thine" even amongst the socialist countries, we have to strive to develop science for our country. Since we are struggling to build socialism and communism in Korea, we need science, technology and theories which suit the revolution and socialist construction in our country. No matter how hard you may study, it will be useless unless your scientific pursuits meet the demand of our Party and suit the situation in our country.

These are the important tasks for the scientists and particularly for the lecturers who train the younger generation. I think these tasks are acceptable to both old and young intellectuals.

Let me emphasize once more that you must clearly understand that you are not breadwinners who receive salaries for passing time from one day to another, but revolutionaries who train the young communists of Korea, the reserves of socialist and communist construction. All university lecturers must strive to equip themselves firmly with the Juche idea of our Party, revolutionize themselves while opposing selfishness, self-indulgence, and other bourgeois ideas, revisionism, dogmatism and flunkeyism, establish the habit of study and follow the scientific pursuits that our Party demands.

I call upon the university lecturers and scientists in Hamhung to be the first to strive to implement these honourable tasks which the Party sets for intellectuals.

# **FOR THE THOROUGHGOING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE PARTY CONFERENCE**

**Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Activists  
of South Hamgyong Provincial and Hamhung  
City Party Organizations**

*June 20, 1967*

Comrades,

Two years have passed since our last personal direction of the work in South Hamgyong Province. In this period the Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung mobilized all the Party members and working people in a vigorous labour drive and so achieved great success in socialist economic construction. South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung have established the capacity of producing 80,000 tons of ammonium by the anthracite gasification method, developed a new mine and its ore-dressing plant and built a large woollen textile mill, the first of its kind in our country. And they have successfully carried out the drainage project for more than 7,000 hectares of rice fields. You are now working hard to complete the railway electrification project in a campaign which involves all the masses.

The achievements made by the heroic struggle of all the people in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung in their socialist economic construction are making a great contribution to developing the national economy of our country as a whole and to raising the living standards of our people.

I highly appreciate this success in your work and express my warm thanks to the Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung and to all the people including the industrial workers and the peasantry.

In spite of the many successes in the work of Party organizations of South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung, there are many shortcomings which must be corrected. Now, let me deal with the shortcomings revealed in the work of these Party organizations and the tasks to be carried out to implement the decisions of the Party Conference.

## **1. ON PARTY WORK**

Today the international background to our revolution is very complex. The US imperialists are directing the spearhead of aggression at Asia and aggravating the situation in this region as much as possible. The Right and “Left” opportunists who have appeared in the international communist movement are doing enormous harm to the anti-imperialist, revolutionary cause of the people, by spreading the poison of bourgeois and revisionist ideas. In this situation our Party Conference was held last year and it adopted an important strategic policy of stepping up economic and defence construction, of uniting the masses in all walks of life behind the Party and of revolutionizing and working-classing the industrial workers, the peasants and the intellectuals.

Our Party’s policy of carrying on the construction of the economy and defences simultaneously is an original and creative policy which has been put forward for the first time on the basis of a scientific analysis of the internal and external situation. Only when we put this policy into effect completely can we consolidate the material and technical foundations of the national economy further and improve the

living standards of our people markedly. And only when we carry through this policy can we protect the socialist system in the northern half of Korea and have a strong defence capability which can guarantee the cause of national reunification.

If we are to implement this policy, we must carry out very difficult tasks which require us to work hard.

To carry out the Party's policy for simultaneous economic and defence construction, we must first of all have a deep understanding of its nature, launch a powerful ideological campaign against passivism, stagnation and waverers inside and outside the Party and, at the same time, mobilize all Party members and other working people in the proper way.

However, the Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung are still neglecting the in-depth study of the Party Conference documents and are conducting the struggle to implement the tasks given in these documents perfunctorily. As a result, in some sectors one finds a deviation which consists of being engrossed in economic construction, and other sectors are quite at a loss how to build the economy and our defences simultaneously.

South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung have been very timid in planning the national economy for this year and in implementing this plan.

Of course, such a careless attitude to the planning of this year's economic efforts is not a shortcoming confined to the Party organizations of South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung. Some of the national bodies also revealed a great deal of passivism and hesitation in drawing up the national economic plan for this year. For this reason, the Party seriously criticized the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Metal Industry, the Ministry of Chemical Industry, the Ministry of Light Industry and some other economic bodies which tried to draw up a passive and inadequate national economic plan for this year. But South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung have not yet discarded passivism in implementing the Party's policy.

After finishing the anthracite gasification project and the construction of Urea Fertilizer Factory No. 1 the Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung should have maintained the soaring fighting spirit of the people. However, you have made no further progress, sitting with arms folded after putting the factory into operation. Originally, the opening ceremony of the urea fertilizer factory aimed at showing appreciation for the labour efforts of the people and encouraging them to the next battle. But after cheering for the opening ceremony, you have not worked properly over the past few months. In consequence, the construction of Urea Fertilizer Factory No. 2 has only started, although all the equipment such as compressors and urea separators which is to be installed in the factory had already been supplied. I think this is because the Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung made only a perfunctory study of the Party Conference documents and failed to work hard to implement the Party's policy of carrying on the building of the economy and our defences simultaneously.

These Party organizations have not done Party work, scientific and educational work and the work of other sectors, to say nothing of economic construction, as required by the Party. In particular, they have not properly implemented the task of revolutionizing and working-classizing workers, peasants and intellectuals, the task set forth at the Party Conference. A full-scale campaign to revolutionize and working-classize intellectuals is not being carried on in the science and education sectors.

The Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung are also very slow in executing the tasks given at the last Conference of Chief Secretaries of Provincial, City, County and Factory Party Committees, and in implementing the decisions of the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party.

As you all know, the last conference and plenary meeting put forward the task of establishing the system of monolithic ideology thoroughly within the whole Party, and of efficient direction by means of discontinuing the practice of wielding Party authority and



bureaucratism, and by eliminating the slovenly work attitude and the practice of taking over administrative functions in Party work and in directing economic affairs. But the Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung have been very slow and unsystematic in organizing the implementation of this task. This shows that they have not established the revolutionary trait of unconditionally accepting and carrying through Party policies nor have they thoroughly eradicated the chronic perfunctory work attitude by means of a forceful ideological struggle.

In order to carry out Party policies they should firmly establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party, inaugurate a decisive class struggle and thus wipe out the ideological maladies of long-standing perfunctoriness and bureaucratism.

I always stress that, if we are to carry out a revolution, we should arm ourselves with the ideology and policies of our Party and sharpen the edge of the class struggle using these as our yardstick, and must resolutely combat all non-Party practices. But an examination of the work of the Party organizations of South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung at the moment shows that the edge of the class struggle has been blunted and that it is not as sharp as required by the Party. You should correct these shortcomings as soon as possible. Hamhung is a large working-class city and South Hamgyong Province accounts for a large proportion of the national economy of our country. So the Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung should thoroughly establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party, think just as the Party Central Committee thinks, breathe the same air as the Party Central Committee does and set an example in combatting all practices which are contrary to the Party's idea and policy—including the practices of wielding Party authority, bureaucratism, superficiality and the practice of taking over administrative functions.

To be specific, what, then, are the important tasks facing the Party organizations of South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung?

The most important task is to work hard and implement the

decisions of the Party Conference completely.

To this end, all the Party organizations including those in factories, enterprises and scientific and educational establishments should, first of all, conscientiously study and then discuss the report to the Party Conference once more.

Because the Party organizations of South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung have not organized an in-depth study of this report, quite a number of people still do not know clearly what revolutionization and working-classization are. Nor are they clear about the policy of carrying on the building of the economy and our defences simultaneously: they are not sure what is to be done to benefit the building of our defences and facilitate the laying of solid foundations for the national economy.

That is why all the work which the Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung are doing is still conservative, passive and stagnant. The Chollima Workteam Movement is also left to its own devices, although it should be given a strong impetus by intensifying work among the masses and organizing and mobilizing them.

All the Party organizations in industrial enterprises and those in all other sectors should make a thorough study of the report to the Party Conference, the decisions of the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party, the speech delivered at the Conference of Chief Secretaries of Provincial, City, County and Factory Party Committees, and the speech made recently for the Party ideological workers.

The policies of our Party are the guideline to be adhered to in the work and life of all the workers including Party officials. Officials should not study Party policies perfunctorily, but in depth so that they can put them into practice. Only when you study Party documents in this way can you understand the essence of Party policy and participate actively in the struggle to hasten the building of the economy and our defences.

In order to implement the decisions of the Party Conference

thoroughly we should intensify the struggle against passive elements and conservatives who hinder the implementation of the Party's policy on building the economy and our defences simultaneously.

A revolution will not succeed automatically without a struggle. Since the word revolution itself implies a struggle, a revolution without any struggle can only be a sham revolution. Our experience shows that whenever a new policy of the Party is set out and a struggle for its implementation is mounted, passive elements and conservatives are sure to raise obstacles, and that only when these obstacles are overcome can success be achieved. This is a law. If we are to advance we have to remove the obstacles lying in our path and rectify the old method of work, a hindrance to our work, through an ideological struggle. None of the successes we have achieved in the socialist revolution and construction has ever been made without an ideological struggle.

In order to carry through the Party's policy we must launch a resolute ideological struggle against the passive elements and conservatives. Giving up an ideological struggle against them and compromising with them is tantamount to abandoning the revolution halfway and to leaving the national economy to become bogged down in the mire of stagnation by yielding to the difficulties of economic construction. If things come to this pass, we shall be unable to protect even the gains of socialist revolution with credit. If we fail to consolidate the socialist system, the superiority of this system will not be demonstrated, its attractive force will weaken and thus the middle class will waver, the nation's defence power will grow weak, and the enemy moves to invade our country will become more blatant. If so, the Korean revolution will become more protracted and our duty to the international revolution will also not be carried out. The Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung must not compromise with the passive elements and conservatives, but must strike a heavy blow against them through a powerful ideological struggle and advance the technical revolution.

The revolutionization of workers, peasants and working

intellectuals, too, cannot be successful if you hesitate instead of launching an ideological struggle. An ideological struggle and an act of compromise have nothing in common. Rather, they are incompatible with each other.

The aim of an ideological struggle is not to insult the person concerned but to uproot his obsolete ideas. In other words, it aims at wiping out the poison of bourgeois, revisionist and flunkeyist ideologies.

At this meeting I should like to re-emphasize that all the industrial workers, peasants and working intellectuals in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung should begin a vigorous ideological struggle against those who oppose the new policy of the Party and those who oppose the policy of revolutionization.

For a successful ideological struggle against conservatives who stand in the way of implementing the Party's new policy, Party officials should be the first to establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party in the spirit of the decisions of the 15th Plenary Meeting of its Fourth Central Committee.

Without establishing this monolithic ideological system, you cannot judge the unsound ideological tendencies which contradict the Party's ideology nor conduct an effective ideological struggle against them. You can neither get rid of superficiality and bureaucratism and the practice of taking over administrative functions in your work nor can you play a proper steering role in directing economic affairs.

All Party workers should make a thorough study of Party policies and completely equip themselves with the monolithic ideology of the Party and thus clearly identify all elements running counter to the Party's ideology and resolutely combat them in any adversity.

Next, you must intensify the Party's organizational work.

The most important thing in this regard is to work well among the cadres.

Cadres decide everything. Therefore, to build up the ranks of cadres well is an important factor for success in all work. In personnel affairs you should not consider only the practical ability of officials but it is

important that you should observe how high their Party spirit, class spirit and people-oriented spirit are. Practical qualifications are no more than the knowledge and method required to do a job, so these can easily be acquired. But the ideological point of view of loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people is not developed in a day or two.

You should pay attention to the level of practical qualifications in building up the ranks of cadres in all sectors including the economic, scientific and cultural establishments, but you should attach more importance to their political qualifications, in other words, to their loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people. Working on this principle, Party organizations should select, promote or appoint cadres.

Another important task in Party organizational work is to lead all Party members to participate fully in the organizational life of the Party.

You must see that Party members and cadres are faithful to their Party organizational life lest they should become arrogant or poisoned by bourgeois ideas, revisionism, factionalism and parochialism. Whoever neglects Party organizational life is bound to become proud, degenerate ideologically, and eventually become worthless.

Some of the senior officials in state bodies and economic establishments neglect this life allegedly because they are under pressure of work. Such neglect is particularly in evidence amongst teachers who have worked for a long time in the educational sector including universities, and amongst those who are in charge of administrative affairs. If they do not participate in the organizational life of the Party, even people who are in responsible positions will become arrogant, dislike Party control and, in the worst case, harm the Party by acting in their own way.

There may be differences in the service records of the teachers who are Party members, but there can be no high-ranking or low-ranking Party members. Double standards of discipline cannot be tolerated in Party organizations, nor can Party members lead double Party lives. At present, in some universities, there is an atmosphere of master-pupil

relationship between long-standing and young teachers, so that the young Party-member teachers hesitate to criticize their elders.

Party members should even sharply criticize their former teacher when he neglects Party organizational life and does his job contrary to Party policy. If they leave him alone, instead of criticizing him, simply because he was once their teacher, it is as good as dismissing him from the revolutionary ranks. Of course, we cannot allow anti-Party elements to remain in the Party ranks. But we do not want even a single man to quit our revolutionary ranks. We should not attempt to settle the matter by dismissing intellectuals when they commit ideological errors after having left them without training, as is the case in a certain country.

We must tighten Party organizational life and create an atmosphere of criticism so that all Party members can strongly combat non-Party practices without tolerating double standards of discipline. All Party organizations must strengthen their organizational life and give full play to democracy, thus creating a harmonious, comradely atmosphere, an atmosphere of revolutionary solidarity, within the Party.

In addition, we must intensify the ideological work of the Party and increase the role of the information organs.

The main shortcoming in Party ideological work is the lack of a sharp ideological struggle against those who are opposed to the socialist system and socialist construction, and the absence of revolutionary writings which can defend the Party's ideology. This is a general shortcoming which is common to both the central bodies and the Party organizations of South Hamgyong Province.

But it would be wrong for any of you to think that Party ideological work can only be done by good writers and speakers. In the past, some people had such a misunderstanding that they recruited ideologically unsound elements to information organs in violation of the class principle. Some information workers lack a firm revolutionary determination to devote themselves to the struggle for the Party and the people. They do not conduct the ideological struggle resolutely from the class point of view nor do they write pungently in defence of the

Party's ideology. Some information workers retain the remnants of bourgeois ideas, although they have learned Marxism-Leninism, so that they sympathized inadvertently with feudal-Confucian ideas and bourgeois ideas spread by the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements or followed them blindly. Some of the information workers are still insensitive in their class awareness and are not thoroughly equipped with the monolithic ideology of the Party. That is why they cannot fight in the forefront of the class struggle.

If they are to be information workers and educators who disseminate Party policies among the people and teach them, the people working in the information sector must revolutionize and working-classize themselves first of all. Even though they have some shortcomings we cannot afford to oust them from our fighting ranks, the people who have fought with us on the same road of revolution for more than 20 years. Whatever their past life was, the question depends on whether they can revolutionize themselves or not. Revolutionization and working-classization are not something which can be done only by special persons. Anyone can do it if he works hard for it.

The Party calls upon the workers in the information sector to revolutionize themselves first so that they can get rid of outdated ideas, arm themselves with the monolithic ideology of the Party, sharpen the edge of the class struggle, carry through Party policy to the end, and bravely fight for the Party and the people. If they fail to revolutionize themselves thoroughly they cannot devote themselves to the fight for the Party and the people nor can they stand on the ideological front of the fierce class struggle.

In order to revolutionize themselves, the information workers should thoroughly eradicate the ideological remnants of revisionism, feudalism, capitalism and flunkeyism from their minds. It is impossible to eradicate the poison of these outdated ideas in a day or two. Unless they make a persevering effort to wipe out the poison of these ideas they will not succeed in doing this nor can they become revolutionaries who staunchly fight on the side of the Party and the

people against the class enemies.

One of the important questions in the ideological work of the Party is to equip the intellectuals with the Juche idea of our Party.

As I said on my recent visit to the Hamhung Branch of the Academy of Sciences, if scientists talk extravagantly to earn some money, instead of trying to revolutionize themselves, they cannot be called scientists of the people. We do not need the kind of scientist who does not even hesitate to deceive the Party for his own interests and fame. There is no room for such a person to work under the socialist system. However, a road is open to the intellectuals who try to rectify their past errors, and the Party is generous towards those intellectuals who want to serve the Party and the people even if they have committed mistakes.

This policy of our Party towards intellectuals is not new. Since the days when we founded the Party we have admitted to its ranks the working intellectuals who serve the interests of the workers and peasants and have recognized them as a component of the Party. There has been and will be no change in this policy of our Party. The intellectuals should, therefore, work hard to revolutionize themselves so as to reach the communist society.

The Juche idea constitutes the core of the revolutionary ideology of our Party. Establishing Juche in ideology means, in a word, imbuing oneself firmly with the monolithic ideology of the Party. Unless they equip themselves with the Juche idea, scientists and educators will be unable to serve the interests of our Party and the Korean people. The minds of people who are lacking in Juche and a deep scientific knowledge are bound to suffer the effects of flunkeyism. If one is affected with flunkeyism, one cannot prevent the penetration of the poison of bourgeois and revisionist ideas which are spread by the imperialists and traitors to the revolution.

Today a very important task is to imbue the intellectuals with the Juche idea of our Party. Only when the intellectuals are firmly armed with the Juche idea, can they work devotedly to develop our country more rapidly and improve our people's standard of living. The



intellectuals who are filled with the Juche idea study sciences and teach students for the good of their fellow people and fight well for the Party and the revolution anywhere and at any time. Such intellectuals are free of a selfish and mercenary attitude towards scientific research.

Those intellectuals who are not armed with the Juche idea and do not have adequate scientific qualifications, like to plagiarize the writings of others and, steeped in flunkeyism, tend to worship foreign things indiscriminately, expecting something big from them, instead of doing their own research.

There is a large number of intellectuals in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung. Therefore, Party organizations here should work harder than those anywhere else to equip the intellectuals firmly with the Juche idea and revolutionize and working-classize them.

You must strive to revolutionize and working-classize the workers and peasants as well as the intellectuals. It is, of course, true that workers and peasants are more revolutionary than intellectuals. They have personally experienced much oppression by capitalists and landlords and they now work devotedly for the Party and their fellow men, while leading a collective life in an organized way.

Among the industrial workers, however, there are people who were shopkeepers, petty entrepreneurs or peasants in the past. These people cannot be regarded as having been revolutionized simply because they happened to work in factories for several years.

Party organizations should make tireless efforts to revolutionize the industrial workers and peasants thoroughly.

The next important factor in the ideological work of the Party is to intensify education in socialist patriotism.

We have not yet accomplished the cause of national reunification. We should, therefore, never forget the national aspiration for the country's reunification and our duties. We cannot remain passive onlookers to the miserable lot of our south Korean brothers who are of the same blood and are suffering colonial slavery. It is our honourable revolutionary duty and class mission to help the anti-US, save-the-nation struggle of the courageous south Korean people and

put an end once and for all to the exploitation and suppression of the workers and peasants by the capitalists and landlords. It would be a mistake if you were to provide only the people in the northern half of Korea with a happy life, forgetting your revolutionary duty and class mission. A man who cares only for his own well-being cannot be called a revolutionary. You ought to be proud to live in the era of the revolution and fight devotedly to continue it.

We must successfully carry on not only economic construction to raise the living standards of the people in the northern half of Korea, but also defence buildup to give support to the fighting south Korean people and to thwart the aggressive provocations of the enemy. These are natural tasks from the point of view of our national duty and of the international duty of our revolution. If we do not undertake economic and defence construction simultaneously, we shall be unable to ensure a happy future for our people and we shall not be able to frustrate the aggressive moves of the US imperialists and achieve the country's reunification.

We must intensify the education of Party members and the working people in socialist patriotism to ensure that they improve economic and defence construction, take good care of state property and use raw materials and other necessities most economically. At present some factories and enterprises waste a great deal of raw materials and other necessities by making defective goods. Much cement is wasted because of careless packing and a great deal of it becomes lumpy and unfit for use because of improper storage. Such careless management of the country's economic life on the part of our officials results in the loss of a great deal of the precious property which has been produced by the sweat of the people's brows. Without intensifying education in socialist patriotism, it would be impossible to ensure that state property is taken good care of, that the factories are maintained in good condition, that raw materials and other necessities are used economically, and that high-quality goods are mass-produced.

A long time ago our Party put forward the question of intensifying education in socialist patriotism. By this we mean ardent love for our

socialist motherland, an idea of building up our villages to be beautiful and attractive, tending crop fields neatly and taking good care of all state property, the product of the people's hard work. However, the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements inspired people with unprincipled love for their own localities by distorting the Party policy on strengthening education in socialist patriotism while giving prominence to the overthrown landlords and singing decadent songs. As a result, they spread bourgeois ideas and feudal-Confucian ideas and revived parochialism. Party organizations must wipe out the poison of the reactionary ideas spread by the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements.

## **2. ON ECONOMIC WORK**

Today our industry has reached a very high level of development. There is nothing which is impossible for our working class to produce on the basis of our own industry, if they choose to do so.

But we must never become content with the success we have already achieved. Our industry is not yet based on up-to-date techniques, and the quality and efficiency of our home-produced machines are bad.

Without being complacent, we must further develop science and technology, improve the foundations of our machine industry and mass-produce highly-efficient machines and equipment. We must also direct our efforts to all other sectors of industry so as to create dependable sources of domestic raw materials, modernize production processes with the latest machinery and equipment, and develop our country extensively in terms of all industrial sectors. Broadly based industry is indispensable if a country is to be powerful enough to cope with the task of economic and defence construction by its own efforts.

Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung

must work hard to develop the chemical industry in particular.

The chemical industry occupies the most important position in the development of industry in these districts.

Only when we develop the chemical industry can we increase the sources of raw materials for light industry and accelerate the greater use of chemicals in agriculture.

If we are to eliminate the distinctions between towns and countryside and those between the working class and peasantry and build a classless society, we must carry out the technical revolution as well as the ideological and cultural revolutions in the country areas in accordance with the policy set out in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. In this way we shall free the peasants from backbreaking labour and ensure them an eight-hour workday just as we do for the industrial workers. This is a noble duty for communists who serve the interests of the people.

We will have to mechanize agriculture as a task of the rural technical revolution but we can say that greater use of chemicals is more important in view of the terrain features of our country and in the light of present trends in the development of agriculture throughout the world.

We must give effect to the greater use of chemicals in agriculture as soon as possible in accordance with the policy laid down in the rural theses. To this end, we have to produce a large amount of chemical fertilizer. And it is particularly important to produce a great deal of potassic fertilizer from domestic raw materials. An adequate supply of potassic, phosphatic and nitrogenous fertilizers to rural areas will help to increase grain yields considerably. I have already stressed more than once that fertilizer means rice and that rice immediately means socialism.

Only a socialist society can provide the people with conditions to live in prosperity and stability, free from worries about food, clothing and housing. Cereals are a very important material factor in the people's livelihood. Since most of our fertilizer factories are concentrated in Hamhung, we can say that this city occupies the most

important position in solving the problem of food, clothing and housing for the people.

The Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung should hasten the construction of Urea Fertilizer Factory No. 2. Since the state imported the equipment for this factory at the expense of precious foreign currency in order to increase grain production, these Party organizations must quickly finish this construction project by mobilizing all efforts and must raise the production capacity of this factory to the level of 100,000 tons in future.

Measures have to be taken to solidify liquid ammonia.

It is true that the production of liquid ammonia costs you less than that of solid ammonia. But farmers do not like to use liquid ammonia on rice fields. According to information, liquid ammonia applied to paddy fields causes rice leaves to dry or badly affects them for a long time even should they recover from the damage, resulting in low yields. It is advisable to apply liquid ammonia at the time of planting dry-field crops. But it seems bad to use it in top-dressing a growing rice crop. And rural communities have neither the containers to carry liquid ammonia nor storehouses worth mentioning.

Therefore, liquid ammonia should be solidified for the peasants to handle easily. This requires the setting up of another process to solidify it.

We should go ahead with the production of phosphatic fertilizer.

Some officials still think that farming can be successfully carried out without phosphatic fertilizer. This view is fundamentally wrong. One of the main reasons for the low crop yields in our country in the past years is the insufficient application of phosphatic fertilizer. If the rice plant, for instance, is given nitrogenous fertilizer only, it will produce many stems and grow quickly; but the stems are so weak that a little wind is enough to blow them down, or they bear small ears or many seedless ears. Fruit trees, too, can grow quickly if given nitrogenous fertilizer only, but many of their branches are blown off by the wind.

The problem of producing potassic fertilizer has not yet been solved by our scientists. But as much phosphatic fertilizer as we need can be produced from domestic raw materials if we tackle this task. There is an apatite mine in Tongam, South Hamgyong Province, which has large deposits.

Of course, apatite from this mine may be of somewhat low quality, but that does not matter. Careful dressing can improve the quality of the concentrates. It is not so difficult a job to develop the Tongam Mine. Open-cast mining is possible. So all that you need is to construct a road, lay a cableway and establish a dressing plant.

South Hamgyong Province should concentrate on the development of this mine and the State Planning Commission should make the necessary investment in this project. The construction project should be finished by the second quarter of next year at the latest. In these circumstances the mine should turn out 50,000 tons of apatite this year and 100,000 tons next year. If we mine 50,000 tons of apatite we can produce 100,000 tons of phosphatic fertilizer. If we produce 100,000 tons of apatite in the western area in future, we shall produce 400,000 tons of phosphatic fertilizer in all, which will ensure good farming in our country.

In order to intensify the use of chemicals in agriculture we should step up research on herbicides and pesticides and increase their output, in addition to the production of fertilizer. Particular attention should be given to the production of weed killers to accelerate the implementation of the Party's policy on doing farm work with the help of chemicals.

The use of herbicide in farming will dispense with labour-consuming manual weeding. Then, farm work will be much easier. When the peasants can afford to take care of irrigation only, free from the backbreaking manual weeding which they have done in the past, then there will not be much difference between farm work and industrial operations. When an eight-hour day is introduced for the farmers just as it is for the industrial workers, they will not say that their farm work is laborious, nor will they want to leave the country for

the towns. If we kill weeds with the help of herbicides and apply potassic, phosphatic and nitrogenous fertilizers—one ton per hectare—and a small amount of trace elements we shall be able to produce 4 to 5 tons of any grain from every hectare. If we use chemicals in agriculture, we can solve the problem of labour in the industrial sector and also develop livestock farming.

If the farmers in the northern half of the country build modern, socialist villages, and do farm work with ease by using chemicals, the people in south Korea, being impressed by this, will long for the northern half of the country more ardently and appreciate, more clearly than they do now, the superiority of the socialist system.

It is a matter of great honour and pride for the scientists and the working class to accomplish the Party's far-reaching plan to free the peasants from backbreaking labour and to eliminate the class distinctions between industrial workers and peasants by implementing the tasks set forth in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. The workers of the Hamhung Branch of the Academy of Sciences and the workers in the Hamhung district must redouble their efforts to put this great plan of the Party into effect and strive for the construction of a socialist countryside. In this way they will live up to the great expectations of the Party.

It is important in the chemical industry to increase the variety and output of medicines by developing the pharmaceutical industry.

The efficient production of medicines is a prerequisite to providing a free medical service. Recently I inspected a pharmaceutical factory and found that, although the building was large, it was not supplied with adequate raw materials for producing medicines, nor was it properly equipped. No large numbers of pharmacists have been trained. From now on we must make a great effort in respect of the pharmaceutical industry so as to increase the variety and output of medicines considerably.

We must develop the vinalon industry further.

Vinalon is a Juche-based fibre and the vinalon industry is a Juche-oriented industry. Vinalon is a durable and good synthetic fibre which

the people like. We call the vinalon industry a Juche-based industry because vinalon was invented by a Korean, because the vinalon factory was built to our design and by our own efforts, and because vinalon is being produced from our domestic raw materials. The vinalon industry is a brilliant fruit of the Juche idea of our Party which has been applied in the sector of the chemical industry. As far as the vinalon industry is concerned, ours is far more advanced than that of other countries.

Other spheres of science must also be developed from the standpoint of Juche. If you spend all your time looking up to what is being done by foreigners instead, you will never be able to solve your problems.

In the past, we sent people abroad to study because we were backward in the fields of science and technology. But now we must develop science and technology to such an extent that foreigners will come to study in our country. If all other branches of science and technology in our country are developed like the vinalon industry, foreigners will come to study these subjects here. Then, the elements of flunkeyism which remain in the minds of our intellectuals will soon disappear.

The February 8 Vinalon Factory should raise its production capacity to 25,000 tons in 1968, 30,000 tons in 1969, and from 1970 onwards, regularly produce 30,000 tons a year. To this end, from now on you must make the necessary arrangements, such as designing and augmenting machines and equipment. When, in the future, we produce 30,000 tons of vinalon at the February 8 Vinalon Factory, 30,000 and 20,000 tons of other kinds of chemical fibres in Chongjin and Sinuiju respectively and 10,000 tons of flax and other natural fibres, then we shall be producing 90,000 tons of fibres in all. And if we add 20,000 to 30,000 tons of imported fibre to this figure we shall not only solve the people's clothing problem satisfactorily, but also have a reserve stock of fibre.

We must speedily increase the output of vinyl chloride.

The Pongung Chemical Factory should achieve a production capacity of 15,000 tons of vinyl chloride this year and 30,000 tons next



year. I think it very bold and laudable that the workers of the Ryongsong Machine Factory have expressed their resolve to produce all the equipment necessary for the creation of a production capacity of 20,000 tons of vinyl chloride.

If we produce a large amount of vinyl chloride we can manufacture different kinds of consumer goods in large quantities and also solve the problem of building requisites considerably. The important thing in producing vinyl chloride is plasticizer, the manufacture of which requires a great deal of naphthalene. If we can invent a method of producing plasticizer without using naphthalene, we shall be able to manufacture as much vinyl chloride of economic value as we need.

At the vinyl chloride factory machines and equipment should be kept in good condition so that chlorine gas will not leak out. I am told that at present the leakage of the gas at this factory causes problems to the men at work there. Positive measures are needed to remove the gas. Next year you must experiment with the production of synthetic rubber and, on this basis, build a synthetic rubber factory in 1969, to which this chlorine gas can be taken for use.

The chemical industry should increase the production capacity of carbide so as to meet the daily increasing demand for it. It should launch a campaign to build a kiln every year and arrange to produce the equipment which is required for this construction.

The Hamhung Branch of the Academy of Sciences should tackle preparations for developing the petroleum chemical industry, and the Hamhung University of Chemical Industry must also take steps to develop the petroleum chemical industry and oil processing industry. New ways for obtaining salt from the waters of the East Sea have to be expedited so as to supply our developing chemical industry.

In addition, we must develop the mining industry.

We must first direct our efforts to the coal mines in order to increase the output of good-quality coal.

The South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee and the Sudong County Party Committee should help the Kowon Coal Mine to produce coal at a steady rate and increase its output in future. Efforts should

also be directed to the development of the Yonghung Youth Coal Mine, and the Ungok Coal Mine should supply high-quality coal, which is free of impurities, for the production of carbide.

If we are to build a developed country with solid economic foundations and powerful defence capabilities we should develop nonferrous metal mines more actively and mine more nonferrous metals.

It is no use boasting that our country is rich in gold, silver and other treasures. Only when we bring these minerals to the surface from under the ground, can we make our country rich and powerful and improve our people's standard of living.

Nonferrous metals are an important source of foreign currency since we are still unable to export goods of secondary and tertiary processing in large quantities. Until we can export manufactured goods on a large scale, we have to earn foreign currency even by selling nonferrous metals in large quantities. We need foreign currency to import new machine plants and different kinds of chemical plants.

The manager of the Komdok Mine and a platoon leader of the Roun pit who took the floor yesterday at the consultative meeting of the workers of the mining industry in South Hamgyong Province said that if they were to work in the same high spirit that was displayed to greet the Fourth Party Congress, they would be able to produce an even greater amount of nonferrous ore. They are quite right. As a matter of fact, the reason for the low mineral output in recent years is that neither the Chollima Workteam Movement nor education in the revolutionary traditions has been conducted properly. The workers and senior executives in the mining industry must learn a lesson from this fact and make strenuous efforts to increase the output of nonferrous metals.

It is very important to mine a large amount of zinc.

The determination of the Komdok and Sangok Mines to increase zinc output is good. The Komdok Mine has already received from the Party the task of increasing the output of lead and zinc. It must carry out this task. The officials of the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 and of the Ministry of Metal Industry should go to help the Komdok

Mine in technical matters and solve whatever problems there might be as they deem necessary.

A large amount of copper has to be produced.

Since copper is of great economic value and the domestic demand for it is great, it must not be exported no matter how much is produced. The electrification of the railways and the automation of industries require great quantities of copper. So we must strive to boost its output and, at the same time, tighten the control of its use to prevent any waste and to ensure that it is used economically.

In addition, we should concentrate our efforts on the production of gold, silver and tungsten. The Kyongsu Mine, in particular, must carry out its tungsten production plan for this year; and next year it should make detailed preparations to increase this output, with the help of the Ministry of Metal Industry and Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1.

We must also mass-produce mercury. If we do this to meet our own needs it will be equivalent to earning that much foreign currency.

We must strive to increase the output of magnesia clinker.

Our country is one of the richest countries in magnesite resources in the world. If we produce large quantities of magnesia clinker, we can monopolize the world market.

Accepting that magnesia clinker is an important source of foreign currency, the Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province must concentrate on its production. If we reduce the rate of silicic acid contained in magnesia clinker to 3 to 2.5 per cent and then export 600,000 tons, we shall earn 30 million roubles from that alone. Magnesia clinker is obtained by mining and burning the ore which abounds in our country. So there is no need to worry about a possible shortage of raw material even if we use it for a hundred years. The matter depends on whether or not you work hard and concentrate on the production of magnesia clinker in response to the Party's call.

While endeavouring to produce a large amount of magnesia clinker the Party organizations and the leading personnel in charge of its production should also endeavour to improve its quality.

The magnesia clinker now being produced in our country contains a

large amount of silicic acid and other impurities. Low-quality magnesia clinker will not earn a good reputation in world markets.

In order to raise the quality we should strengthen ideological education among the officials and workers in this sector. And the workers of the Mining Research Institute must be efficient in research work, produce better designs and improve machinery and equipment if this has to be done. If we are to develop the production of magnesia clinker in a far-sighted way we must train a larger number of specialists in this subject at institutions of higher learning.

Our immediate task is to mine high-grade magnesite and to screen the low-grade ore well before it is shipped, to ensure the production of high-quality magnesia clinker. And you should see to it that magnesia clinker is kept from being spoiled by sand and dust while it is being transported.

If we produce and export magnesia clinker in large quantities, it amounts to producing crude oil domestically. Since magnesia clinker is a very important source of foreign currency I called the mountain in the Ryongyang Mine a “white gold mountain” when I visited the mine. But the Ryongyang Mine is neglecting to take strong measures to increase the output of this “white gold”. This shows that the executives of the mine are negligent.

The Party organizations should launch a strong ideological campaign against the passive elements and take measures to produce 350,000 tons of good-quality magnesia clinker next year. If we turn out a large quantity and sell it, we can import not only crude oil but other goods which are badly needed for the people’s well-being.

Cement is another very important source of foreign currency. So we must mass-produce cement from limestone and anthracite, of which we have large deposits in our country, and must export it in large quantities.

An effort must be made to develop light industry.

Light industrial workers should improve the quality of their products and increase their variety in accordance with the Party’s policy, to satisfy the growing needs of the people for consumer goods.

The Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung should ensure that the construction of the woollen textile mill is finished and that good-quality woollen fabrics are produced.

We should develop the fishing industry further.

We always stress that it is important to open up deep-sea fishing in developing the fishing industry. Only when we sail to distant waters can we land large catches of fish.

North and South Hamgyong Provinces occupy an important position in the development of deep-sea fishing. Party organizations and fishing workers in these districts should, therefore, pay particular attention to deep-sea fishing.

What do we need to do specifically to enable us to improve ocean fishing?

To this end, we have to build large boats on our own and at the same time buy some from other countries. I think it would be a good idea for the Sinpho and Chongjin Dockyards each to build two or three 3,000 ton-class freezing boats a year, which are capable of catching fish and processing them. In future we must ensure that dozens of 400 to 600 hp fishing boats are built each year.

We must develop inshore fishing and radically improve fish processing.

At present we catch a large amount of fish of different kinds inshore, including pollack, but their processing is a problem. Because of inefficient processing, a large amount of the fish, which has cost the men great effort, rots. Although the Party has long stressed the importance of good processing, executives in this sector have not yet taken positive measures. This is because fishery officials have not rid themselves of their former habit of working in a slipshod way.

In order to improve fish processing we should, first of all, strengthen ideological education among the officials of the fishing industry and strive to improve their Party spirit, class spirit and the spirit of serving the people.

As you all know, we land more than 300,000 tons of pollack a year. The pollack is a good fish which contains a large amount of

protein. If this fish is processed well, it can be supplied to our people all the year round.

The Party intends to launch a campaign this year to improve the processing of pollack, a campaign which involves the entire Party and all the people. This year, in accordance with the decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, senior officials, including the members of the Political Committee, will visit local areas and participate personally in fish processing. This seems one way of improving this work radically. Pollack processing is not especially complicated. All that you have to do is to freeze fresh pollack or salt disembowelled ones in wooden tubs. At present these fish are carelessly preserved in tubs with salt mixed with brine. That is not the proper way to do it.

The Ministry of Fisheries and the provincial fishing management department should organize this work meticulously so as to ensure success. From now on they must prepare the processing sites and provide enough wooden tubs to preserve pollack.

If we develop deep-sea and inshore fishing and take adequate measures to process fish, we will be able to supply 100,000 tons of fresh pollack and as many processed ones from October to April next year and also supply 100,000 to 150,000 tons of processed fish which are caught in the deep sea and inshore from May to October. If we do this, everyone in the country will receive 100 grammes of fish a day both in winter and summer and throughout the year.

We must make farming efficient.

This year the people in South Hamgyong Province did a good job in sowing seeds and transplanting rice. For the present it is important to organize, according to plan, weeding at the correct time, draining those fields which are vulnerable to flooding, and preventing damage from blight and insects.

In particular, it is necessary to take measures to drain the rice fields.

Because of the failure to take effective measures to drain the rice fields during the past years we have suffered a great deal in the production of grain. People in some areas did not create drainage when

turning dry fields into paddy fields and, what is even worse, even levelled the existing ditches when fields were realigned into regular shapes. Therefore, quite a few rice fields suffer flood damage when it rains. If the rice plant is once submerged, say 15 to 20 days after being transplanted, it does not grow well and it does not produce many stems.

The Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province should launch a powerful campaign to build draining systems according to the policy which we put forward last year at the plenary meeting of the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee. In addition, they should dredge the river beds, build embankments and undertake stream improvement and plant many trees in the upper reaches of the Songchon River. In this way they will protect valuable land in every possible way.

We should develop fruit-growing.

To this end, we should look after fruit trees properly. On my previous visit to South Hamgyong Province, I gave the task of creating 30,000 hectares of orchards. Since then the people here have worked hard and increased orchards to such an extent that they can produce fruit in great quantities.

South Hamgyong Province should, in future, also continue to strive to increase the area of orchards. In this regard, you must not plant only apple trees, which require a great deal of agricultural chemicals but also other fruit trees like cherries and apricots which do not need many chemicals.

As well as planting a large number of fruit trees you should fertilize and tend them properly. If you fertilize apple orchards liberally and tend them carefully, you can produce 15 to 20 tons of apples per hectare. You must follow the good example in fruit cultivation of Pukchong County and increase the yield to at least 10 tons of apples per hectare. South Hamgyong Province should make every effort to attain the target of an annual output of 100,000 tons of apples by 1970.

If this province produces 100,000 tons it can supply 50,000 tons to its own people and export the rest in order to import 100,000 tons of wheat, which will help you to solve the problem of feed for domestic animals to a considerable extent.

You should process fruit efficiently. Fallen fruit should be sliced and dried or canned. If our country produces high-quality tin plate in the future, we can mass-produce canned goods and lower their prices drastically.

Next, we should develop poultry farming.

On this tour of inspection we found that it can be said that the Kwangpho Duck Farm is functioning properly. I am told that they have reduced the unit of feed consumption to 2.63kg. This is a very good thing. Now they can raise ducks as well as any other country. As one of the largest of its kind in the world, the Kwangpho Duck Farm is an excellent meat production centre capable of producing several thousand tons a year.

But people do not like your duck meat because it is supplied unprocessed. Boiled chicken tastes good but not boiled duck. We have so far exported a large amount of duck meat. From now on we must process it and supply it to our people rather than export it. You should smoke it or can it to supply it to the people at low prices.

You should expand dairy farms so as to supply milk to the workers. I have already stressed more than once the need to develop dairy farms properly, but these instructions are still neglected.

If you are to establish dairy farms and run them properly, you must create dependable sources of feed. Reed is a good fodder crop which grows quickly and is high in protein. You say that South Hamgyong Province has 400 hectares of reed beds and that if you plant more reeds you can expand this area to 700 hectares. You should mobilize industrial workers in Hamhung on Sundays, for instance, to establish reed beds in a mass campaign.

In order to develop livestock and poultry farming the fishing industry should produce large quantities of fish meal. An adequate supply of fish meal for poultry farms is imperative in order to increase the production of eggs.

To continue, we should develop railway transport which is the artery of our national economy.

At present work in the railway sector is very unsatisfactory. The



main reason for its inefficiency is that it still retains an undisciplined and careless habit of work, although there are other reasons. The work of railway bureaus still lacks order and discipline and is seriously affected by departmentalism. That is why the strain on transport has not slackened.

Departmentalism is an obstacle which hinders the development of all sectors of the national economy. The railway officials' outdated work attitude prompted by departmentalism is doing tremendous harm to the state. The railway bureaus complain about the shortage of goods wagons, but they are indifferent to the fact that goods wagons stand unloaded for a long time at railway stations and they still allow the running of empty wagons.

There is no discipline in the operation of trains either. At the moment few trains keep to the timetable, and accidents are frequent in the sections under the railway bureaus and branch bureaus. An investigation of train operation from January to May this year shows that only 85 per cent of the trains departed at the appointed time and the rate of punctual operation decreased by 2.4 per cent as compared with the corresponding period last year.

In order to improve railway operations the state organized the Railway Security Headquarters and posted security officers there. However, discipline and order have not yet been established in railway work.

If we are to solve the railway transport problem, we have to strengthen Party leadership to this sector. At the moment the Party organizations of railway bureaus are placed under the dual leadership of the relevant local Party committee and the Railway Ministry Party Committee. But none of them directs the Party organizations of railway bureaus properly. In future all the Party organizations within the railway bureaus should be put under the relevant local Party organization. Only then can the local Party organizations exercise strict Party supervision over the work of the railways. The local Party organizations should give effective direction to the Party organizations of the railway bureaus and those under them so as to establish

discipline and order and prevent empty wagons from standing idle as well as accidents.

The Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung must accelerate the project of railway electrification. Since many construction projects are expected from next year on in North Hamgyong Province, you will have to bring increased amounts of cement and other building materials and also carry a large quantity of timber from the northern areas. So unless the hauling capacity of locomotives is increased by electrification in the section up to Chongjin, we shall be unable to meet our transport needs. We should complete electrification between Kowon and Hamhung this year, the projects between Hamhung and Hongwon and between Chongjin and Myongchon next year, and the section between Kilju and Hyesan in 1969.

One of the important problems in railway electrification is to design the metal foundations of all structures well so as to prevent the action of rust. And you should put up electric poles securely and rig the power lines carefully to avoid accidents.

### **3. ON PREPARING AGAINST WAR**

The Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung must always remember the need to prepare against a possible war and do this efficiently. If people forget this possibility, they may become idle and, intimidated by nuclear blackmail, finally fall into revisionism.

The US imperialists flaunt their atomic bombs, but you have no reason to be afraid of them. Although they have atomic bombs they cannot use them rashly. Frankly speaking, the revolutionary people and the working class the world over are not afraid of death in their fight for the cause of revolution, but capitalists fear death more than

anything else. That is why the American imperialists did not use atomic bombs during the Korean war, and at present they dare not use nuclear weapons in the Viet Nam war in spite of their repeated setbacks during the last few years. If they use atomic bombs in Viet Nam, Washington, and New York too, will be under nuclear attack immediately. So they dare not use atomic bombs recklessly. It is a revisionist tendency to fear atomic bombs and hesitate to fight imperialism. We must resolutely combat the infiltration of revisionist ideological tendencies.

We are building socialism in direct confrontation with US imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction. It may start a new war at any moment in our country. Therefore, we must prepare ourselves thoroughly to deal with a possible war in the future.

The most important factor in this regard is to keep ourselves ideologically well prepared. Without ideological preparation we can neither be confident of our victory in the fight against US imperialism nor can we take up the challenge to a decisive battle. People in a certain country do not build factories or dwelling houses for fear of an outbreak of war. This is a great mistake. And the people in another country surrender to the enemy without even fighting him, for fear of the possible destruction of their towns. This is also a shameful attitude. It is a matter of pride to choose to fight for the revolution and for the freedom and liberation of the country rather than live in slavery under imperialist domination.

Even if a war were to break out tomorrow, we should build factories and cities until this evening. A war cannot destroy everything we have built. In a city like Hamhung several chemical factories may be destroyed at the worst. Even if everything was to be destroyed, we could rebuild it. Now that we have many technicians and an advanced machine industry we can build better factories and houses if a war destroys them. Of course we do not want war. But we must be prepared to fight as long as US imperialism exists. In the past when we waged the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the Japanese imperialists used to invade guerrilla bases and burn down our villages. But we always

rebuilt new houses on the same places and continued our lives. We must live and fight in a revolutionary and optimistic way just as the anti-Japanese guerrillas did. This is the attitude that revolutionaries must maintain.

The Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung should educate their members and the working people in the experience of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle and the lessons of the Fatherland Liberation War and train them to fight courageously by devoting their all for the country's reunification and the nationwide victory of our revolution.

In order to prepare fully against war, we must make good material as well as ideological preparations. All the sectors of the national economy must increase production and, at the same time, build up a large stock of reserves by saving raw materials and other necessities to the maximum. Meanwhile, we should firmly build up the centres of the machine industry.

I hope that all the Party workers, state officials, economic executives, scientists, technicians and all the industrial workers and farmers in South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung will study the documents of the Party Conference with greater care and strive more vigorously to implement the tasks set forth by the Party Conference.

**FOR A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY SURGE  
FORWARD IN THE PRESENT ECONOMIC  
WORK AND FOR THE IMPROVEMENT  
AND STRENGTHENING OF LABOUR  
ADMINISTRATION**

**Concluding Speech Delivered at the 16th Plenary  
Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**  
*July 3, 1967*

**1. FOR ANOTHER GREAT REVOLUTIONARY  
SURGE FORWARD IN CARRYING THROUGH  
THE DECISIONS OF THE PARTY CONFERENCE**

As you comrades all know, our historic Party Conference has presented to the whole Party and all the people the important task of reorganizing the whole work of socialist construction in line with the requirements of the prevailing situation, and especially, of building up the economy and defences in parallel so as to increase defence capabilities to cope with the aggressive moves of the enemy. This is a new revolutionary line and a very important strategic line of our Party.

To implement this new revolutionary line of building up our economy and defences in parallel, cadres and working people in all branches and all units should first make thorough ideological preparations, and second, wage a forceful struggle against passivity

and conservatism, backwardness and slackness, and increase their efforts many times over in all branches of the national economy. Thus, the great Chollima march must be sustained and a fresh revolutionary surge forward be made in each and every field of socialist economic construction and the building up of our defences.

But how do matters stand now, more than nine months after the Party Conference? It cannot be said as yet that the whole Party has clearly understood the spirit of the Party Conference decisions and is fully prepared ideologically. In particular, in order to carry through the Party's new revolutionary line of building up our economy and defences in parallel, it is essential, first of all, to have a correct point of view concerning war and prepare adequately for it. However, our officials still seem to have little understanding of this.

We do not want war. No communist wants war. We do not want war, but we are not afraid of it. We must not categorically oppose war in general, nor must we fear it, especially under the circumstances in which the national territory is divided. We stand face to face with the enemy and the Americans, with their rifles, guns and rockets at the ready, are watching every moment for a chance to invade the northern half of Korea. We should not be opposed to the war nor fear it, but, on the contrary, be resolved to fight valiantly to beat back the enemy if they dare attack us with armed force.

Should a revolution break out in south Korea immediately, even tomorrow, and our brothers in south Korea ask us for help, could we stand idly by without extending a helping hand to them, lest buildings like this conference hall be destroyed? We could never do so. The accomplishment of the south Korean revolution is not a task which devolves upon the south Korean people alone. It is a noble national duty of all the Korean people to force the US imperialists out of our national territory, complete the south Korean revolution and achieve the reunification of the country. As communists who are responsible for the Korean revolution, we should be determined to fight the inevitable liberation war against the Americans in order to drive them out of south Korea and reunify the country.

To fear war is an expression of bourgeois pacifism and a revisionist ideological tendency. Anyone who is imbued with revisionist ideas might grow weary of war and surrender to the imperialists. This has been amply proved by historical experience.

We cannot compromise with revisionism nor live with the imperialists. We must carry on the revolution and continue to fight resolutely against imperialism. This is the unalterable position and the firm determination of our Party.

As long as we are firmly resolved to fight the enemy and well prepared to meet the great event, we shall have nothing to fear even if war should break out tomorrow. Therefore, everybody should have an ideological resolution to perfect all preparations for defeating the enemy any time they invade us. Only when such ideological preparations are made is it possible to implement the Party line of building up the economy and defences in parallel.

At present, our officials are not working energetically to introduce fresh changes and a great revolutionary surge forward in the political, economic and cultural spheres, upholding the decisions of the Party Conference, because they do not correctly understand the Party's policy of carrying on economic and defence construction in parallel and are not fully prepared ideologically. I realized this more keenly during my last guidance tour to South Hamgyong Province and the Hamhung area.

We have already accumulated many economic assets. The bases of heavy and light industries and the socialist agriculture we have constructed have enormous productive potential. As was stressed at the Party Conference, if we re-equip, reinforce and effectively utilize these already existing economic foundations properly, we can more than double our present production and markedly raise the quality of products. If we only do so, we can, with just the existing economic foundations, fully meet the needs of the national economy and the population, and further strengthen our defence power. At present, however, you do not efficiently carry out the work of mobilizing these great reserves and possibilities which are latent in all branches of the

national economy fully, in accordance with the policy set forth by the Party Conference. This indicates that the flames of struggle to implement the Party Conference decisions have not yet been kindled within our Party.

To carry through the Party Conference decisions and, above all, successfully accomplish the tremendous task of economic and defence construction, a strong ideological campaign must be launched inside and outside the Party. It is ridiculous to expect that such a new revolutionary Party line of carrying on economic and defence construction in parallel will be carried out smoothly, without difficulty, without any struggle.

The struggle to build up our economy and defences in parallel is a serious battle for the triumph of our revolution.

Revolution begins with struggle and ends with struggle. Without struggle there can be no revolution. A fresh advance in the revolution takes place only through an acute struggle against the old and the stagnant. This is an unalterable law of revolutionary development.

Experience shows that whenever the Party sets forth a new line, waverers, passive people and conservatives appear, obstructing its execution. When something new is begun, there are always activists on the one hand and passivists on the other, progressive elements on the one hand and conservatives on the other. Therefore, to carry through a new Party line, all backward, conservative and passive elements must be crushed through struggle.

Only through intense struggle against everything obsolete including passivity, conservatism and mysticism were we able to carry out the Party's basic line of economic construction in the arduous days of postwar rehabilitation and construction and bring about the great advance of socialist construction by establishing the Chollima Movement during the First Five-Year Plan period. Soon after the armistice, we set forth the Party's basic line of economic construction, a line of giving priority to the development of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. How many waverers and opponents there were at that time! They set out to vilify



our Party line in various ways and tried to block our progress, saying: “Why do you set up so many glass factories and machine plants? Are you going to eat only machines?” When we made the great Chollima advance in 1957 and 1958, many waverers, passivists and conservatives also turned up in our ranks.

Can we then assume that at present there are no such people among us? By no means.

At its plenary meeting this spring, the Cabinet examined the work of some major economic ministries such as the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Metal Industry, the Ministry of Light Industry and the Ministry of Chemical Industry on the question of planning and it became clear even then that there was a considerable degree of passivity among the leading officials of the economic branches. At that time we sharply criticized in particular the passivity shown by the leading officials of the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Metal Industry, and we hit very hard.

No explanation is necessary for the fact that the defence and economic construction can proceed better only when steel is produced in abundance. And yet, the Minister of Metal Industry tried to produce as little steel as possible, when much more could have been turned out, even whilst saying that preparations should be made for the great event and that the country should be reunified.

This also applies to the production of nonferrous metals. The more gold and other nonferrous metals we exploit, the more foreign currency we can earn, which will enable us to carry out both defence and economic construction better. The Party has already emphasized this point time and time again. Why, then, do the leading officials of the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Metal Industry prevent the workers from exploiting more gold when they wish to do so? This can only be regarded as an act of obstructing the advance of the revolution.

We should have learned a lesson from it at that time and launched a powerful ideological battle against passivity throughout the whole Party, but we did not do so, and consequently, passivity and

conservatism still remain among our officials. These passivity and conservatism which have been revealed among our officials deter us from carrying through the Party Conference decisions and block our forward movement in one way or another.

To carry out the Party Conference decisions successfully and effect a greater revolutionary surge forward, we have to launch a vigorous ideological campaign against passivists, conservatives and waverers as we did in the postwar days when we carried through the Party's basic line of economic construction, as in 1957 and 1958 when we made the great Chollima advance. Above all, we should launch an uncompromising struggle against the tendencies of Right and "Left" opportunism, flunkeyism towards great powers, capitalist ideas, feudalistic Confucian ideas, factionalism, parochialism and nepotism which are still to be found in the Party; in a word, against all unsound ideological tendencies and expressions which hamper our onward movement. We can make continuous changes and uninterrupted advances, and can succeed in performing the revolutionary tasks set forth by the Party Conference only through a struggle to defend and carry out the line and policy put forth by the Party resolutely, only through a powerful struggle against all the counter-revolutionary tendencies lurking in the Party.

To put the Party Conference decisions into effect and bring about another great revolutionary advance, the Chollima Workteam Movement must be developed more energetically.

Experience has already demonstrated unmistakably that the Chollima Workteam Movement is a powerful driving force for the development of the national economy and an excellent communist school for the working masses. However, the Chollima Workteam Movement has been hampered in no small measure during the last few years by the influence of the anti-Party factionalists and the passivists who were influenced by capitalist ideas.

We should quickly shore up the Chollima Workteam Movement and the Party must pay particular attention to its further advancement. We have to ensure that the ranks of the Chollima riders increase in all

sectors of socialist construction, that all workplaces and villages are turned into Red collectives and people help and lead each other under the communist principle of “One for all and all for one”, so that the flames of collective innovation blaze up everywhere.

To keep the Chollima Movement going and bring about a fresh revolutionary leap forward in socialist construction, the work of revolutionizing and working-classing all the people must be carried out more forcefully.

Revolutionizing the people is one of the most important problems in our work at present. Our Party has posed this as an important revolutionary task for a long time.

However, the policy of revolutionization and working-classization put forward by the Party has not yet been carried out satisfactorily. The main reason why some people manifest passivity and vacillation and fail to devote all their enthusiasm and wisdom to the Party, the people and the working class in the process of the intensified socialist construction is that they have not been revolutionized and working-classed.

Revolutionization and working-classization are not only necessary for the peasants. We should launch a struggle to revolutionize and working-classize both the peasants and the masses from all sections of society as well as all officials. A particularly urgent task confronting us today is that of revolutionizing and working-classing the intellectuals.

Since no campaign is being waged for the revolutionization of officials at present, it is impossible to exploit the large potential which is latent in all branches of the national economy. During the last few days at the current plenary meeting, we have discussed the problems of labour administration, the production of building materials and the development of fruit growing; but to be blunt, many of them could have been settled satisfactorily if our officials had just made the necessary effort.

As I said during the meeting, if we now raise the quality of fire-bricks slightly, great production reserves will come from the kiln

system which absorbs a large amount of heat. You say that it is a simple matter to do this and that all the necessary facilities can be built in our country. Why, then, have you not yet set to work on the solution of this problem? The main reason is that passivists and waverers did not work devotedly for the Party, the people and the working class; the fault lies, in the final analysis, in the fact that they are not armed thoroughly with the Party's ideas, the revolutionary ideas.

We do not need such passive elements and waverers today. We should tell these people outright that if they want to work for the revolution, they should do it the right way and if not, they should stop.

We are a people who are making a revolution. Revolutionaries cannot carry those who are unwilling to advance the revolution. It is true that if we want to carry out the revolution, we should win over large sections of the masses and rally them around the Party, educate and remould them and lead them to the communist society. This is the sacred duty of those who make the revolution for the people. But we cannot force people into the revolution who would never carry it out, can we? Revolutionary work is entirely voluntary. "Let cowards flinch. Those who don't want to carry out the revolution can drop out if they choose; we will go all the way for the revolution." This is the unshakable revolutionary consistency of communists like us. We should strive for the revolutionization of the whole of society and educate and remould all people with this strong revolutionary principle.

Today, we have before us the important revolutionary task of scaling a higher peak in socialist construction, accomplishing the south Korean revolution and bringing about the reunification of the country, true to the decisions of the Party Conference. To fulfil this task successfully, we must revolutionize and working-classize all the people in accordance with the Party's policy. We should revolutionize ourselves within the Party, and outside the Party, we should also revolutionize all those who wish to go along with us. We should thereby fully implement the policy of revolutionization and working-classization in all spheres as set out by the Party Conference.

The attitude towards the new Party line of building up the economy

and our defences in parallel, the point of view on war, the attitude towards the Chollima Movement, and the question of revolutionization—all these matters directly concern the ideological system of the Party. Those elements who have not established the Party's ideological system in them and are unwilling to make the revolution—they are just afraid of war and are against preparations for the great event, are against the Party line of parallel economic and defence construction, and are also against the Chollima Movement. They are, in the final analysis, revisionist elements who are deeply tinged with capitalist ideas.

We are communists who fight against US imperialism and for the triumph of the Korean revolution. All cadres and Party members should concentrate all their energies on strengthening our political, economic and military forces in every way to deal decisively with the great revolutionary event. To that end, Party organizations at all levels should continue thorough discussions on the Party Conference documents and take specific and energetic measures to carry out the Party Conference decisions. Campaigns should thus be intensified to revolutionize all the people, rooting out of the Party all the remaining outmoded, unsound and counter-revolutionary ideological viruses such as Right and “Left” opportunist ideas, flunkeyism towards great powers, capitalist ideas, feudalistic Confucian ideas, factionalism, parochialism, nepotism and passivity and conservatism, and the Chollima Movement should be more forcefully developed, so as to implement the decisions of the Party Conference completely, and, in particular, the Party line of building up the economy and defences in parallel.

It is one of the noble traits of revolutionaries and the revolutionary mettle of the heroic Korean people that they do not yield in the face of difficulties nor rest on their laurels, but fight unremittingly for fresh victories and continue to make advances and constant innovations. We should see to it that all Party members and working people give free rein to Chollima and march ahead strongly to achieve another great revolutionary leap forward in carrying through the decisions of the historic Party Conference.

## **2. ON IMPROVING AND STRENGTHENING LABOUR ADMINISTRATION**

The improvement of labour administration is not a new problem being raised for the first time today. Since the early days when it established the people's power and began economic construction, our Party has stressed the necessity for good labour administration and consistently paid deep attention to it.

Labour administration is one of the most important activities in the management of a socialist economy, and its improvement and strengthening is a key factor in accelerating the building of socialism and communism.

As you all know, there is a great deal of unemployment in capitalist society, but none in socialist society. Hence, there can be no surplus manpower in socialist society. As socialist construction forges ahead, new factories rise one after another and new branches of production are continually being built. Hence, you may say that a constant manpower shortage is a law of socialist society. Therefore, a decisive guarantee for a high rate of socialist construction is to do good labour administration and make the most effective use of the existing manpower and increase per-capita output value. Just a little over 10 years ago we began socialist construction in earnest, but even during this period we have become keenly aware that its achievements eventually depend in a large measure on effective labour administration.

Labour administration still has many shortcomings and lags far behind the present requirements of national economic development despite our Party's great emphasis on improving the situation. Because, in the first place, our cadres, former workers and peasants, have insufficient knowledge of socialist economic construction and

little experience in running a socialist economy, and second, our officials have failed to carry through the mass line in their work and stimulate the creativity of the masses properly.

We have so many tasks to do, upholding the Party Conference decisions, but actually the labour situation is so critical at present that it is more urgent than ever before to attend to labour administration purposefully and properly. This is precisely why we have returned once more, at the current plenary meeting, to a serious discussion of how to improve and tighten up labour administration. After this plenary meeting, we should rectify the defects revealed in labour administration and put it on the right track as soon as possible to meet the needs of our situation.

In labour administration the most important thing is to educate all the working people to love labour and to work with a will.

It is wrong to assume that labour administration is merely a technical business which involves supplying various branches of the national economy with manpower, fixing work norms and paying wages.

It can be said that in a socialist society labour administration is work with people, and more particularly, it is a job of cultivating in the working people a communist attitude towards labour. Because, after all, the fulfilment of all the tasks that fall to the branch of labour administration, including the elimination of labour wastage, the rational use of manpower and increasing per-capita output value, depends largely on how willingly the labouring people work, in other words, on whether or not they have the right attitude towards labour.

One of the most important contents of communist education is to teach the working people the communist attitude towards labour.

Labour creates wealth for human society and is the source of all our welfare. Labour really is something sacred and honourable. Unless the working people create abundant material wealth by their labour, the people's standard of living cannot be raised and they cannot be as well fed, as well clothed and as prosperous as they demand. Material wealth to improve the people's welfare does not fall like manna from heaven,

but is created only by labour. Moreover, a socialist society is not designed to make some individuals well fed, well groomed and prosperous, but to make all its members well off under the communist principle of “One for all and all for one”. So, everybody has to be honest and diligent in his work.

The idea of avoiding work and living off the sweat of others is an idea of the exploiting classes, and has nothing to do with the communist idea that all people should work and live well together.

The communist attitude towards labour does not just happen. It can be formed only through an ideological battle between willing and reluctant labour, between voluntary and grudging labour, in a word, through a protracted and sharp struggle between communist and capitalist ideologies.

People from the exploiting classes, including the former landlords and capitalists, and those from the erstwhile middle classes, more than anybody else, have the concept of shirking work and eating the bread of idleness.

But, as I have said time and again, not everybody likes work just because he was poor before. Even among the industrial workers and the peasants, there are some who regard labour as menial and have the mistaken idea that, although they themselves work, their children should not do so but live on “grants” at all costs, since they were so used up and worn out by arduous labour in capitalist society before. Not only immediately after liberation but for a long time afterwards, many peasants aspired to make their children white-collar workers, free from farm work, although they themselves would remain engaged in farming as long as they lived.

And we cannot consider that everyone in the working class has the communist attitude towards labour now. Originally, our country did not have so many workers with a labour pedigree going back to their great grandfathers or grandfathers, and at that quite a few core workers fell during the war, in battle with the enemy at the front or in the rear, and some older workers have retired, so that there are not many working-class people with a strong revolutionary spirit who were



formerly personally crushed by the capitalists.

The working class increased greatly as a result of the rapid postwar development of industry and many different kinds of people were integrated into its ranks, including those of peasant origin, former merchants and small or medium-sized entrepreneurs. We cannot say that these people are thoroughly armed with the real working-class ideology, the revolutionary spirit, for the simple reason that they have been working in factories for only a few years.

Not only is it necessary to cultivate communist attitudes towards labour among the landlords and capitalists who used to live in idleness in the past and people of the middle class, including the intellectuals, but also it is vitally necessary for workers and peasants and all other members of society.

This is an important work, to which not merely a few officials in labour administration but the whole Party should pay attention. We must give top priority to education in the spirit of love for labour in the present communist education of the working people, and concentrate all our efforts on this.

We should also establish rigid discipline and a strict regime of punctually keeping to working hours. It is true that ideological education of the working people plays a major role in making all of them work willingly and honestly, but the question cannot be resolved satisfactorily by education alone. While forcefully carrying out educational efforts among the working people, it is necessary to exercise strict control so that everybody observes the 480-minute workday.

At present labour discipline is slack and order is not maintained, because the Ministry of Labour and other government bodies and the enterprises do not control labour administration properly.

I will quote some examples.

I was told that labour administration is so confused at present that there are even people who are included on the payroll of one factory, work at another, and get paid by both.

Such a practice would have been absolutely impossible if the labour

administration apparatus had exercised control over the establishment of strict labour discipline and the enforcement of law and order.

Although it has been stressed by the Party on so many occasions, such undisciplined practices as holding meetings during working hours or taking people away from their workplaces at will have not yet been eliminated. You can work eight hours a day and still have ample time for meetings and studies in the remaining hours, so I do not quite understand why you hold meetings so often during working hours.

The eight-hour workday is a state regulation laid down under the Labour Law, and no one is allowed to violate it. When anybody, whoever he may be, violates labour discipline and infringes on the working hours, it should be construed as a criminal act against state law and order, for which he should be punished under the relevant law. If the general business section chief of a factory or an enterprise, responsible for raw materials, has not given the workers enough work to do for eight hours, he should be held responsible to the state, and if the manager has mobilized the workers for any other work without making them attend to their eight-hour workday, he should bear the responsibility for it before the state and the workers. Labour administration cannot be put on the right lines without establishing such strict discipline and rigid order.

Such acts as holding meetings during working hours can be regarded as the outcome of laxity and indolence on the part of our officials. In prewar days, we laid down a rule that no meeting could be held except on Sundays, and made it absolutely impossible to infringe upon the working hours. But, of late, meetings are being called any time during working hours, bluntly ignoring the Party decision and disregarding the state law, in spite of instructions to rest on Sundays and organize gatherings in the evening hours or when work is over. This practice should be stopped at once.

Originally, the eight-hour day was a slogan introduced by the working class itself; it is not something devised by anybody else. Ever since the labour movement began, the working-class slogan has been eight hours work, eight hours rest and eight hours study, together with

other revolutionary slogans. The Korean working class had also fought arduous battles against the Japanese imperialists to make this slogan a reality, and after the liberation of our country, the eight-hour day was promptly enforced under the Labour Law in the northern half of Korea.

The working class themselves should conscientiously abide by this eight-hour workday, which they themselves raised as a slogan and to win which they shed their blood. Everybody should regard it as a civil duty, as a binding social function, to work diligently for 480 minutes, and the system of eight hours work, eight hours rest and eight hours study should be thoroughly established in all branches.

There were once a number of writers in the field of literature and art who, as “free-lancers”, did not show up at the office. They wrote at home if they wanted to, and if not, pulled the quilts over their heads and went to sleep. Of course, this was criticized. We should recognize that such an undisciplined practice, which is absolutely intolerable in socialist society, occurred because socialist labour discipline was very lax. Certainly, the Party took action immediately afterwards to set up a system whereby writers and artists, even though engaged in mental labour, would show up regularly at definite places to work during working hours, and then go home to rest when it was time to do so.

At present, labour discipline has not been established in institutions for scientific research, either. Consequently, research workers may do their work conscientiously or may not, but there is no state control.

When I last visited the Hamhung Branch of the Academy of Sciences, the director told me: “If it were a factory worker we could promptly find out, on the basis of what he produced, whether he worked sincerely or not, but at a scientific research institution there is no way of knowing whether he is actually studying and doing research work, even though he says that he is cooped up in a room, reading books day in and day out, and also does his research work in the laboratory. That is the biggest headache.” And he added: “In a capitalist country, the capitalists give contracts to those with a doctorate or a master’s degree to study certain subjects for a definite period of time, say, a year or two, and in case of failure they claim

damages or even fire them. But under our socialist system we cannot do that, and it puts us in a very awkward situation.” In the Hamhung Branch of the Academy of Sciences alone, I was told that there are quite a few people who say they are continuously engaged in some sort of research, but fail to produce any results over a period of years, although they are being paid by the state on a doctor’s or master’s degree scale. The director of the Hamhung Branch said he had given research projects to the research workers in order to control their work, but that did not work well either; so recently he set up a system of collective study. I told him an energetic campaign should be waged among the scientific workers to eliminate the residues of old capitalist ideas and to revolutionize themselves so that they would all work willingly; and I said I was afraid that it would be difficult to make them work well by such methods as collective study alone. The struggle for revolutionization is all the more urgent for the workers in scientific research since many of them formerly lived in relative luxury. At the same time, we should take measures for tightening state control and scientific and technical control over the work of those engaged in scientific research.

There seems to be a collection of idlers among the research workers at present. Needless to say, these lazy research workers are at fault, but it should be considered that the relevant government organs, which exercise no control over them, are also largely responsible for this situation. Strict discipline and rigid order should have been established so that the research workers would be assigned to read definite books and carry out definite research projects over a specified period, and they should be asked for the result when it is due and be held responsible to the state when their assignments are not carried out. Instead, they have been left alone, and consequently undisciplined practices have arisen; they work or shirk, as they please.

There is no unemployment in our country, but there are still some idlers who get paid for doing nothing. In a place like the dress institute under the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries, there are no less than 200 people sitting around all the time, supposedly engaged in

some kind of research work, but they have not come up with any new models worth mentioning after the lapse of so many years. Soon after liberation I first set forth the task of industrializing *kimchi* production. Now a *kimchi* institute has even been set up, but to date, after 20 years, the problem has still not been solved, and even in a 5- or 6-storey apartment block people have to keep *kimchi* jars buried outdoors and carry *kimchi* up several times a day. The institute of commerce also has a great many research workers, but they have not been able to make any worthwhile suggestions conducive to the improvement of the circulation of money through commerce, nor have practically any of the numerous research institutes set up in factories and enterprises ever produced research results worth mentioning.

I think we need to tell the officials of the relevant Party departments and branches to carry out a general inspection of the work being done in the branch of scientific research, and to send those who are not indispensable, who have been wasting time for years without attending to their research work properly, to production sites so that they may temper themselves on the spot. If they attend to production well and their on-the-spot research proves useful, they may be recommended to a research institution to resume their original work there. From now on, we should let those people tempered in labour and recommended from their workplaces work in the research institutions, and should not tolerate a single paid idler.

As you comrades all know, the state is an institution of power which exercises the functions of dictatorship. A socialist state, in which the working class is in power, can be regarded as performing its dictatorial functions only when it strictly controls all citizens in such a way as to make them abide by the Labour Law scrupulously, while suppressing resistance from the overthrown classes at the same time.

If a person can do his job or not, keep working hours or not, and remain entirely free from any control, then what is the use of state bodies, and what is the necessity of keeping labour administration bodies?

We should get rid of the irregular practices in labour administration

as soon as possible, and exercise strict state control and regular supervision over labour administration. In this way everybody will be required to observe working hours scrupulously, no matter whether he is engaged in physical or mental work, and any one who idles around, doing nothing, should be publicly scorned and punished under the law.

Furthermore, in labour administration the correct allocation of the labour force and the full observance of the principle of socialist distribution are important.

Labour administration bodies and their officials should concentrate on a reasonable allocation of the labour force, taking into account the sex, age, physical condition, technical knowledge and skills of all the working people so that they may give full play to their abilities.

At the same time, they should implement the principle of socialist distribution fully, so that the working people may have their due share according to what they have done, according to what they have earned. To let all the people enjoy their exact share in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work, precisely no more and no less than what is their due, is of great importance also in increasing their incentive to work, strengthening their labour discipline and making them work sincerely and willingly.

Labour administration at present should devote its main attention to the forceful acceleration of the technical revolution.

The technical revolution is a firm guarantee for relaxing the present strained manpower situation in the country, rapidly increasing labour productivity and freeing the working people from hard and tough work.

The technical revolution is naturally an honourable revolutionary task for communists. In the northern half of our country, we have already accomplished the task of liberating the working people from the oppression and exploitation of the landlords and capitalists. But that alone is not enough for the building of socialism and communism. At the same time, it is necessary to raise the level of the productive forces and eliminate the differences between heavy and light labour, between mental and physical labour, between industrial and

agricultural labour. To do that a technical revolution must be carried out. It is a most honourable and sacred task for us communists to free the working people from hard and fatiguing work after smashing the landlord and capitalist classes and emancipating the working people from exploitation and subordination, and it is the last revolutionary task for communists to carry out.

The technical revolution particularly becomes even more urgent under the circumstances like those in our country which had remained a colonial, semi-feudal society for such a long time that there was no industrial development in the past and which carried over very backward economic foundations from the old society.

Our officials, however, do not yet have a correct understanding of the technical revolution, are passive towards it, and are still trapped in the erroneous idea of increasing the number of workers as soon as they get more production assignments instead of trying to produce more with less manpower through technical revolution. The country has not enough reserves of manpower, but the ministries are asking for tremendous manpower increases. This fact alone shows us clearly how ignorant our senior officials are of the general manpower situation in the country and how indifferent they are to the technical revolution.

The Fourth Congress of our Party defined the Seven-Year Plan period as a period of all-round technical revolution, but you did not work efficiently to carry this out, and consequently in many spheres including agriculture, construction and the mining industry, the technical revolution is standing still instead of advancing. There was a great deal of talk about mechanization for a while, but at construction sites these days, they have even thrown away such things as wheelbarrows and trolleys and carry loads on their backs again. During the construction of the Kiyang irrigation project, a considerable amount of work was done with conveyor system although our machine industry was only in its infancy at that time. But now they carry everything on their backs even at reservoir construction sites. It may be still tolerable to see men using their backs but it is really embarrassing to see women do this.

Apparently, a segment of the leading cadres of worker and peasant origin have forgotten all about their former hardships and have become such bureaucrats that they show little concern about freeing the working people from tough and burdensome work. It is serious enough that the leading officials themselves do not take the initiative in the technical revolution, but we see the practices in which they even refuse to accept creative suggestions from lower levels for the technical revolution and hinder it instead, regarding it as a nuisance. That cannot be tolerated.

Those who do not want to introduce mechanization and carry out the technical revolution are not communists at all. Until recently, all socialist construction fronts everywhere were afire with the slogan of continued innovation and continued advance, but these days they are stagnant and lifeless, simply marking time. I wonder if it is not because they have all been influenced by the book *Mokmin Simso*.

We are not satisfied with the work of the Agricultural Commission either because it does not conduct proper research work to ease the hard work of the peasants by mechanizing farming and using chemicals more widely.

In other countries they use herbicides and plant rice directly in the fields; they do not weed and still they reap five tons per hectare, but our agricultural officials insist that in rice farming young plants must always be bedded out and weeded by hand. Even this, they claim, is hardly likely to reap more than five tons per hectare. There are limits to man's capacity, of course, and it is true that if you continue to stick to the obsolete method of transplanting young rice plants and weeding by hand as you do now, you can scarcely harvest five tons of rice per hectare.

Agricultural officials kept complaining that the per-unit-area yield could scarcely be raised because of the shortage of labour, and we reinforced rural manpower and lowered the crop area for each farm member to 0.6 hectare, but that is not the final solution to the problem. The country's manpower situation is such that we cannot keep supplying the countryside with manpower, and even if the yields could be raised to some degree by increasing the number of work hands, this



would not make it possible to free the farmers from hard work. I had a talk with the farmers some time ago and they also said that young rice plants were bedded out because, otherwise, it was difficult to get rid of weeds, and that if they could only prevent weeds from growing, it would be quite all right to plant direct into the paddy fields. In fact, if we can use herbicides to prevent weeds from growing, there will be no need to transplant young rice plants or weed.

Moreover, we cannot indefinitely mobilize the students, factory and office workers throughout the country to work in the countryside, suspending their own work every year at the rice planting and harvesting seasons as we are doing now, can we? Some people think that this represents the superiority of the socialist system, but we have to do this precisely because the technical revolution has not been carried out. This is by no means a practice which is inherent in the socialist system.

As I said at the last consultative meeting with the agricultural officials, in a certain country they apply so much fertilizer that any grain crop yields four tons and up per hectare, they say. The people of Ryanggang Province say that as far as oats are concerned, they can get yields of 200 to 300 kilogrammes and no more per hectare, at best, but in a foreign country they reap four tons of oats, four tons of barley, four tons of wheat, and so none of these crops is below the four-ton mark.

That country is similar to ours in population and cultivated area, but the per-hectare yield is so high that they are not only self-sufficient in food grain but also export hundreds of thousands of tons although they plant only one million hectares to grain and the remainder to fodder so that they produce meat, also.

Can we not raise yields also, and reduce the peasants' work load as others do if we carry out the technical revolution, especially the full-scale use of chemicals throughout the countryside? The problem is that the officials in the Agricultural Commission, the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and other agricultural institutions do not study hard nor come to grips with the rural technical revolution.

When I visited South Hamgyong Province recently, I assigned the

comrades of the Hamhung Branch of the Academy of Sciences the task of further intensifying their scientific research to speed up the greater use of chemicals in agriculture, since this is more important than mechanization in our country's rural technical revolution at present. If we produce more potassic, phosphoric and nitrogenous fertilizers in our country for paddy and non-paddy fields and eliminate weeds with herbicides, we can raise the yield markedly and do away with weeding by hand.

In fact, it is many times easier to increase yields by applying more fertilizer and herbicide than by manual weeding. Go to a fertilizer factory, and you will see that nobody does such hard work as stooping to pull up weeds; instead many people simply sit checking the meter as it ticks off. A herbicide factory is also a chemical plant, and it cannot be very different from a fertilizer factory.

If we carry out the technical revolution properly and reap 4.5-5 tons per hectare from the 1,300,000 hectares of arable land where machines can be used, we can plant the remaining hundreds of thousands of hectares to fodder. Then we shall be self-sufficient in food supplies and can provide our working people with more meat and other livestock products.

In his speech the chief secretary of the Anju Coal Mine Party Committee said that they had initiated and introduced the rotary cutter for coal production, with the result that they could dispense with blasting, and with the dust and smoke, and consequently, harmful work has become harmless and productivity has increased many times. How fine that is! If all the coal mines mechanize and automate operations like the Anju Coal Mine, there will be no big labour difference between mining coal at a colliery and weaving fabrics at a textile mill.

It was not because the comrades of the Anju Coal Mine had any particularly favourable conditions that they could produce such a machine. They actively launched the technical innovation drive in pursuance of Party policy, using the collective wisdom of many people to turn out such an excellent machine at the repair and maintenance shop. Nothing is impossible once you are determined to do it and rouse

the masses to activity.

As I said at a meeting of officials in the precision-machine industry, which was held some time ago, all branches, all factories and enterprises should carry on a struggle to accomplish the Seven-Year Plan by promoting the technical revolution without expecting any larger labour force for the next three years or so. If you comrades ask the Party and the Government for steel materials which are necessary for technical innovation, that request would be accepted, but no request for more manpower would ever be met. There is no source of labour, even if we want to give it to you. It should be regarded as a principle in all units to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan by making technical innovations without additional manpower.

In this connection, I deem it necessary to provide factories and enterprises with a certain amount of funds for materials, including steel, so as to enable them to make machines and equipment by themselves for technical innovations.

Our country abounds in various nonferrous metals and ores, and accordingly, has favourable conditions for developing the metallurgical and machine industries. We can produce many machines not only for our own use, but also for sale in large quantities to other countries, and we need not worry about running short of raw materials for generations to come. Furthermore, we have very great prospects for the development of the chemical industry because our country has large sources of power, limestone and anthracite. So, we have all the conditions for introducing widespread mechanization, electrification and the use of chemicals in all branches of the national economy.

We do not have any problem whatsoever in carrying out the technical revolution. Why, then, is there continual timidity about its fulfilment? The main reason is that our officials still do not have a clear understanding of communism; they have little popular and class spirit needed for attempting to free the working people from hard labour and raise their living standards; they lack the strong fighting will to give full scope to the true superiority of socialism by producing more material wealth and the firm resolve to advance faster. That being the

case, even those senior officials, who are supposed to organize and direct the technical revolution in person, are not strong enough in their demands, not caring whether the task of the technical revolution set forth by the Party is executed or not, while those in scientific and technical research simply idle away their time and do not solve a single problem correctly because their revolutionary spirit is weak.

Our scientists and technicians are said to have been doing research for many years now, but they are not even able to produce an efficient rice-harvester.

We should wage a powerful ideological struggle against all negative trends to be found in carrying out the technical revolution.

Since the task of the technical revolution is that of making all people prosperous, everybody, no matter who, should devote his knowledge to this revolution.

Furthermore, the struggle to raise qualifications should be stepped up among scientists and technicians. The Party decided long ago on the bold plan of sending scientists and technicians to production sites to make them learn the revolutionary spirit of the working class and acquaint themselves more thoroughly with production techniques, but judging from your speeches, it seems to me that the decision has not been carried out correctly. We should send the scientists and technicians to production sites in accordance with the Party's policy, so that they can strengthen their creative cooperation with the producers and concentrate on solving difficult scientific and technical production problems. In addition, we should establish the strict rule of making every university graduate, without exception, train himself at the production site and accumulate some experience in production before working in a research institution.

At the same time, great attention should be paid to raising the working people's levels of technique and skill.

To do this we have to teach the workers technology better, and keep them at their present workplaces for a long time. Schools for shop managers, for workteam leaders and for skilled workers in all branches of the national economy must be better constituted and efficiently run,

and better study conditions should be provided for working people who take correspondence courses.

Next, we have to cut down the workforce in nonproductive branches radically as well as management personnel and labour engaged in indirect work.

The task of technical revolution or the problem of enhancing the working people's conscientious attitude towards labour cannot be solved in a day or two. So, in order to solve the present acute manpower problem, it is important to strengthen labour discipline so as to make full use of working hours on the one hand, and on the other, cut down on the manpower in nonproductive branches as well as management personnel and indirect labour so that we can transfer them to the productive and direct branches.

We have so far been waging a struggle to reduce nonproductive and indirect labour, but there is still too much manpower in this branch.

It is a fact that nonproductive labour, including management personnel, has, as a whole, increased more than necessary in our factories. Now let me cite examples in a couple of factories. At the Sunghori Cement Factory full-time trade union workers alone are reported to total some 13 persons; and what are so many people needed for? As far as sports and art circles are concerned, part-time instructors can train them adequately without leaving their regular jobs. Let those whose hobby is sports or art organize a circle, elect the best person as their leader and conduct their circle activities together when they have all finished their work. That will suffice.

We are not at all against circle activities. Sports and art activities are important aspects of cultural life, and should be carried out, especially among the young people where such circle activities are all the more necessary. What we mean is that circle activities should be carried out extensively as a mass movement, and that it is not necessary to have separate paid instructors.

Look how many people they have at the Kowon Coal Mine club: one club head, one culture instructor, one sports instructor and one fine-arts man, two caretakers, five illustration painters, three film

operators, that is, 14 persons in all. I think three or four persons would be quite enough—the club head, one film operator and one culture instructor-librarian. Rather than employing able-bodied adults as club workers, it would be better to give employment to disabled soldiers for preference, or those who cannot work properly in productive labour because of ill health.

As regards Party officials, the cell secretary should also not be a paid official. At present, even cell secretaries in many factories and enterprises have almost completely dropped out of their work, I was told; but what sort of Party work can they do when they remain aloof from Party members instead of working with them? Only by working alongside the workers can the cell secretaries understand their conditions well, help solve their problems speedily, and promptly rectify things which are going wrong. Away from production, they may eventually become bureaucrats, and primary Party officials must not become bureaucrats. Neither primary Party officials nor junior workers in social organizations should ever drop out of production.

We should boldly cut down on labour in all nonproductive branches, including management structures, in accordance with Party policy. We need manpower very badly if we are going to carry out the tremendous task of economic and defence construction, and we are not permitted to have so many management officials as we have at present, are we? In my opinion, you had better cut down on management personnel, including Party officials, in factories and enterprises in national economy branches across the country to approximately 4 per cent of the total number of employees. In addition, we also have to reduce the labour force in the indirect and auxiliary sectors of the productive branches to provide the direct and basic branches of production with more labour in conformity with the requirements of each branch.

Next, we should resolutely improve the work of labour planning.

Labour planning is the basis for the rational organization and effective use of labour and, accordingly, good labour planning is the basic guarantee for better labour administration. Moreover, under the circumstances in which an acute shortage of labour exists, as it does

today, it is especially important to organize labour planning well so as to make it possible to mobilize the country's labour resources actively, allocate manpower rationally and raise labour productivity.

On many occasions in the past, and especially during my guidance to Chongsan-ri and the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant, I laid great stress on planning in general, including labour planning. Consequently, materials, equipment and funds are being utilized in a fairly planned way, although this is not yet free from defects, but, in many cases, the labour force, the most important factor in production, is being used haphazardly without planning.

A number of shortcomings are revealed in labour administration: our country's per-capita output value is low; much labour is being wasted; there are still many idlers and the labour organization of the enterprises is confused—all these defects have to do mainly with bad planning of labour.

At this meeting, many of you have spoken about labour administration, but not a single person has touched on labour planning, and there are even comrades who do not quite understand what the term labour planning means. This shows clearly how superficially our officials have conducted the work of labour administration in the past and how indifferent they have been to labour planning.

At present, the State Planning Commission, which is in charge of labour planning, simply allocates manpower to each branch of the national economy and that is just about all it does, while the Ministry of Labour is concerned with getting together the number called for in the plan.

Here are some examples of bad labour planning.

At present, coal is in very short supply throughout the country, and production is suffering for lack of coal. In view of this situation, more labour should be given to the coal mines to produce more coal since mechanization has not yet been fully introduced into this branch. So, more coal has to be mined even if it means reducing the manpower in machine factories or other plants and transferring it to coal mining. But neither the State Planning Commission nor the Ministry of Labour has

taken any such measure. So, because of the manpower shortage in the coal-mining industry, it is not possible to mine more coal, while in other branches, factories cannot operate normally because of the coal shortage and large numbers of people are idle.

Now, almost anywhere you can find the practice of allocating manpower at random without considering the nature of the work or people's physical conditions. Yesterday afternoon it rained a great deal, and I visited Chongsan-ri because I was afraid it would affect farming. On my way back I saw people repairing the road, and almost all of them were girls fresh from school. I do not think young girls can stand such arduous work, which can be done only by adults, and carry out the work norms fixed by the state. Since the labour administration bodies are preoccupied with filling up manpower quotas and distribute labour carelessly without considering a man's physical condition or the level of his skill, it is natural that more labour is employed than the plan calls for and that construction costs more and takes longer.

Another defect in labour planning is revealed in the haphazard labour allocation. Last year, a workforce of 600 persons was taken away from the Ryongsong Machine Factory on the justification that there was a shortage of steel, and this year a fresh workforce of the same number was given to the plant. At the time of the reduction, skilled workers were sent away from the factory, but then unskilled young girls were employed as replacements since there was no place to get skilled workers from. According to the manager, they have to be trained in the machine plant for three or four years at least before they can work on their own, and until then they have to be assisted in putting the tools together and fetching materials, which is a great waste of labour. He added that the rate of labour turnover is so high now that it is impossible to raise the workers' levels of technology and skill or improve the quality of products.

As you all know, the Ryongsong Machine Factory is a very important factory which might be called a parent factory in our country. You should give this factory enough work to do so as to stabilize its labour force and improve the workers' levels of technology



and skill, even by letting other factories stand idle if you really run short of steel. Planning or labour administration bodies, however, take the labour force away from this or that factory by the hundreds dogmatically, without giving it any consideration, and when augmenting manpower, they allocate so many persons to this or that factory in the same way. This simply causes trouble in production and an unnecessary waste of labour.

The year before last or thereabouts, the question of providing the countryside with work forces was raised. At that time, too, it would have been preferable for the Ministry of Labour to have made detailed inquiries about which branch of production was more important and which less, and which had plenty of indirect labour, and then they should have reorganized the work forces in a planned way. But they placed manpower at random, simply counting the numbers without any accuracy and caused a certain amount of confusion as a result. When we visited the Kiyang Tractor Plant, leading officials there complained about the quandary they were in, saying that they would have to increase their manpower in two months, but had been ordered, meanwhile, to send 500 hands to the countryside for the simple reason that the plant was a bit overcrowded for the moment. So I asked them not to transfer the workforce, but to produce more instead, because it would be more advantageous to turn out more tractors and more accessories for the countryside than to send 500 hands there. It can only be considered as a confusing act to production to give orders to take some labour away from a factory which would have to be given additional labour two months later. That is the way the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Labour function.

At present, the State Planning Commission simply plays with numbers, paying no attention whatever to the problem of stabilizing labour and raising levels of technology and skill, and the Ministry of Labour only plays the role of a former labour exchange, hiring and firing workers.

Even if the State Planning Commission drew up an incorrect plan, as long as the Ministry of Labour produced a proper labour plan, there

would be no such upsetting circumstance as taking manpower away from this factory and giving it to that today, then taking it away from another factory to make up for that shortage tomorrow.

It could sometimes happen that factories might have lower production quotas than previously because of a nationwide shortage of materials or the fact that raw and other materials could not be imported as expected. Wherever possible, the production quotas should always be maintained at an average or higher level, but even where they have to be cut for unavoidable reasons, manpower must not be taken out of key factories which have an important bearing on the whole national economy such as the Tokchon Automobile Plant, the Ryongsong Machine Factory and the Kiyang Tractor Plant. Instead, measures should be taken to use surplus manpower in some other way. For instance, suppose the Tokchon Automobile Plant turned out 3,000 lorries last year, but can turn out no more than 2,000 or 2,500 this year for unavoidable reasons. In this case, even though production quotas decrease, you should not transfer the corresponding surplus manpower to other places, but rather let them fulfil their production plan within, say, nine months, work in a coal mine for the remaining three months and then come back to the plant; or let the surplus manpower, say, 500 men or so, work at a coal mine for a year before coming back to fulfil the increased production plan for the following year but keep them on the payroll at their home plant. But if you transfer skilled workers at random simply because the production quota has decreased, and replace them with novices when it is increased, you will never improve the quality of machinery and equipment such as lorries and tractors or raise the technical knowledge and skills of the workers.

As for the careless manpower turnover which occurred in the machine plants before, while I think the fault lies with the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Labour, it is true that the Ministry of Machine Industry and the enterprises concerned which failed to make timely suggestions are also responsible.

Labour planning should be put on the right track in order to improve labour administration. It is precisely here that the greatest reserve for

economizing in manpower lies. In fact, if you do good labour planning and give all the working people accurate assignments for the year, for the first half of the year, for the month, for the week and for the day, they will all do their best to discharge their responsibilities. Then, labour waste will automatically be eliminated, those who loaf on the job will disappear, and the per-capita output value will be raised markedly. Simply by the introduction of proper labour planning in accordance with Party policy, we can double the present output with the existing manpower. Party guidance should, therefore, be improved so that not only the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Labour but also other ministries, the people's committees at all levels, including the provincial people's committees, and all levels of economic bodies can put labour planning on the right track as soon as possible.

For proper labour planning, as with any other work, you first of all need to have scientific statistical data based on detailed investigations. You cannot draw up a realistic labour plan without anything to go on, without scientific statistical information.

It is not so difficult to assemble statistical data. It becomes difficult only when you try to get the data by sitting back in your chairs in the capital as you do now. If you go to the production sites and talk to the workers as instructed by the Party, you can even find out the grade of any workteam member, what his physical condition is and what his good and weak points are.

Moreover, if you have cards with detailed data, classified by factories, you do not need to visit the production sites every time. The Ministry of Labour ought to have a register book classified by factories, and keep it up to date with accurate details of the kinds of products, the amount of the output, and total manpower—subdivided into 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th labour classifications, by sex and taking into account women eligible for maternity leave, and by direct and indirect labour—the industrial classification, the work norms and actual results. Once you have data for the large factories in our country, you can allocate and reorganize the labour force properly and in a planned way. Once you have factory data on file based on detailed investigation,

when the question of manpower reorganization arises, you can flexibly conduct such work as transferring manpower from branches which are less important to the national economy and from the factories and enterprises where there is plenty of indirect labour and where the per-capita output value is low, to assist those branches and enterprises which are more important and vital to the national economy. Then, there will be no confusion in factories and enterprises.

As I told the officials of the Ministry of Metal Industry some time ago, per-capita production at the Songhung Mine is far higher than that at the Taeyudong Mine or the Hyangsan Mine. If this is so, when you were told that the Songhung Mine was running short of manpower, you could have taken adequate measures for lending workers from the Hyangsan Mine, except for the caretaker personnel, to the Songhung Mine for a while. Therefore, labour administration bodies and departments, including the Ministry of Labour, should be very much concerned from now on with improving labour planning.

Another important factor in labour administration is service and supply work.

An important conclusion we reached in the course of our protracted revolutionary struggle is that service and supply work is political work. The experience we gained, first during guerrilla warfare and then in the Fatherland Liberation War, shows that the units in which service and supply work went well had strong fighting power and high morale, while those units which did not do their service and supply work well were weak in combat and had low morale. It is quite obvious that men who are not adequately fed and rested can neither have stamina nor fight well. There is a limit to man's physical strength, and when he is not ensured a certain degree of nutrition and rest, he cannot last out physically.

Indifference to service and supply work is an expression of the old capitalist ideological viewpoint. Capitalists pay no attention to service and supply work for workers. In a capitalist society, there are many unemployed and abundant resources of cheap labour, and capitalists have no need to worry about their enterprise being disrupted by a labour shortage. Consequently, they sweat the workers at will, and

answer their requests for better treatment with greater arrogance, telling them to leave if they do not want to work.

Under the socialist system, however, where the people have become real masters of the country, such things can never happen. Under the socialist system, leading economic officials and management personnel in factories and enterprises should treat the workers as revolutionary comrades and pay great attention to their service and supply work.

I think I have stressed the necessity of good service and supply work from this rostrum scores of times. But there has still been no improvement worth mentioning in this work.

It is not simply because of a lack of favourable conditions that service and supply work is not done well. It is true that there are some problems in service and supply work for the working people which the state should solve, but there are many things which are well within the power of the local officials to handle, and they do not do so by themselves. At present, you are not supplying the working people with cooking oil regularly, but even that is perfectly possible if you pay heed to it and organize it well. I visited a cooperative farm in Hungsang County, South Hamgyong Province, some time ago, where, I was told, they had fought hard to provide the farmers with oil and succeeded in distributing two *mal* of sesame in large measures to each household last year. Two *mal* is from 18 to 19 kilogrammes, which is quite a lot. So the people there all have oil. In South Phyongan Province, however, the service and supply work is not going well. Other provinces, cities, and counties, too, need to follow the example of Hungsang County. If the organizational work is done well, the farmers can be given as much oil as they need.

If, as had been discussed at the consultative meeting of the provincial, city and county Party committee chairmen the year before last, we had made each farm, each workteam plant a patch of field to sesame, we could have provided the farmers with oil, but the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee, Provincial Rural Economy Committee and the county Party committees did no organizational

work at all. So, where could the oil come from?

South Phyongan Province does not supply the working people adequately, not only with cooking oil, but also with vegetables. Some time ago, I telephoned the chief secretary of the Party Committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works and asked him about the service and supply work there, and he said the workers there had difficulties because, during their itinerant work in South Phyongan Province, they had to pay more for vegetables than in Songnim where the iron works was. I asked the chief secretary of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee if it was true, and he explained the situation away by saying it had been caused by poor transport conditions, although there were vegetables in the province. However bad the transport may be, if you supply the working people with vegetables at higher prices than in other places, you cannot raise their standard of living.

The reason for such a state of affairs is that senior officials, who lack the Party, class and popular spirit, do not make devoted efforts to improve the people's living conditions.

As the chief secretary of the Party Committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works said in his speech, it introduced a water-sprinkling system into its vegetable garden of 100 hectares as instructed by the Party, with the result that it is in a position to supply the workers with enough vegetables and have some left over, and it has increased the 40 dairy cows it received some years ago to more than 180, so that it supplies the workers and the children at the nursery with milk regularly. The service and supply base of the Hwanghae Iron Works is solid now, and it will soon be providing them with enough meat, also.

The Tokchon Automobile Plant has a sideline farm with an area of 140 hectares, and can fully solve the transport problems from its own production, and it has all the conditions for mechanization and the introduction of a water-sprinkling system. But the service and supply work is still not up to the mark solely because the senior officials do not pay attention to it or organize it. If the Tokchon Automobile Plant introduces a water-sprinkling system into 40 hectares of the land to cultivate vegetables, and plants the remaining 100 hectares to fodder

crops of high nutritive value and high yield, it will be able to supply its workers with enough vegetables and meat.

Service and supply work is still as unsatisfactory as ever at factories in the Hamhung area. But if they have the will, study the problem and get down to it, they can do as good a job as could be wished. In Yonghung, not so far from Hamhung, there is an area of about 700 hectares which can be turned into a reed bed. If you grow reeds there and sow approximately 100 hectares of it to fodder crops, you will be able to raise thousands of dairy cows.

Some comrades claim it is difficult to establish service and supply bases at ore and coal mines. This is by no means so. The Komdok Mine, for example, has no particularly favourable conditions, but thanks to the earnest endeavours on the part of the officials, service and supply work for the workers is excellent there. If you make up your minds and buckle down to it, you can do it anywhere as well as anyone could wish.

To my mind, all the big factories should start a campaign to plant approximately 100 hectares each to fodder crops of high nutritive value and high yield, so that the workers can always enjoy not only vegetables but also meat.

If you conduct service and supply work well, the workers will settle down more, and will work better and more efficiently. You comrades should regard this work as the most important part of labour administration and pay careful Party attention to it.

You should devote yourselves to the correct solution of the problems considered at this plenary meeting.

Above all, we should make a great leap forward in all realms of the national economy so as to carry through the Party Conference decision on carrying on economic construction and the building up of our defences in parallel. We should continue to march ahead dynamically towards fresh victories, fighting resolutely against the passivists and waverers who hinder our advance.

# **LET US INTENSIFY THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI-US STRUGGLE**

**Article Published in the Inaugural Issue  
of the Theoretical Magazine *Tricontinental*, Organ  
of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples  
of Asia, Africa and Latin America**

*August 12, 1967*

Two years ago the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America was inaugurated in Havana, the capital of Cuba. It was an event of enormous importance. The aims and ideas of this organization have aroused the sympathy of hundreds of millions of Asians, Africans and Latin Americans and are exerting a profound influence on the great changes taking place in the world today.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who had been oppressed and plundered by Western capitalism and imperialism for centuries, have risen courageously and taken their place on the stage of history. The strong tide of national liberation is rising with an irresistible force. Hundreds of millions of people on the three continents are fighting for their freedom and are struggling to defend the revolutionary achievements they have already won. The colonial system of imperialism is rapidly disintegrating.

Imperialism is making desperate attempts to retain its former positions and regain its lost ground. As the dying hour of imperialism draws closer, the struggle is intensifying further. Thus, the peoples cannot but continue their struggle, holding high the banner of anti-imperialism, until



imperialism is totally wiped off the face of the earth.

The newly independent countries which have thrown off the yoke of imperialism are confronted with the very difficult and important tasks of defending their national independence, carrying forward the revolution and aiding the liberation struggle of the peoples still chained by imperialism. The peoples who have won their independence must fight to crush the subversive activities of foreign imperialism and the domestic forces of reaction, tear down their economic strongholds, strengthen the revolutionary forces, set up a progressive social system and build an independent national economy and national culture. Only in this way can they protect the gains of the revolution, achieve the prosperity of their countries and nations and contribute to the common struggle of the peoples of the whole world to bury imperialism.

Asia, Africa and Latin America comprise 71 per cent of the world's land surface. These continents are inhabited by more than two-thirds of the world's population and are blessed with inexhaustible natural resources. Imperialism has grown and become fat by grinding these peoples down and robbing them of their riches. Even today imperialism is squeezing tens of billions of dollars in profits from these areas every year. Once Asia, Africa and Latin America are completely freed from old and new colonialism, there will not be an imperialist Western Europe and an imperialist North America.

The struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and colonialism is a sacred liberation struggle for hundreds of millions of oppressed and humiliated people; it is also a great battle to cut the lifeline of world imperialism. This struggle and the revolutionary struggle of the international working class for socialism are the two major revolutionary forces of our times, and they join into one stream which will carry imperialism to its grave.

The imperialists cannot bestow independence upon the colonial peoples. Is there any need to prove the falsity of the imperialists' declaration that the Western world can help the peoples of the three continents to achieve independence and progress and can coexist with

a free and independent Asia, Africa and Latin America? The imperialist leopard cannot change his imperialist spots, and he never will. Imperialism will exploit, oppress and plunder the people until it meets its doom.

The oppressed peoples can liberate themselves only through struggle. This is a simple and clear truth confirmed by history. It is necessary to expose the false propaganda of the imperialists and thoroughly dispel the illusion that they will give up their positions in the colonies and dependent countries with a good will. Where there is oppression, there is bound to be resistance. It is inevitable that the oppressed peoples should fight for their emancipation. As long as imperialism plunders and oppresses small and weak nations by force, it remains an inalienable right of the oppressed nations to rise up in arms and fight against the aggressors.

It is wrong to try to avoid the struggle against imperialism under the pretext that independence and revolution are important, but that peace is still more precious. Is it not true that the line of seeking unprincipled compromise with imperialism only tends to encourage its aggressive actions and increase the danger of war? Peace secured by slavish submission is not peace. Genuine peace cannot be achieved unless a struggle is waged against those who break the peace, unless the slave's peace is rejected and the oppressors' rule overthrown. We are opposed to the line of compromise with imperialism. At the same time, we cannot tolerate the practice of only denouncing imperialism but, in actual fact, being afraid to fight it. This is a line of compromise in an inverted form. Both have nothing to do with a genuine anti-imperialist struggle and only help the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

It is most important, when fighting against imperialism, to concentrate the attack on US imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism. By stretching out its aggressive tentacles all over the world, US imperialism has become the common enemy of all peoples of the world. There is no country on earth whose sovereignty is not violated by US imperialism; there is no country which is free from the menace of

US imperialist aggression. The US imperialists are brutally suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and constantly perpetrating acts of aggression and subversion to re-enslave the newly independent countries. Bluntly revealing their true colours as gangsters, the US imperialists are waging a war of aggression against a socialist country and interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries by force of arms. Over the past 20-odd years since the end of World War II, not a day has gone by which has not witnessed the flames of aggression and war kindled by US imperialism. US imperialism is, indeed, the most heinous and shameless plunderer known to history. It is the US imperialists themselves who are causing peoples all over the world calling for peace, independence and progress, to unite in a common front against US imperialism.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have common interests and are in a position to support each other in their anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle. As long as Africa and Latin America are not free, Asia cannot be free; driving the US imperialists out of Asia will benefit the liberation struggle of the African and Latin-American peoples. Victory over US imperialism on one front will sap its strength and facilitate victory on other fronts by that much. If the US imperialist forces of aggression are defeated in any part of the world, it will be a very good thing for all the peoples of the world. It is necessary, therefore, to form the broadest possible anti-US united front to isolate US imperialism completely, and strike it in unison wherever it extends its talons of aggression. This alone will make it possible to disperse and weaken the force of US imperialism to the maximum and to lead the people with their unquestionably superior power to defeat US imperialism on all fronts.

For more than 20 years the US imperialists have been occupying the southern half of our country. They have enforced colonial rule in south Korea and turned it into a military base for their aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia. In spite of their ignominious defeat in the aggressive war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the US imperialists have not yet given up their aggressive

design to conquer the whole of Korea and are unceasingly planning to unleash another war in Korea. The supreme task of the Korean people at this time is to liquidate the colonial system of US imperialism in south Korea, accomplish the national-liberation revolution and reunite the country. For the Korean people to achieve the cause of national liberation, forces must be prepared along three fronts: strengthen the socialist forces in north Korea; increase and augment the revolutionary forces in south Korea; and develop the international revolutionary movement and strengthen solidarity with it. North Korea is the base of the Korean revolution. The successes of socialist construction there encourage the south Korean people in their anti-US, national-salvation struggle and stimulate the preparation of revolutionary forces in south Korea. We are striving to strengthen and develop the revolutionary forces in north and south Korea and, at the same time, to cement solidarity with the international revolutionary forces. The Korean people support the struggle of the peoples of all countries against US imperialism, and regard it as support for their own cause of liberation. We maintain that all the anti-imperialist forces of the world should unite in a joint struggle against US imperialism, and we have been working consistently to achieve this goal.

The US imperialists are more afraid of the united strength of the revolutionary peoples of the world than of anything else. That is why they are resorting to all kinds of tricks to obstruct the formation of an anti-US united front and are using the strategy of conquering small, weak countries one by one. This strategy of US imperialism must be thoroughly frustrated. The Asian, African and Latin-American countries have differing social systems, and there are many parties and groupings with divergent political views there. But all these countries, parties and groupings—except the stooges of imperialism—have a common interest in opposing the imperialist forces of aggression headed by US imperialism. The difference in social systems and political ideas can never be an obstacle to united struggle and concerted action against US imperialism. No one must be allowed to divide the anti-US united front or refuse joint action, claiming primary importance for his own specific national or

partisan interests. Such an act will only benefit imperialism led by US imperialism and harm the revolutionary peoples.

It is very important in the joint struggle against imperialism to defend the revolution which has already triumphed.

It is an internationalist duty of all the revolutionary peoples to fight to defend the gains of the Cuban revolution. Revolutionary Cuba represents the future of Latin America, and its very existence encourages the peoples of that continent in their liberation movement. The triumph of the Cuban revolution is striking evidence that imperialism is doomed and that the national-liberation revolution and people's revolution will assuredly triumph in our times. It is for this very reason that the US imperialists hate and fear this small island country so much. They are trying to strangle the Republic of Cuba. The peoples of Latin America and the progressive peoples of the whole world must do everything in their power to foil the US imperialists' blockade policy against the Republic of Cuba and frustrate their preparations for a military invasion of Cuba.

Today the Vietnamese people's war of resistance for national salvation against the US expeditionary forces has become the focal point of the anti-imperialist struggle. The US imperialist forces of aggression and the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces of the world are having a showdown in Viet Nam. The US troops are suffering one defeat after another in face of the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and are being driven into a corner. Contrary to the expectations of the US imperialists, the Viet Nam war has become a grave for the aggressors. The Vietnamese people's war of resistance for national salvation is another graphic example that a people who are determined to defend their independence and freedom at any cost, and who have the support of the peoples of the whole world, cannot be defeated.

At present, the US imperialists are escalating the war, continuously reinforcing their own military strength in South Viet Nam, bringing in more troops from their satellite countries, and perpetrating the extensive aerial and artillery bombardment of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese people, through their heroic struggle, are

shouldering the enormous burden of resisting the aggression of the most barbarous and most heinous imperialism of modern times. They are fighting not only to defend their independence and freedom, but also to safeguard world peace and security. Once US imperialist aggression against Viet Nam is checked and frustrated, US imperialism will sink like the setting sun and the situation will be more favourable for the peoples of all countries fighting for peace, independence and progress. The peace-loving peoples of the whole world have a duty to give all forms of aid to the Vietnamese people, and the Vietnamese people are entitled to receive it. The peoples of the socialist and the newly independent states and the peoples of all countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the rest of the world should make the greatest efforts to broaden the anti-US united front, to aid the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance for national salvation and, through concerted action, check US imperialist aggression. No one has the right to force a solution of their internal affairs on the Vietnamese people. The US armed forces of aggression must withdraw from Viet Nam and the Vietnamese question must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves.

We must neither underestimate nor overestimate the strength of US imperialism. US imperialism can still commit many crimes. But it is on the decline. Today when US imperialism is behaving most outrageously, its vulnerability is more evident than ever before. The Korean people know what US imperialism is. Our people have fought US imperialism, and defended their country against its aggression. The Korean war showed that US imperialism is by no means invincible, and that it is quite possible to fight it and defeat it. The triumph of the Cuban revolution again proved this truth under conditions which were different from ours. The Vietnamese people's war of resistance for national salvation also clearly confirms this truth.

US imperialism is doomed to complete destruction. Through a unified struggle against imperialism headed by US imperialism, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will build a new, independent and prosperous Asia, Africa and Latin America, and will make a great contribution to world peace and to the liberation of mankind.

## **SOME IMMEDIATE QUESTIONS ARISING IN ECONOMIC WORK**

**Speech before the Chief Secretaries of the Provincial,  
City and County Party Committees**  
*September 30, 1967*

Today, taking advantage of this meeting of the chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees, I should like to speak about a number of questions arising in economic work at the moment.

First, I shall deal with agricultural work.

This year, South Phyongan Province and some other areas have suffered flood damage. But, in general the crop situation is good. Yonan County in South Hwanghae Province expects to produce more than 100,000 tons of grain this year, Paechon County is expected to increase grain output by 20,000 tons and Sinchon County by 10,000 tons over last year's figures.

An important factor which has contributed to successful farming this year is that drainage work has been carried out properly and that a large amount of chemical fertilizer has been used. The construction of a good draining system and tidal embankments to prevent flood and storm damage has enabled Yonan County to increase crop yields.

The agricultural sector must conclude this year's farming properly.

The major shortcoming in the attitude of the agricultural workers at the moment is that they are very active during the spring sowing, weeding and harvesting seasons but relax when harvesting is over. They think that a year's farming work is all finished once the

harvesting is completed. So they do not bring in the harvested crops for threshing immediately. Worse still, they are very lax in the storage of the threshed grain. As a result, a large amount of grain is wasted.

The chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees should personally supervise the work of winding up this year's farming and direct it properly.

The immediate important task is to harvest and bring in the well cultivated crops quickly. And threshing work must be done well so as not to allow even a single grain of cereal to be thrown away with the waste straw, for instance.

The purchase of food grain should also be efficient.

This year we shall not be able to achieve the target of increasing grain output by 1,000,000 tons because some areas have suffered flood damage, but it is predicted that this year's output will be 600,000 tons more than last year's. Therefore, we shall be able to solve the food problem on our own without importing grain if we are efficient in finishing off this year's farming and in the purchase of food grain.

If we do not import grain, it amounts to earning that much foreign currency and benefits the state greatly. It is not a simple job to import grain. Foreign cereals are not readily available, and they cost us a large amount of foreign currency.

At present, there is a large amount of surplus grain in our country which can be bought. The farmers say that if the cooperative farms annually supply 400 kilogrammes of food grain per head of the farming population and 300 kilogrammes to each of their dependents, they will have a food surplus. The farmers waste a large amount of food grain by holding pretentious ceremonies celebrating long life, marriages, funeral services and ancestral worship. This is because outdated ideas still persist amongst them.

Officials should explain the purpose of grain procurement and its importance to all the farmers so that they will take an active part in this work. In addition, tight control is required to prevent the waste of food grain and its sale on the black market.

Further efforts have to be made to improve the equipment in rice



cleaning mills. Well-equipped rice cleaning mills will help to raise the output of cleaned rice and prevent the waste of grain.

The chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees ought to direct the implementation of this task properly. The Cabinet will call a meeting of the officials of the people's committees and of those in charge of the agricultural sector to discuss what needs to be done to complete this year's farming successfully, how to purchase cereals efficiently and how to equip the rice mills better before taking the necessary measures. But the provincial, city and county Party committees should also hold a meeting of the government officials and agricultural workers to discuss the same problems in detail and assign specific tasks to the officials concerned and they must control and direct them to carry out these tasks.

You should ensure that good preparations are made for next year's farming.

The important thing in this matter is to continue the projects for drainage and for river improvement efficiently.

As you all know, in recent years our country has had floods because of frequent rainstorms. We had very heavy rain in late August this year, which caused a flood. According to hydrologists, it was an unprecedented deluge. At the end of August as much as 500 to 800 millimetres of rain fell in the inland region in the upper reaches of the Taedong River including Tokchon. It is said that 10,000 tons more water per second flowed in this river than in previous floods.

No one can predict with certainty that there will be no such heavy rains in the future. So we must take thoroughgoing measures to prevent any damage from flood and ensure safety for farming. The recent years' experience shows that farming was safe in spite of the floods in those places where the drainage system and the river protection projects were in good condition and that flood damage was unavoidable where the drainage and river improvement schemes had been neglected.

We must increase the drainage pumping capacity. In the past the agricultural sector has failed to build up this capacity properly. The

executives in charge of agriculture worked out the pumping capacity on the arbitrary assumption that a maximum spell of rain would be no more than 200 to 300 millimetres, instead of making a scientific estimate of the rainfall in the seasons when floods could be expected. As a result, the crops in some areas suffered flood damage this year.

The agricultural sector should make a general survey of the drainage pumping capacity and increase it wherever it is inadequate to cope with a possible flood. Pumps should be installed in places which may be flooded in the event of a storm.

You must continue to work hard on river improvement projects.

You must dredge the rivers where the river beds have risen, and build embankments wherever necessary. Embankments should be built to last.

In past years the people in many regions, including South Phyongan Province, have built many embankments but they did not build them solidly. In consequence, there has been flood damage in various parts of the country as some of the embankments gave way during the floods this year.

This year floods caused damage to embankments of the Hapjang and Sunhwa Rivers. An inspection of the damage shows that a bank gave way at the fork where the tributary meets the main stream and at a spot where a sand embankment had been built. It is futile to build earth embankments at such forks without laying concrete bases or to build a sand embankment without incorporating a solid core. Embankments of this kind will give way as a result of seepage at the base.

If we are to build durable banks, we need good designs. In those places where geological conditions are not favourable, concrete foundations and cores and masonry-facing should be incorporated in the banks. South Phyongan Province must continue to concentrate its efforts on the Taedong River embankment project, and the other provinces should also organize river improvement work and do it properly. For the present, the agricultural sector must not simply try to expand the area of cultivated land but should, instead, strive to take good care of the existing area under cultivation and increase the yields.

The important thing in preparing for next year's farming is to increase the production of chemical fertilizers of different kinds and supply them to the rural areas.

Next year 200,000 more tons of nitrogenous fertilizer should be produced than this year for farming purposes.

Cooperative farms have to make effective use of the nitrogenous fertilizer which will be supplied in large quantities. In some areas, including South Phyongan Province, too much nitrogenous fertilizer has been applied this year, and this was the cause of rice plant fever and considerably lower yields.

Senior officials in the agricultural sector should establish a proper manuring system and give efficient leadership to the cooperative farms to prevent them from applying fertilizer carelessly.

A campaign should be launched to produce phosphorous fertilizer.

To increase grain output, you must use phosphorous and nitrogenous fertilizers in the proper combination.

In recent years, we have not been able to import apatite from Viet Nam because of the war. So we are not producing adequate amounts of phosphorous fertilizer and this limits grain production to a certain extent. Therefore, last year we started trying to find deposits of apatite in our country. As a result, we have discovered many of them. The quality of apatite found in our country is not very inferior to that of other countries.

We must produce 250,000 to 300,000 tons of phosphate to be supplied to the countryside until the next manuring year. All the executives in charge of economic affairs should regard the production of phosphate as grain production and vigorously push ahead with this undertaking.

The Party organizations and senior officials concerned should carry out good organizational and political work to produce phosphate, and the local Party organizations in the neighbourhood of the apatite mines should step up their assistance to these mines.

We have also to produce potassic fertilizer.

At present our country has good prospects of producing potassic

fertilizer. But in the past years our scientists and technicians were very indolent in their research on the manufacture of potassic fertilizer and so they have failed to get the results which otherwise would have been possible.

In recent years the Party has raised the question of producing this fertilizer in our country and has promoted this work very forcefully. As a result, it is said that this problem can be solved. When our country produces its own potassic fertilizer, the problem of three-element fertilizers will be resolved.

We should also solve the problem of producing microelement fertilizers.

As you all know, our country has a history of 5,000 years, and its cultivated land is very old. Therefore, it lacks iron, copper and other microelements which are indispensable to the growth of crops.

At present, the production of microelements is very urgently required in order to increase agricultural production in our country. But our scientists have not yet solved the problem of producing microelements satisfactorily. The scientific research sector should redouble its efforts to make microelements.

The Agricultural Department of the Central Committee of the Party and other sectors concerned should pay attention to research on the production of microelements and organize and direct this work properly.

We should try to obtain new strains of rice suited to the climatic conditions in our country.

There are heavy rains and strong winds in July and August every year, and these hamper pollination and cause low rice yields. Agricultural scientists should intensify research work on improving rice varieties and create an early ripening and high-yielding strain of rice.

Now I shall speak about the work of the industrial sector.

The industrial sector must increase the output of excavators as a matter of priority.

Large-scale drainage and river improvement projects require a

large number of excavators. It is impossible to carry out these projects quickly by using such a laborious method as people carrying earth on their backs, nor can the quality of work be guaranteed. Therefore, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee some time ago considered excavator production to be an important matter and proposed the task of turning the Ragwon Machine Factory into a specialized factory for the production of excavators.

In order to convert it into a specialized excavator factory, we should, as far as possible, give it no other assignments.

In future, the Ragwon Machine Factory has to produce only precision pumps and it should hand over the responsibility of producing ordinary pumps to another factory. The Anju Farm Machine Factory can and must take over this responsibility. The Ragwon Machine Factory should go on producing oxygen separators which it has started making with self-acquired technology.

This factory should produce 0.5-cubic-metre capacity excavators. The 0.1-cubic-metre capacity excavators which are now produced are needed to clear ditches but they are not very useful in river improvement work. The Ragwon Machine Factory should strive to manufacture 500 0.5-cubic-metre excavators next year, 800 in the year after next and 1,000 annually from the year 1970. The Kiyang Tractor Factory should produce 75-hp engines for the 0.5-cubic-metre excavators.

The Ragwon Machine Factory should also manufacture 200 excavators with a capacity of 2 cubic metres. The 2-cubic-metre excavators can use Jaju truck engines produced at the Tokchon Automobile Plant.

In addition, Phungnyon tractors should be mass-produced.

Mass-production of Phungnyon tractors is imperative for large-scale river improvement and the development of coal and ore mines and for the acceleration of agricultural mechanization. The machine industry should endeavour to produce 4,000 Phungnyon tractors by 1970.

Next year, the machine industry should enlist the enthusiasm of the

workers in producing excavators and Phungnyon tractors and thus thoroughly fulfil the honourable tasks assigned by the Party so as to supply a larger number of these machines to mines as well as to the countryside.

The shipbuilding industry has to be developed further.

If we build many large vessels by developing this industry, we shall be able to engage in deep-sea fishing. This year, our country has tried this for the first time, and it is said that scores of tons of fish can be caught per haul. But they say that because of the shortage of transport vessels and the limited refrigeration capacity of the *Paektusan* they failed to land more fish although they could have done so.

Developing the shipbuilding industry is also urgent for the development of river and marine transport. At present, we depend exclusively on the railways for transport, but if we are to ease the strain on transport, we must develop sea transport by an all-out effort.

Our country borders on the sea on three sides, so we have stressed the need to develop the shipbuilding industry since immediately after liberation. We could not solve this problem satisfactorily when the standard of our industry was not high in the past, but foundations have now been laid to develop the shipbuilding industry on a large scale.

The shipyards should be expanded so as to build large vessels.

We have built many small boats up to now, but from now onwards we should switch over to building 3,000-ton, 3,500-ton, 5,000-ton and 10,000-ton ships.

The importation of large vessels costs us a large sum of foreign currency and takes a long time. At present a 2,000-ton cargo ship costs 500,000 pounds. I was told that the orders for two 10,000-ton ships, which we recently placed with a foreign country, will not be filled until the year after next. We must, therefore, build large vessels on our own.

We can build large vessels. Some time ago, we inspected a 1,000-ton vessel which was built experimentally at the Nampho Dockyard and found it very good. The technicians concerned say that this vessel's welding is better than that of other countries.

The Nampho Dockyard has started building a 3,500-ton fishing boat, and the construction of such large vessels requires an expansion of the dockyard. In order to complete the project of enlarging the Nampho Dockyard rapidly, the state should increase investments in this project, and Nampho should construct wharves and shipbuilding facilities.

The Chongjin Dockyard should also build large fishing vessels. Small fishing boats which were made at the Chongjin Dockyard in the past should be built at the fishery stations and ship repair plants. The fishery stations and ship repair plants will be quite capable of building such boats if they are supplied with marine engines and shipbuilding equipment.

If the Nampho Dockyard builds two 3,500-ton fishing vessels and if the Chongjin Dockyard three or four of this type—at least five in all—every year in the future, it will be a great achievement.

In addition, 2,000 to 3,000-ton cargo ships should be built in large numbers.

Next year we will start building an oil refinery at Unggi. When this plant is completed, there might be strain on the railway system. If the products from this refinery are to be carried by rail, we shall need a double-track railway and also many tank cars. But we cannot afford them for the moment. The products from the refinery should be carried to the western region by rail and to the eastern coastal areas by sea. If many cargo ships are built, they can be used to carry logs and similar items.

Many dredgers should be built. We have to dredge the Taedong, Chongchon, and Songchon Rivers as well as many others. To do this we shall need many dredgers.

It is important in developing the shipbuilding industry to produce marine engines. If we buy them from other countries instead of producing our own, it will cost us a lot of foreign currency and such imported engines will seldom arrive when they are badly needed.

The Pukjung Machine Factory should produce 1,000-hp marine engines.

At present, we are building 1,000-ton ships each equipped with two

400-hp engines. If we are to build 3,500-ton ships, we should produce 1,000-hp engines. The North Phyongan Provincial Party Committee, the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 and the Pukjung Machine Factory's Party Committee should make it an important task to produce 1,000-hp marine engines and start a campaign for its implementation.

While continuing to produce 400-hp marine engines, the Pukjung Machine Factory should also produce several 1,000-hp engines by the first quarter of next year. This factory will be quite capable of making 1,000-hp engines if it raises the workers' level of technique and skill and gets the necessary supplementary equipment.

Many medium-sized blast furnaces need to be constructed.

At present we are importing coking coal from a foreign country to produce pig iron, but it may be impossible to import it as required in future. Therefore, we must construct medium-sized blast furnaces everywhere and thus produce pig iron with coal which is plentiful in our country. This will increase the Juche character of the metallurgical industry and successfully repel any foreign economic pressure. The construction of medium-sized blast furnaces will help to produce pig iron with domestic coal and also supply gas generated in this process to heating furnaces to operate rolling mills properly.

If pig iron is not produced, no steel can be produced, and without steel, neither ships nor machines can be manufactured.

The Hwanghae and Kim Chaek Iron Works should speed up the construction of medium blast furnaces. The other metallurgical works must also begin a campaign to build medium blast furnaces so as to produce pig iron with domestic fuel. To this end, the equipment and materials needed for these projects should be supplied on time and various sectors of the national economy should give active assistance. Next year, we should mobilize all our efforts to accelerate the construction of medium blast furnaces.

Each district should strive to carry out construction on their own. Next year, we shall have to undertake many construction projects and also may encounter problems like this year's flood damage from which



we have yet to recover. So local authorities should build, using their own resources as much as possible, instead of turning to the state for assistance.

The problem of non-staple food for the people has to be solved.

In our country the problem of food grain has now been solved, but it cannot be said that the problem of non-staple food has been completely solved.

If we are to tackle this problem, we must catch large amounts of fish. Doing this is the way to provide the people with adequate fish and to develop poultry farming to supply meat and eggs. In the coming winter, we must develop fishing operations on a large scale to catch larger quantities of pollack.

To solve the problem of non-staple food for the people, it is essential not only to catch plenty of fish but also to process the landed fish well.

As I pointed out at the recent consultative conference of fishing officials from the east coast, we should make every possible effort this winter to process the landed pollack quickly so that none of them will rot.

At present, our country catches 300,000 tons of pollack or more in a year. If this amount is processed quickly and supplied properly, that alone will be enough to feed the people until next May. But much of the landed pollack rots because it is not processed immediately. So the country areas do not get much.

This year, we should strive to process landed pollack quickly and supply them to both towns and the country areas.

It is not very difficult to process pollack. Cut out their guts and then preserve these and the flesh separately in clean salt. That is all you have to do.

For this to be done, it is necessary to build centres for processing fish at the fishery stations, to provide them with pure salt without brine and to make tubs for salting. At present the people cannot produce tubs because the timber industry does not supply them with adequate quantities of timber for this purpose. The timber industry must ensure

the supply of timber quickly so as to make certain of the production of tubs.

After the completion of harvesting and threshing, the chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees in the eastern coastal areas must work hard to accelerate the processing of pollack. The Party committees of South Hamgyong Province and Hamhung, in particular, must make adequate preparations for the production of tubs and for fish processing.

During the busy pollack-fishing season this year, the chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees should visit the fishery stations and process the fish themselves, wearing rubber aprons and leading the members of shock brigades.

This year, we plan to send the Members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee to the fishery stations and let them direct and help fish-processing work. Each member of this committee should take charge of a fishing enterprise and play a personal role in fish processing before he comes back on the completion of this work.

To proceed, we must work hard to earn foreign currency.

We still cannot make high precision and efficient machines. We have to import a precision machine factory so that we can produce such machines ourselves.

If we have foreign currency, we can import precision machine factories without difficulty. At present, many countries want to export such factories to our country. Even capitalist countries including Japan, France and West Germany say that they will sell precision machine factories to us.

Earning a large amount of foreign currency is very important in frustrating the economic blockade moves of the US imperialists and big powers against our country and in developing the country's economy further. Therefore, the whole Party and the whole country must make a determined effort to obtain foreign currency.

For the present, we must attain this year's target of earning foreign currency. Nonferrous metal mines should produce more minerals. In order to do this, it is necessary to build ore dressing plants at once

where they are needed and construct roads at open-cast mines. In this way, we shall increase the output of nonferrous metals and export them to import the precision machine factories which we need.

In addition, we have to ease the strain on manpower.

We have many construction projects to be undertaken next year. We have to construct the Unggi Oil Refinery, the Pukchang Thermal Power Station, scores of medium-sized blast furnaces and many other projects. Manpower is needed both for the construction of these many projects next year and also for the operation of the newly-built factories and enterprises. But the manpower shortage in our country is very serious at present.

This shortage is largely due to the war. During the Fatherland Liberation War the birth rate was low, so that there are not many people of working age at present. The children who were born after the armistice have not yet reached working age. This has added to the strain on our manpower situation.

A few days ago, the 16th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee adopted a decision on solving the serious manpower shortage. But officials are not implementing the decision properly.

The major defect in the work of our officials is that they try to implement a decision for some time after it was made, but they soon give it up. The chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees and factory Party committee secretaries should not simply follow administrative workers but must supervise and direct them to implement Party decisions correctly.

If we do not carry out the decision of the 16th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, we may have great difficulty in fulfilling next year's national economic plan because of the manpower shortage. Therefore, the chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees and factory Party committee secretaries must see to and promote the implementation of the decision.

To ease the strain on manpower, every sector of the national economy must accelerate the technical revolution so as to economize

in manpower as much as possible in accordance with the decision of the 16th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee.

At present no sector has suggested saving manpower by the technical revolution; every sector requests more manpower. Pyongyang also wants to be allocated more manpower on the pretext of repairing flood damage. A few days ago, we inspected the Pyongyang Textile Mill and the people there asked for several hundred more workers.

Present circumstances do not allow us to give manpower reinforcements to even the factories and enterprises where such reinforcements are badly needed. The industrial sector must do everything in its power to ease the strain on manpower by its own efforts. To do this, all the factories and enterprises should work hard to speed up the technical revolution so as to use the minimum of manpower, and try to eliminate any waste of manpower, even to the extent of saving one work hand. Furthermore, everyone who can work must work.

Our officials think that it is not necessary to save manpower in the countryside. This is wrong. Manpower should be used most economically in the rural areas, too. The cooperative farms where the average area of cultivated land is less than 0.6 hectare per head of the farming population should thin out their labour forces and send the excess workers to the industrial sector. But you should not withdraw manpower from cooperative farms where each farmer tends more than 0.6 hectare of cultivated land.

If they are to ease the strain on manpower, the factories and enterprises should establish strict labour discipline and the workers should observe it willingly. It is particularly important that all the workers keep the 480-minute workday to the letter.

Encouraging women to take jobs is of great importance in easing the strain on manpower and revolutionizing and working-classing them. A woman cannot be revolutionized and working-classed if she stays at home without taking a job. If she is not revolutionized and working-classed, she will not be able to revolutionize her

family nor will she be able to give revolutionary education to her sons and daughters.

In order to encourage women to participate widely in social affairs we should provide them with good nurseries and kindergartens so that they can work without worries. Providing well-furnished nurseries and kindergartens is indispensable for bringing up healthy children who will carry the revolution forward. If the children are not brought up to be robust, they will be unable to do this.

However, some officials do not bother about building nurseries and kindergartens. They also neglect the supply of non-staple food and similar things to their nurseries and kindergartens and they do not establish proper children's wards. The Ministry of Public Health is supposed to be in charge of the nurseries, and the Ministry of General Education is supposed to take care of the kindergartens, but they do not organize them properly. In consequence, women are suffering much inconvenience in their work.

The chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees should be deeply concerned about building nurseries and kindergartens. When they inspect factories and cooperative farms, they must first examine the nurseries and kindergartens and ensure an adequate supply of non-staple foodstuffs and provide suitable conditions for them. It is advisable that the sectors concerned should study the question of establishing a new bureau in the Cabinet which will be exclusively in charge of nurseries.

It is important for officials to have a correct attitude towards women in encouraging them to take an active part in social affairs.

At present, some officials have the wrong attitude towards women. Our officials' neglect of furnishing nurseries and kindergartens properly and their inclination to regard working women as a nuisance are a manifestation of the remnants of outdated ideas which disparage women.

Because they have this attitude, officials do not risk promoting women as cadres nor do they try to give them systematic training. This is the case with the Party Central Committee and with the provincial,

city, county and factory Party committees. For this reason, there are very few women cadres in our country at present.

All officials must change their mistaken attitudes towards women, provide suitable conditions for them to participate in social affairs without problems, give them systematic education and fearlessly promote them as cadres.

Next year's national economic plan must be drawn up immediately.

The control figures for next year's economic plan have been issued, but factories and enterprises have still not drafted their plans for next year. Factories and enterprises must prepare their draft plans quickly and submit them. Only then will next year's national economic plan be drawn up and submitted for deliberation at the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee before it is sent to subordinate units before the end of the year, so that all sectors can start implementing it next year.

Next, good preparations have to be made for the winter.

The chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees should pay special attention to this matter. You are mistaken if you think that pickling vegetables for the inhabitants is all that is needed to provide against winter.

The most important thing in preparing for winter is to make good preparations for the normal operation of factories and enterprises. Inhabitants also need a stock of coal and firewood. Officials must pay due attention to the railway service so that the materials needed for use during the winter will be transported in good time.

Lastly, I would like to deal briefly with Party work and other problems.

Party work should be completely transformed into work with people, work with the masses.

At present, many Party officials adopt a bureaucratic attitude, working perfunctorily without going among the masses, and abusing Party authority. If they work in this way, they will be unable to perceive negative practices quickly, nor will they be able to take proper measures to prevent them.

In order to transform Party work into work with the people, it is

necessary to fight uncompromisingly against bureaucratism, formalism and misuse of power among Party officials, and it is also essential for all Party officials to move widely amongst the masses. In addition, we should build up the ranks of Party officials, and intensify criticism and self-criticism among them so that they correct their mistakes promptly.

We must establish strict discipline under which the decisions and instructions of the Party and state are implemented thoroughly.

At present, the chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees implement the Party's decisions and instructions but pay little heed to Cabinet decisions and instructions. This is extremely wrong.

The chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees should organize and direct the correct implementation of both Party and Cabinet decisions and instructions in every detail. They should hold frequent meetings of the Party executive committee, hear reports on the results of the fulfilment of the Cabinet decisions from administrative workers and direct them to implement them correctly.

Party organizations at all levels should pay close attention to getting all Party members and working people to observe the established system and order.

The wages of teachers in the general education sector should be raised.

A pay rise for all of them is aimed mainly at raising their sense of pride in their work, giving them proper public esteem and improving their living standards.

At present, some people do not have a correct understanding of teachers, and this is explained by the fact that they have erroneous ideological views about teachers and that the social treatment of teachers is not good enough. Therefore, while getting the Party members and working people to understand the importance of the position of teachers of the general education sector in educating the younger generation to be a reliable support of the country, we have taken measures to raise their wages.

When the Cabinet decision on raising their pay and an editorial on this matter are published in the newspaper, the Party organizations should explain the matter and give it wide publicity. The Party organizations have to educate the Party members and working people properly so as to correct their erroneous attitudes towards teachers, and in particular, they should give the teachers a clear understanding of the significance of the Cabinet decision so that they will be more enthusiastic in their work with a high sense of honour and pride.

We should conduct the work of raising the teachers' wages properly by closely integrating it with the work of building up the teachers' ranks. The provincial, city and county Party committees should strengthen the ranks of the teachers in primary schools, middle schools and technical schools with good people. Then, the teachers will educate their pupils well in accordance with the Party's intention.

Some foreigners may be surprised at our measures to raise the teachers' wages in spite of the flood damages we have suffered this year. Of course, it is a heavy burden to raise their wages when our country has suffered flood damage. But we have decided to do so because they play a very important role in educating the younger generation.

We have the material resources for the pay rise because this year crop farming was successful and the industrial production plan has been carried out satisfactorily in our country.

I hope that you will carry out the present economic assignments successfully, with a high sense of Party responsibility and thus make further progress in the country's socialist construction.



**YOU, CHILDREN OF REVOLUTIONARY  
MARTYRS, MUST CARRY ON THE CAUSE  
OF YOUR FATHERS AND MOTHERS  
AND KEEP THE REVOLUTION FLOURISHING**

**Speech Delivered before the Teaching Staff, Pupils  
and Graduates of the Mangyongdae Revolutionary  
School Marking the 20th Anniversary of Its Founding**

*October 11, 1967*

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School, I should like first, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, the Government of the Republic and all the Korean people, to offer warm congratulations to all the staff of the school who are educating the children of revolutionary martyrs to become reliable reserves of the Party and revolution, to the pupils of this school, and to the comrades who, after their graduation from this school, are faithfully working in various posts of revolution and construction.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I propose that everyone should stand and pay a silent and devout tribute to the memory of your fathers, mothers and brothers who died in heroic battle in the long-drawn-out revolutionary struggle against the Japanese imperialist marauders and in the arduous Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialists.

I am very happy to meet the staff and pupils of the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School on this auspicious day. In particular, I cannot suppress my emotion when I see the comrades who have graduated

from this school and are working at posts in the Party and state bodies, in economic establishments and in the sector of national defence, safeguarding socialist achievements.

It seems only yesterday that we built the school here and started educating the children of revolutionary martyrs. But 20 years have already passed since then. There is a saying that even the appearance of mountains and rivers changes in ten years. Indeed, much has been changed in the past two decades. We are very glad to see that the graduates of this school have already grown to be valuable cadres of our Party and are working well for the country and the people in important posts in the Party, state and economic organs and in the People's Army.

You, children of revolutionary martyrs, who are here now, must fight loyally to the last for our Party and our glorious motherland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which are raising you in their warm embrace.

You, children of revolutionary martyrs, must carry on the cause of your fathers and mothers and keep the revolution flourishing. You have grown up under the care of our revolutionary Party, so you must carry on the cause left behind by your fathers and mothers and fight for the Party and the motherland and for the lasting success of the revolution. This is what I said when the school was founded and today I am repeating it to you.

Your fathers and mothers waged an arduous armed struggle against Japanese imperialism for 15 long years and, after liberation, fought heroically in the Fatherland Liberation War by inheriting the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle and in the Fatherland Liberation War, your fathers, mothers, brothers and relatives fought against Japanese and US imperialism for the country and the people, but they died without seeing the final victory.

Our revolutionary cause has not yet been accomplished. We still have the revolutionary task of not only accelerating socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, but also driving out the US imperialists from the southern half and reunifying the country. We must

also build socialism in the south as in the north after reunification and then build a communist society in the whole of Korea in the future.

At present, the US imperialists occupy south Korea and are scheming to make the south Korean people slaves both of the US and Japanese imperialists by bringing in Japanese militarists.

In south Korea, the landlords, comprador capitalists, and the reactionary bureaucrats, the stooges of the US and Japanese imperialists, oppress and exploit the south Korean people, indulging in treachery to the country and the nation. Those who are now entrenched in the puppet regime in south Korea are traitors to the nation who have acted as the stooges of the imperialists for a long time. Park Chung Hee is a vicious reactionary element. He was a first lieutenant in the Japanese imperialist army and acted against your fathers and mothers. Today such traitors, now as faithful stooges of US and Japanese imperialism, are again opposed vehemently to the just revolutionary struggle of our people. We are trying to destroy the US and Japanese imperialists in order to reunify the country, but these traitors demand “reunification by prevailing over communism”. In other words, they insist on fighting to defeat communism and reunify the country. We put up a patriotic, democratic and socialist slogan, but they raise a traitorous, anti-communist and anti-people slogan.

Our revolutionary cause and our campaign slogan are just, so the broad masses of the south Korean people as well as the people in the north support us, and as the days go by more and more people in south Korea come to do so, too. Seriously alarmed at this, the US imperialists and their stooges are making frantic efforts to efface our growing influence on the south Korean people and to suppress their just struggle.

Of course, we cannot say that there is no one in the northern half of Korea who supports the US imperialists and puppet Park Chung Hee clique. The expropriated landlords and capitalists and pro-Japanese elements pretend to support us, but in hearts they hate us and are eager for vengeance, waiting for the restoration of their old system. We must never forget that they, but, of course not many of them, still remain alive. We are not in the least afraid of them. We are always extremely

vigilant and will punish them severely if they commit reactionary offences. The number of such enemies in the north is very small; and the workers and peasants who support us hold an overwhelming majority in the south.

The US imperialists and their lackeys acknowledge these factors. They dare not accept our proposal to open the door between the north and the south. They are doggedly opposed to mutual visits and even the exchange of letters between the north and the south because they know their disadvantages.

As long as the enemy exists, we must continue the revolution. I hope that you will fight to the end against US and Japanese imperialism and against their stooges, drive out the US imperialists from south Korea to reunify the country and strive staunchly to build socialism and communism in the whole of Korea. You must not forget the will of your fathers and mothers and become the backbone and core of the People's Army and of the Party, government and economic organs and working people's organizations to keep the flower of revolution in bloom.

To this end, the children of revolutionary martyrs should first equip themselves firmly with Party policy and thoroughly establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party.

The policy of our Party is Marxism-Leninism creatively applied to our conditions. It leads the Korean revolution to completion and the Korean people to socialism and communism along the most correct road. Therefore, whoever wants to work for the revolution must arm himself thoroughly with our Party policy.

To establish the Party's monolithic ideological system means that we all arm ourselves firmly with the policy of our Party and never allow any other ideas.

The present situation demands more urgently than ever that we must thoroughly establish the Party's monolithic ideological system. Right and "Left" opportunism, great-power chauvinism and factionalism which have appeared in the international communist movement try to spread their influence into our Party, and the US

imperialists continually infiltrate capitalist ideas into our country. And domestically, the worshippers of great powers, those who have capitalist ideas and stale feudalistic ideas and the elements who are infected with factionalism and parochialism attempt to slander the policy and the ideology of our Party. They think highly of everything to do with foreign countries, while looking down on their own country's achievements. We must wage the ideological struggle against such elements with great force. As a matter of principle, a revolution cannot triumph without struggle. If you are to combat Right and "Left" opportunism which tries to revise Marxism-Leninism, and to fight flunkeyism, capitalist and feudalistic ideas and all other counter-revolutionary and reactionary ideological trends, you must arm yourselves with the monolithic ideology of our Party.

The ideology of our Party alone is the most correct and revolutionary idea which can ensure the consolidation of the revolutionary base of the northern half of Korea, the driving out of the US imperialists from south Korea, the reunification of the country and the accomplishment of the Korean revolution. Therefore, whoever wants to continue the revolution and fight to the last until the day of its ultimate victory must equip himself with our Party policy and establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party.

Let us establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party—this is the most important slogan of our Party today.

The monolithic ideology of the Party is the Juche idea of our Party based on the principle of Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-reliance in national defence; it is the revolutionary spirit of independence, self-support and self-reliant defence.

It is the basic task of Koreans to carry out the Korean revolution. To do this successfully means being faithful to our internationalist duty. You must not revere others blindly nor must you adopt erroneous foreign ideas indiscriminately just because you have to be loyal to internationalism. But this does not imply that you have nothing to learn from other countries. What we should like to say is that you should

learn foreign things from the unswerving standpoint of Juche, things which are applicable to the Korean revolution, not things which are useless to the Korean revolution.

You comrades must equip yourselves firmly with the monolithic ideology of our Party and must fight uncompromisingly against hostile ideas of all hues until the day of the ultimate victory of revolution.

Further, the children of revolutionary martyrs should equip themselves firmly with the revolutionary world outlook of the working class and thoroughly acquire the point of view of the working class.

This is most important both for the graduates of this school who are working in various posts of revolution and construction and for the pupils who are studying at the school.

We should work for the revolution because we are living in a revolutionary age. In particular, as sons and daughters of revolutionaries, having the blood of revolutionaries in your veins, you must become professional revolutionaries and dedicate your whole lives to the revolution. Your fathers and mothers as professional revolutionaries laid down their lives in battle for the revolution.

To become professional revolutionaries, you must be able to distinguish clearly between revolutionary ideas and reactionary ideas, between the road of revolution and the road of counter-revolution and between friend and foe. You must also be able to judge things correctly from the political point of view. To do so, you must have a revolutionary world outlook based on the Juche idea.

Only when you have a correct revolutionary world outlook, can you acquire a correct viewpoint of the working class and fight in its interests. You must always hold fast to the working-class stand, see everything from the point of view of the working class and distinguish whether it is beneficial to our side or to the enemy side.

I had no intention of speaking critically of you on this happy occasion, but when I see you in person I cannot help doing so.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School, the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee recently started looking into the matter of what the

graduates of this school are doing and where. Many of them have been investigated and this work is still proceeding.

When talking to a woman graduate, I asked her how she thought about the class struggle. She answered that the higher the class consciousness and the class preparedness of people were, the sharper and deeper the class struggle would become. I told her that she had a correct class standpoint. The survey shows that the vast majority of these graduates are firm in their class standpoint like this woman comrade and are working faithfully for the Party and the revolution.

But some of them, a very small number of them, lacking a correct revolutionary world outlook and firm class viewpoint, went so far as to compromise with the class enemy or commit mistakes or lead an unprincipled life, instead of thinking of becoming professional revolutionaries.

Under the very difficult circumstances after liberation, our Party set up this school for the education of the children of revolutionary martyrs with a view to training them to be fine revolutionaries like their fathers and mothers. Is it proper that, far from becoming professional revolutionaries, they compromise with the hostile class which fought against their parents? This is behaviour which totally contradicts the class standpoint—an act of revisionism.

As a film of a certain country shows, revisionists say that love can transcend class distinctions and national borders. This is a lie perpetrated by the bourgeoisie in the past in order to dull the class consciousness of the working class. We should never be taken in by such nonsense and must never commit such a non-class act as compromising with the hostile class.

It is true that the Party organizations concerned are much to blame for such cases. They should have taken constant care of the children of the revolutionary martyrs, but, affected with bureaucratism and perfunctoriness, they neglected this duty. The anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements who were lurking in the Party particularly encouraged bureaucratism in the Party, persecuted people who gave good advice to the Party, and even expelled them from the

Party. Whenever there was a reduction of the Party staff, they dismissed only the children of revolutionary martyrs. Therefore, the children in those activities which are under the direct control of the Party have developed as they should, but where the Party's care has not reached they have not made progress, but have even committed mistakes.

Nevertheless, I think the comrades who have made mistakes should themselves share the blame which is their due. At the time when this school was set up, I already stressed that the children of the revolutionary martyrs should be heirs to the cause of their fathers and mothers, and that, to this end, they must steadily train themselves to become revolutionaries. But some of them neglected the effort to equip themselves with the revolutionary world outlook and to acquire the class standpoint. As a result, they failed to differentiate between friend and foe, and went to the length of making mistakes.

I should like to emphasize once more that if the people in this revolutionary era are to become professional revolutionaries, they must have a correct revolutionary world outlook. In establishing a revolutionary world outlook it is essential to know how to identify friend and foe and how to distinguish between reactionary ideas and revolutionary ideas, between the road of revolution and the road of counter-revolution, and to know how to judge everything and every question from the point of view of the working class and see which is beneficial to the working class and the revolution and which is advantageous to the enemy. Today I should like to lay special stress on your need to try harder to acquire a firm revolutionary world outlook and to be able to recognize the hostile class, hostile actions and hostile ideas.

The experience of revolutionary struggles in Korea and other countries shows clearly how important it is for revolutionaries to establish a revolutionary world outlook. There are so many instances of revolutionaries who failed in their struggle and made mistakes because they had not established a revolutionary world outlook. The Independence Army and nationalists in our country in the past failed to achieve their goals mainly because they were not based on the standpoint of the working class.



At present, many of the graduates of this school are working as cadres in the People's Army, and in Party and government bodies. But we cannot assume that they are firm in their revolutionary outlook on the world simply because they are graduates of this school and because they are cadres. It is true that the revolutionary school or an institution of higher education helps you greatly in establishing a revolutionary world outlook. But there you can acquire only the rudiments of this outlook; you cannot perfect it there.

Even a graduate of such educational institutions who is now on an important job cannot acquire the viewpoint of the working class unless he strives to establish his world outlook properly. No one has a perfect revolutionary outlook on the world. Everybody should work without cease to make his world outlook firm. One's revolutionary outlook on the world can steadily approach perfection only through ceaseless practical struggle, and one's working-class standpoint can become stronger only in the course of continuous struggle.

Both the comrades who are studying in the school and those who are working in various posts of revolution after graduation should all work tirelessly to perfect their outlook on the world.

The teachers who are in charge of training the priceless children of revolutionary martyrs should adhere to the class stand more thoroughly than anyone and establish a firm revolutionary outlook on the world. They must improve the education of pupils so as to equip them with this working-class standpoint and the revolutionary world outlook.

Moreover, the children of revolutionary martyrs should intensify the study of the revolutionary traditions of our Party and equip themselves firmly with these traditions.

Their intensive study and their taking on of these traditions are very important.

You should learn earnestly from the revolutionaries because you have no personal experience of revolutionary activities and because you were not trained in struggle and practice while growing up in peaceful circumstances.

Some of the children of the revolutionary martyrs went as far down

as the Raktong River line during the Fatherland Liberation War. We can say that these people went through the trial of revolution. The trying experience of the three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War is very valuable.

But very few of you have such experience. Most of you were too young to undergo the revolutionary trial. The study of revolutionary traditions is very necessary for those comrades who have no experience of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary trials.

I am told that there are some intellectuals who say that they do not know why they are urged to go on studying the *Reminiscences of the Anti-Japanese Guerrillas* when a glance through them as if reading a novel would be enough to understand them all. But that is not correct. We tell them to study the reminiscences in order that they learn the truth, the traits of revolutionaries, their methods and style of work and their unbending fighting spirit, contained in these books, and digest them to be their own flesh and blood and revolutionize and working-classize themselves.

An effective way of revolutionizing people is to let them study the revolutionary traditions. Those who refuse to study them are the people who are opposed to the revolution; they are the people who object to arming themselves with revolutionary ideas.

Our Party Rules clearly stipulate that the revolutionary traditions which we should carry forward are the glorious traditions established in the course of the 15-year-long armed struggle against Japanese imperialism. In our country there are no other revolutionary traditions worth learning besides the traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle in the 1930s. There is a history of struggle in the 1920s. But this is nothing but a history of scramble for hegemony among the factionalists such as the M-L group, the Tuesday group, and so on, who wrecked the Party in the end. These cannot on any account be the revolutionary traditions of our Party.

Of course, we do not ignore all the struggle in the 1920s. In that decade the people also struggled against Japanese imperialism and there were people who made some contribution to disseminating

Marxism in Korea. Not all those who fought in the 1920s were factionalists. A fair judge would say that the struggle at that time did nothing more than make a small contribution to the propagation of Marxism. So there is nothing to learn from the struggle in the 1920s as far as revolutionary traditions are concerned.

We have the only revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle which was fought over a period of 15 long years. You must tirelessly study the fighting experiences of revolutionaries during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the valuable experience of the heroic fight for the Party, for the country and for the people in the Fatherland Liberation War, a war which was fought by continuing the anti-Japanese armed struggle. You should make these experiences your own flesh and blood in practical life. This is the way for you to revolutionize yourselves and become true revolutionaries.

The next important point for people in revolutionizing themselves is that they observe revolutionary order, revolutionary discipline and the revolutionary norms of life. I was told that some comrades are jealous of people or cavil at them, asking, for instance, "why that man who worked under me has been promoted like that." All this shows a lack of revolutionary order and revolutionary discipline. You should never behave like that, but strictly observe revolutionary order, revolutionary discipline and the revolutionary norms of life. Women in particular should be careful in this matter.

You should revolutionize not only yourselves but your wives and husbands, sons and daughters, so that they all arm themselves with the revolutionary world outlook and have the standpoint of the working class. After revolutionizing your homes, you should strive to revolutionize your workplaces, your units and the whole of society.

Next, the children of revolutionary martyrs should have a wide knowledge of political, economic, cultural and military affairs. Without such knowledge, you cannot become professional revolutionaries.

You should not be content with the knowledge which you have acquired at this school or at a university, as if you knew everything. No matter what you do or no matter what post you are in, you must study

hard, and learn military affairs in particular. A pupil has just said that as long as imperialism exists, he cannot put down his gun, and that instead he will hold it more firmly, the gun which was handed down from his father and mother, and fight for the revolution to the end. That is a very good resolve. Since we are now living in an era of revolution, we cannot do without a knowledge of military affairs. Whether you work in Party and state bodies or in economic establishments, you must, without exception, have some military knowledge. Comrades who serve in the army should be still more proficient in military affairs. Nowadays, in particular, when a high level of general knowledge is indispensable for the operation of modern weapons, you must redouble your efforts if you are to have the military knowledge necessary for modern warfare.

The pupils of this school, while intensifying their ideological training, must study such subjects as physics and mathematics harder, in order to become commanders who can handle modern military equipment and command a modern army. People say that physics and mathematics are difficult, but this is not really the case. You can learn them easily if you study well from the beginning. At the same time, you should master your own speciality.

Next, you, the children of revolutionary martyrs, should always lead a modest and simple life, without behaving arrogantly or putting on airs because of your family backgrounds. You should become workers who go widely among the masses to share joys and sorrows with them and listen to them.

I always say that if you are to make a revolution you should rely on the masses and mix with them. If you mix with them you will be able to learn what is being done well and what is going wrong, and if you mobilize the wisdom of the masses you can successfully carry out any difficult revolutionary task. Therefore, it is of paramount importance that revolutionaries acquire the work method which relies on the masses and brings the masses into action.

In 1956 factionalists worked against our Party. But our officials did not perceive their plot immediately because they were out of touch with the masses. Also, for the same reason, they did not know that recently

the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements who wormed their way into the Party were brewing mischiefs behind the scenes by wielding Party authority and pretending to support the Party in public. If our officials had been in touch with the masses, they could have discovered their anti-Party moves a long time ago and exposed their true colours. This experience during our struggle in past years shows us clearly how important it is for the revolutionaries to mix with the masses.

It is a matter of regret that Party organizations worked bureaucratically, neglecting the care of the families of revolutionary martyrs, but I think it is beneficial to the bereaved children that they have an opportunity to train themselves among the masses. If they had been pampered like a precious child, without being trained among the masses, they would have become people who are ignorant of the world and the situation of their subordinates.

Some comrades went astray and made mistakes in the course of working among the masses because they were not firm in their revolutionary outlook on the world and class standpoint. But most of them adhered to their class standpoint wherever they were because they were firm in their revolutionary world outlook. And even the comrades who committed mistakes can be saved by helping them to rectify those mistakes.

We can say, after all, that it was quite a good thing that they were tempered among the masses and that it was a blessing in disguise.

It was also beneficial that, while working among the masses, you tangibly experienced how harmful bureaucratism was. If you do Party work some day, you will neither behave bureaucratically nor wield Party authority since you experienced the harm when you were at the grass roots.

You should be modest and know how to keep in contact with the masses.

Another thing I want to stress for you is that a revolutionary must not yearn for a high position. To grumble about one's rank is the manifestation of one's lack of revolutionary qualities; it is an attitude unworthy of a professional revolutionary. Some comrades may wonder

why they have to stay in low-ranking jobs. But there is no high or low position as far as revolutionaries are concerned.

It makes no difference which job you are doing if it is for the revolution. All that you need is to perform your duties faithfully on whatever job you are, and to continue to study tirelessly and steel yourselves in the struggle to become professional revolutionaries.

The children of revolutionary martyrs should be more exemplary and active than anyone else in all work and, in particular, should play a leading role in defending and carrying through the Party's policy.

You should carry out all these tasks in good faith and should become the backbone of the Party and of the People's Army. To this end, you should acquire the qualifications of the backbone. It would be impossible to regard an unqualified man as the backbone simply because he is the child of a revolutionary martyr.

In order to be prepared to take the initiative in dealing with the great revolutionary upheaval, our Party members and the working people are struggling as one to implement the Party's line of carrying on economic and defence construction simultaneously and the Party's military line of developing the People's Army into a cadre army, modernizing it, arming all the people and turning the whole land into a fortress. The enemy is greatly afraid of this. We must implement the revolutionary line of the Party thoroughly and strengthen our revolutionary forces so as to deter the enemy from invading us.

We must reunify the country in our generation and hand down a reunified socialist country to posterity. With such a determination you should work harder and struggle more actively and commendably than anyone else at your revolutionary posts.

The People's Army, Party bodies, the security service, government bodies, economic establishments and cultural institutions are all important, and you should play the hard-core role in all sectors.

The educational institution is a very important post. At present, 2,600,000 pupils and students are being trained in our educational establishments. They are all sons and daughters of the working people, and to educate them well is very important in our revolutionary work.

We intend launching an all-out campaign to wipe out the aftereffects of the harm done to education and culture by the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements. In this campaign you should also play the leading role. To do so, many children of revolutionary martyrs should work in educational and cultural establishments.

With a firm determination to fight to the last to reunify the country and build a communist paradise in this beautiful land of Korea, you should become the core of the Party, the army and of all other sectors of the revolution and construction and should continue to fight in the front ranks of the working people.

Thousands of people have graduated from this school during the past 20 years. Since we cannot send for all of them and since they cannot all leave their posts, not all of them have come to this meeting today. So I hope that, on your return, you will tell the comrades who are not here now about today's meeting, and tell them what I have said to you.

Comrades,

Over the past 20 years the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School has performed its duty with distinction and trained many good cadres for the Party and government bodies and for the People's Army. In the future, too, the revolutionary school must continue to educate the children of revolutionary martyrs to become fine cadres for different sectors.

Since the mission of this school is to train the priceless children of revolutionary martyrs into revolutionaries, the teachers themselves must first strive to become fine communists. At the National Meeting of Mothers, I said that if they were to bring up their sons and daughters to be communists, mothers should first become communists. Likewise, if the school is to train the pupils to be fine communists, the teachers must first become true communists. The school's educational programme and textbooks should be good. But it is more important that the teachers themselves become communists.

The teachers of the school must clearly understand that their work is not a mere profession but an honourable revolutionary work of training the pupils to become communists and the backbone of our Party and army, and should educate them better.

## **AN OPEN LETTER TO ALL VOTERS OF THE COUNTRY**

*October 28, 1967*

I was nominated as a candidate for the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the recent nominating meetings of industrial workers, of the cooperative farm members, and of the servicemen and other citizens of the whole country. Regarding my nomination as an expression of support for and trust in our Party and the Government of the Republic, I express my heartfelt thanks to all voters.

Article 37, Chapter 5, of the "Rules for the Elections to the People's Assembly of Ri (Up, Workers' District, Dong), County, City (District), Province (City Directly under Central Authority) and to the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" stipulates that a candidate for office can be registered in only one constituency. Therefore, I consent to my registration as a candidate for the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly with No. 403 Songnim Constituency for the elections to the SPA of the DPRK, and I inform the voters of this.

I will prove myself worthy of the deep trust you voters have placed in me by devoting myself to the struggle to accelerate socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, to strengthen our revolutionary base still more and to achieve the revolutionary cause of the country's reunification.

Ours are the most democratic and progressive elections which



enable all the working people including the workers and peasants to take part in the work of the organs of their state power with equal rights as true masters of the country.

I firmly believe that, through your participation as one in the elections with high revolutionary zeal and patriotism, you will contribute greatly to demonstrating the unbreakable might of our people who are closely united behind our Party and the Government of the Republic with one purpose and will, to consolidating and developing the already established socialist system further and to strengthening the people's government, a powerful weapon of our revolution and construction.

I wish you voters great new success in your struggle to continue the line of carrying out economic and defence construction simultaneously, a policy set forth at the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea.

**LET US FURTHER HASTEN  
THE ULTIMATE VICTORY OF OUR  
REVOLUTION BY STRENGTHENING  
THE PEOPLE'S POWER**

**Speech Delivered at a Meeting with Voters  
of the Songnim Constituency for the Election  
of Deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly**

*November 11, 1967*

Comrades,

I deem it a great pleasure to have been nominated recently as a candidate for the Supreme People's Assembly from the Songnim Constituency, which is the location of the Hwanghae Iron Works, a strong bulwark of our working class and a great metallurgical centre in our country. I express my heartfelt thanks to the workers of this iron works and all the working people of Songnim for their great confidence in me.

We are going to hold the fourth election to the Supreme People's Assembly following the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Through the forthcoming elections our people's power will be consolidated still further and our people will demonstrate their invincible united strength to the whole world once again.

Our government was established by the people themselves; it is a genuine people's government which serves the interests of the people to the utmost.

In order to establish a people's government like this, Korean communists waged a protracted arduous struggle, shedding a great deal of blood.

In an attempt to regain their conquered country and to set up their people's government, the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters took up arms in the beginning of the 1930s and waged a bloody struggle against the Japanese imperialists for 15 long years. As long ago as the days of the hard-fought anti-Japanese armed struggle we provided for the establishment of a people's government in liberated Korea as the first article of the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland and strove to bring it into being. Our people's government began to strike deep roots from the time of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

After the victory of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the liberation of the country, we communists began the full-scale struggle to build a genuine people's government, along with the broad masses of the people from all walks of life including the working class. We organized the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea on February 8, 1946 and announced the historic Twenty-Point Platform in March. After that, we held a democratic election for the first time in the history of our country to found the People's Committee of North Korea. At last, in 1948 we carried out elections to the Supreme People's Assembly which is the people's power organ representing the interests of all the Korean people, and proclaimed the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the world.

As a result, our government which had deep roots in the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle came into being as a genuine people's power with participation, from the outset, by representatives of the broad sections of the people centring around workers, peasants, and working intellectuals.

Following the establishment of the people's government, Korean communists and people fought with devotion to consolidate and develop it and to defend it from the subversive activities and sabotages of enemies at home and abroad. During the three-year Fatherland

Liberation War against the US imperialist aggressors in particular, our people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, waged arduous and heroic battles, shedding blood and sacrificing their precious lives, and so crushed the enemy and defended the freedom and independence of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, their glorious motherland, with credit.

The flag of our Republic represents the lofty patriotic spirit of anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters who had taken up arms and fought heroically for a long time against Japanese imperialism to liberate their country, and it is soaked with the blood of the true patriotic fighters of worker and peasant origin who devoted their lives to the fight for the defence of their country and people's government during the period of the harsh Fatherland Liberation War. For this very reason, the further strengthening of the people's government through the forthcoming elections will mark the most important event in pursuing the will of the revolutionary forerunners and heroic soldiers who shed their blood in the fight for the sake of this government, in the struggle to carry out the revolutionary tasks more successfully and to defend the interests of the people firmly hereafter, and also for the happy and bright future of the people.

Today our people are firmly united as one man around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and are advancing vigorously towards a happier and worthier future while working in high spirits.

But we still have not won the nationwide victory of the revolution and the benevolent popular measures and solicitude by the Government of the Republic are limited to the people in the northern half of the country.

The south Korean people continue to be subjected to the ruthless oppression and exploitation of the US imperialists and their stooges. The US imperialists are urging their stooges on to suppress the patriots and innocent people there brutally and to slaughter them at random. But in defiance of this the south Korean people are fighting bravely against the enemy to achieve their liberation. Their anti-US

national-salvation struggle is today developing into a broad mass movement and its form is becoming highly diversified. They are constantly waiting for a hand of support and encouragement to be extended by our people of the north, looking forward to the day of national reunification in the arduous struggle.

We are confronted with the weighty revolutionary tasks to support and encourage the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people, to reunify the divided country and to achieve the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution. That is why we cannot rest on our laurels; we have to carry on a more vigorous revolutionary struggle in future.

At the moment the whole world is enveloped in the fierce flames of revolutionary struggle.

The Vietnamese people who are fighting bravely in the anti-US national-salvation resistance are waging a heroic struggle against the US imperialist aggressors. Today worldwide attention is being focussed on the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

In Asia today Japanese people are also fighting valiantly against US imperialism and Japanese militarism and against the implementation of fascist ideas in their country. The Cambodian people are also fighting stubbornly against the US imperialists and their stooges for the independence of the country and territorial integrity.

The revolutionary flames are raging fiercely not only in Asia but also in Latin America, which has been called the “quiet backyard” of the United States. The Cuban people in particular are striving heroically to defend the revolutionary gains which they have already achieved and to build socialism.

The peoples of the newly independent countries in Africa and the Middle East are also struggling for the consolidation of their national independence. They are striving resolutely to erase the evil consequences of old colonialist domination and oppose the invasion of neo-colonialism, to ensure the complete political independence of their countries and achieve economic self-support.

The vigorous struggles of the working class against oppression and exploitation by capital are being waged also in capitalist countries in

large areas of the world. The working-class movement and the struggle of the black people against racial discrimination are going on incessantly in the very heart of US imperialism, the ringleader and bulwark of modern imperialism.

Strengthening solidarity with international revolutionary forces is a sure guarantee not only for encouragement in the revolutionary struggles of other peoples but also for the consolidation of our own revolutionary forces.

We should further strengthen solidarity with international revolutionary forces for the ultimate victory of our revolution and, in particular, give active support and encouragement to the fighting nations.

We should, first of all, give active support and encouragement to the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions without cease and resolutely support the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggles of all the revolutionary peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In addition, we should extend firm solidarity to the struggle of the working class and peoples of the capitalist countries who have risen against the fascist regimes of their own countries.

We are living in a critical and violent revolutionary age when the great current of the world revolution is surging like a flood tide. For this reason we are in duty bound to make revolution.

We must increase our internal revolutionary forces in every way so that we can advance the revolution and construction a step farther in order to cope with today's revolutionary situation and take the initiative in preparing for the coming great revolutionary upheaval. We must strengthen the Party and people's government and unite the working class, peasants and all other people around them as one so as to build our revolutionary forces in a closer politico-ideological position. We must also increase our strength sufficiently to frustrate any surprise invasion by the enemy, to defend our people's power and socialist gains reliably and to help the south Korean people at any time when they might ask us to do so.

The most important factor in consolidating the revolutionary forces

politically and ideologically is to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system thoroughly among all Party members and working people.

The Party's monolithic ideology is the revolutionary idea of our Party which is consistent with the principles of Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-support in economy and self-defence in guarding the nation. This idea of our Party is Marxism-Leninism applied creatively to the situation in our country; it leads the Korean revolution to completion and our people to socialism and communism along the absolutely correct road.

All our working class and other labouring people who have joined the ranks of the sacred revolutionary struggle should, without exception, equip themselves firmly with the monolithic ideology of the Party. If they do not do this they cannot be loyal to the Party and the revolution no matter how hard they try to be. Our Party's ideas and policies are the most powerful weapon in the struggle to oppose all kinds of evil ideas, including revisionism, "Left" opportunism, dogmatism, flunkeyism, capitalist ideas and feudal-Confucian ideas, which impede our revolutionary struggle and forward movement. Only when we seize this weapon firmly can we become true revolutionary fighters, loyal to the Party and the revolution, and bravely traverse the way ahead of the struggle no matter how complicated and difficult the circumstances.

The working class and all other working people must study Party policies in detail and make them their flesh and blood, and they must fight forcefully against all evil ideas and deeds which conflict with the Party's ideas.

We must carry out the work of revolutionizing and working-classing all the people forcefully.

This work is an objective requirement for the building of socialism and communism and one of the most important tasks in increasing our revolutionary forces politically and ideologically. If we lay stress only on economic construction, failing to go ahead forcefully with the revolutionization and working-classing of the people at the same

time, we cannot succeed in the building of socialism and communism. If we do not continue with this revolutionization and working-classization we shall not be able to go over to a communist society, the highest ideal of mankind, even though the material and technical foundations for socialism have been laid. Therefore, it is most important, in building socialism, to drive ahead with the ideological revolution to revolutionize and working-classize the people, while accomplishing industrialization and the technical revolution to lay the solid material and technical foundations for socialism.

In accordance with the policy set by the Party at its conference, we must revolutionize and working-classize all working people and so increase our revolutionary forces politically and ideologically.

Driving ahead with the revolutionization of the working class is a very important prerequisite for re-educating all the people along communist lines. The working class, the leading class in the revolution, must revolutionize and working-classize all the people so as to remould all of them on its pattern. To this end, they themselves should be the first to be thoroughly revolutionized.

As you all know, our industry does not have a long history of development; it developed on a magnificent scale in a short space of time after liberation, particularly in the postwar period. Because of this the composition of our working class is very complex. Among our working class there are not many long-standing workers who suffered directly from capitalist exploitation and oppression in the past. In addition to the small number of such workers at the outset, many hard-core workers were killed in the Fatherland Liberation War.

With the rapid development of industry after the war, the ranks of the working class grew quickly. The younger generation who did not suffer from the exploitation and oppression of capitalists in the past and the former peasants who had two characters—the working-people and petty-proprietor aspects—have joined the ranks of the working class in great numbers. Furthermore, with the completion of the socialist transformation of the relations of production, many handicraftsmen and medium and small tradesmen and entrepreneurs of the past have



also joined the ranks of the working class. None of these people experienced the exploitation and suppression of capitalists but, rather, they exploited others more or less; even if they did not do this, they lived comparatively well. In a nutshell, they have joined the ranks of the working class, without acquiring the ideas and qualities which the working class must possess as a matter of course.

How, then, should we deal with the problem of these people? Should we expel all of them because complicated people have wormed their way into the ranks of the working class? No, we can never do so. It is a good thing that former private handicraftsmen and medium and small tradesmen and entrepreneurs have been remoulded into socialist working people; this is in no way bad. Now that they have joined the ranks of the working class, we should revolutionize every one of them to be a true member of the working class, to be an ardent revolutionary.

To revolutionize them we should continue to train them through labour and, at the same time, step up the ideological revolution so that everyone will arm himself firmly with the ideas of our Party, the revolutionary ideas of the working class. Workers can never be revolutionized of their own accord just because they operate machines at factories or turn out molten iron from blast furnaces. They can revolutionize themselves only by strengthening their politico-organizational life and undergoing uninterrupted ideological training. Party members should tighten Party life, trade union members and the League of Socialist Working Youth members should lead a loyal life within their trade union and LSWY organizations, and Women's Union members should take an active part in the life of Women's Union organizations. This is the only way for them to equip themselves with the true revolutionary ideas of the working class and foster its organizational power and its capacity for united action.

It is very important to improve the role of Party members and hard-core workers in the effort to revolutionize the working class. The hard core of our working class consists of the veteran workers who had lived in the past under the lash of the Japanese imperialists and capitalists, suffering from their exploitation and oppression, as well as

the people who are equipped firmly with our Party's revolutionary ideas, although the duration of their labour is not long. They should justly play a leading role not only in accomplishing their revolutionary tasks but also in the struggle to revolutionize the working class. Party members and hard-core workers should always take the lead in the struggle against all practices unbefitting the ranks of the working class and re-educate unrevolutionized workers patiently and individually, so as to turn all of them into real members of the working class.

Next, we should thoroughly implement the decision of the Party Conference on carrying out economic construction and defence building in parallel and thus further strengthen our revolutionary forces economically and militarily.

We must continue to speed up the economic construction of the country energetically, thereby consolidating the material and technical foundations of socialism still further. In this way we shall clearly show the great superiority of our socialist system under which all people live in happiness, working, learning and receiving medical care equally, and should continue to consolidate and develop this system.

The further strengthening of the material and technical basis of socialism serves not only as a basic condition for increasing the nation's economic might and improving the people's material and cultural standards but also as a sure guarantee for augmenting our national defence capabilities. We must carry through the Party's line of arming all the people and fortifying the whole country on the solid material foundation of socialism, and so defend our homeland and socialist gains from the aggression of the US imperialists and their stooges.

The important and immediate task confronting us in order to consolidate the material foundation of socialism and strengthen our revolutionary forces, is to complete the national economic plan for this year rapidly and to overfulfil next year's plan ahead of schedule.

The main direction for next year's national economic plan is to continue to develop all sectors of heavy industry, while giving absolute priority to the mining industry. This is one of the most important

objective laws in socialist economic construction. That is why our Party set it as the basic line of socialist economic construction to give priority to the growth of heavy industry while at the same time ensuring the development of light industry and agriculture, and has implemented this line to the hilt. Next year, too, we shall have to continue to follow this line and concentrate our greatest efforts on the development of heavy industry.

The mining industry in particular is the sector on which we shall have to concentrate next year. Unless we keep this industry, which is the first phase of the process of production, far ahead of other sectors, we shall be unable to put production on a normal basis in all other industrial branches and develop the national economy further. Next year we must concentrate our efforts on the development of the coal and ore mining industries as well as the timber industry so that sufficient quantities of raw materials and fuel will be supplied to the processing industry and all the other sectors of the national economy in good time.

Next, we have to develop the machine industry further.

As socialist economic construction develops to a higher stage, the role of the machine industry increases. Without developing this industry continually and rapidly, we can neither effect the all-round technical reconstruction of the national economy nor increase the country's defence capabilities. A few days ago, therefore, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee set forth the militant task of developing our machine industry to a new, higher stage.

In accordance with the Party's policy, we must rapidly develop the large-sized machine industry in particular and advance the precision-machine and electronics industries.

If we are to conquer nature boldly and bring about a great leap forward in socialist economic construction, we need large amounts of heavy-duty mining equipment and vast numbers of big transport vehicles, among them large bulldozers and tractors, heavy-duty excavators and lorries, and vessels with a high capacity. From next year on, we have to produce lots of such large machines and

equipment. At present we are producing 3-ton lorries but in future we shall have to build many 10-ton lorries. As for the excavators, we are now producing mainly those of 0.5 and 1 cubic-metre capacity but in future we must turn out more 2 and 4 cubic-metre ones as well as larger bulldozers. By building many large ships, we shall eliminate the need to rely only on the railways for transport, as we do now.

Last year the Nampho Dockyard built two 1,000-ton boats on a trial basis, and this year it began producing a 3,500-ton vessel. Not only this dockyard but those in Chongjin, Rajin and other places should build many such boats and in future will have to produce 5,000 to 10,000-ton vessels as well.

Precision machines, as well as large machinery and equipment, should be made in great quantities.

At the moment we produce almost all kinds of machines and equipment on our own and use them. But we still import some kinds of machines, high-precision machines in particular, in large numbers. This shows that our engineering industry is still not fulfilling its role. From next year we should direct our energies to the precision-machine industry and so make even high-precision machines ourselves. At the same time, we should also expend greater effort on the development of the electronics industry next year in anticipation of the overall automation of industry.

Furthermore, an important question in next year's plan is to undertake capital construction efficiently.

Next year we shall build many large factories. We must build a converter shop with a capacity of 1,000,000 tons and a rolling plant for the production of sheet plate in the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the large-scale Pukchang Thermal Power Plant, and an oil refinery with an annual capacity of 2,000,000 tons. In addition, we must build more furnaces at the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Kangson and Songjin Steel Plants. The scale of capital construction we shall have to undertake next year is 1.5 times greater than this year.

For the success of this huge capital construction programme we need large quantities of steel, cement, timber and other building

materials. These are also required for building up our defences. In accordance with the policy advanced at the 16th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, we must produce more building materials including steel, cement and timber by laying solid bases for their production, so as to ensure success in the huge capital and defence construction which will be carried out next year.

Next year we must, at all costs, solve the problem of improving the quality of light industrial goods.

Light industry now has almost all the factories which it needs. As far as the textile mills are concerned, there are all kinds of them—for cotton, staple fibre and wool. We also have all kinds of footwear factories—for making leather shoes, vinyl shoes and rubber shoes.

The outstanding problem now in light industry is to improve the quality of goods. The consumer goods we turn out at present are still low in quality. In the light industrial sector we must raise the workers' technical and skill levels rapidly and manage and use production equipment efficiently so as to put our products on a higher, qualitative standard.

Next year, we must continue our tremendous efforts for the development of the rural economy.

This year, farming in our country has been very efficiently done. In spite of unparalleled flood damage in some regions of South and North Phyongan Provinces, a much larger amount of grain than last year has been harvested throughout the country. But we cannot rest content with this. We shall have to produce more grain next year than this year and, to this end, there is still a great deal of work to be done.

The industrial sector, in particular, should give greater assistance to the development of agriculture. First of all, we must produce a larger quantity of chemical fertilizer and supply it to the farming areas.

Because of the shortage of chemical fertilizer, phosphatic fertilizer in particular, during the past few years, we have failed to reap more grain which we could otherwise have done. Therefore, the Party decided on a rapid increase in the production of phosphatic fertilizer, and ensured that prospecting was carried out to discover apatite, its

main raw material. As a result of this prospecting, we discovered that we have large deposits of apatite everywhere in our country. The information we have now obtained shows that apatite has been found in Songhwa, Phyongwon, Sakju and other areas.

We must mine a large amount of apatite to produce more phosphatic fertilizer. In this way we shall supply the countryside with 300,000 tons next year, and steadily increase its production in the future so as to be able to supply 500,000 to 600,000 tons every year.

In addition to chemical fertilizer, agricultural chemicals must be produced in greater quantities for the country areas.

Another important problem in increasing agricultural production is to prevent flood damage. We still do not completely guard against flood damage. In consequence, cases occur now and then in some areas in which crops awaiting harvesting are spoiled.

In order to ward off flood damage completely, we should take drastic steps to improve drainage and work hard to transform nature in the rural areas, including such projects as building dykes and dredging river-beds. For this purpose we need many water pumps, excavators, bulldozers, heavy-duty lorries and so on. Workers in the industrial sector must produce large numbers of such machines and equipment necessary for projects which will change the face of nature in the countryside.

We should accomplish all economic construction tasks creditably next year and thus consolidate the foundation of the independent national economy still more and turn it into a more powerful material base for accelerating the nationwide victory of our revolution.

The role which the workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works will have to play in carrying out the national economic plan for next year is very important. The brave workers of this works bear a heavy responsibility for producing 950,000 tons of pig iron, 600,000 tons of steel and 400,000 tons of rolled steel for different sectors of the national economy.

In order to implement this task, we should, above all, work hard to establish Juche in the metallurgical industry.

By applying the Juche idea of the Party successfully to socialist

economic construction in the past, we have put our national industry on a solid independent basis. But we cannot rest on our laurels; we must continue to work to make our national industry more self-sufficient.

The most important factor in increasing the independence of industry is to guarantee production by using raw materials and fuel which are found in our country. If we are to secure the stability of production in any sector of industry, we must produce and provide at least 70 per cent of the raw materials and fuel ourselves. Only then can it be said that the independence of industry is assured. However, we still rely on other countries for some fuels such as coking coal which is used in the iron industry. We should strive hard to make the iron industry more independent, thereby producing iron with our own fuel as soon as possible.

There are two important means in increasing the independence of the iron industry. The one is to endeavour to produce pig iron using our anthracite. Next year the Hwanghae Iron Works should rapidly finish the construction of the blast furnace and the oval briquette factory now under way, so that a foundation for the production of pig iron by using anthracite will be made more solid. The other means is to economize as much as possible on coke in iron production. We should raise the standard of iron ore and the quality of sintered ore and widely introduce advanced technical processes including the feeding of heavy oil so as to cut down the consumption of coke radically in the production of iron. At the same time, we have to press ahead with research to increase the rate of mixture of domestic coal including that mined at Sinyuson, Kogonwon and Anju in producing coke. In this way, we shall increase that rate by more than 30 to 35 per cent.

The next important task of the Hwanghae Iron Works is to increase steel production.

With a view to fulfilling the task of steel production devolving on the Hwanghae Iron Works next year, it is imperative, first of all, to introduce advanced technical processes in steel production and to solve the problem of introducing the oxygen-blast blow method in particular. The introduction of this method in steel production alone will enable

the works to make better use of the open-hearth furnaces and improve the quality of steel. Therefore, it should strive to install oxygen separators so as to introduce the oxygen-blast blow method into all open-hearth furnaces.

The increased steel production presupposes the constant supply of gas as well as oxygen. Therefore, measures should be taken to supply enough gas to the open-hearth furnaces, and, in particular, the gas which is emitted by the blast furnaces should be used effectively in steel production.

The next most important task is to produce a large amount of good-quality rolled steel and to increase its types and sizes.

Only when the metal industry produces many varieties of good-quality steel for other branches of the national economy, will it be possible to mass-produce different kinds of high-quality machines and consumer goods and improve the quality of construction. But the rolled steel we produce is still of low quality and its types and sizes are limited. Because of these defects large amounts of steel are wasted in the machine industry and construction and the quality of products and buildings is not improved.

Next year the Hwanghae Iron Works must work hard to increase the quality of rolled steel and improve its specifications.

The successful fulfilment of all the economic tasks assigned to the Hwanghae Iron Works depends entirely on how every worker, technician and office clerk is prepared and mobilized politically and ideologically. For all employees to strive to arm themselves thoroughly with the Party's monolithic ideology and to revolutionize themselves provides a positive guarantee for success in carrying out the revolutionary tasks given to the enterprise.

The Hwanghae Iron Works is one of the largest bulwarks of the hard-core workers in our country and an important enterprise which is under the direct and constant direction of the Party Central Committee. Therefore, the workers here must arm themselves with the Party's monolithic ideology more firmly than anyone else and revolutionize themselves completely so as to become a good example to the working



class and working people throughout the country in implementing Party policies and in defending the Party Central Committee politically and ideologically. This is the most important revolutionary task confronting the workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works.

Next, a sustained effort has to be made to raise technical and cultural levels.

Our people's technical and cultural standards are very low because they had lived as slaves for a long time in the past under the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists. Since liberation revolutions to raise the people's technical and cultural levels have been carried out vigorously in our country under the leadership of the Party. Let me take the example of school education. We introduced the system of compulsory primary education a long time ago and are now introducing compulsory nine-year technical education. This is something worth boasting about to the world.

However, we must not be content with the introduction of compulsory nine-year technical education alone. There is no doubt, of course, that the enforcement of this education will make all our rising generation fine personnel with high technical and cultural levels in future. But it cannot solve the problem of immediately raising the technical and cultural levels of those who are now working on the shop floor.

While carrying out this education to rear the rising generation as fine personnel on the one hand, we should, on the other hand, continue to promote the system of studying while working, thereby enabling even all the workers on the shop floor to attain high technical and cultural levels.

The system of an eight-hour workday which we set forth in the Labour Law is aimed not only at freeing the workers from drudgery and the lash of the capitalists, but also at providing them with suitable conditions for learning and relaxing. In the first place, the eight-hour work, eight-hour study and eight-hour rest idea is a fighting slogan introduced by the working class itself. We must put it into practice. Unless our working class observe the eight working hours strictly and

the system of studying for eight hours, it could mean their acting of their own accord contrary to the fighting slogan they themselves advanced. From now on we must keep strictly to the system of working eight hours and of studying in eight of the remaining hours so that all workers will raise their technical and cultural levels quickly. This is the way to develop our economy more rapidly and expedite the ideological revolution as well.

Next, we should introduce the Taaen work system thoroughly and thus further improve the direction of the economy and the management of enterprises.

The Taaen work system is a superior form of enterprise management which is applicable to all sectors and all economic organs and enterprises; it is the communist method of directing the economy.

The most important thing in the Taaen work system is to give priority to political work. To bring the conscious enthusiasm and creative activity of the masses into full play by giving absolute precedence to political work in all matters is our Party's traditional work method, and this is the best guarantee for brilliant success in the fulfilment of all revolutionary tasks. We should apply this traditional work method to the uttermost in economic guidance and enterprise management. Accordingly, each time we organize economic work among the workers, we should not fail to conduct political work well so that every one of them knows what he is working for, what his task is, and how he should work before starting his job. Only by doing so, can they work conscientiously with an attitude befitting masters and achieve great success in accomplishing their revolutionary tasks.

The next important factor in the Taaen work system is that the higher organs help the lower bodies, the superiors assist their subordinates, everyone cooperates in a comradesly manner and all workshops, factories and sectors cooperate closely with each other so as to develop socialist cooperative production.

Our socialist economy operates under a nationwide unified plan; its scale is large and the connection between its branches is very complicated. Therefore, the efforts and enthusiasm of any individual

economic organs, enterprises or producers alone cannot run our economy and succeed in fulfilling the economic tasks put forward by the Party for each period. Only when all these organs, enterprises and producers act in concert and ensure effective joint operation, will the socialist economy be able to display its real power. The Taean work system embodies the collectivist and communist principle of life—"One for all and all for one"—in economic direction and enterprise management and thus ensures truly comradely unity and cooperation among economic organs, enterprises and producers. By doing this, the system makes it possible to provide guidance and management fitting in with the essence and specific features of our socialist economy and to bring its might into full play. We must improve the method of direction in all sectors and at all units as required by the Taean work system, and educate everyone in the spirit of communistic unity and cooperation, so as to steadily develop socialist cooperative production.

The Taean work system demands that the economy be directed and managed scientifically and sensibly, in conformity with the requirements of objective economic laws on the principle of democratic centralism.

We must eliminate bureaucratism and subjectivism from planning and other economic guidance and enterprise management and oppose departmental, individual, and self-indulgent trends thoroughly. Even when we work out a production plan we should first put it to the producer masses for extensive debate and accept their creative opinions willingly. This is the way to formulate an accurate plan which suits the situation. This, however, does not mean that plans can be drawn up freely at lower units without state control. The principle of democratic centralism we advocate is fundamentally different from the principle of liberalism in economic guidance and enterprise management.

We put forward plans for debate by the broad masses of producers in order to reflect their creative opinions correctly in the unified state plan, never to allow the producers and individual enterprises to work out plans at their discretion. Therefore, the plans discussed by the

producers must be put together on an enterprise scale and submitted to their superior organs. And the central authority should examine them and formulate a unified plan so that the nationwide balance can be ensured properly in accordance with the general orientation of the economic development set by the Party and so that everything dovetails in detail on the basis of specific conditions of every branch and enterprise, before it is again sent to lower units. In other words, our plans should reflect the creative purposes of the producer masses sufficiently in keeping with democratic principles and, at the same time, they should be worked out to meet the demands of the Party and the state in line with the centralist principle and as needed for the development of our society. This is our Party's policy on unified and detailed planning. In future we should continually carry out this Party policy in planning with credit.

Fully ensuring the collective leadership of the Party committee in the management of an enterprise is one of the most important requirements of the Tsean work system.

The collective leadership of the Party committee is the essential guarantee for drawing a wide section of Party members, workers and technicians into enterprise management and thus bringing their consciousness as masters and the high degree of their revolutionary enthusiasm into full play, and for running the economy scientifically in keeping with objective reality by eliminating the subjectivity and arbitrariness of individuals. Moreover, only when this leadership is ensured properly, can all problems arising from economic management be solved from the standpoint of the Party and the working class and the interests of individual enterprises and producers be linked properly to those of the whole nation and all the people. From now on we should strengthen the collective leadership of Party committees in keeping with the requirements of the Tsean system in all aspects of economic management.

In conclusion, strict order and discipline should be established in the enterprises and revolutionary vigilance sharpened still further.

The better our socialist construction proceeds, the more desperate

the enemy becomes in his attempts to destroy it, continuing to smuggle spies, subversive elements and saboteurs into the northern half of Korea. The hostile elements coming from outside and the class enemies lurking in our ranks are watching for an example of disorder or slackness so as to realize their subversive aim. We must establish rigid order and discipline in enterprises, fight forcefully against all practices of indolence and laxity and sharpen revolutionary vigilance so as to prevent even one enemy from moving around freely.

We should always keep ourselves alert and ready to carry through the decisions of the Party Conference and to accomplish the Seven-Year National Economic Plan with credit, thereby consolidating the economic foundations of the country and improving the material and cultural standards of the people still more. At the same time, we must increase the national defence capabilities so as to protect our socialist gains and give more forceful material and moral assistance to the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people.

I call upon our working class, among them the steel workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works, and all other working people of our country to bring about another great revolutionary leap forward on all fronts of economic construction and defence building, in order to strengthen our revolutionary forces politically, economically and militarily and to turn the northern half of our country into a more solid revolutionary base to win the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution.

**STUDENTS MUST ACQUIRE A COMMUNIST  
ATTITUDE TOWARDS LABOUR AND MASTER  
SCIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE TO SERVE THE  
INTERESTS OF THE KOREAN REVOLUTION**

**Speech at the Meeting with the Students of Universities  
and Higher Technical Schools—Participants  
in the Rebuilding of the Capital**

*November 15, 1967*

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I should like first of all to extend warm congratulations to you, comrade students present here, who have displayed great revolutionary enthusiasm and achieved brilliant labour successes in rebuilding Pyongyang after the flood damage and, through you, to all the students who took part in the reconstruction of the capital.

This year our students not only participated in rebuilding Pyongyang when it was damaged by floods. In order to assist all our working people in their efforts to implement the Party's revolutionary line on simultaneously building up the economy and our defences, our students volunteered to work instead of taking their summer vacation, and accomplished great feats in every corner of the land. We value this patriotic initiative highly.

All this clearly shows that our Party places great trust in our students which they reciprocate, and that under the Party's care, our students are growing up to be the nation's excellent, dependable cadres.

I think your participation in the rebuilding of the capital contributed greatly to your working-classization and revolutionization. Students study at school in order to serve the interests and well-being of the working class and all the people. Therefore, if you are to become good Korean cadres as required by the Party, you must revolutionize and working-classize yourselves. For students and teachers who are engaged in mental labour, physical labour affords an excellent opportunity to revolutionize and working-classize themselves.

At present the south Korean reactionaries are slandering the voluntary labour of our working people and students, calling it “forced labour”. This is really preposterous. I am sure none of you regard your participation in the recent reconstruction of the capital as “forced labour”.

One of the most important aspects of building socialism and communism is to educate the working people to love labour and take part in it willingly.

Labour is the source of all wealth and happiness. Only through man’s purposeful labour can wealth be created and tools constantly improved, can the productive forces develop as well as society. Without labour we can never consolidate the country’s economic foundation and build a good society to live in. Even when our economic foundation is incomparably stronger and our people much better off than now, only through their labour will the working people continue to enjoy contented lives. Even in a communist society people will have to work. Communist society is a society where everybody works and leads a prosperous life. It is true that in a communist society labour will become much easier and more pleasant because techniques will be highly developed. Even in that society, however, people will not be able to live without working. Therefore, one of the most important tasks in educating the working people along communist lines is to cultivate a correct attitude towards labour. Loving labour and taking an active part in it is a most sacred task falling upon all the working people.

All of us must have the proper attitude towards labour and should

not hate it or seek to lead an idle life. Seeking an idle life without working is exactly how the exploiter class thinks; we must resolutely fight against this kind of outdated ideology.

Love of labour is one of the most important qualities of a communist. We can say, therefore, that a correct attitude towards labour is a major criterion of a revolutionary. Only one who loves labour and voluntarily participates in it can be a genuine revolutionary who serves the working class and the people; a lazy man who shirks work can never be a revolutionary. A person who hates work is an idler; in the long run, he will turn out to be of no use to us. Our students must constantly strive to acquire a communist attitude towards labour; they must always love labour and work with a will.

You should not only engage in labour willingly, but also strive to free the working people from hard, backbreaking work and eliminate the differences between mental and physical labour, between light and heavy labour and also between industrial and agricultural labour.

After the establishment of a socialist system free from exploitation and oppression, an important task confronting us communists is to free the working people from arduous and backbreaking work and eliminate the differences in labour, thus enabling everyone to increase production while working much more easily. In order to fulfil this task, we must forcefully carry out the technical revolution and turn our country into a highly developed industrial state. In accordance with the line set forth by the Fourth Congress of our Party, we need to effect the nation's industrialization by driving ahead with the technical revolution. By doing this we shall first emancipate the working people from arduous labour and eliminate the differences between heavy and light labour and, then gradually remove the distinctions between mental and physical labour through the mechanization and automation of all production processes. Your study of sciences such as physics, chemistry, and mechanical and electrical engineering as well as technology is chiefly aimed at carrying out this particular task successfully.

If you are to accomplish this task satisfactorily, you should also engage in physical labour. Only when you take part in it yourselves



and see how difficult it is, will you study more industriously and work still harder to make a large number of good machines and develop technology in order to relieve the working people from arduous work. The teachers must also do physical labour. Then they will teach their students better and carry out their research work for scientific and technological advancement with greater zeal, in order to free the working people from backbreaking work, as the Party intends. So I consider that your participation in the recent undertaking is extremely useful to you.

Twenty-two years have already passed since our country was liberated from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and it is more than twenty years since we established our universities. Before liberation there was not a single institute of higher learning in the northern half of Korea. In the difficult times following liberation we started to establish a university. When we first set out to build a university immediately after liberation, there was a great deal of argument about whether the project was feasible. But this is all in the remote past now. Today our country has scores of institutes of higher learning, not counting the factory colleges. Tens of thousands of students are enrolled in them and the teaching staff alone runs to thousands. This is our great pride and priceless asset.

We must turn all the universities into centres for training communist revolutionaries, communist builders. To do this, we must revolutionize and working-classize them. In other words, we must prepare all their teachers and students to be staunch revolutionaries, superb builders of communism, who will faithfully serve the revolution.

The most important thing here is to arm all of them with communist ideology, with our Party's revolutionary ideas and do this thoroughly. In this way we shall see to it that everyone becomes a Korean revolutionary, a Korean communist builder. Our universities must never turn out even a single alien element or a person who dislikes labour or neglects the implementation of the Party's policies or is backward in carrying out revolutionary tasks.

As I stressed at the Party Conference, in order to build socialism

and communism everyone should make unremitting efforts to revolutionize himself. At the Hwanghae Iron Works some time ago, I said that the members of the working class should also work without cease to revolutionize themselves. Not all of them are fully armed with communist ideology. Many of the workers were not exploited and oppressed by the landlords and capitalists in the past, and most of them were not involved in revolutionary struggle. Moreover, many of the former petty bourgeoisie-peasants, handicraftsmen or small traders-have joined the ranks of the working class recently. These people cannot all be revolutionized so easily. In addition, among the old workers, too, there may be some who have not abandoned obsolete ideas. Therefore, the working class must also strive to revolutionize themselves.

The struggle for revolutionization has to be intensified particularly at educational institutes where there are old intellectuals. Our Party's policy is not to leave out the old intellectuals but to revolutionize all of them through education and remoulding. Our Party trusts all the intellectuals; it is not particular about their family origin. Therefore, they should arm themselves firmly with our Party's ideology by redoubling their efforts to revolutionize themselves; with complete loyalty to the Party, the working class, and the people, they should also strive to provide the students with communist ideology, with our Party's revolutionary ideas.

We must make sure that the teachers strengthen their organizational life within the Party, the League of Socialist Working Youth or other organizations, and assist them to speed up their working-classization and revolutionization.

During their schooldays the students must also work unremittingly to revolutionize and working-classize themselves. There may be some whose parents were small tradesmen or handicraftsmen or were well-off in the past. We should not fear or exclude these students, but should revolutionize and working-classize them by educating and remoulding all of them while they are at school.

The revolutionization of the intellectuals does not mean that we

oppose the intellectuals themselves; it means that we oppose the obsolete ideas which survive in their minds. The biggest obstacle to their revolutionization and working-classization is the ideologies of the petty bourgeoisie, capitalism, feudalism and flunkeyism which they still retain. Our intellectuals must root out all survivals of these outworn ideas and equip themselves with our Party's monolithic ideology.

At present many intellectuals are attempting to revolutionize and working-classize themselves. According to a recent report from the chief secretary of the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee, since we assigned the teachers the task of revolutionizing themselves during our visit to Hamhung, the faculty members of the Hamhung University of Chemical Industry and the Hamhung University of Medicine have been taking an active part in organizational life and striving to remould their ideology. This is very good. All our intellectuals should do the same.

Our Party trusts the intellectuals, and has placed students, research institutes and factories in their care. The Party trusts them, not only by giving schooling to the intellectuals, but by charging them with such important revolutionary tasks. Therefore, they ought to trust the Party and work devotedly to live up to its expectations.

I always say that educational work is a very honourable revolutionary task. That is why a teacher is not simply a person doing a job of work, but someone who carries out an important revolutionary task. If the teachers are to fulfil their task successfully in this important position to which the Party has assigned them, they must become full-fledged revolutionaries by continuing to temper themselves.

It is only through their revolutionization that the intellectuals can be one of our Party's major components. As you all know, our Party's emblem symbolizes the intellectuals as well as the workers and farmers. But how can they be one of our Party's components if they fail to revolutionize themselves? Our intellectuals must constantly try to revolutionize and working-classize themselves.

We should revolutionize and working-classize all our intellectuals and, further, revolutionize the whole of society and also

intellectualize it.

If we are to build a rich and powerful country, promote social progress and also build communism, everyone must possess all-round knowledge. Then, we shall be able to develop technology and culture rapidly and, consequently, bring about complete equality in labour by eliminating the differences, and build a happy society where all people work and lead prosperous lives.

The whole people's level of knowledge will be raised quickly, if we intensify the struggle to revolutionize and working-classize the intellectuals and all other members of society, while at the same time strengthening cultural education and carrying out the cultural revolution through a mass movement. In the future when everybody has received compulsory technical education and graduated from institutes of higher learning we shall have a vast number of intellectuals. By that time the working class, too, will have acquired a great store of knowledge. When everyone has attained a high level of knowledge, there will be no difference between the intelligentsia and other people. They are called the intelligentsia because at present there are not very many intellectuals. But at a time in the future when all the people have acquired a great deal of knowledge, there will no longer be such a category of people. And so when all members of society have increased their knowledge, we shall be able to say that the whole of society has been intellectualized.

Now, let me stress once again the necessity to establish Juche thoroughly in the sphere of science.

It is most important to establish Juche in all branches of science, both natural and social. Our students should always study science and increase their knowledge in such a way as to serve the Korean people and carry out the Korean revolution.

Even when we sing, we must sing the kind of song the Koreans like. Only this kind of song is worth hearing. The songs which the Koreans do not like and cannot understand are of no use. It is said that some people claim that the Koreans are so uncultured and ignorant that they cannot sing Italian or other foreign songs. This is a really deplorable

point of view. Italian songs are popular with the Italians. Why should the Koreans like such songs? We must sing songs suited to Korean feelings rather than foreign songs, and develop our own songs.

Not only music but also all realms of social science must be firmly based on real life in our country and the ideas of our Party.

This also applies to the natural sciences. I always say that even when a communist society is established the Koreans should live in Korea, the beautiful land of three thousand *ri*. Even when the whole world becomes a communist society, Koreans could never live in an alien land. In order to lead a happy life in Korea, they have to know about its natural resources and play their part to develop them. They should industrialize the country and produce many items using domestic raw materials. Therefore, we must develop our science from the standpoint of Juche.

Only when we reject flunkeyism and firmly establish Juche in science, can we develop our country rapidly, make it richer, more powerful and more cultured, and reunify it quickly. If we develop our science on the basis of Juche and utilize our own resources properly, our people will be as prosperous as they can possibly be, even though our country covers an area of a little more than 220,000 square kilometres.

Our country has almost every kind of natural resources in great abundance. However, because our scientists and technicians have not studied their country well, they cannot even discover the resources we have when we need them. If they forge ahead with scientific research work, solidly basing themselves on Juche, they will discover large quantities of new resources.

In the past our scholars only read books by foreign authors and claimed that our country had no nickel, which is necessary for the production of stainless steel. It is very difficult to import it. We needed a great deal of stainless steel to develop the national economy and build new chemical factories. So we resolved to make it ourselves and started to prospect for nickel, with the result that we discovered veins and were able to produce stainless steel for ourselves.

Let me cite another example. In former days our geologists who were engaged in prospecting did not try to look for iron ore at Unnyul because their foreign counterparts claimed that there could be no iron ore in these plains. Later, however, they found huge iron ore deposits in the Unnyul area.

We also found apatite which, it had been said, was non-existent in our country. We have it in Sakju, too. Songhwa abounds in high-grade apatite. There is plenty of apatite in Phyongwon, Jungsan and Songchon in South Phyongan Province as well as in South and North Hamgyong Provinces. Therefore, we are able to produce large quantities of phosphate fertilizer using our own raw materials.

We also found raw materials for potash fertilizer.

Our geologists discovered bauxite, too. This enabled us to have our own raw material centre for creating the light metal industry.

These examples graphically illustrate how important it is to uproot flunkeyism and thoroughly establish Juche in developing science and technology.

Some of our scholars are still obsessed by flunkeyism. It is very harmful. If people fall prey to flunkeyism their country is bound to perish. Therefore, it is very important to oppose it and establish Juche firmly.

First of all, we must firmly establish Juche in ideology, so that all of us arm ourselves completely with our Party's ideas and have strong ideals which prevent us from accepting any ideology but that of our Party. However, this is not enough. We must firmly establish Juche in science as well.

We have long urged the necessity to establish Juche in science. We cannot yet say, however, that Juche has been firmly established in the institutions of scientific research and education. We must continue to wage a resolute campaign to establish Juche in the sphere of science.

We need the science which is necessary for our country's development and which serves our revolution and our people. All sciences, natural or social, should serve our working class and people and contribute to the Korean revolution and to the building of

socialism and communism in Korea. Science which does not serve our people or contribute to our revolution is of no use whatsoever.

If we promote science along Juche lines, we can develop our national economy fully by using our own resources. Of course, this does not mean that we have every kind of natural resource. But, if we develop science to suit existing conditions in our country, we can obtain new resources and exchange what we have for what we do not have.

So far we have not found oil in our country, but we can find it if we search diligently enough. We cannot say there is no oil in our country. Now the experts are saying that we can find oil if we drill deep enough underground. So I think we can find it if we try.

Even if oil is not produced in our country, we need not worry; we can develop our abundant resources and exchange them for oil. I always say that if we boost our cement industry by using the plentiful supplies of anthracite and limestone and produce and export cement in large quantities, we can import as much oil as we want. Then, we can also develop the petro-chemical industry.

As well as the cement industry, we must develop the machine-building industry. Our country has very favourable conditions for its development. It abounds in iron ore and has solid centres of the steel industry; we also have plenty of nonferrous and rare metals. We can say our machine-building industry has good prospects. At present, even countries which are not fortunate enough to have iron or rare metals are producing and exporting machinery. Why, then, should we not develop the machine-building industry in our country on the basis of its rich mineral resources? We should develop this industry and make large quantities of machinery which we can exchange for what we need.

Even in the future, when the whole world has become communist, everything will not be produced in one place; we will give others what we produce in large quantities where we live, and get what we need from them; that is to say, the method of filling each other's needs will be applied.

We must resolutely oppose flunkeyism, establish Juche in education and develop our science from the standpoint of Juche.

Opposing flunkeyism and establishing Juche is the most important aspect in revolutionizing our students and teachers.

Once again, I stress that students must study hard and make strenuous efforts to revolutionize themselves and that teachers must work tirelessly to establish Juche in science and revolutionize and working-classize themselves, at the same time educating the students fully in our Party's Juche idea.

To conclude. I am firmly convinced that you will fulfil the Party's expectations by striving to revolutionize your schools and to become reliable builders of communism and excellent revolutionaries.



**A LETTER OF CONGRATULATIONS  
TO THE WORKERS, TECHNICIANS  
AND OFFICE WORKERS OF THE FACTORIES  
AND ENTERPRISES WHICH HAVE CARRIED  
OUT THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN  
FOR 1967 AHEAD OF SCHEDULE BEFORE  
THE PARTY'S 22ND ANNIVERSARY**

*November 17, 1967*

I offer my warm congratulations to you comrades who are advancing in the forefront of the Chollima riders, having carried out this year's national economic plan, including the target of increased production in terms of all indices, three months ahead of schedule, before the 22nd anniversary of the Party, by displaying your patriotic devotion and creativity in your endeavours to implement the Party's line of carrying on economic construction and the building up of defences simultaneously, pursuant to the decisions of the historic Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea.

You have achieved great success in all sectors of socialist economic construction by your excellent use of the Party's revolutionary work method, the method of giving priority to political work in all matters, of working efficiently among the people, so as to increase the political awareness of the masses constantly and encourage them to participate willingly in carrying out the revolutionary tasks.

You have put production on a regular basis, increased the variety of products and markedly improved their quality by extending and

building up the existing economic foundations and by operating equipment efficiently.

You have made great efforts to use materials economically and developed a widespread campaign for technical innovations in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. You have also worked hard to increase output using the existing equipment, materials and manpower by mobilizing all the available internal reserves and possibilities. In this way, you have carried out your revolutionary tasks successfully, and contributed greatly to the nation's socialist construction and to increasing its defence power.

Your success is due to the expression of the revolutionary stamina of the heroic Korean working class which continues to make fresh innovations and advance under the correct leadership of our Party. It represents the unbreakable revolutionary spirit and boundless loyalty to the Party shown by the working class which implements the tasks given by the Party to the end no matter what the conditions may be.

I greatly appreciate the great contribution you have made to accelerating the nation's socialist construction and to increasing defence power by faithfully carrying out the revolutionary tasks given by the Party.

Today, we are confronted with the difficult and important task of further consolidating the revolutionary base politically, economically and militarily through the acceleration of socialist construction in the northern half of Korea, and of accomplishing the south Korean revolution and national reunification by giving support and encouragement to the south Korean people in their anti-US struggle to save the country.

You must continue to carry out the Party's line of thrusting ahead with economic construction and the buildup of our defences simultaneously in order to accelerate the ultimate victory of our revolution. In the immediate future you must, without relaxing your efforts which have carried out this year's national economic plan before the set time, strive to produce more goods in the remainder of the year and to make full preparations for next year's production.

Next year is vitally important in carrying out the Seven-Year Plan, and our tasks for next year are immense. We must, therefore, ensure a high rate of growth in production in all sectors of the national economy, and every one of us must make a strenuous effort to perform our revolutionary tasks.

You must continue to carry through the Party's policy on making effective use of the existing economic foundations and on improving the quality of work in all sectors.

You must augment the existing equipment and production processes and improve and extend them so as to keep production running smoothly. You must lower the rate of material consumption per unit and radically improve the quality of products by a better use of technical equipment and by strictly observing the operating norms and technical regulations.

You must further improve the technical and cultural standards of the workers and technicians, strengthen their creative cooperation, and thus embark on a vigorous campaign for technical innovations to solve the scientific and technical problems in production successfully.

You must encourage the producer masses to participate willingly in the management of enterprises by giving priority to political work, radically improve planning through the establishment of the system of both unified and detailed plans, and strengthen the organization of cooperative production and so on. In this way you will be able to manage the economy scientifically and rationally so as to give full play to the advantages of the Tsaen work system.

Efficient labour administration is the most important thing in economic management at present.

The output value per worker should be drastically raised through the establishment of system and order in manpower administration, voluntary observance of labour discipline and by making the maximum effective use of the 480-minute workday.

You must take good care of state and public property and conduct the nation's economic life meticulously. You must also build up

cultural and welfare facilities and supply centres so as to improve your working and living conditions.

You must demonstrate the communist trait of working and living by the principle of “One for all and all for one” by developing the Chollima Workteam Movement more forcefully, and you must make further innovations and continue to advance towards fresh successes by rejecting all manifestations of conservatism and stagnation.

You must establish revolutionary discipline and order in your work and your lives, eliminate even the slightest sign of indolence or slackness, always maintain a high degree of revolutionary vigilance, keep yourselves ready and alert so that you can act on the call of the Party anywhere and at any time.

You must all equip yourselves firmly with our Party’s monolithic ideology, work, study and live in a revolutionary manner just as the anti-Japanese guerrillas did, and constantly strive to revolutionize and working-classize yourselves. In this way, you will become revolutionary fighters who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and the revolution, without wavering in any adversity.

I firmly believe that you, united more closely behind the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, will bring about a new revolutionary surge in the struggle to implement the decisions of the Party Conference on pushing forward economic construction and defence buildup simultaneously and thus brilliantly carry out your revolutionary tasks.

**LET US EMBODY THE REVOLUTIONARY  
SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE, SELF-SUSTENANCE  
AND SELF-DEFENCE MORE THOROUGHLY  
IN ALL BRANCHES OF STATE ACTIVITY**

**Political Programme of the Government of the Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea Announced at the First Session  
of the Fourth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK**

*December 16, 1967*

Comrade Deputies,

The elections of deputies to the Fourth Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have successfully taken place, with a great new revolutionary devotion, and the political and work enthusiasm of all the people running exceptionally high in all fields of socialist economic construction and the augmentation of our defences, to carry out the decisions of the historic Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea.

All the citizens of our country took part in the elections, as one man, with high patriotic zeal, thereby showing their firm determination to defend the people's power and the revolutionary gains and further consolidate and develop them, carry out the building of socialism in the northern half of Korea successfully, and accomplish the revolutionary cause of reunification of the country whatever the cost.

The results of the elections clearly demonstrated our people's unreserved support for and profound trust in our Party and the Government of the Republic and again showed the world the

monolithic political and ideological unity of all our people.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I wish to extend my warm thanks to you deputies who have been elected to this Supreme People's Assembly and to all the people of our country for trusting and authorizing us once again to form the Cabinet of the Republic.

Comrades,

The elections of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly have been held on four occasions in our country in the 19 years since the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a genuine people's state, in accordance with the unanimous will of all the Korean people, and the Cabinet of the Republic has been formed today for the fourth time.

During this period great strides have been made along the road of social progress and civilization in our country, thanks to the correct policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and the invincible vitality of the people's power and to the heroic struggle of our people, who, as masters of the state, have taken their destiny into their own hands. In this land, where harsh exploitation and oppression, centuries-old underdevelopment and poverty once prevailed, an advanced, socialist system has now been established under which all of us help each other, work together and live happily; our country has become a socialist state with a strong independent national economy and brilliant national culture.

Since the elections of deputies to the Third Supreme People's Assembly held in 1962, the Cabinet of the Republic has exerted all its efforts to carry through the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, and has, especially, concentrated its efforts on the implementation of our Party's new revolutionary line of carrying out economic construction in parallel with the building up of our defences, which was set out at the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea held in October 1966. As a result, tremendous successes have been made in all political, economic, cultural and military fields

and the might of our country has been further increased.

The alliance of the workers and peasants on a socialist basis has been further cemented, and the political and ideological unity of all the people has become stronger than ever. Our people have been tempered still more in the hard-fought struggle for revolution and construction; through practical experience, they have acquired boundless confidence in the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, around which they are firmly united. Our people accept the policies and lines of our Party and the Government of the Republic as their vital cause and devote all their talents and energies to the struggle for the cause of the revolution and for the prosperity and progress of the Republic. This rock-firm unity and cohesion of our people is the solid foundation of our state and social system and the source of our invincible might.

Our people are now in a position to enter the international arena under the glorious banner of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, equal in rights to the peoples of both the large and small countries of the world, and the international position of the Republic continues to rise.

The correct economic policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic has brought about giant strides forward in all fields of the national economy.

In 1966, industrial production was 1.4 times greater than in 1962 and 41 times that of 1946, the year immediately after liberation.

The foundations of the independent national economy of the country have been further consolidated as a result of the vigorous campaign organized and carried forward by the Government of the Republic to implement the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea on the accomplishment of socialist industrialization and the all-round promotion of the technical revolution in every field of the national economy.

The foundations of our heavy industry, with the machine-building industry as its core, have been further improved and strengthened, and the production of diverse heavy industrial goods has grown

conspicuously. Our heavy industry is now showing still greater strength and making a better contribution to the progress of light industry and agriculture, as a solid base for increasing the economic independence of the country and for accelerating the technical reconstruction of our national economy.

Great progress has also been made in the field of light industry. In our country the people's consumer demands are met with locally produced goods, although these are not yet abundant, and in light industry firm foundations have been laid for producing diverse high-quality consumer goods in larger quantities in future.

Our socialist agriculture has also made good headway. The technical, cultural and ideological revolutions have been promoted successfully in the countryside, the direction and management of cooperative farms improved and assistance to the rural areas further increased; the farmers' political and work enthusiasm has increased greatly. Our country was hit hard by repeated natural disasters in recent years, but their effects were completely overcome in all sectors of our agricultural production.

With the successful acceleration of socialist economic construction and the rapid growth of production, the people's material and cultural standards of living have risen markedly.

The per-capita national income was 500 *won* in 1966, or a 1.2-fold increase as against 1962, and it is expected to rise to 580 *won* this year.

The Government of the Republic increased the real incomes of the workers, office employees and farmers considerably, while also steadily accumulating development funds for expanded production and allocating a large part of the national income to the building up of defences to meet the present situation. In particular, the Government of the Republic, in keeping with the line set forth in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, introduced a series of radical measures for increasing the farmers' income: total elimination of agricultural tax in kind, capital construction in the rural areas with state investment, construction of farmers' homes at state expense, and so on.

Housing conditions for the working people improved considerably



as a result of extensive dwelling construction. During the period from 1963 to 1966, homes with a total floor space of 10,210,000 square metres were built in towns and the country areas for the working people.

Not only were the basic problems of food, clothing and housing solved, but the supply of commodities to the working people was generally improved. In our country today the working people can buy whatever goods are needed at uniform prices everywhere, not merely in towns but even in remote mountain areas where merchandise was seldom seen before.

Further progress has also been made in education, culture and public health.

In our country, thanks to the correct educational policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic, 2,600,000 pupils and students, or one-fourth of the population, are now studying free of charge at more than 9,260 schools at all levels, including 98 institutes of higher learning. In particular, universal compulsory nine-year technical education which has been introduced this year, combining general education with polytechnic training, will make it possible for us to raise all the coming generation as a reserve of versatile builders of socialism and communism, reliable heirs to our revolutionary cause, and further raise the technical and cultural levels of all the working people. This will contribute greatly to the further development of public education and the acceleration of the technical and cultural revolutions in our country.

In 1966 the number of university graduates was 1.2 times that of 1962, and that of the graduates from higher technical schools and specialized secondary schools, 3.2 times the 1962 figure. At present, over 425,700 engineers, assistant engineers and specialists—2.3 times as many as in 1962—are working in all fields of the national economy. Thanks to the wisdom and energy of our technicians and specialists, all branches of our national economy are managed and operated efficiently, and new, up-to-date factories and enterprises are going up one after another in our country today. This is one of the biggest

successes achieved by our Party and the Government of the Republic in the building of a new country.

The correct policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic with regard to health services has enabled our working people to enjoy greater benefits from the system of universal free medical care. In the field of health services, the number of medical workers has increased considerably, medical facilities have been expanded and medical service for the working people has been further improved over the past four years. As a result of these improved public health services and the raising of the people's living standards as a whole, the mortality of the population dropped in 1966 to half that of the pre-liberation years, and the people's average lifespan has been lengthened by 20 years. This is possible only under the socialist system, where the masses are the true masters of the country.

Large numbers of nurseries and kindergartens, run at state and community expense, have been established in order to raise and educate our children well and to provide women with suitable conditions for social labour.

All this is a clear manifestation of the people-oriented policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic, the supreme principle of whose activities is the promotion of the well-being of the working people.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have in recent years directed special attention to strengthening the country's defence capabilities to counter the intensified aggressive manoeuvres of the imperialists. The US imperialists created the Caribbean crisis against the Republic of Cuba in 1962 and later provoked the Gulf of Bac Bo incident against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and embarked on a course of escalating the war of aggression in South Viet Nam on a large scale. In the face of this situation, our Party and Government put forward the line of carrying out economic construction and the building up of our defences in parallel, and introduced a number of important measures to increase our defence capabilities while reorganizing the national economy. We are thus fully able to repulse any hostile

invasions and defend the security of our country more effectively.

All these successes scored in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction in recent years proclaim the splendid victory of the lines and policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic which have creatively applied and developed the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism in line with existing conditions in our country, the clear manifestation of the indomitable vitality and great superiority of the state and social system of our Republic, and the fulfilment of the patriotic struggle and creative labour of our people, closely united around our Party and Government.

We cannot rest content with the successes which have already been achieved; our revolutionary cause has not yet been completed. So that we can continue to advance the revolution and construction of the country we still have much to do, and we must keep on striving to overcome difficulties and hardships.

Basing itself strictly on the lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea, the General Staff of our revolution and organizer of all the victories of the Korean people, the newly formed Cabinet of the Republic will, in the future, as in the past, organize and carry out all its work in the interests of all the Korean people, and it will fight steadfastly to accelerate socialist construction in the northern half of Korea and the accomplishment of the sacred cause of liberating the south Korean people and reunifying the country.

The Government of the Republic, bearing in mind the general tasks of our revolution, will concentrate all its efforts on carrying out the following immediate political, economic, cultural and military tasks:

**First. The Government of the Republic will thoroughly implement the line of independence, self-sustenance and self-defence to consolidate the political independence of the country, strengthen the foundations of an independent national economy capable of ensuring the complete reunification, independence and prosperity of our nation, and increase the**

**defence capabilities of the country so as to protect its security on the basis of our own forces, by establishing our Party's idea of Juche in all fields.**

Our Party's idea of Juche represents the most correct Marxist-Leninist idea of leadership for the successful accomplishment of our revolution and construction and is the constant guiding principle of the Government of the Republic in all its policies and activities.

Only by establishing Juche firmly can each country repudiate flunkeyism towards great powers as well as dogmatism, and creatively apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries in line with its historical conditions and national characteristics; always solve its own problems by itself on its own responsibility, eliminating reliance on others through showing a spirit of self-reliance; and, accordingly, carry on its revolutionary cause and construction work with success.

Establishing Juche is a matter of particular importance for us in the light of our country's geographical situation and environment, the circumstances of its historical development and the complex and arduous character of our revolution. The establishment of Juche is a matter of key importance on which the success of our revolution depends, a vital question which will determine the future of our nation.

The Government of the Republic has been able to achieve great victories and successes in the revolutionary struggle and construction work, because it has persistently tried to solve all problems independently, in conformity with the particular requirements of our country and mainly through its own efforts, consistently guided in its activities by the Juche idea of the Workers' Party of Korea and strictly maintaining the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

As a result of our efforts to establish Juche in the ideological field, the national pride of our workers and their sense of independence have grown enormously, and they have acquired the revolutionary characteristics of not following others blindly, appraising foreign ideas

critically instead of unreservedly copying or accepting them without question, and striving to solve all problems according to the conditions which exist in our country and on the basis of their own wisdom and strength.

Thanks to the fact that our Party's spirit of independence, self-sustenance and self-defence is finding full expression in all fields of national construction, the political independence of the Republic has been consolidated and the economic independence and military power of our country have grown considerably.

As a full-fledged, independent state, our country now sets its own lines and policies independently and exercises complete equality and sovereignty in its foreign relations.

Under the leadership of our Party and the Government of the Republic, our people have laid firm foundations for an independent national economy in keeping with the revolutionary principle of self-reliance and have thus eliminated the centuries-old backwardness and poverty, further increased the economic might of the Republic and radically improved their standard of living. The establishment of Juche in science and culture has accelerated scientific and technological progress, brought about a great change in the quality of education and in the work of training cadres, and led to the blossoming and advancement of a new, socialist national culture agreeable to the life and sentiments of our people.

In the field of defence construction we have also strengthened our capabilities to such an extent that we are in a position to defend the security of our country and our socialist gains strongly, on the basis of our own strength, even in the complex situation existing today.

The great victories and successes we have attained in our socialist revolution and construction over the past years are, indeed, the brilliant consequence of the great vitality of our Party's idea of Juche and of our line of independence, self-sustenance and self-defence—the embodiment of that idea in all fields. We formulated our policies independently by creatively applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the prevailing conditions in Korea and enlisted

the inexhaustible creative potential of our industrious and talented people and our rich national resources to carry out these policies. This has enabled us to build a socialist state in a short time, which possesses political independence, economic self-sustenance and national self-defence.

Our Party's line of strengthening the political, economic and military might of the country in every way with all our efforts is the most correct way of expediting the victory of the Korean revolution.

The Government of the Republic will continue to adhere firmly to the principle of settling all the problems that arise in revolution and construction independently, studying and analysing the needs of Korea in strict accordance with the Juche idea of the Workers' Party of Korea.

All nations are equal and have the sacred right of national self-determination, of deciding their own destinies for themselves. A nation can secure independence and freedom and attain happiness and prosperity only if it achieves complete political self-determination and exercises its rights by keeping them firmly in its own hands.

Under the leadership of our Party, the Government of the Republic will follow its own course in formulating all our policies for socialist construction in the fields of industry, agriculture, education, literature and art, judicial administration, and so on, in conformity with our conditions, and carry them out by its own efforts. We must not act on the orders and instructions of others but, on the basis of the interests of our revolution and construction, settle all problems from the standpoint of Juche, using our own judgment and making our own decisions. It is true that we should unite with allies who are fighting for a common goal and learn from their experience if it accords with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and it is worth learning. But, even so, we must always approach such experience critically, strenuously opposing any tendency to accept foreign ideas indiscriminately or imitate them unreservedly; we must not blindly copy what does not suit our actual conditions.

In the struggle for our country's reunification, too, the Government of the Republic will always hold fast to its independent position. We

regard all attempts to effect the country's reunification by relying on outside forces as treacheries against the country and the nation aimed at placing the whole of Korea in the hands of foreign aggressors. The question of Korean reunification is an internal affair of the Korean people, one which cannot be settled by any outside forces. Ours is a wise and civilized nation, fully capable of settling its national problems for itself. We consistently hold that the question of reunifying our country must be settled through the efforts of our people themselves, without interference from any outside forces, under conditions where the aggressive army of US imperialism is withdrawn from south Korea.

In the sphere of foreign policy, too, we should continue to work to establish political and economic relations with other countries on the principles of complete equality and mutual respect. We must always rely on our own judgment and conviction in fighting against imperialism and Right and "Left" opportunism, in conformity with our own conditions, and let no one violate or offend the rights and dignity of our nation.

The Government of the Republic will faithfully continue to carry out our Party's line of building an independent national economy by applying the principle of self-reliance to the full in the economic sphere, while, at the same time, consolidating political independence.

Today we are confronted with the heavy task of carrying on economic construction and the building up of our defences in parallel so as to lay a firm material foundation for the prosperity of the generations to come and establish a sound economic base which will enable us to cope readily with the great revolutionary event of the reunification of our country. All this can be achieved successfully only if the principle of self-reliance, the line of building an independent national economy, is adhered to consistently and implemented more thoroughly.

Self-reliance is a completely revolutionary stand for a people to accomplish the revolution in their country relying mainly on their own forces; it is an independent stand of building up their country through

their own labour and with their own national resources.

Only by firmly maintaining such a revolutionary stand and revolutionary principle can we carry on the struggle without abandoning revolutionary constancy, no matter what complex and difficult situation may confront us, and ensure victory in the revolutionary struggle and success in our work of construction, bravely overcoming any difficulties and hardships which stand in the way of our advance. If you lack the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, you may lose faith in your own strength, neglect efforts to tap the inner resources of your country, grow indolent and idle, and fall into a state of inactivity and conservatism.

Only when a nation builds an independent national economy can it secure political independence, make its country rich, strong and progressive and achieve national prosperity.

Economic independence is the material foundation for political independence. A country which is economically dependent on outside forces becomes a political satellite of other countries; an economically subject nation cannot free itself from colonial slavery politically.

Without building an independent national economy it is impossible to establish material and technological foundations for socialism, and build socialism and communism successfully.

To build socialism, it is essential to create a powerful base of heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core, and, on this basis, equip light industry, agriculture, transport and all other branches of the national economy with modern techniques, thus laying the powerful material and technological foundations for socialism—needed to improve the welfare of the working people as a whole—as the laws of socialism require. As long as national distinctions remain and states exist, these material and technological foundations of socialism must be built by each national state as a unit. Therefore, it can only be said that firm material and technological foundations of socialism have been laid in each country when it has built a comprehensive, independent national economy diversified in its development, equipped with the latest technology and run by its



own national cadres, using its own natural resources, raw materials and other supplies so that its domestic products can fully meet the varied and ever-growing requirements of economic and defence construction and the people's consumption, for heavy and light industrial goods and farm produce.

Only if the material and technological foundations of socialism are established in this way within the boundaries of each national state as a comprehensive, independent economic unit, can the country's natural resources be tapped and utilized to the fullest extent and a high rate of growth in production be maintained together with a correct and flexible balance between all branches of the national economy. Moreover, only in this way is it possible to develop science, technology and culture rapidly, steadily raise the technological and cultural standards of the working people, and turn them into people of a new type, developed in a comprehensive way.

The building of an independent national economy is also the basic guarantee that nations can eliminate the economic backwardness which constitutes the real basis of inequalities between them, achieve national prosperity and build a socialist and communist society successfully.

The building of socialism and communism, as you know, requires the eradication of inequalities between nations as well as of class distinctions.

Such inequalities, however, do not disappear immediately when the socialist revolution triumphs in each country, nor do they vanish through the amalgamation of nations in one way or another.

The era of capitalism is an era in which national oppression prevails side by side with class exploitation, an era in which the free development of the great majority of nations is held back by a few nations and inequalities between nations exist. It is, therefore, necessary for the nations liberated from capitalist exploitation and oppression not only to become labouring socialist nations but also to build highly developed, independent national economies for their fullest free development and all-round growth. Only by this means can

all inequalities among nations be done away with and all nations build socialism with success, and gradually advance to communism.

All this testifies to the fact that the line of building an independent national economy, consistently followed by our Party and the Government of the Republic, is a thoroughly revolutionary line of economic construction which conforms with the laws which govern the building of socialism and communism.

We will apply the revolutionary principle of self-reliance in building up our national defences as well, and thus increase our country's capabilities for self-defence still further.

Needless to say, the international unity of the proletariat of all countries and the friendly alliance of the socialist countries in the revolutionary struggle against imperialist aggression and against the pressures of international capital are an important guarantee for safeguarding the revolutionary gains which have already been achieved and winning new victories. It is the sacred internationalist duty of communists to do all that they can to help and give support and encouragement to each other in the battle against imperialism, their common enemy, and each country should strive to strengthen this international solidarity in the struggle against imperialist forces of aggression from without.

The decisive factor for victory in the struggle against imperialist reaction, however, is the internal forces of the country concerned. Although foreign support is important in a war against foreign aggressors, to all intents and purposes it plays no more than a secondary role. When the internal forces of a country are not prepared, its revolutionary struggle cannot emerge victorious, no matter how great its foreign support may be. If the communists pin their hopes solely on foreign support and aid, without developing their own revolutionary forces, they cannot be certain of defending the security of their country and their revolutionary gains against imperialist aggression.

The Government of the Republic will give substance to our Party's spirit of self-defence, thoroughly preparing our people and soldiers for

war, politically and ideologically; it will make full preparations to defend our country, relying on the solid foundations of the independent national economy which we have already established and, at the same time, continue to increase our military power.

In particular, by carrying out the decisions of the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea in full, we shall concentrate all our efforts on reorganizing the whole work of building our socialist economy to fit the requirements of the present situation and also on reinforcing our defence capabilities to meet the undisguised aggressive actions by the enemy. In this way we shall make ours an ever more solid, viable and independent economy to meet the material needs of both the front line and the rear fully in case of emergency, and we shall make our country's military power impregnable in order to repel the enemy by ourselves, no matter when he might launch a surprise attack against us.

Establishing the Juche idea of the Workers' Party of Korea successfully in all fields, we shall build an ever richer, stronger and mightier socialist state—independent in politics, self-sustaining in the economy and self-reliant in national defence.

**Second. In order to end the present misfortunes of our people caused by the artificial division of our territory and nation as soon as possible, liberate the people in south Korea and reunify our country, the Government of the Republic will firmly equip the people in the northern half of the country both morally and materially to support the south Korean people in their sacred anti-US struggle for national salvation and to deal readily with the great revolutionary event.**

Because of the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists, our country is still divided into north and south, and the reunification of the country, the heartfelt desire of the nation, has not yet been achieved although a new generation has grown up; and our people have been suffering from the national partition for more than 20 years. As

time passes, the gulf between north and south Korea is widening in all spheres—political, economic and cultural—and the national community of our people, formed in the course of a long period of history, is gradually being eroded. Territorial partition and national division make it impossible to coordinate our efforts to enlist and utilize our country's wealth and national wisdom and talents to promote the prosperity of the country and the welfare of the people.

The division of Korea into north and south has caused immeasurable misery and distress, particularly to the south Korean people. South Korea today has been completely turned into a colony of the US imperialists, into their aggressive military base. The national industry of south Korea has been reduced to dependency on foreign capital, and its agriculture is also in a serious state of crisis. The national culture and the beautiful customs inherent in the Korean people have been utterly trampled underfoot, and all kinds of immorality and depravity prevail everywhere in south Korea. The south Korean people are going hungry and are in rags, doubly and triply exploited and oppressed, many of them roaming the streets in quest of work and living in a state of constant anxiety with all their hopes blighted. They are subjected to unbearable racial insults and contempt, and even their right to existence is constantly threatened by the US imperialist aggressors.

Where there are exploitation and oppression, there will always be revolutionary struggle on the part of the people. Ever since the first days of the occupation of the south by the US imperialist aggressors, the south Korean people have been fighting tenaciously against their policies of colonial enslavement and military aggression. The October Popular Resistance Struggle in 1946, the April Uprising in 1960 which toppled the puppet regime of Syngman Rhee, and many other struggles carried on by the south Korean people against the “south Korea-Japan talks” and for the abrogation of the “south Korea-Japan agreements”, struck telling blows to the colonial rule of US imperialism.

On every occasion, the US imperialists and their stooges harshly

repressed the people's righteous patriotic struggle at bayonet point. The policy of military fascist dictatorship pursued in south Korea today has assumed unprecedented ferocity and barbarity and has become a prototype of vicious fascist rule by the imperialists over their colonies. The US imperialist aggressors and their puppets, by enforcing many wicked fascist laws, greatly increased their instruments of repression, and covered the whole of south Korea with military, police, intelligence and special agent networks, thereby turning it into a living hell of terrorism and murder.

In south Korea today the US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique are intensifying their fascist repression to the utmost limits. Everywhere they are engaging in all kinds of frenzied attempts to repress the south Korean people, who are fighting harder than ever for the right to live, for democratic liberties and for the reunification of their country. According to south Korean press reports, this year alone ten or more divisions, including US imperialist troops, the south Korean puppet army, police forces, and reserve divisions, were mobilized to crush the armed groups of south Korean revolutionaries in action and the mass revolutionary struggles, breaking out one after another all over south Korea. A total of more than six million US imperialist troops, south Korean puppet troops and police took a direct part in the so-called "mopping-up operations". The US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique cruelly suppressed the revolutionary organization formed around Dr. Kim Tae Su, professor at Kyongbuk University, arresting and imprisoning more than ten patriotic intellectuals, and last autumn they arrested many young people in and around Pusan on charges of involvement in the alleged "case of the People's Revolutionary Party". Again, they recently used trumped-up charges in what they called the "case of the operative group for the communization of south Korea" in Seoul and also arrested and imprisoned many university professors, other intellectuals and patriotic figures, branding the Society for Comparative Studies on Nationalism—an academic organization—as a "seditious organization", and tried the victims in a kangaroo court. They have thus committed

the heinous crime of demanding the death penalty or life imprisonment for many innocent persons.

They are raising an ever louder “anti-communist” hue and cry under the nonsensical allegation that all the fierce revolutionary struggles of the patriotic people which are breaking out all over south Korea today are the work of “spies” sent from north Korea, and they are trying hard to take the minds of the south Korean people off their troubles and to deceive the peoples of the world.

But no amount of brutal repression and “anti-communist” campaigning by the US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee puppet clique can ever dampen the indomitable revolutionary fighting spirit of the south Korean people or block their sweeping revolutionary advance. Today broad sections of the south Korean people are carrying on an intensive struggle in all fields, raising still higher the banner of the anti-US resistance campaign for national salvation. A people can win freedom and liberation only through their own struggle. When the masses rise as one against their oppressors, they can destroy any imperialist bulwark. If the workers and peasants, young people and students, intellectuals and other broad sectors of the people in south Korea unite firmly and come out courageously for the revolutionary struggle, they will be able to inflict a crushing defeat on the US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique and accomplish the cause of the south Korean revolution.

On behalf of all the people in the northern half of Korea, I send warm revolutionary greetings to the revolutionaries and democratic figures, to all the patriotic people who are putting up a valiant resistance in various parts of south Korea, underground, in the mountains and even in prison.

All the people in the northern half of Korea carry the great responsibility of bringing the south Korean revolution to a conclusion, giving active support to the struggle of the south Korean people and matching their high fighting spirit.

As long as the US imperialists continue to occupy south Korea and our country remains divided, the Korean people cannot live in peace

for even a moment and the people in south Korea cannot extricate themselves from their present misery and pain. The occupation of south Korea by US imperialism and its policy of aggression are the source of all the misfortunes of our nation and the main obstacle to the reunification of our country.

We cannot simply stand by and watch the miserable plight of our south Korean compatriots and we cannot bequeath a divided country to our children. As long as this wretched situation continues in which the country and the nation are divided and our compatriots, blood brothers and sisters, are subjected to all sorts of racial insults and maltreatment by the foreign aggressors, no Korean communist or conscientious Korean nationalist can say that he has fulfilled his duty.

We must accomplish the south Korean revolution and reunify the country in our generation and bequeath a unified country to the new generation. We must prepare all what is necessary for the reunification of our country as soon as possible.

The accomplishment of the great cause of liberating south Korea and reunifying the country at the earliest possible date depends not only on how the revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries in south Korea expand and strengthen the revolutionary forces and how they fight the enemy but also, to a large extent, on how the people in the northern half of Korea prepare themselves to deal with the great revolutionary event.

The most important thing in completing the south Korean revolution and hastening the reunification of the country is to prepare all our people politically and ideologically and, at the same time, create all the necessary material conditions.

We should always give active material and moral support and encouragement to the south Korean people in their anti-US, national salvation struggle and consider the south Korean revolution and the reunification of the country to be our first and foremost revolutionary task. We can not allow ourselves to become complacent about the achievements wrought in the northern half of the country and become lax and indolent. How can we sit idly by at a time when the south

Korean people, suffering from hunger, are fighting at the cost of their blood? It is our lofty national duty and the supreme task of the nation to force the US imperialist aggressors out of our territory, liberate south Korea and reunify our country by combining our strength with that of the south Korean people.

The people in the northern half of Korea should always remember their brothers in the south and maintain their revolutionary determination to liberate them at all costs; they should be firmly prepared ideologically to be mobilized for a decisive struggle to accomplish the cause of the reunification of the country by joining forces with the south Korean people whenever called upon to go to their aid as the people's struggle surges forward and the revolutionary situation matures in south Korea.

Meanwhile, socialist economic construction, the principal guarantee for strengthening the material forces of our revolutionary base, should be successfully carried on to consolidate the economic foundations of our country still further, so that the necessary material preparations can be made to support the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people and to deal with the great revolutionary event of achieving the reunification of our country.

The present situation requires us to conduct all our work in a more enterprising, more revolutionary manner and subordinate everything to the struggle to accomplish the south Korean revolution by giving support to the south Korean people in their fight and to reunify our country.

The northern half of Korea is the revolutionary base for accomplishing the great cause of nationwide liberation, and its revolutionary forces are the most important motive power for the Korean revolution as a whole. All the working people should fully understand that, unless the revolutionary base of the northern half of Korea is built up and its revolutionary forces are strengthened still more, it will be impossible to give positive support to the south Korean revolution and achieve the reunification of our country; they must continue to wage a tenacious struggle on all fronts of socialist



economic construction and produce and build more, better and cheaper, with our existing manpower, equipment and materials by discovering and using reserves and potentials to the utmost. All officials and working people, as masters in their country, should manage all aspects of economic life, both national and individual, diligently, and make every effort not to waste a single grain of rice, a single gramme of iron or a single drop of gasoline.

Only when our country's economic foundations are more consolidated and the necessary material conditions are created in sufficient quantities, can we cope with the great event in a state of full preparedness, bring the superiority of the socialist system home to the fighting people of south Korea and give powerful support to their revolutionary struggle. Only then will it be possible to create assets with which to put the devastated south Korean economy back on its feet and rapidly improve the debased living conditions of the people in the south, after the reunification of the country.

All our officials and working people must work like masters and live frugally with great revolutionary zeal, in the lofty spirit of supporting the south Korean people more effectively in their anti-US, national salvation struggle and of expediting the revolutionary cause of the reunification of the country. We must never become complacent and lax nor countenance the slightest laziness, immorality or luxury. We are making a revolution and we should work and live in a revolutionary way, alert and ready at all times.

In this way all our people will be prepared to cope with the great revolutionary event of national reunification. We should all be ready and willing to take part in the revolutionary struggle whenever called upon to do so by the Party.

**Third. The Government of the Republic, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, will carry on a vigorous campaign to revolutionize and working-classize the peasants, intellectuals and all other members of society by further stepping up the**

## **ideological and cultural revolutions and enhancing the leading role of the working class.**

By steadily strengthening the state's functions of proletarian dictatorship, we shall not only crush the hostile elements which are infiltrating from outside with the aim of disorganizing our revolutionary base and put down the resistance offered by the remnants of the overthrown exploiter classes, but also revolutionize and working-classize all members of society by forcefully advancing the ideological and cultural revolutions.

To educate and remould all the people and thereby revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society is an important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our society, in which the exploiter classes have been liquidated and the socialist system has triumphed. The process of building socialism and communism is one of revolutionizing all the members of society—workers, peasants and intellectuals—a process of doing away with all class distinctions by remodelling the whole of society on the working-class pattern.

In order to build socialism and communism, we must develop our productive forces and eliminate the distinctions between the working class and the peasantry in working conditions and forms of ownership of the means of production, and step by step, we must also eliminate disparities in ideological, moral, cultural and technical standards between all members of society. To this end, the ideological revolution has to be intensified so as to root out all the remnants of outmoded bourgeois ideology which still exist in the minds of the people, and firmly arm all our working people with the revolutionary ideas of the working class, with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, so that they can fight devotedly, through good times and bad, in the interests of the collective and the whole of society, for our country and people; in addition, the cultural revolution must be carried out at the same time, so as to bring them up to high cultural and technical levels.

Today, more than ever before, the task of further revolutionizing and working-classizing all members of society—workers, peasants and

intellectuals—urgently calls for our attention. We should accelerate socialist construction further by our own efforts under the difficult conditions facing the country, now divided into north and south, and must force the US imperialist aggressors, the chieftain of world reaction, out of our territory, liberate south Korea and accomplish the revolutionary cause of reunifying the country. This is a revolutionary task which requires a very arduous and difficult, protracted and intense struggle. Only when all the working people are revolutionized and working-classized through the promotion of the ideological and cultural revolutions will it be possible to bring their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative into full play and raise their technical and cultural levels, and thus bravely overcome the difficulties which arise in the course of progress, solve economic and technical problems with credit and also successfully expedite the building of socialism in the northern half of Korea, complete the revolution in south Korea and accomplish the revolutionary cause of reunifying the country.

We must work strenuously to revolutionize and working-classize all members of society by further raising the leading role of the working class.

Our working class is young, and it needs a great deal of revolutionary training. The ranks of the working class swelled suddenly in our country as industry was given a large boost in a short time following liberation. Our working class includes many people who have never personally experienced exploitation and oppression by the capitalists, as well as a considerable number of former small traders and handicraftsmen who became workers after the socialist transformation of production relations.

We must also improve the ideology, organization and culture of the working class so as to turn it into a still more revolutionary, progressive and cultured class and to enable it to perform its historical mission of transforming the whole of society and educating and remoulding all the working people well.

Revolutionizing and working-classizing the peasantry, the most

reliable ally of the working class in the building of socialism and communism, is an important guarantee of victory for our revolution. The Government of the Republic, in keeping with the line set forth in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, should energetically press forward the ideological and cultural revolutions in the countryside and continue to strengthen the working class's political leadership and cultural influence among the peasantry. In this way, the peasants must be thoroughly equipped with the revolutionary ideas of the working class and their cultural level must be brought up to that of the working class.

The revolutionization of the intellectuals occupies the most important place in the working-classization of the whole of society. We should eradicate all remnants of obsolete ideologies from the minds of our intellectuals, arm them with communist ideas and so lead them to become revolutionaries loyal to the Party, to the working class, to the country and to the people.

The most important thing in revolutionizing and working-classizing all the members of society through the ideological revolution is to firmly arm the working people with the policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and thoroughly establish the Party's monolithic ideological system among them. We should explain and bring the Party's lines and policies home to the working people fully, and make sure that they acquire a clear understanding of their essentials and correctness. In this way, we should see to it that they resist all unsound, counter-revolutionary ideological elements vehemently—such as revisionism, “Left” opportunism, flunkeyism to great powers, bourgeois ideas, feudal Confucian ideas, factionalism, parochialism, and nepotism; that they think and act in accord with the ideas of the Workers' Party of Korea at all times and places and advance confidently along the only path indicated by the Party, without the slightest vacillation in any storm or stress.

We should improve our political and ideological work among the masses so as to stimulate the class awakening of the working people still further and lead them to fight uncompromisingly against their class enemies.

The primary targets of our struggle in revolutionizing people are individualism and egoism, a legacy from the exploiter classes. We should tirelessly strive to cultivate among the working people the collectivist spirit of placing the interests of the organization and the collective above personal interests and helping and leading each other forward and the lofty revolutionary spirit of valuing political life, and we must train all the people to attain a communist way of life, living and working in a revolutionary way.

The great vitality of the socialist system lies, above all, in the fact that the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, show conscientious enthusiasm and creative initiative, and work devotedly for their homeland, for the people and for their own happiness as masters of their country and their future. In order to bring this superiority into play and demonstrate the might of the socialist system to the full, education in socialist patriotism should be resolutely increased among the working people.

We must clearly show our working people the essential nature and superiority of the socialist system and persuade them to fight resolutely in defence of this system and fight for the prosperity and development of their homeland and for the well-being of our people. In particular, serious attention should be directed to educating the working people to take loving care of everything we have already created and to make more effective use of the valuable assets we have already built up. All the working people should clearly understand that all our wealth is for the prosperity and progress of our country, for the happiness of our people and for their own good and must adopt the attitude proper to masters with regard to the economic life of the country, carry out their revolutionary duties in an efficient, responsible way, and do their utmost to benefit the country and the people. Everyone should sincerely take part in collective labour to increase the wealth of the country and the people and to manage it with care; system and order should be established and revolutionary work discipline voluntarily observed in all branches, in all units of work.

Education in the revolutionary traditions is one of the most powerful means of revolutionizing people. Experience has shown that education in the revolutionary traditions has an incomparable influence in revolutionizing those who have never personally undergone the ordeals of revolutionary struggle and the younger generation which has never experienced exploitation and oppression by landlords and capitalists. We should improve training in the revolutionary traditions among the working people so that everyone can model himself on the indomitable lofty revolutionary spirit of the forerunners of our revolution and their noble revolutionary traits.

At the same time as the ideological revolution, the cultural revolution must also be energetically promoted.

Without the cultural revolution, the cultural and technical levels of our working people cannot be raised, nor can the ideological revolution be carried out successfully.

The habit of studying should be firmly established among the working people so that everyone will use all his efforts to raise his level of general knowledge, and so that everybody can master more than one skill. We must also strive to build a large contingent of steadfast, competent working-class intellectuals, able to skilfully solve the problems arising in all areas of our revolution and construction.

We must accelerate the ideological and cultural revolutions and thus further revolutionize and working-classize people so as to transform the whole country into one big Red family, make the whole of society seethe with revolutionary enthusiasm and ensure that all our working people make continuous improvements and advance at the speed of Chollima, always ready and alert, working new miracles and bringing about a great leap forward in revolutionary struggle and in the work of construction.

**Fourth. The Government of the Republic will see to it that officials of the state and economic bodies eliminate bureaucracy and establish a revolutionary mass viewpoint so as to improve the**

## **functions and role of the people's power and mobilize the masses for revolution and construction.**

To carry out our huge tasks successfully at present, we must enhance the functions and role of the people's power as the executor of the policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and as a powerful weapon for socialist construction; we must also improve the guidance of the revolution and construction. This requires that the officials of state and economic bodies maintain closer ties with the masses of the people, rid themselves of their bureaucratic style of work and adopt the revolutionary mass viewpoint.

When the Party's lines and policies are correct and proper ways and means have been adopted for their execution, success in carrying forward the revolutionary tasks depends entirely on the method and style of work of those who directly organize and carry them out, and on how they organize and mobilize the masses for the work.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have constantly paid close attention to reorganizing the system of work in the state and economic bodies and to improving the method and style of work of their officials, in conformity with new circumstances and conditions. As a result, great success has been achieved in this respect. In particular, a great change has taken place in the activities of state and economic bodies in the course of spreading the experience of the guidance given at Chongsan-ri in February 1960.

However, our officials still fall short of the standards required by our Party in their method and style of work, failing to organize and mobilize the masses of the people skilfully so as to give full play to their exalted revolutionary spirit in the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks.

So that our people's power can stoutly defend the interests of people from all walks of life, rally them around itself and bring their enthusiasm and activity into full play, the officials of state and economic bodies have to make drastic changes in their method and style of work.

All the officials of our state and economic bodies are workers

selected by the people; they are the servants of the people. They should never forget that their job is to protect the interests of the workers, peasants and the rest of the working people and serve them; they should work heart and soul for the Party, the working class and the people.

In order to be faithful to the Party and the revolution and be true servants of the people, our officials must have Party spirit, working-class spirit and popular spirit, which should be manifested in their practical work to implement our Party's lines and policies and in their practical activities on behalf of the workers, peasants and other working people. Only those who carry our Party's policies through to completion can be considered revolutionaries who are faithful to our Party and revolution, faithful to the working class and the people. All our officials must become ardent defenders, active propagators and staunch executors of our Party's policies. They should study our Party's policies in depth, and understand their essential nature, adhere to them strictly in their work, weigh all problems in terms of our Party's policies and launch a prompt and uncompromising attack against any practices which run counter to the Party's intentions. Our officials should be energetic in explaining and spreading our Party's policies among the masses and strive persistently to carry them through correctly. The officials of our state and economic bodies should carry out any work which is in the interests of the people with devotion, no matter what difficulties there may be.

In order to eliminate bureaucracy and establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint, all our officials should acquire the revolutionary work method of mixing widely amongst the masses, consulting them and enlisting them in the fulfilment of the tasks in hand. These officials must strictly follow the Chongsanri method, our Party's traditional revolutionary method of work, in their activities.

First of all, political work should be given priority in all matters so as to increase the political and ideological preparedness of the masses constantly and encourage the masses of the people to volunteer for revolutionary tasks. When undertaking a revolutionary task, senior officials should, above all, explain the Party's aim with regard to the



task correctly, bring it home to the masses and see that they collectively discuss ways and means for the implementation of the Party policy and persist in carrying it out with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm.

In addition, more direct guidance must be given to subsidiary organs, and the method of guidance must be radically improved. The principal aim of guiding these organs is to help the workers there correct their shortcomings quickly and obtain good results in their work. Officials in state and economic bodies should not just issue orders and directives when they visit these organs, but should give practical assistance to their subordinates, teaching them in a kindly way, cooperating with them in solving difficult problems and helping them do their work well.

Officials of our state and economic bodies should not only equip themselves with our Party's revolutionary method of work, but should have the popular trait of always being the first to implement the laws, decisions and directives of the state, setting an example by their own conduct in all that they do and being modest, unassuming and courteous, thereby becoming models for the masses in their actions. Only then will the people really trust and follow our officials, and the bonds of kinship between the people's power and the masses will be further strengthened.

Work style is not a question of the professional ability of the officials or of their personal character; rather it is a manifestation of their ideology as expressed in their work. We should intensify ideological education for our officials so that they can rid themselves of their bureaucratic work style—the expression of surviving obsolete ideologies—and acquire a truly popular work style and the noble characteristics of infinite loyalty to the Party and the revolution and of resolutely fighting for the interests of our country and people.

While acquiring the class and mass point of view, these officials should continually improve their technical and professional levels. This is absolutely necessary if they are to do away with their bureaucratic work style and fulfil their great responsibilities to the

Party, the state and the people. All these officials must establish the revolutionary habit of studying to master economic theory and technical expertise and the practical aspects of their work.

All our state and economic officials must be revolutionaries who thoroughly defend and implement our Party's lines and policies, and devote themselves to the struggle for the interests of the people, becoming their sincere, faithful servants, deeply loved and respected by the masses of the people.

**Fifth. The Government of the Republic will consolidate the foundations of the independent national economy of the country, further improve the people's standard of living and fulfil the solemn duty of freeing the working people from tiring labour by keeping the policy of the Workers' Party of Korea for socialist industrialization and by striving to carry out the technical revolution in all fields of our national economy.**

Following the basic course for the economic development of our country in the present stage, as set by the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea, we must put the main emphasis on making effective use of the already established economic foundations through their improvement and extension and on normalizing production in all spheres, and at the same time, we must undertake new capital construction on a large scale in order to increase the economic foundations of our country further. In this way, the productive forces of our country as a whole will be further developed, and industrial production more than doubled, in a few years.

## **1. Industry**

Giving priority to the electric power and mining industries is the basic prerequisite for normalizing production in all branches of industry and for further advancing our national economy. We shall

develop our power and mining industries rapidly to satisfy the demands of our national economy for raw materials, fuel and power.

In developing the power industry, we shall follow the policy of combining the construction of hydroelectric power stations and thermal power stations and of constructing large, medium and small-scale power stations at the same time. Making use of the rich water and coal resources of our country, we should accelerate the construction of large-scale hydroelectric and thermal power plants and build many medium and small-scale hydroelectric power stations and factory thermal power stations everywhere, thus further reinforcing the country's power base. In this way, seasonal fluctuations in power production caused by natural conditions should be done away with entirely, and it should be possible to increase production steadily in all branches of the national economy, unhampered by a limited power supply.

In developing the mining industry, it is important to adhere to three principles: give preference to geological prospecting work, carry out the technical revolution and effectively promote scientific research work.

The ranks of our prospectors should be increased and their technical equipment augmented in order to develop preliminary prospecting and, in particular, detailed and service prospecting radically; and the tempo and efficiency of prospecting work has to be stepped up through the comprehensive introduction of advanced prospecting methods.

It is absolutely necessary that we promote the technical revolution energetically in the mining industry, where much of the work is more difficult and exhausting than in any other branch of the national economy. In coal and ore mines, we should work hard to introduce the mechanization and automation of drilling, hauling and all other arduous, labour-consuming operations. We should also introduce advanced mining methods extensively and, in particular, undertake open-cast mining on a large scale.

Meanwhile, scientific research work has to be carried out more efficiently in all sectors of the mining industry—surveys of

underground resources and studies on their proper exploitation, research on the enhancement of the technical equipment and the improvement of mining methods, studies on the comprehensive processing of ore and so on.

We have to keep the mining industry well ahead of the development of the processing industries and further consolidate our country's raw material and fuel bases by carrying through our Party's line.

The development of the metal industry—and particularly the steel industry—is a major criterion of the level of industrialization of a country and its economic power. In our country, with its inexhaustible resources of iron ore, the steel industry is one of our most promising industrial branches. We must meet the steel requirement set in the Seven-Year Plan by concentrating our efforts on developing ferrous metallurgy.

Our capacity for processing raw materials and products will be augmented, auxiliary facilities will be improved and advanced technical processes, including oxygen-blast blow, will be extensively introduced in our existing iron and steel works to raise the production capacity of our metallurgical installations as much as possible. At the same time, reconstruction and expansion projects will be carried out in our metallurgical plants, including the building of new steel and rolling shops in the Kim Chaek Iron Works, to expand and consolidate the bases of our country's metal industry.

With the development of technology, the demand for higher-quality steel in greater varieties is rising steadily. We should sharply increase the kinds of steel we produce, and develop the production of alloy steels. Greater attention will be paid to increasing the kinds and gauges of rolled steel and, in particular, to developing the production of thin plate and cold-rolled products and raising the output of second-stage processing.

An especially important task for this industry in the present stage is to introduce the use of locally-produced fuel on a large scale so as to consolidate the independence of this branch. In order to develop our iron industry, using the anthracite coal which abounds in our country,

we should build the necessary material foundations, and, at the same time, keep promoting scientific research work for perfecting the reduced pellet process, the process of continuous steel making from granulated iron, and so on.

Nonferrous metallurgy should be developed further in order to produce greater quantities of various nonferrous metals and rare metals. The proportion of finished products should be raised in the production of nonferrous metals, through extensive rolling, and work should be energetically carried forward to build up the base of our light metal production.

The engineering industry is the core of heavy industry and is the basis for the development of all branches of the national economy and for technical progress. Without advancing the engineering industry, we cannot hope for the development of our heavy and light industries and agriculture, nor can we perform the tasks of easing the strain on transport and increasing our defence capabilities satisfactorily. It can be said that, in carrying out the task of building up our economy and national defences in parallel set forth at the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea, or in fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan as a whole, everything depends, in the long run, on the development of our engineering industry.

Our country has abundant sources of the ferrous and nonferrous metals needed for the development of the engineering industry and has solid metallurgical bases, as well. We should turn these favourable conditions to good account and speed up the development of our engineering industry, thus bringing about the industrialization of the country and overall technical improvements in our national economy through our own efforts.

The efficient and economical machinery and equipment that are needed in the mining, metal, chemical, light and fishing industries, in agriculture, transport and all other branches of the national economy have to be produced in larger quantities by expanding and fully equipping our existing machine plants as soon as possible, building up many medium and small-sized machine factories and promoting

specialization and cooperation in production.

In view of the future needs of the development of our national economy, the major equipment production bases for manufacturing large excavators, heavy-duty trucks, large tractors, large vessels, large machine tools, and so on, should be further expanded and strengthened and solid production bases should be built up for turning out high-speed precision machines, thereby raising our engineering industry to a higher level.

The extensive use of chemistry in all fields of the national economy is a major trend in the development of science and technology in recent times and a powerful factor in accelerating the development of the productive forces. By continuously directing great efforts to the development of the chemical industry, we should further expand and consolidate our raw material bases for light industry, and promote the greater use of chemicals in agriculture in order to increase production and lighten the toil of the farmers.

A firm foundation has been laid in our country for developing the chemical industry with local raw materials. Following from this, we ought to develop the inorganic and organic chemical industries and create such new branches as petroleum processing and synthetic rubber industries to develop and diversify the chemical industry in our country even further.

In the chemical industry, the output and quality of chemical fibres must be raised; new kinds of chemical fibres should be manufactured and the production of vinyl chloride and various other synthetic resins must be increased. As well as nitrogen fertilizer, phosphorus and potassic fertilizer should be produced using domestic raw materials, and weed killers and various other agricultural chemicals should be produced and supplied in great quantities. At the same time, we should increase our efforts to produce the raw and other materials necessary for the building-materials industry, synthetic chemicals and various other new chemical products which are needed for the economic development of the country and the improvement of our people's standard of living.

The huge task of capital construction facing us in the parallel building up of our economy and national defences and in the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan, cannot be carried out successfully without increasing the production of building materials.

In the building-materials industry, the production of cement, metal and chemical building materials should be developed on a large scale. In developing this industry, we shall implement the Party's line of improving and expanding the existing building-materials factories and combining this with the construction of new building-materials factories, and of simultaneously developing our large-scale central building-materials industry and our medium and small-scale, local building-materials industry.

In forestry, we must introduce the rotation cutting method to increase timber production and, at the same time, raise the rate of sawmill lumber output and the production of wood shavings and fibreboard to use timber comprehensively and efficiently, thus easing our country's shortage of timber.

We should pay particular attention to the development of light industry and achieve marked progress in the production of consumer goods in a few years.

The central tasks of light industry are those of raising the quality of consumer goods, increasing their variety and lowering their production costs. We should raise the quality of consumer goods to meet world standards as quickly as we can by increasing our workers' sense of responsibility in the field of light industry, perfecting the production processes, strictly observing technical procedure and standard operation regulations and raising the technical knowledge and skills of the producers. We must improve the quality of fabrics and increase their variety, and further develop the production of consumer goods and foodstuffs. At the same time, we have to produce greater quantities of different kinds of inexpensive consumer goods by working hard to reduce production costs in light industry.

For our country, bounded by the sea on three sides, the efficient development and exploitation of marine resources is of great

importance in promoting the well-being of the people.

We must increase our catch of fish by improving the material-technical foundations of the fishing industry, making wide use of advanced fishing methods and developing inshore and deep-sea fishing on a large scale. As well as increasing our catch, we must also improve fish-processing drastically. We should work hard to process all the fish we catch without any waste and raise the quality of processed fish by eliminating backward methods and widely introducing refrigeration, canning and other up-to-date methods of fish processing.

In order to achieve a normalization of production and a rapid advance of the national economy, the strain on transport must first be eased.

We should continue to direct great efforts towards developing transport—particularly railway transport. The electrification of the railways must be tackled energetically and largely completed within a few years, and diesel engines ought to be introduced in some sections, to increase rail haulage capacity by a considerable amount. The production of electric locomotives, goods wagons and passenger coaches should be further expanded. Maximum use must be made of the existing railway lines and, at the same time, new lines have to be built, with a view to satisfying our fast-growing demands for transport.

At the same time, river and ocean transport should be improved and automotive transport should continue to be expanded and developed.

## **2. Agriculture**

In agriculture, all our efforts should be concentrated on giving effect to the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

First of all, the technical revolution has to be carried out in the countryside to ease the labour of the farmers and increase agricultural production.

To expand and consolidate the successes already scored in



irrigation, we must improve and make more effective use of the existing irrigation facilities and, at the same time, continue to undertake irrigation construction, afforestation and water conservation projects on a wide scale. Afforestation and water conservation projects should be well executed after adequate surveys have been made and designs worked out in detail.

For the speedy mechanization of agriculture, various kinds of trailer implements and spare parts should be manufactured so that sufficient supplies are made available, and repair and maintenance work on farm machinery must be improved.

We should introduce the use of agricultural chemicals on a wide scale, while continuing to work on irrigation and mechanization in the country areas. A scientific system of fertilizing must be established according to soil conditions and the special characteristics of the crops in order to raise the effectiveness of chemical fertilizer, and crops should be thoroughly protected from all damage by blight and harmful insects through the effective applications of agricultural chemicals. In particular, the tendency to concentrate on nitrogen fertilizer alone should be discarded, and we should produce phosphorous, potassic and microelement fertilizers for ourselves and supply them in large quantities to raise the per-unit-area yields markedly. At the same time, weed killers and other highly effective agricultural chemicals should be produced and applied in quantity.

Without electrification in the rural areas, it is impossible to carry out irrigation and mechanization successfully or modernize the farm villages. In accordance with the line of our Party and the Government of the Republic for electrification, electricity has already been installed in 98.2 per cent of all the rural ri and 86.1 per cent of all the farmhouses in our country. Only distant, isolated houses in the mountain areas have yet to be supplied with electricity. While concentrating the scattered farmhouses together as much as possible, we must carry on with our programme to supply electricity to all our villages and farmhouses within a few years.

In order to carry out the huge tasks of the technical revolution in the

countryside successfully, productive construction should be undertaken on a large scale.

For this purpose, the size and direction of capital investment should be correctly fixed according to the individual needs of each farm village. In construction, designing should be done ahead of other work, and its quality must be improved. Building work should be done meticulously.

While productive construction is going ahead, many new modern houses should be built and older ones rebuilt on modern lines in country areas. In this way the straw-thatched houses, our rural inheritance of backwardness and poverty through the ages, will be completely eliminated in the next few years.

We must adopt all these economic and technical measures for the speedy development of all sectors of agricultural production—grain growing, cultivation of industrial crops and vegetables and so on.

While giving priority to boosting grain output, great attention should also be paid to the development of stockbreeding. A great deal of hard work must be done to consolidate its existing foundations and put stockbreeding on a modern basis so that our backwardness in this field—a vestige of the past—can be eliminated and the output of animal products be greatly increased. The most important task in developing stockbreeding is to create dependable fodder bases. To achieve this, double cropping should be introduced extensively in rice paddies and dry fields and, in addition, high-yield fodder crops should be widely cultivated and mixed feed factories built in many places. Measures should be taken to introduce a system of breeding high-quality pedigreed stock, and the care of the animals must be improved so that the productivity of our livestock can be raised and the production costs of animal products systematically lowered.

In our country, nearly 80 per cent of whose area is mountainous, large-scale fruit growing using the mountains is of great importance for the development of the national economy and for raising our people's living standards.

We should set greater store by the 133,000-odd hectares of orchards

and 100,000 hectares of chestnut groves we already have, and take good care of them so that all of them will be productive, thus markedly increasing the output of fruit and chestnuts. Also, in keeping with the decision of the Pukchong Enlarged Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the work of planting orchards should be continued, and the total area under fruit trees be increased to 200,000 hectares in the next few years in order to supply the people with delicious fruit in greater quantity. Forceful measures should also be taken for storing and processing the fruit as the output increases from year to year.

### **3. The people's living conditions**

Interest in promoting the people's well-being is the supreme principle governing the activities of the Government of the Republic. Our battle to build socialism and communism is aimed, in the final analysis, at fully satisfying the material and cultural demands of all our people and providing them with a rich and cultured life.

The source of the continuing increase in the well-being of the working people lies in the systematic growth of the national income.

The Government of the Republic will do everything possible to increase the national income substantially, by rapidly developing industry, agriculture and all other branches of the national economy. At the same time, great attention will be given to the proper distribution of the national income on the principle of rationally adjusting the balance between accumulation and consumption and raising the people's standard of living markedly while ensuring a high rate of expanded reproduction and the successful building up of our defences.

In the future, we shall take the necessary measures to raise the monetary payments and real incomes of the working people on the basis of increased socialist production and labour productivity.

The Government of the Republic will make greater state investments in various social and cultural services in order to satisfy

the demands of all the working people more fully.

In particular, close attention will be paid to improving trade and the public health services in order to raise the general living standards of the people.

Commerce is the supply service of the working people in our country and an important means of meeting their material and cultural needs.

In the field of trade, greater quantities of foodstuffs, clothes and various articles which make up cultural needs should be supplied to the working people and, in particular, the sales of winter goods should be greatly increased.

To improve commodity supply, commercial networks must be properly distributed and further expanded, trading facilities have to be modernized and commodities be distributed properly to meet the demands of the different regions and social groups according to the season of the year. Trade should be better organized and a better service must be provided by greater efficiency in packaging and delivery, night sales and sales made on the road.

The number of restaurants of various kinds ought to be increased and the quality of public catering improved, offering greater convenience to the working people in their everyday life. Service establishments should be increased in number and so furnished as to give better service to the working people. In this way, conditions will be provided to make it possible for large numbers of housewives to participate in social labour and thus working-classize and revolutionize themselves.

In our system, nothing is more precious than the people. We have to develop our public health services to protect the lives of the people and promote the health of the working people.

In the public health sector, more hospitals and clinics should be built and many medical workers assigned to them, and our doctors' qualifications should be raised considerably so as to continue improving medical services for the working people. The policy on preventive medicine must be firmly maintained and work in hygiene

and in the prevention of epidemics must be carried out regularly in urban and rural areas. Attention should also be given to the development of traditional Korean medicine as well as modern medicine, and to the development of the theory of folk medicine. The production of medicines should be improved so as to increase the variety of synthetic pharmaceutical products and boost the production of antibiotics.

#### **4. Labour administration**

The working masses are the makers of history. Socialism and communism can be built only by the creative labour of the working millions. The labour force is the most active and important factor in production. Technology is developed by man, and machines are made and operated by man. All the material and cultural wealth of the world, precious and fine, is created by the labour of the working people.

We can say that whether or not we can build socialism and communism faster and better depends, in the long run, on how we bring the creative ability and talents of the working people into play, how we organize and use social labour and how speedily we raise labour productivity.

The improvement of labour administration is a very important task throughout the course of socialist construction.

It involves a problem of particular importance in our country.

Under present conditions, where arable land is scarce, intensive farming methods should be employed in order to keep agriculture in step with our developing industry, and because of the special characteristics of our agricultural production, it will take a long time to complete the mechanization of agriculture. We do not, therefore, have a large rural population which can be enlisted in industry, as other countries do, even after the mechanization of agriculture has been carried out.

Furthermore, because we have to continue with our high level of economic construction while constantly increasing our defence

capabilities, in direct confrontation with the US imperialists, the ringleader of world reaction, we must exercise maximum economy in using the labour resources of our country and use them sensibly if we are to successfully carry out the political and military tasks which face us and continue accelerating our socialist construction.

At present, the improvement in labour administration is one of the most important ways to implement our Party's line of building up our economy and national defences in parallel and to promote defence construction, while at the same time successfully carrying out the gigantic tasks of the Seven-Year Plan.

It is of primary importance in improving labour administration constantly to increase the politico-ideological consciousness of the working masses and lead them to display their labour enthusiasm and creative activity to the full in socialist construction.

Work is not only the sacred duty of every citizen but also the most honourable contribution to the good of the state and society. Love of work is one of the most important traits of the new man in socialist and communist society. We must cultivate respect for and love of work among the working people, so that they will feel repugnance for the idea of being idle or shying away from work as an exploiter-class idea, and participate in collective labour with the responsibility of masters, for the sake of the collective and society, and for their own happiness.

The most important task in labour administration at present is to ensure the full use of the 480-minute workday, doing away with all wastage of labour.

In socialist production in which cooperative production and the division of labour are highly developed and which grows steadily on the basis of advanced techniques, the 480-minute workday can be fully utilized only when each production unit and each worker observes established discipline to the letter. We must understand that the eight-hour workday is established by a state regulation under the Labour Law, which no one is allowed to violate, and we must strenuously combat any practices which lead to the slightest waste of manpower or violation of work discipline, making the best possible use of every

minute and every second and doing our utmost to attain maximum productivity within working hours.

Moreover, to eliminate wastage of labour and ensure the full use of the 480-minute workday, fluctuations in production should be eliminated and work stoppages be kept to a minimum by providing our working people with good working conditions in factories and enterprises. In all fields of our national economy, in all enterprises, the production of raw and other materials and semi-finished goods should be given priority over other work, and cooperative production should be correctly organized so as to ensure that all the participating units observe strict discipline in the fulfilment of contracts. To ensure a regular supply of raw and other materials, detailed planning should be carried out and a materials supply system must be established according to which senior organs take responsibility for delivering materials to the subordinate units, in keeping with the Tsaen work system. In addition, top priority should be given to technical preparations in all factories and enterprises.

Primary attention in labour administration must be given to promoting the technical innovation movement. Technical innovations are the most important factor in easing our present manpower shortage and raising per-capita output rapidly. In all branches and all units, awe of and inactivity towards technology should be done away with completely and the technical innovation movement be extensively promoted, so as to save every single man-day of work possible and produce more with less expenditure of labour.

To improve labour administration, it is also important to maintain a proper manpower balance between the productive and nonproductive branches and between the basic and auxiliary sectors of production within the productive branches and to allocate our working people sensibly.

Under socialism, balanced distribution of all the working people among the productive and nonproductive branches is of great importance in expediting socialist construction and the development of the national economy as a whole. The more working people there are in

the productive branches, the more goods will be manufactured by heavy and light industry and agriculture—goods which are needed for economic and defence construction and for the people's consumption—thus making it possible to raise output per head of the population, steadily increase state accumulation and promote the people's well-being. In the distribution of manpower, therefore, it is important to give priority to expanding the number of employees in the productive branches while, at the same time, fixing the number of workers in the nonproductive branches according to the level of economic development. In future we must also continue to adhere firmly to this principle in distributing the labour resources of the country on a rational basis.

In order to do this, the proportion of manpower in the indirectly productive branches should also be lowered and that in the basic productive sectors, especially the directly productive branches, should be resolutely raised.

Whilst this is being done, the officials in our labour administration bodies should pay particular attention to allocating manpower correctly, taking into account the sexes, ages, physical conditions, and the technical skills of the working people, so that all may make the greatest use of their abilities.

Implementing the socialist principle of distribution correctly, while constantly raising the politico-ideological consciousness of the masses, is an important factor in ensuring the further development of socialist production. In socialism, the development of the productive forces has not yet attained a level where distribution can be carried out according to need; fundamental differences remain between different kinds of labour, and the working people have not yet completely eradicated the vestiges of outmoded ideologies. Under these circumstances, it is only through the correct implementation of the principle of distribution according to work done that we can eliminate the outdated idea of trying to live off the work of others, stimulate the working people's enthusiasm to raise production and raise their technical knowledge and skill, and thus promote the development of



the productive forces. The necessary measures should be taken in all branches and units of the national economy to distribute shares fairly, according to the quantity and quality of work performed.

We must act positively to improve manpower planning. This is the basis for the rational organization and effective use of the labour force; good manpower planning, therefore, is fundamental to the improvement of labour administration. The senior officials in state and economic bodies must improve their manpower planning so as to make the best possible use of the manpower resources of the country, distribute the labour force sensibly and raise labour productivity.

The Government of the Republic will further strengthen the economic power of the country and its economic independence and raise the people's standard of living radically by carrying out all these tasks of socialist economic construction in full.

**Sixth. The Government of the Republic, firmly following the Juche idea of the Workers' Party of Korea, will continue to work determinedly to improve the development of the country's science and technology and build a socialist culture.**

The fulfilment of the all-round technical revolution, which is the most important central task for socialist economic construction in our country at the present stage, urgently calls for the thoroughgoing advancement of science and technology.

We must make a determined effort to conquer science and make significant progress in this field, which will enable us to carry out immediate technical reconstruction in all sectors of the national economy.

The fundamental question in scientific research is to keep developing science and technology in the direction required by our Party and our revolution, holding fast to the Juche stand. Only when Juche is firmly established in scientific research is it possible to bring the creativity and talents of scientists into full play so as to accelerate

the progress of science and technology and develop our economy more rapidly by relying on our country's resources and our own technology. Scientists and technicians should concentrate their efforts on research work designed to promote industrial production using domestic raw materials, look for those raw materials which are scarce in our country and produce substitutes for the ones we lack, and they must expedite the technical revolution in keeping with prevailing conditions so as to relieve the working people of arduous toil as soon as possible.

While solving for ourselves those scientific and technical problems which are vital to us, we should also consider the scientific and technological achievements and experiences of other countries with a view to adapting them to the existing conditions of economic development of our country.

The immediate task confronting our scientists and technicians is to find solutions to the problems which arise in connection with making the fullest use of our existing economic foundations while, at the same time, constantly exploring those new realms of science and technology which have a bearing on the future tasks for the development of our national economy.

The rapid development of technology, particularly mechanical engineering and electronics, is most important at present.

Unless we develop mechanical engineering, we cannot carry out the task of building up-to-date factories or turning out machinery and equipment of the latest types, the task of increasing the capacities of our existing factories and equipment, or the task of rapidly introducing the achievements of scientific research in our national economy. We must concentrate our scientific forces on developing mechanical engineering to set this branch of science on its feet as soon as possible.

In view of the technical revolution and of the prospects for the development of the national economy, it is a matter of pressing urgency that we develop electronics. The importance of electronics and its uses continue to grow, and its sphere of application is constantly expanding as science and technology develop and automation is introduced widely in all fields of the national economy.

We must intensify research in all branches of electronics.

Scientists and technicians should also pay close attention to the development of chemistry, biology, agricultural science, forestry and oceanography in order to tap and use the natural resources of our country effectively and gain dominion over nature successfully.

For great success in scientific research, contact and cooperation should be strengthened between scientists and scientific research organizations, and creative collaboration promoted between scientists and producers. Also, instead of taking up new ones at random, efforts should be focussed on the solution of those problems which are urgent and important for the national economy and those on which research work has already been begun or has not yet been completed, thereby solving one problem at a time by completing them in order.

To increase the development of our country's science and technology, the qualifications of those who are engaged in this field must be determinedly raised. All our scientists and technicians should study hard to become workers who have a good understanding of scientific theory and a wealth of practical experience and are familiar with the trends in the development of modern science and technology, to become able workers who can skilfully solve scientific and technical problems as they arise in practice.

We will see to it that scientific research centres are improved and that better conditions are provided for successful scientific research.

In the building of socialist culture, it is important to make education available to all the working people and raise their general cultural and technical standards to a higher level.

The most important task confronting us in this field is to provide compulsory nine-year technical education. By carrying this out efficiently, we ought to bring the training of our technical personnel into step with the rapid pace of development of our country's productive forces and the technical revolution.

In addition to our regular full-time educational system, our system of studying while working has to be developed further so that all the working people will be provided with better conditions for learning.

Success in the education of the younger generation and the training of cadres depends largely on the role of the teachers who are directly engaged in this work. Our teachers must acquire the habit of studying and positively increase their knowledge of political theory, and of their own subjects, so that the quality of teaching and training can be improved. At the same time, the entire state, all of society, must take an interest in consolidating the material foundations of our educational establishments properly, so as to improve education.

We must continue to work for the development of socialist literature and art, upholding the literary and art policy of the Party. Workers in this field must make a better contribution to the working-classization and revolutionization of the whole of society by creating many revolutionary works representing the glorious anti-Japanese armed struggle, and the great present-day struggle of our people, who are heirs to that tradition, and the seething activity in our country today.

**Seventh. The Government of the Republic will do all in its power to increase the defence capabilities of our country and build up the nationwide, all-people defence system, so as to meet the prevailing situation.**

One of the basic functions of a socialist state is to keep increasing its defence capabilities while going ahead with economic construction. The imperialists continue to perpetrate acts of aggression and plunder and, as long as imperialism exists, the threat of war will not disappear. Under these circumstances, we can only protect the gains of the revolution against imperialist aggression and preserve the security of our people by reinforcing our defence power and being ready for action at all times.

Increasing our defence capabilities is an urgent task for us, particularly in view of our present national situation—our territory is divided and we are building socialism in direct confrontation with the

aggressive forces of US imperialism.

Since the first days of their occupation of south Korea, the US imperialists have pursued the sinister aim of committing aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia and have completely converted south Korea into a military base for aggression. They have stationed tens of thousands of their aggressor troops there and maintain a huge puppet army of more than 600,000 men at all times.

In recent years, the US imperialists have taken the course of intensifying their war preparations in south Korea. To carry out their war policy there, they are reinforcing the puppet armed forces and keep bringing tactical nuclear weapons, guided missiles and other weapons of mass destruction into south Korea, as well as military vessels, aircraft and other combat equipment. They have set up a system of wartime mobilization aimed at driving the innocent south Korean people into an aggressive war and perpetrate frequent provocations against the northern half of Korea along the Military Demarcation Line, in flagrant violation of the Armistice Agreement.

In an attempt to make better use of south Korea in their Asian aggression, the US imperialists are planning to align the south Korean puppets militarily with the Japanese and other reactionaries in Asia and are working feverishly to establish a new military alliance in Asia, using the “south Korea-Japan treaty” as bait. They are trying to unleash another war in Korea, using south Korea as an advance base and the forces of Japanese militarism as “shock troops”, and to mobilize the south Korean armed forces easily for their war of aggression in Asia. The US imperialists have already dragged south Korean puppet troops into the aggressive war against Viet Nam, and the traitorous Park Chung Hee clique sent more troops than any other vassal country to the battlefields of South Viet Nam, making them arrive first there.

The situation is becoming more strained and the danger of war becomes ever greater in our country and throughout Asia.

The prevailing situation requires that we make our country's defences as strong as steel and that we make full military preparations for any surprise attack by the enemy.

National defence means defending the socialist gains of our people and our revolutionary base; it is the most sacred duty and honourable task of all our people. The People's Army should serve the country and the people, and all the people should love and aid the People's Army; our soldiers and the people should develop the traditional spirit of unity between them, and, in case of emergency, should unite in a body as true revolutionary comrades and fight with single-hearted devotion, to safeguard our country and our socialist gains, sharing life and death, joys and sorrows.

Our people and the men and officers of the People's Army must never be lulled into a pacifist mood but should remain ever watchful and alert, maintaining the sharpest revolutionary vigilance, and they should be ready to meet and fight the enemy bravely without the slightest panic, no matter when he may launch a sneak-attack.

To make our defences invincible, the People's Army must follow the policy of turning the whole army into a cadre army and making the whole army a modern army, and the people should implement the policy of arming all our people and fortifying the whole country, thoroughly, in keeping with the military line of the Party.

We have to temper the ranks of the People's Army politically and ideologically, and train them in military technique and prepare all the men and officers for the duties of higher-ranking commanders, thereby further increasing its fighting efficiency and enabling all our people to fight with the standing forces of the People's Army as the core in case of emergency.

The People's Army has to be armed with up-to-date weapons and other combat and technical equipment, and our military science and technology should be rapidly improved to meet the demands of modern warfare. Combat training should be intensified for all our soldiers so that they will be completely familiar with their weapons and will master modern military science and technology.

In this way, our People's Army should be built up into a revolutionary force with the indefatigable spirit of fighting through fire and water for the Party, the working class, our country and people, into

an iron force each member of which is a match for a hundred, fully capable of frustrating any reckless adventure the enemy might undertake.

The arming of all our people and the fortification of the entire country constitute the most powerful defence system, based on the unshakable political and ideological unity of all the people and on the solid foundations of our country's independent economy. We must arm the workers, peasants and all other people so that they can intensify their efforts in socialist construction while defending our country, with a hammer or a sickle in one hand and a rifle in the other, and that, in case of emergency, they may not only continue with production but also fight well. At the same time, we should build impregnable defence installations in all parts of the country and turn the whole country into a fortress so that we can repel the enemy with one blow, no matter when or where he may attack us.

All this is aimed at giving practical expression to our Party's line of self-defence in national defence. Only by doing so can we crush the enemy's constant subversive activities at every step, and smash armed invasion in any form.

**Eighth. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, while continuing to hold fast to the line of building an independent national economy by enlisting its own potentials and domestic resources to the fullest under the banner of self-reliance, will also establish economic relations and develop trade with other countries, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, complete equality and mutual benefit.**

The development of an independent, comprehensive economy in our country through our own efforts does not imply that we reject international economic ties or that we produce everything we need for ourselves. Each country differs from every other in its natural and economic conditions, in the levels of development of its productive

forces and science and technology at a given stage, and, accordingly, in the variety and quantity of raw materials and products which it manufactures. Under these circumstances, each country should produce the essentials and those products which are in great demand, and obtain, through trade with foreign countries, those things for which there is little demand or which are in short supply, or which cannot be produced at home, on the principle of meeting each other's needs.

In developing our foreign trade we attach primary importance to the world socialist market.

As is well known, the world socialist market came into being as an economic consequence of the emergence of socialism beyond the boundaries of a single country and its transformation into a world system after World War II, when our country and a number of others broke away from the capitalist system.

The formation of the world socialist market promoted economic and technical exchanges between the socialist countries, thereby making a great contribution to the development of the national economy, the building of the material and technical foundations of socialism and the improvement of the people's living conditions in each of those countries. This made it possible to frustrate the sinister designs of the US-led imperialist powers of the world to establish an economic blockade around the socialist countries, impede their economic development and, further, strangle the world socialist economic system.

The socialist market provides favourable conditions not only for the socialist countries but also for the newly independent states to meet each other's needs for the development of their own national economies. Unlike the capitalist market, in which the economic law of taking monopolistic high profits through unequal exchange and the plunder of backward countries holds sway, the socialist market enables the newly independent states to sell their surplus industrial goods and farm produce and purchase foreign industrial equipment, raw materials and other supplies essential to the development of their economies, on the principle of complete equality and mutual benefit.



In this way, economically backward countries are no longer held in bondage to the capitalist market, where they were mercilessly robbed of their natural resources and the priceless fruits of their people's labour; now they can follow the path of economic independence, casting off the economic yoke of imperialism.

The formation of the socialist market dealt a serious blow to the imperialist monopolies and the multi-millionaires who had held a stranglehold on the world economy through their vast market; in particular, it completely shattered the expansionist policy of US imperialism, the ringleader of modern imperialism, which had sought to monopolize overseas markets, plunder the world of its raw material resources at will and dominate the world; and it aggravated the general economic crisis of the imperialist powers.

If all socialist countries, meeting each other's economic needs, consolidate and develop the socialist market, the development of the national economy of each socialist country will be further promoted and more favourable conditions will be created for the economic independence of the newly independent states. In addition, the capitalist market can be driven into an unstable position and the general crisis of the world capitalist economic system be aggravated even more.

Needless to say, consolidating and developing the socialist market and strengthening and developing economic ties among the socialist countries do not mean that the socialist countries should not establish economic relations with capitalist countries.

We shall develop the relations of trade and commercial exchange with all countries which have different social systems if they respect our sovereignty and want to have economic ties with us. The economic business relations of socialist countries with capitalist countries, however, should always be of secondary importance in foreign trade and should not be made the basis of their economic relations with foreign countries. Our first concern should be that of promoting economic and technical exchanges with the fraternal countries and consolidating and developing the socialist market.

In consolidating and developing the socialist market it is most important that each fraternal country, on the basis of its political interest in the victory of the common cause of building socialism and communism against imperialism and colonialism, displays the lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism and totally renounces hidebound national selfishness in mutual economic relations. The developed socialist countries, in particular, should give more material assistance—with no political strings attached and with no selfish motives behind it—to the economically backward countries which aspire to socialism, against imperialism. In this way, conditions should be created for these countries to be able not only to frustrate the economic blockade of the imperialist powers successfully but also to have fewer transactions with the capitalist market, relying on the socialist market. In our foreign trade relations, as in all else, we must never depart from our class stand or neglect communist ethics and comradesly obligation.

We will do everything possible to promote close economic ties with the brother countries and consolidate and develop the world socialist market for the victory of the common cause of building socialism and communism, against imperialism, for the unity of national and international interests in revolution and construction.

While developing economic ties with other socialist countries on a preferential basis, the Government of the Republic will endeavour to establish economic relations and develop commercial exchanges with the newly independent states of Asia and Africa which have broken the chains of imperialism and achieved political independence, on the principle of complete equality and mutual benefit.

The peoples of many newly independent states who have gained political freedom are now faced with urgent tasks of eradicating the aftereffects of the colonial rule of imperialism, of building an independent national economy, and of improving their living standards radically.

However, the imperialists are working to bring these states under the yoke of neocolonialism, the old colonialism in a new guise, in order

to dominate the peoples of the liberated countries again. The imperialists pursue a policy of enslaving other countries economically by offering “aid” as bait and, further, of riding roughshod over the sovereignty of those countries. The “European Common Market”, the “integration of the world economy” and the like, loudly advertised by the imperialist powers today, all pursue the heinous, aggressive aims of strangling the economic independence of the newly independent states and subordinating these countries to their rule.

By developing economic relations with the newly independent states on the principle of meeting each other’s needs without any political or economic strings attached, we should sincerely help them secure complete political and economic independence from the imperialists and assist their peoples in achieving national prosperity.

**Ninth. The Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea will actively fight to defend the interests and national rights of all the Korean compatriots abroad.**

In the past, as a result of the occupation of Korea by the Japanese imperialists, large numbers of our fellow countrymen left their homeland and wandered abroad. As a people without a country, they were subjected to chauvinistic discrimination and all kinds of humiliations, were deprived of all their rights and suffered from extreme hardships in strange lands for a long time.

Today, however, as proud overseas citizens of their beloved motherland, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, they have boundless confidence and pride in their nation, and foresee their happy future in the prosperity and development of the Republic. The overseas citizens of Korea support all the policies of the Republic and are working positively to perform their duties as citizens of the Republic.

Our 600,000 Korean compatriots in Japan, solidly united around the Workers’ Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, and guided by the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, are

now fighting bravely for their democratic, national rights against the unwarranted, chauvinistic persecution and contempt to which they are subjected by the Japanese authorities; and they are keeping up a staunch struggle for the reunification of their country and the prosperity of the nation.

At present, there is a widespread movement among our fellow countrymen in Japan to continue their repatriation. To return to their homeland is a legitimate national right of the Korean citizens in Japan, which no one is allowed to violate; there are still large numbers of them who want to come back to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is their homeland.

Nevertheless, the Japanese authorities have deliberately placed obstacles in the way of the repatriation of the Korean citizens in Japan and are taking measures to interrupt it, in gross violation of international law, international practice and humanitarian principles. This is proof that the Japanese government is trampling on the democratic, national rights of the Korean citizens in Japan and is openly defying impartial public opinion in Japan and throughout the world.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and all the Korean people resolutely denounce the unjustified attempts of the Japanese authorities to frustrate the repatriation of the Korean citizens in Japan.

The Government of the Republic maintains that Korean citizens in Japan should be fully guaranteed freedom of travel to their homeland and of democratic, national education and all other democratic, national rights. We demand that the Japanese government should treat and protect the Korean citizens in Japan as foreign residents and cease all its acts of persecution and repression against them immediately.

No repression and persecution by the Japanese authorities can ever halt the just struggle of the Korean citizens in Japan for their democratic, national rights and for the reunification of their country. The constantly intensified persecution and repression of the Korean citizens in Japan by the Japanese authorities will only arouse still

greater national indignation on the part of all the Korean people, and, sooner or later, an end will be put to this injustice.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers it a sacred duty to protect our 600,000 Korean compatriots in Japan and all other Korean citizens overseas, and defend their national rights. We will continue to fight doggedly against any unjustified acts of infringing on the national rights of the Korean citizens overseas, humiliating and persecuting them, and will always resolutely support and encourage our overseas compatriots in their just struggle.

**Tenth. Ever since the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we have consistently affirmed that we shall promote friendly relations with all countries which oppose imperialist aggression, respect the freedom and independence of our people and desire to establish diplomatic relations with our country on an equal footing, and in future, we shall continue to hold fast to this principle in our foreign policy.**

The foreign policy of the Government of the Republic is derived from the nature of our state and social system free from all exploitation and oppression, and reflects the noble aspiration of our people to ensure peace, democracy, national independence and the victory of the common cause of socialism. Our independent, principled foreign policy is supported by an increasing number of countries in the world and has consolidated the international position of our country as never before.

Today our country maintains friendly relations with the fraternal socialist nations and scores of other countries in the world. Since 1962, alone, when the third Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was formed, our country has established diplomatic relations with many countries in Asia and Africa, and our friendly relations with these countries are developing steadily. Economic and cultural exchanges between our country and other countries have also been

further expanded and developed. Our country now maintains trade and cultural relations with many countries. Mutual exchanges are daily becoming more active between a large number of peace-loving peoples of the world and our people, and our friendly ties with them are expanding further. We have thus many revolutionary comrades and friends in all parts of the world, and international solidarity with our revolution continues to strengthen.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people will continue to strengthen and develop these relations of friendship with foreign countries and strive to make more friends throughout the world.

The international situation confronting our revolution is very complex and tense today.

The US-led imperialists continue to carry out invasions and subversive activities against the socialist and newly independent countries. They are brutally suppressing the liberation struggles of the peoples of Asian, African and Latin-American countries, and disturbing the peace and threatening the security of the peoples throughout the world.

US imperialism is the chief enemy of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. It is disintegrating, but, far from giving up its aggressive ambitions, it is revealing its piratical nature more brazenly than ever.

The basic strategy of the US imperialists for aggression against the socialist countries and the progressive countries of the world at the present stage is to swallow up, one by one, mainly the divided and small countries, while refraining from worsening their relations with the large countries and avoiding confrontation with them as far as possible. In this, the US imperialists are directing their spearhead of aggression particularly against Viet Nam and other Asian countries. These aggressive actions on the part of the US imperialists aggravate tensions in our country and all other parts of Asia to the utmost and seriously endanger peace throughout the world.

The most urgent task confronting the peoples of the socialist

countries and peace-loving peoples throughout the world today is to check and frustrate the US imperialists' policy of aggression and war. There is no use in talking about any kind of victory for the revolutionary cause or about world peace and the progress of mankind without waging an anti-US struggle.

The attitude which the socialist countries take towards US imperialism is the proof of whether they are really fighting for the development of the international revolutionary movement at the present time or not. Their attitude towards US imperialism is a touchstone which distinguishes between the revolutionary position and the opportunist position. The socialist countries should do away with all deviations in the anti-US struggle and maintain an unswerving revolutionary position against US imperialism.

To carry on a forceful campaign against US imperialism, joint anti-US action must be achieved and an anti-US united front be formed on an international scale. Division within the anti-imperialist forces only benefits the imperialists headed by the United States and harms the revolutionary peoples. All the socialist countries and anti-imperialist forces the world over should form the broadest possible anti-US united front, thoroughly isolate US imperialism and strike a united blow against it in all areas and on all fronts where US imperialism has stretched its tentacles of aggression. Only by doing this is it possible to disperse and weaken the forces of US imperialism to the maximum, destroy it everywhere and successfully smash its global strategy of defeating the socialist countries and other international revolutionary forces one by one.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people will fight resolutely against the US-led imperialist forces of aggression, and will continue to wage a stubborn fight to drive the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and accomplish the revolutionary cause of reunification of the country.

The Government of the Republic and the Korean people, regarding the strengthening of their solidarity with the international revolutionary forces opposing US imperialism as an important factor

in the victory of the Korean revolution, will unite with all the anti-imperialist, anti-US forces the world over and support and encourage the struggles of all peoples against US imperialism.

The primary task of the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle at present is to check and foil US imperialist aggression in Viet Nam and support the Vietnamese people in every way in their just war of resistance against US imperialism and for national salvation.

Viet Nam has now become the front where the anti-US struggle is fiercest. A bitter war is being waged on the very soil of indomitable Viet Nam between socialism and imperialism, between the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces of the world and the aggressive forces of US imperialism. The Vietnamese people, bearing the brunt of this struggle, are fighting valiantly not only to safeguard the independence and freedom of their country, but also to defend socialist countries and peace in Asia and the world. The heroic Vietnamese people are inflicting repeated serious military and political defeats on the US imperialist aggressors and are driving them into a corner.

On behalf of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and all the Korean people, I should like to extend, from this rostrum of the Supreme People's Assembly, warmest militant greetings to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and all the heroic people of North and South Viet Nam who have risen as one in the just war of resistance against US imperialism and for national salvation.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people consider the US imperialist aggression against Viet Nam to be an aggression against themselves and are doing everything in their power to support the fraternal Vietnamese people. The Government of the Republic and our people solemnly declare once again that we are fully prepared to fight side by side with the Vietnamese people whenever requested to do so by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We fully support the position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the



political programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation with regard to the solution of the Vietnamese question.

The socialist countries and the revolutionary peoples throughout the world have a solemn internationalist duty to defend the Cuban revolution and actively support and encourage the revolutionary struggle of the Cuban people. The triumph of the Cuban revolution and the existence of the Republic of Cuba struck a heavy blow at the US imperialists and they have a great revolutionary influence on the liberation struggles of the peoples of Latin America and the oppressed peoples of the world. Today the Republic of Cuba represents the hope and revolutionary future of the Latin-American peoples.

This is why the US imperialists stop at nothing in their nefarious attempts to stifle the Republic of Cuba and engage in constant plots of aggression against it, whipping up reactionaries in Latin America.

No manoeuvre on the part of US imperialism, however, will be able to stop the heroic Cuban people, who are advancing steadily in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle, holding aloft the banner of revolution.

The Korean people resolutely support the heroic Cuban people in their struggle to protect their revolutionary gains and build socialism under the difficult conditions of direct confrontation with US imperialism in the Western Hemisphere, and firmly denounce the US imperialists for their aggressions and all other subversive activities against the Republic of Cuba. Our people will, in the future, continue to exert every effort to strengthen their militant solidarity with the fraternal Cuban people.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people will endeavour to cement their solidarity with the peoples of all the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for freedom and national independence, and will give positive support to their liberation struggles. In particular, our people will fight in close unity with all the Asian peoples to drive the aggressive forces of US imperialism out of all parts of Asia. We shall unite solidly with all the anti-imperialist forces in Asia, including the

democratic forces in Japan, and battle stoutly against the revival of Japanese militarism, “shock troops” of the US imperialists for Asian aggression, and its aggressive acts.

The Korean people express firm solidarity with the working classes and labouring peoples of capitalist countries who are fighting against capitalist exploitation and oppression, and for their basic rights, for democracy and socialism, and offer warm support and encouragement to their revolutionary struggles. We shall always stand firm by the peoples of all countries fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress and shall work unceasingly to strengthen our solidarity with them.

Despite the frenzied efforts of the imperialists, the general international situation today continues to develop in favour of the forces of peace and socialism. The ranks of the peoples fighting against imperialism are growing ever more in Asia, Africa and Latin America and throughout the world.

Imperialism and reactionaries of all shades will eventually be destroyed, and the peoples who have risen in the anti-imperialist struggle for the just cause of revolution will certainly emerge victorious.

Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and the Korean people will, in the future, as in the past, unite with the peoples of the socialist countries, with the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and with all the progressive peoples of the world and fight on determinedly for peace, democracy, national independence and the triumph of the common cause of socialism.

Comrade deputies,

The Political Programme of the Government of the Republic embodies our Party’s idea of Juche and its revolutionary line of independence, self-sustenance and self-defence—a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to conditions in Korea.

The attainment of this political programme will turn our country into a richer, stronger and more advanced socialist nation, independent in politics and self-sustaining in the economy and self-reliant in national defence, and will ensure a still happier life for our people. It will powerfully inspire and encourage the south Korean people in their struggle against US imperialism and its stooges and afford a firm guarantee for the reunification of our country.

The Government of the Republic will carry out this political programme faithfully and thereby advance revolution and construction in our country further and fulfil the expectations which all our people and you deputies have placed in it.

All the people, upholding the policies of the Party and the Government, should advance faster, overcoming all difficulties with great uninterrupted revolutionary enthusiasm and patriotic devotion. It is the revolutionary mettle of our heroic people that they do not buckle under when faced with difficulties nor rest on their laurels, but make a continuous advance and continuous innovations for fresh victories. There will be a great new leap forward in our revolutionary struggle and work of construction as all our working people keep advancing dynamically with the speed of Chollima in order to carry out the policies of the Party and the Government.

No force on earth can stop the advance of our people, who, with the seasoned Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, hold power firmly in their hands. Our revolutionary cause is a just one, and victory is on the side of the Korean people who are fighting for justice.

Let us all march forward bravely towards the final victory of our revolution and a bright future of socialism and communism, united closely around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic.

# **ON THE TASKS OF THE CABINET IN IMPLEMENTING THE TEN-POINT POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC**

**Speech at the First Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet**

*December 18, 1967*

Today, we have the first meeting of the new Cabinet of the Republic. I wish to speak to you about some tasks of implementing the Government's political programme as published at the First Session of the Fourth Supreme People's Assembly.

If we are to implement the political programme of the Government of the Republic thoroughly, the Cabinet, ministries and ministers in particular must first eliminate bureaucratism and superficiality in their work.

A great deal has been said about the need for officials to overcome these failings, but they still persist in the work style of ministers and other officials. This is the case not only with the cadres of intellectual and working-class origin but also with experienced Party workers. Most of the ministers came from the working class and they also worked in the Party Central Committee. But, since becoming ministers, they put on airs and do not mix widely amongst the masses. They are not familiar with actual conditions at their subordinate units and work in a bureaucratic manner.

At present, ministers do not bother about the economic plan of their ministries nor do they take an active part in planning work. The

economic plan of a ministry includes the projects which should be carried out under the direct control of the minister during the year. Ministers should, therefore, participate in drafting the national economic plan, making positive suggestions and directing the planning work of the ministries in a responsible manner. But they do not take part in it with enthusiasm nor do they direct it properly.

At present, the drafting of the national economic plan in ministries is left, more often than not, to the discretion of young instructors who are fresh from university. So we can see that the plans drafted by ministries do not suit the actual conditions and, in many cases, they are passive and conservative.

This is illustrated by this year's national economic plan drafted by ministries. The plan drafted by the ministries at the beginning of this year estimated only a seven percent increase in this year's output over last year. But we can expect a 17 to 18 per cent increase, judging from the result of the implementation of the year's plan so far. This clearly shows how passive and conservative the plan was.

In order to be more successful in economic construction and the building up of our defences, all sectors should enlist available reserves and potentials to increase production.

If ministers go to production sites, hold discussions with the masses and rouse them in accordance with the Party's policy, they will be able to tap enormous reserves. Putting on an air of importance, they do not visit their subordinate units very often. Even when they visit them, they do not talk to the masses. Being negative and conservative, they even turn down workers' constructive proposals.

The Minister of Metal Industry is said to have been to the Sinphung Mine only once, and the director of the management bureau several times, since the opening of the mine. Senior officials who visit mines should have obtained a full picture of the workers' living conditions as well as difficult problems in production and ought to have taken specific measures. But they just looked around the mine once and came back after giving perfunctory instructions. That is why the Ministry of Metal Industry does not even know that valuable metal is now wasted

at the Siphung Mine because something is lacking in the intermediate process of the dressing plant.

Last year, I inspected the Changsong Mine and gave the task of building a dressing plant as soon as possible so as to increase its output because the mine had made no progress in production over the last ten years. But the former Minister of Metal Industry was so overbearing that he did not go to inspect the mine even after my inspection, but instead sent his vice-minister. At the Changsong Mine the vice-minister did not take any measure to speed up the construction of the dressing plant, but gave instructions contrary to the Party's intention, saying that the project would take at least two years and that there was no need to expedite the matter. The chief secretary of the Changsong County Party Committee said: "Why should the project drag out as long as two years when the Premier instructed that it should be constructed as soon as possible?" He suggested that it could be completed in four months and that materials like timber would be obtained by the efforts of the county. He told the vice-minister that the ministry had better provide some of the necessary machines. The Changsong Mine built the dressing plant in four months, although the Ministry of Metal Industry had estimated that it would take two years.

The bureaucratic and superficial work attitude of ministers and vice-ministers is now hampering our economic progress.

The senior officials' bureaucratic style of work finds expression also in their indifference to the men's living conditions.

Ministers do not even know that workers are not supplied with adequate amounts of vegetables and bean paste and soya sauce. They take no interest in whether the men are supplied with cooking oil or not.

If ministers pay attention to the workers' living conditions and organize work meticulously, the men will be much better off than they are now.

If senior officials help factories and enterprises to organize and manage sideline production properly, this will contribute to the provision of an adequate supply of non-staple foodstuffs to the men.

Our factories are not concentrated in towns, but are dispersed in rural and mountainous areas. So the sideline economy can be organized to suit their needs.

If you organize ancillary production properly, you will be able to ensure the supply of meat and oil to the men. But ministers and managers do not do it properly because they are indifferent to the men's living conditions. Even though they have large vegetable fields, some industrial establishments cannot supply their men with an adequate amount of vegetables for winter *kimchi* because they neglect the cultivation of these fields.

I have been stressing the matter of the vegetables for a very long time, and have shown practical ways of solving the problem. I gave a demonstration lecture on this matter at the Tokchon Automobile Plant and showed an example of using sprinkler irrigation for vegetable fields at the Hwanghae Iron Works and put it on show.

In spite of this exhibition, ministers and chief secretaries of provincial Party committees did not follow the example. For some time, they talked about sprays and sprinklers, but now they have given them up. Why can we not provide the workers with an adequate amount of vegetables? The question of supplying meat is, at present, a different matter.

As I always say, the supply service is a form of political work. Production increases when workers are provided with enough food. Ministers must pay great attention to the supply service. When they inspect subordinate units, they must first look into the men's living conditions.

When I visit factories, I begin with an inspection of dormitories and dining rooms to see what the men eat and what they need. But ministers never try to acquaint themselves with the men's living conditions at the factories. This is a seriously wrong attitude. We do not need ministers who are not interested in the workers' living conditions.

Ours is the government of the working class and of the people. Ministers and all other senior officials must become faithful servants

of the working class and of the people. All senior officials should have a stronger Party spirit, working-class spirit and people-oriented spirit and get rid of the bureaucratic and superficial work style once and for all.

Next, we must build up the ranks of cadres properly.

Our study of some ministries shows that the ranks of ministerial cadres have not been developed properly.

Ministries have not selected directors of management bureaus properly.

The director of a ministry's management bureau personally organizes and directs production of a sector; he is what a military commander is to an army. Just as a man who does not know how to fire a gun is not fit to be an artillery commander, so a man who does not know technology is not qualified to be the director of a management bureau.

But some of the directors of the management bureaus under the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 have not come from the working class, and they are not revolutionary veterans, nor do they possess any technical knowledge. In other words, they are not qualified for the job. The director of the Heavy Machine Industry Management Bureau under the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 is not familiar to us, nor does he know technology. How can the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 work properly with its management bureau under the direction of such a man?

In the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries, a man with no knowledge of knitting technology is the director of the Knitting Industry Management Bureau, and another man who knows nothing about textile technology is a director in the textile industry. No one in the management bureau which directs footwear production knows anything about the job. So, after checking up on the directors of the management bureaus of the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries, I said that they were "neither paddy fields nor dry fields", which means land totally unfit for crop cultivation. In other words, these directors are useless. As was pointed out at the recent plenary meeting of the



Party Central Committee, the light industry sector does not raise the quality of consumer goods and the people's living standards, although it has solid foundations. This is entirely due to the improper composition of the ranks of its cadres.

Such technically blind men have been promoted to such important posts as director of a ministry's management bureau because personnel matters have been handled carelessly by simply referring to personal files and service records, without a close study of the people concerned. People with a record of serving as managers were regarded as having a great deal of experience and were promoted to the posts of management bureau chiefs. But their experience will not be a great help to their work nowadays. Today, our economy is more highly developed than ever before, and is of a great size. Outdated experience will be of no use in the operation of modern industry today. The experience of these bureau chiefs all dates from the past, when they worked as managers bureaucratically.

Cadres decide everything. So, unless the senior officials of ministries are chosen from amongst competent people it will be impossible to improve economic management and make innovations in production.

Not only these ministerial officials, but the executives of factories and enterprises have also not been well chosen.

The Sinuiju Footwear Factory is one of the biggest of its kind in our country. But the shoes made there were of such a low quality that we personally supervised the work of the factory for three years. In the first year, we summoned the factory manager, chief engineer and Party secretary and gave them the task of improving the quality of shoes. The following year, we checked the quality of the shoes, but it was the same as it had been. So we inspected the factory and then called the cadres together and gave them a definite task of improving the quality of shoes. But in the year after that, this factory again failed to improve quality. Judging from the fact that there was no improvement in the quality of shoes even after three years of our personal guidance and, particularly, after the meeting we had at the factory last year at which

we gave them a definite task, we were sure that something was seriously wrong with the factory leadership. So we investigated the records of the manager, chief engineer and Party secretary.

The manager of the Sinuiju Footwear Factory was once the manager of the Kangson Steel Plant, where he was not good at his work, either. Whenever I had visited the steel plant, he did not show up. I asked why, and the answer was that he was ill in bed all the time. So we had to remove this chronic invalid from his job. Later, he had worked as vice-chairman and then chairman of the South Hamgyong Provincial Economic Committee. With the abolition of this committee, he had become the manager of the Sinuiju Footwear Factory. He was not enthusiastic about the tasks given by the Party nor was he interested in the workers' living conditions. Ignorant of technology, he simply behaved bureaucratically.

The chief engineer of the Sinuiju Footwear Factory was a son of a capitalist who had run a rubber factory in south Korea. Had he been a specialist in shoe-making, he could have been eligible for a management post in a shoe factory, although he was the son of a capitalist. But he did not know how to make a rubber or plastic shoe nor was he loyal to the Party. Such a man was appointed as the chief engineer of the Sinuiju Footwear Factory simply because his personnel file showed that his father had owned a rubber factory.

The Party secretary of the factory did not come from the working class and was not experienced in Party work. Of course, it is a good thing to promote women as cadres. But it is presumptuous to promote unqualified women as cadres simply because they have to be promoted. How can a woman who is totally inexperienced in Party work function as secretary of the Party committee which is in charge of firsthand direction of all the affairs of the factory under the Taean work system, particularly a large factory with thousands of workers?

Since the leadership of the Sinuiju Footwear Factory is composed of such people, it is no wonder that it cannot produce good-quality shoes nor increase the output.

Immediately after the armistice, we planned to import dairy cows to

establish dairy farms at different places to supply milk to the children of nurseries and kindergartens. We imported more than 1,000 cows and gave some of them to the Singye State Stock Farm and 700 or so to the Pyongyang Stock Farm. Instead of looking after these cows properly to increase their number, the Pyongyang Stock Farm has neglected to take care of them, so that many of them died. Now even the small number remaining is suffering from diseases.

The work of the Pyongyang Stock Farm is unsuccessful in this way because undesirable elements are entrenched there. The deputy manager of the farm left the *aegukphul* field unweeded. So I asked him why, and he replied that the cows are herbivorous and so can eat both the weeds and the crop. How stupid!

The improper composition of the ranks of cadres in the economic sector is the main reason why the Party's economic policy is not implemented adequately and why economic construction is not as successful as it should be.

We must adhere strictly to the working-class point of view and the revolutionary principle in personnel administration.

Ours is the government of the working class and of the people. Therefore, the leadership of state and economic establishments should be staffed with the people who can work devotedly for the working class and for the people. In particular, we must not hesitate to promote to the leadership competent people from among the intellectuals of our younger generation. But this does not mean that old people should all be replaced by young people. The people who have faithfully worked with us, sharing life and death, joy and sorrow, since the liberation, should be retained.

Next, we should tighten up state discipline.

These days, state discipline is very lax. Cabinet members themselves do not observe it strictly and even corrupt it. Ministers neglect to implement Cabinet decisions and arbitrarily alter the national economic plan which is a state law. Some ministers change Cabinet decisions at will and do not even bother to report any decisions which they failed to implement.

The Cabinet decisions are all in accordance with Party policy and also have been considered by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. Therefore, they are not something which you are free to implement or not. They are binding on all citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea without exception—on Cabinet members as well as everyone else.

But some ministers now arbitrarily undertake construction projects which are not included in the plan. They throw the work of their subordinates into confusion by ordering them to do things one way or another without principle.

Ministers themselves neglect to carry out Party and Cabinet decisions and they do not order their subordinates to implement them.

The Party has issued a decision on modifying boilers in order to save coal, and on giving boiler men training courses to raise their technical and skill levels. But this decision has not been implemented at many units.

This year, the Cabinet has decided to launch a campaign to carry out the yearly plan by October 10. But a Vice-Premier who was Minister of Railways did not even accept it, saying that he could not carry out the decision. It is quite inexcusable that he said that he could not implement the Cabinet decision without even trying to do so.

Officials of the capital construction sector suggested to the Cabinet that they would immediately undertake a project to develop an apatite mine at Songhwa when they heard the report of geological prospectors that there was a large deposit of high-grade apatite there, although they had not confirmed the accuracy of the report. So, the state made a large investment of manpower to build splendid dormitories and other facilities. Now they say that the project has to be abandoned because the apatite ore contains a great deal of uranium. This action, which has done great harm to the state through organizing a construction project without detailed calculations, should be condemned by law.

This practice of violating state discipline can be observed in the handling of publications. The Cabinet's General Press Bureau has imported and circulated bourgeois publications. These publications

contain anti-communist articles, so their introduction and circulation amount to making reactionary propaganda against our system.

The director of the General Press Bureau is a university graduate, and so he cannot possibly be ignorant of the fact that the circulation of bourgeois publications contaminates people with bourgeois ideology. He is also well aware that the dissemination of reactionary publications is prohibited by law. The director and other officials of his bureau who are involved in disseminating bourgeois publications deserve legal indictment. Prompt action should have been taken against such an anti-state act a long time ago. But it passed off with impunity due to lax state discipline.

The state is a weapon of dictatorship. Therefore, no state can exist which does not exercise the function of dictatorship. If there were such a state, we would say that it is not a state. If the working-class state is to carry out its mission of promoting socialist construction vigorously and working-classizing and revolutionizing the whole of society by re-educating people, it should strengthen its function of proletarian dictatorship as a weapon of class struggle. If it is to function as a dictatorship, the state needs strict discipline, and all the people must obey its discipline completely. Without strict discipline, a state will be unable to perform the function of dictatorship and, in the long run, it will be a state in name only.

We must increase the function of proletarian dictatorship of the state, the strong weapon of the revolution and construction, in every way possible.

We are confronted with the arduous and complicated task of accelerating the building of socialism in the northern half of Korea, of driving out the US imperialists from south Korea, of reunifying the country and of completing the south Korean revolution. We have a great deal of work to do and will have to face hardships in the future.

The more complicated and difficult our tasks are, the more we should strengthen the function of the dictatorship of the state and establish steel-like discipline.

Everyone, whether he be a Party worker or a Cabinet official, must

strictly observe state laws. The Cabinet members who directly implement state laws should set a better example than anyone else in abiding by state discipline, and they should strive harder to tighten state discipline.

We must intensify education in observing state discipline strictly, and also mete out punishment for the violation of state laws.

To proceed, we must raise the living standards of the people still more.

To do this is the supreme principle governing all the activities of the Government of the Republic, and the most important task of the Cabinet members.

When their standard of living is high, the people will participate in production with greater enthusiasm and demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system more clearly. It is an important political matter to improve their standard of living.

Only when we raise this standard, will all the people fight like one man to defend the socialist system in case of war, and even the middle class will all follow us in defence of the socialist system.

We are building socialism in order to provide the people with a happy and decent life. If we were destitute, we should have to tighten our belts with determination, just as we did during the war when everything was destroyed. But why should we do so now?

Our country now has all the necessary facilities to improve the people's standard of living. The light industry sector, for instance, has textile mills of all kinds—wool, flax, staple fibre, and cotton textile mills and so on—as well as shoe factories, consumer goods factories and foodstuff factories. Now we can say that our light industry is equipped with nearly all the necessary facilities.

If we make effective use of the economic basis we have laid, we shall be able to meet all the needs of the people for commodities and raise their standard of living much higher than it is now. Our people's demand for living standards is moderate. They do not want to drink coffee and tea like foreigners. All that they require is that they are supplied adequately with non-staple foodstuffs, warm winter clothes

and decent houses. This can be solved without great difficulty if senior officials make the effort.

The people's standard of living is not high, in spite of the great assets at our disposal now, simply because ministers and other senior officials are neither interested in the people's living conditions nor do they properly organize the work of improving their standard of living.

At present, ministers are not very concerned about the people's living conditions.

The Chairman of the Agricultural Commission thinks that he cannot be blamed for the shortage of vegetables and cooking oil. His idea of his duty is such that he just thinks he has to ensure the production of grain whether or not the people get supplies of vegetables and cooking oil. The responsibility to ensure the supply of these and other similar non-staple foodstuffs rests precisely with the Chairman of the Agricultural Commission.

Our country, which borders on the sea on three sides, is very rich in seafood resources. It has unlimited sources of fish for the people. But the people are not getting enough fish, not even pickled shellfish and shrimps.

Recently, I talked to a driver living in Nampho. I asked him about the living standards of the Nampho citizens, and he replied that at one time there was plenty of pickled shellfish and shrimps and that they could eat dried fish in winter, but now such things are scarce.

The next day, we held a consultative meeting of the officials of the fishing industry in Nampho and investigated the reasons for the small catch. The fishery workers say that they could not land shrimps in recent years because the number of shrimps had dwindled due to heavy rains and that instead they met with larger shoals of sand eel and anchovy, which they could not catch because they had no suitable nets. They cannot catch the fish with which the sea teemed at one time because these have disappeared, nor can they catch the fish which have recently appeared because they have no suitable nets. So how can the people be supplied with fish? The Ministry of Fisheries should have studied the change in fish resources and made good preparations for

nets and other kinds of fishing tackle so as to catch any fish which might appear. But this ministry is only lamenting the fish which have disappeared. If they organize work properly, they can catch a large amount of fish in the West Sea, too. People say that they used to catch fish by setting wooden blinds across rivers or by using reels and multiple hooks on long lines, but that they do not do such things these days.

The Party has always emphasized the need to develop medium and small-scale fishing and has had several meetings on this matter in Nampho alone. But the Minister of Fisheries has not taken any steps to develop this kind of fishing. The fishing industry does not catch fish in large quantities nor does it process the landed fish properly.

This year, we have even mobilized the members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee in fish processing because this work is not satisfactory. If I have to travel all over the country, ordering people to salt pollack roe and entrails and mobilizing the members of the Political Committee during the pollack-fishing season every year, there will be no need for the existence of the Ministry of Fisheries with a large staff and a minister.

The Minister of Electricity and Coal Industries and the Minister of Commerce are also indifferent to the people's living conditions.

At present, the citizens of Pyongyang do not receive adequate supplies of anthracite.

Recently, a woman living in Sinwon-dong, Pothonggang District wrote me a letter of complaint. The letter said that anthracite was not supplied to her flat regularly, that the water supply was inadequate on the fourth and fifth floors of the apartment house where she lives, and that there were probably bureaucrats in the People's Committee of the Pothonggang District. The letter asked for an inspection of the work of the district people's committee. On receiving the letter, I ordered the Cabinet Secretariat and the Construction and Transport Department of the Party Central Committee to make an on-the-spot investigation.

The result of their investigation confirmed that anthracite had run out at her flat and that the water supply was, in fact, inadequate on the



fourth and fifth floors. Her coal ran out, not because coal was out of stock, but because it was not supplied properly. Some flats were supplied with too much coal, and some with too little. This is the very way the commercial and distributive agencies are now working. The Minister of Electricity and Coal Industries, too, should share the blame for this matter. He should not be content with the production of coal, but also pay attention to the supply of coal and make sure that the people are not short of coal.

We have always emphasized the need to ensure that the people are never short of coal, even if we have to suspend the operation of factories. It is unreasonable that, with such large coal deposits, we are unable to supply the people with enough coal.

The Ministry of Commerce does not supply chickens and eggs properly to the people, even though they are available.

Formerly eggs were not supplied because there were not enough of them, but there is now a plentiful supply of eggs and chickens. At present, 2,000 chickens and 70,000 eggs are supplied to Pyongyang every day.

But eggs are not supplied to the people fairly because the Pyongyang City People's Committee has not organized the commercial and distributive network properly. We have stressed more than once that the officials of the Pyongyang City People's Committee should organize the commercial and distributive network properly, so that the people can get an equitable share of eggs.

The Pyongyang City People's Committee is said to have increased the number of egg-stands in the city to sixty, and people in some places say that they can get eggs but people in other places say that they cannot. The point is that you should ensure an equitable supply of eggs to all the people rather than increase the number of shops. But the officials of the Pyongyang City People's Committee think that they have done their duty after setting up additional shops.

If the executives of the commercial and distributive sector open shops at workplaces and put eggs and similar things on sale as instructed by the Party, the working people will be able to buy them on

their way to and from work. Then, the workers will be the first to get such supplies. But these officials are not implementing the Party's instructions and, consequently, workers are not provided with an adequate amount of eggs and other non-staple foodstuffs.

We cannot yet say that the problems of clothing and footwear for the people have been solved satisfactorily.

At present, children's shoes are not made to quality standards nor are women's winter shoes made properly. The quality of clothes for women and children is not good, either. We are not manufacturing good-quality shoes and clothes for children and women, although we have large centres of light industry as well as the necessary raw materials. Why? This is due entirely to the fact that the Minister of Textile and Paper Industries and other officials in charge of light industry lack an attitude of masters responsible for the people's living conditions.

The State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade are also to blame for the failure to improve the people's standard of living. If they appropriate some foreign currency, they will be able to import those items which are necessary for improving the people's standard of living. But they do not do so, using the excuse that there is a shortage of foreign currency every year. If there is a strain on the foreign-currency situation the officials of the State Planning Commission should strive to earn more foreign currency by exploring possible sources of foreign currency. But they neglect this effort.

Our country has 100,000 hectares of chestnut groves at present. If we tend them well, the output of chestnuts from them will be more than enough to meet the people's needs. But these chestnut trees have not borne much fruit for several years now because of careless management. So the people cannot get an adequate supply of them.

The failure to improve the people's living standards in spite of all the potential which exists, is due entirely to the fact that ministers and other senior officials do not have a correct ideological attitude towards the people.

The style of one's work is not merely a matter of one's character but

a matter of one's ideological point of view. All the officials must work with the attitude of taking responsibility for the economic life of the country and the people's living conditions and with a firm resolve to improve the people's standard of living.

The Minister of Fisheries must acquire the ideological point of view that he is in duty bound to supply the people with enough fish; the Chairman of the Agricultural Commission must have an ideological point of view that he has to provide the people with adequate supplies of vegetables and cooking oil; the Minister of Electricity and Coal Industries must possess an ideological point of view that he must supply the people with sufficient coal; and the Minister of Railways must have an ideological point of view that he is the man to ensure the prompt delivery of food and clothes to the people.

We must launch an energetic ideological campaign against the officials' indifference to the people's circumstances.

In order to raise the living standards of the people, all ministries must work hard to increase foreign currency reserves so as to import all the items, without a single omission, which are essential for the people's lives.

I must re-emphasize that the paramount task of Cabinet members is to improve the living standards of the people. We must improve these standards even further during the next two years—in 1968 and 1969.

To proceed, we must improve labour administration.

This is a very important task which deserves our efforts throughout the whole period of building socialism.

The question of improving labour administration was discussed at the 16th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, and a decision on this matter was adopted and issued. It was also stressed as an important item in the recent political programme of the Government of the Republic. Whenever we have had an opportunity we have stressed the need to economize in manpower and increase productivity by improving labour administration.

But many officials still do not pay attention to labour administration. Some ministers have neither informed their

subordinates of the Party's decision on improving labour administration nor have they implemented it faithfully.

In consequence, many shortcomings have become apparent in this work.

The industrial sector is still using a great deal of labour, instead of working to mechanize production processes, or to automate them completely or in part. This is why the output value per head of the industrial population is not increasing. At one time, campaigns to let one machine tool make another, to produce single-purpose machines, to introduce mechanization, and to invent new equipment and rationalize production were carried out enthusiastically, but now they have all come to an end.

Work in the capital construction sector is now less efficient than it was in the years of reconstruction immediately after the truce. At that time they made wheel-barrows and pushcarts and invented different kinds of equipment in order to increase labour productivity, but now they have discarded them all and carry loads on their backs. Since the capital construction sector uses so much labour, instead of introducing mechanization, it fails to implement its plan and always uses too much money.

Coal mines, too, complain of labour shortages and request more manpower, without giving thought to the sensible use of available manpower.

If factories and enterprises raise the problem of the shortage of manpower, the ministers and other senior officials concerned should visit the enterprises in question and check up on how labour is administered, and ascertain whether manpower is wasted or not. On this basis, they should hold a meeting to work out measures to save manpower by enlisting the efforts of the masses.

But ministers and other senior officials do not think of solving the manpower shortage problem in a political way; they only calculate manpower as though they were managing a business, clinging to old-fashioned standards. It is a revisionist tendency to ignore the idea of giving precedence to political work and of activating the masses to

increase production while calculating only the number of work hands and the rated capacity of the plant. Officials should encourage the masses to work willingly through political work.

At present, they make much ado about the manpower shortage but, in fact, manpower is being wasted everywhere. Recently, a guidance and inspection group made an investigation of the staffs of the Radio and TV Broadcasting Committee and other press media, and the result shows that more than half the staff of this committee is idling at work.

We must solve the manpower problem by improving labour administration. At present, we have a great deal of work to do but we are short of labour. If we do not solve this problem it will be impossible to attain the objectives of the Seven-Year Plan with success.

Ministers must concentrate on labour administration and inspect the factories and enterprises under the control of their ministries, taking decisive steps to reorganize manpower and direct part of it to other sectors according to the decision of the Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. Ministers should check on the workforce of every factory and enterprise, large or small.

After the ministers' personal investigation of the manpower situation at these industrial establishments, the provincial Party organizations should do the same. The provincial Party organizations themselves should look into the manpower situation at the factories and enterprises in their provinces and take any necessary measures.

If the reorganization of manpower turns out to be ineffective despite all these measures, the central authorities should visit the enterprises and settle this matter. Every year immediately after the armistice, we investigated the true state of manpower at the lower echelons and tapped reserves to save manpower. The Party Central Committee and the Cabinet should send guidance groups to make an accurate analysis of the true state of manpower at factories and enterprises and should take measures to send reinforcements to the units which are short of labour, and to move the surplus from the units which have excessive labour, elsewhere. There is now a great demand for manpower. The river improvement project in Pyongyang, for

example, will require enormous numbers of working people. There are many new coal and ore mines which have to be developed.

The Ministry of Labour must attend to the matter of improving labour administration and tackle the task on their own initiative.

A higher sense of responsibility and a greater role of designing institutes are very important in eliminating the waste of manpower and in making economic use of state funds. Ministers must examine the designs thoroughly.

To this end, a minister must have on his staff a few technicians who are well-qualified ideologically and technically. He must get them to examine the details of the designs to see whether there are any gaps in the process of designs and whether the economic calculations are correct. At present, some ministers approve designs thoughtlessly, without referring them to specialists. That is why a lot of superfluous facilities are included in the designs and the production cost increases.

Ministers should check the designs carefully and uncompromisingly break the practice of designing in an irresponsible manner. At the same time, they should temper the Party spirit of designers and constantly working-classize and revolutionize them.

Next, ministers and other senior officials must oppose flunkeyism absolutely and equip themselves firmly with our Party's Juche idea.

As I always say, our geographical neighbours are big countries, and this is why flunkeyism struck deep roots in the minds of people throughout history. We have energetically combatted flunkeyism and fought to establish Juche. But flunkeyist ideas still persist in the minds of some officials to a considerable degree.

The inefficient management of enterprises at the moment is also due mainly to the flunkeyist ideas which survive among the officials in charge of economic leadership. Some of these officials go out of their way to find something which can be copied from foreign countries, instead of striving to implement the Taean work system introduced by our Party.

Frankly speaking, foreign systems of enterprise management do not suit the specific conditions in our country, and we have little to learn

from them. We have to pave a new way of economic management step by step.

The Taaen work system evolved by our Party is the best form of communist enterprise management. This is an excellent economic management system suited to the intrinsic nature of the socialist system. Under this management system factories and enterprises handle all business activities under the collective leadership of their Party committees and carry out their economic tasks by giving precedence to political work and by rousing the producer masses to activity, superiors help subordinates in a responsible manner, and the economy is managed and operated in a scientific and rational way.

Giving priority to political work is the decisive guarantee for success in economic work. If officials move widely amongst the masses and rouse them to activity by giving priority to political work, the masses will display unfathomable wisdom and creativity. This is a valuable experience which we gained in giving leadership to socialist construction in past years.

But some officials still do not clearly understand the Party's call for giving priority to political work.

The Ministry of Metal Industry set a very low production target for the Songhung Mine this year, insisting that they could do no more, so we summoned the platoon leaders and company commanders and higher-ranking executives of this mine to a meeting. We explained that we are going to import chemical plants, fishing boats and the machines needed for the development of our munitions industry, but that we are short of foreign currency; it is useless to boast about the gold deposits which have not been brought to the surface; if we are to increase economic construction and build up our defences, they would have to work enthusiastically to increase the output of gold. This moved them to resolve to mine gold over and above the plan. In the event, they nearly doubled the gold output which had been planned at the outset. Political work has such a great effect. If we give priority to political work, nothing will be beyond our power.

As a result of giving priority to political work and of bringing the

masses into action, the Kangson Steel Plant produced 120,000 tons of rolled steel with a blooming mill whose rated capacity was said to be only 60,000 tons. Nevertheless, some officials in charge of economic management, even on their inspection tour of factories and enterprises, do not think about working among the men, filling them with Party policy and rousing them to activity, but stay at their desks simply arguing about figures with managers in an arbitrary manner.

Even those comrades who came from among the working class and who were once engaged in Party work put on airs on their appointment as ministers, give up the Party method of work and neglect political work. This is gravely wrong.

These officials pay a great deal of lip service to the Taean work system, but they are still not clear about the essence of this work system nor do they strive to allow its superiority free rein.

They are not implementing the policy of unified and detailed planning properly. This policy, which is an application of the Taean work system to planning, is a correct one which properly combines the principles of democracy and centralism. Mapping out a plan by drawing the broad masses of the producers into discussion about it with due regard to their will is the embodiment of democratic principles. Integrating the needs of the state into the draft plan which has been discussed by the masses and ensuring an unreserved implementation of the plan are the translation into practice of the principle of centralism. This is the most rational planning system which suits our country's specific circumstances. But some of these officials do not work hard to carry out the policy of unified and detailed planning. They also neglect this policy because they are still affected with flunkeyism.

We must launch a powerful campaign to establish Juche by opposing flunkeyism in every sphere.

If you are to do this, you must, above all, equip yourselves firmly with our Party's policies. If you are not imbued with the Party's policies, you will blindly accept anything, being unable to recognize the infiltration of revisionism.

In the past, some officials allowed themselves to be involved in the



construction of pavilions, lotus ponds and dance halls, fussing about what they called a “ten-year plan”. This was also because they had become political ignoramuses through neglect of a deep study of Party policies and did not know that they were doing things like revisionists or the bourgeoisie.

Since they hold important posts, the ministers and other senior officials must equip themselves with our Party’s Juche idea more firmly than anyone else and work with a sense of national pride and self-confidence. You must not, on any account, try to adopt foreign economic theories.

Our officials must not create illusions about individuals, contrary to the Party’s monolithic ideology. On his tour of South Hamgyong Province, a certain official of the Ministry of Finance is said to have given unprincipled prominence to individual officials to such an extent as to create illusions about a man, which leads to him being looked up to as an economist.

Idolizing and giving individual officials prominence is an act which is very harmful to the unity and cohesion of the Party. Therefore, officials must not make themselves prominent, nor should they make an idol of individual officials or act as a clique.

You must work hard to implement our Party’s policies thoroughly from a firm Juche standpoint.

Lastly, I would like to comment on a few points.

Pyongyang must be built up.

Ministries should help Pyongyang in a responsible manner in an effort to build it up to be the model for the whole country. Pyongyang is the capital of revolution. Therefore, the officials of all ministries should actively assist in the work of building up Pyongyang, without regarding it as a task for only the chairman of the Pyongyang City People’s Committee or for the chief secretary of the Pyongyang City Party Committee. It should be your principle to help the city in all matters ranging from the education of the citizens to its construction by regarding these as your own concern.

Ministries should help the city in a responsible manner to prevent

possible flood damages. This year the city suffered flood damage. If the Taedong River had been dredged, the city might not have been flooded. A survey of the matter shows that the Taedong River bed profile has risen a few metres since the truce. Now, we can no longer prevent flood damages simply by increasing the height of the embankments. We had already inspected the river with the officials concerned and had given them the task of dredging the river, but they did not implement it zealously.

The State Planning Commission was apathetic, and ministries, too, neglected to assist. The Pyongyang City People's Committee itself adopted a superficial approach to this task.

Is our industry incapable of manufacturing dredgers for use in the Taedong River? If our officials had mobilized the workers ideologically by explaining to them the need to dredge the river so as to prevent flood damages to Pyongyang, they would have already made these machines and finished dredging the river. The officials concerned did not organize a strenuous campaign, in spite of our repeated stress on the need to dredge the river. In consequence, Pyongyang suffered flood damage, and this caused vexation to the people and inflicted a great loss on the state.

This year, we had no great problem in spite of the flooding of Pyongyang because the water receded very quickly. If this had not happened, it would have been disastrous. If the city suffers another flood, all that we have built during more than ten years may come to nothing. From now on, therefore, the Taedong River has to be dredged to prevent flood damage to Pyongyang. All ministries and other central authorities must assist with this project instead of leaving it only to the care of the Pyongyang City People's Committee and the Pyongyang City Party Committee. It would be advisable for the Cabinet to place a Vice-Premier exclusively in charge of the project.

Ministers should also pay particular attention to the supply of non-staple foodstuffs to the Pyongyang citizens.

The commercial and distributive network must supply non-staple foodstuffs regularly so that Pyongyang citizens can have ready access

to them.

Positive assistance should be given to the central heating project in Pyongyang so that it will be completed soon. The construction of the thermal power station in Pyongyang is aimed at promoting the well-being of the citizens by providing them with a central heating system. Some officials are mean with the funds spent on this project. They are unreasonable. Pyongyang uses 600,000 to 700,000 tons of coal for heating every year. This amount is almost equal to the annual output of the Anju Coal Mine. If a central heating system is constructed in Pyongyang, 600,000 tons of coal will be saved, and in the long run it amounts to obtaining a large coal mine. But dwelling houses and public buildings are not being supplied with heat although it is three or four years since the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant was built. Officials must not lose sight of a big thing in pursuit of a small thing; they must pay great attention to the construction of a central heating system and see that dwelling houses are supplied with heat very soon.

In future, we shall have to have fewer plenary meetings of the Cabinet.

It would be a good idea to hold a plenary meeting once a quarter, or once in two months when there are important matters to discuss. Holding too frequent meetings and issuing too many documents is useless. At present, officials, affected with the chronic disease of a perfunctory work attitude, do not bother to read documents issued by their higher authorities. It is pointless to send subordinate units resolutions which they do not read, simply keeping them locked up in their desks. It will do if we convene the plenary meeting of the Cabinet once a quarter and instead hold conferences or meetings of its Presidium constantly.

The Presidium meeting should be held frequently, once or twice a week, and it should be presided over by the First Vice-Premier. The meeting must be attended by Vice-Premiers, members of the Secretariat, of the Cabinet and the ministers who are concerned with the matters to be considered.

The Secretariat of the Cabinet must improve its role. It must supervise how ministries implement Cabinet decisions and order ministers to implement them. Ministers are in duty bound to inform the Cabinet Secretariat about their work. The Secretariat is a department of the Cabinet. So the ministers should function through the Cabinet Secretariat.

The Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly should do its work as before.

The newly organized Cabinet must strive to implement the Party's policies so as to raise the people's standard of living as soon as possible and attain the major goals of the Seven-Year Plan without fail. Then we shall be able to greet our Party's Fifth Congress gloriously.

