

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

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EDUCATION, LITERATURE AND ART MUST CONTRIBUTE TO FORMING THE REVOLUTIONARY WORLD OUTLOOK

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of Scientific,
Educational, Literary and Art Workers**

February 17, 1970

Many workers from the fields of science, education, literature and art are present here today.

I should like to take this occasion to speak about some of the tasks to be carried out in these fields.

We are now faced with the momentous revolutionary tasks of driving the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea, reunifying the country and building socialism and communism throughout the whole of Korea. In order to carry out these honourable yet difficult tasks successfully, we must make ardent revolutionaries and true communists of all our working people, children and youth.

This means, in brief, turning them into people equipped with a revolutionary world outlook.

If people acquire this outlook, they can gain a scientific understanding of nature and society, analyse and judge everything from the working-class standpoint and fight in defence of the working-class interests. They will not succumb to any difficulties or trials but will be able to struggle unflinchingly to overthrow the landlord and capitalist classes and the exploiter society and to build socialism and communism.

Nor will they be shaken by the influence of such tainted ideologies as feudalism, capitalism, revisionism and the worship of great powers, but will be able to fight resolutely against them.

For this reason, it is of great importance to equip working people, children and youth with a revolutionary world outlook, and our educational work, literature and art must therefore set this as their primary task, and effectively serve this purpose. Educationalists must see to it that education in its content and methods conforms to the goal of instilling a revolutionary world outlook in their students, and writers and artists should use their pens to create revolutionary works of literature and art which will help establish the world outlook in working people, children and youth.

It is not an easy matter to establish a revolutionary world outlook. People cannot form such an outlook in a few days in the course of one or two lectures. It is formed, developed and consolidated in several stages of ideological development in the course of ceaseless ideological instruction and practice.

The first stage is that of awareness. The formation of the revolutionary world outlook begins with understanding the essence of social phenomena.

To establish the revolutionary world outlook means that people equip themselves with the idea of transforming the retrogressive society in a revolutionary way, in other words, the revolutionary idea and viewpoint of wiping out all exploiting classes and the exploiter society, and building socialism and communism, and that they have a firm resolve to attain at all costs victory for the cause of communism. In order to establish the revolutionary world outlook, therefore, people should come to distinguish the basis of social phenomena. It is particularly important here to have a correct appraisal of the reactionary and corrupt nature of capitalist society.

Capitalist society is a society in which a handful of people, namely the exploiting classes comprising landlords and capitalists, oppress and exploit the working masses, the overwhelming majority of the population. In capitalist society all state power and social wealth are in

the hands of a few privileged classes, and the working masses have neither rights nor wealth. The exploiting classes live idly and enjoy an increasingly luxurious, wealthy life while the working masses who work like slaves are worse off with each day. Misrepresentation and deception, fraud and swindle are rampant and money rules everything. Thus capitalism represents the most reactionary, corrupt and perverse form of society. It is the root cause of all the miseries and sufferings of humanity today and is the obstacle to social progress.

Only when people perceive the reactionary and corrupt nature of capitalist society can they come to loathe it and then develop the revolutionary resolve to smash the capitalist system and to build a new society. If they do not know that capitalist society is a bad society, they cannot come to detest it or develop the will to shatter the capitalist system. To establish the revolutionary world outlook, therefore, people must go through the course of awakening to the reactionary and corrupt nature of capitalist society.

Subsequently, they must develop a contempt for the exploiting classes and exploiter society.

The period during which people foster a hatred for the exploiting classes including landlords and capitalists and for exploiter society can be called the second stage in the formation of the revolutionary world outlook. This stage entails a period of awareness, that is, the development of class consciousness, in which abhorrence of the exploiting classes and exploiter society intensifies with knowledge of the reactionary nature of capitalist society.

This period in which hatred for the exploiting classes and exploiter society is formed is closely related to the period of understanding, and it entails the continual development of ideological consciousness which is formed on the basis of an understanding of the essence of social phenomena. All the same, hatred for the exploiting classes and exploiter society does not proceed of its own accord with the understanding of the reactionary nature of capitalist society. It is nurtured only when at the same time the class consciousness of the people is raised in the course of class-oriented education.

The foundation of the revolutionary world outlook is generally formed when people develop hatred for the landlord and capitalist classes and for capitalism and imperialism. That is why it can be said that the period of understanding the reactionary nature of capitalist society and of fostering hatred against the exploiting classes and exploiter society is a preparatory period for the establishment of the revolutionary world outlook.

Hatred for the exploiting classes and exploiter society does not by itself mean that the revolutionary world outlook has been established. With this hatred alone one can neither fight against the enemy nor become a revolutionary.

Our history confirms that although there were many people who were aware of the culpability of the landlords and capitalists and exploiter society and hated them, they failed to fight against these enemies, remaining passive and resigned. During the period of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, many patriots hated the Japanese aggressors and lamented over their ruined country, but they dared not launch out on the path of struggle; accordingly, they failed to play any role in the struggle to regain their country.

In order to become a revolutionary, one should not only hate the classes and society of exploiters but also have a revolutionary determination to fight to crush all enemies and build a socialist and communist society in which there is no exploitation or oppression. In other words, one must be determined to make revolution. This can be said to be the third stage in the formation of the revolutionary world outlook.

Depending on the circumstances and conditions of each country, the revolutionary determination of the people may differ from that of others. Those under imperialist colonial rule must first take the decision to crush the imperialist invaders and achieve freedom and national independence. Those under a capitalist regime should resolve to smash the exploiting classes, including the capitalists, and to build a new society free from exploitation and oppression. The people of all socialist countries should resolve to utterly frustrate the manoeuvres of

the remaining elements of the overthrown exploiting classes and imperialist aggressors aimed at undermining the socialist system. They should also resolve to accelerate the building of socialism and communism and, further, to accomplish the world revolution by giving active support to other peoples of the world in their revolutionary struggle.

With regard to our people today, it is important to take a firm resolve to defend the socialist system from the aggression, subversion and sabotage of our enemies, and to further consolidate the revolutionary base in the northern half of Korea by accelerating socialist construction. At the same time, it is vital to smash the colonial rule of American imperialism over south Korea, to foil the Japanese militarists' plot for reinvasion, to reunify the entire country and to build socialism and communism throughout Korea.

In order to establish the revolutionary world outlook people must not only have a revolutionary determination but also a strong will, unyielding in the face of any difficulties, and must grasp the means by which to carry out their revolutionary duty. They should love their country and people, the collective and their comrades, and should learn to observe conscientiously revolutionary organizational discipline. In brief, they should acquire all the ideological and moral traits essential for a revolutionary, a communist. Only then can they say they have completely established the revolutionary world outlook.

That people's revolutionary world outlook is shaped through this kind of process of development of ideological consciousness is borne out by our own personal experience.

During childhood, I was taught by my parents that the Japanese imperialists and the landlords and capitalists were heinous and that colonial society was abominable. Many a time I witnessed Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists trampling people's rights underfoot and remorselessly abusing them. In this way I gradually came to realize that the Japanese imperialists and the landlords and capitalists were extortionists.

When I was 11 years old I came from Badaogou to Pyongyang, and

while attending the Changdok School, I realized even more clearly the culpability of Japanese imperialism's colonial rule. At that time, Pyongyang was under the yoke. The streets swarmed with beggars and people were in rags and starving. On the other hand, the wealthy and the Japanese imperialists were leading a luxurious, dissipated life, cruelly oppressing and exploiting the people. The sight of the wretched state of Pyongyang obliged me to account for the fact that while only a few rich people lived well, the overwhelming majority of the population were in poverty, and to account for the Japanese imperialists' presence in Korea and their suppression of Koreans. In particular, when word came that father had been arrested again by the Japanese police, I was seized by an even more fierce, burning hatred for the Japanese imperialists.

Afterwards, too, while attending school back in China, I witnessed numerous cases of Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists' ill-treatment, oppression and exploitation of the people. One day, on our way home from school with some classmates, we saw two men quarrelling by the roadside. We found out that one of them was a rickshaw-man and the other was a capitalist, who after arriving there in the rickshaw had not paid the full fare. The rickshaw-man demanded more pleading with the capitalist to consider the "livelihood of humble people". Instead of paying the full fare, however, the capitalist took to beating the man. The sight was unbearable, and so we schoolboys closed in on the capitalist and forced him to pay up. Having witnessed many such inconceivable and inequitable social phenomena, we not only came to realize more clearly the reactionary nature of capitalist society but also resolved to wipe out the landlords, capitalists and Japanese imperialist aggressors who were oppressing and exploiting the people.

Revolutionary books played a very great role in the formation of my revolutionary world outlook. I was an avid reader from an early age, and having decided to become a revolutionary, I concentrated on various political books, including Marxist-Leninist literature, and revolutionary works of fiction, in search of the paths of revolutionary

struggle. In my secondary school days, I read such classics of Marxism-Leninism as *The Communist Manifesto*, *Capital* and *The History of the Theory of Surplus Value*.

In the course of our reading, our determination to make the revolution at whatever cost became even firmer. Thus, we marched step by step along the path of struggle, forming revolutionary organizations and carrying on the student movement. Later, we went among the workers and peasants to unite them through training in revolutionary organizations and we also conducted underground activities. In this way we eventually came to take up arms and embark on the road of armed struggle fired by an inflexible determination to fight Japanese imperialist aggressors to the end.

This was how my revolutionary world outlook was formed, and how I became a committed revolutionary.

After the establishment of a revolutionary world outlook it is important to continue to reinforce and develop it. Ideological consciousness alters just as everything else does and the change may either be for the better or for the worse depending on the influences and education people receive. That is why it will not do to stop at simply establishing a revolutionary world outlook: one should subsequently make tireless efforts to consolidate and develop it in practice. Only then can one become a true revolutionary and be unswervingly loyal to the revolution to the last moment of one's life.

After setting out on the course of revolution, with revolutionary determination, we continued the process of consolidating and developing our own revolutionary world outlook during the struggle.

Over the past 40 years of revolutionary struggle we have certainly gone through many a storm and ordeal. Even after liberation, to say nothing of the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, there were many difficult times including the period of retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War. Whenever we were confronted with hardships and ordeals, we overcame them by relying on the people, confident in their strength.

Once, during the Fatherland Liberation War, we visited the Ragwon

Machine Factory and attended a Party cell meeting in the casting shop. The war was coming to an end, and the thought of rebuilding factories on utter ruins put us rather at a loss. We therefore asked the Party members present at the meeting: “The war may possibly end very soon. Do you think we will be able to rebuild the devastated factories by our own efforts afterwards?” At this, a woman worker stood up and said: “Premier, don’t worry. If we win the battle, reconstruction will be quite easy. In two to three years we restored everything the Japanese imperialists had utterly destroyed, and we got along well, didn’t we? When the war is over, we will carry out reconstruction again and be well-off, so don’t worry too much.” After hearing her words, I could not get to sleep that night. I thought what she had said was absolutely true and drew fresh strength and courage from it.

The conditions in this country were also very difficult during the postwar period of reconstruction. The American imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique vociferated for a “march north”, and the factionalists were challenging the Party from within. There arose more than one obstacle in the field of economic construction. Raw and other materials were scarce and funds were also short. The living standard of the people was not yet very high, either. This was the situation when we set out to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan. A large quantity of steel was required above all else if we were to achieve our goals. Therefore, we went to the Kangson Steel Plant and informed its workers of the difficult situation of the country and appealed to them to produce more rolled steel. In response to the Party’s call, the workers of the steel plant resolved to produce 90,000 tons of rolled steel from the blooming mill, which had a rated capacity of 60,000 tons. They told me not to be anxious: they would cope with whatever task the Party set them. Again, I drew great strength from this.

The masses of the people have always given us strength and courage and inspired us with confidence in victory. In relying on them while combatting and overcoming difficulties and trials our revolutionary will became even firmer and our revolutionary world view was continually confirmed and developed.

The revolutionary world outlook is established in this way through a specific process of ideological development and continually consolidated and developed in the course of practice. In order to equip the working people, youth and children with the revolutionary world view we should therefore give them a sound ideological education, in line with this process of ideological development, and train them steadily through the struggle.

School education should be reinforced first of all to arm the working people, youth and children with the revolutionary world view.

School education plays a very important role in cultivating a revolutionary world outlook. A person's world view generally begins to take shape in his school days, especially his secondary school days. Therefore, if good teaching is given at school, it will be possible to bring up all our new generation to be ardent revolutionaries and loyal communists equipped with the revolutionary world outlook.

To bring up the members of the new generation into revolutionaries equipped with the revolutionary world outlook it is imperative to first educate them to recognize the reactionary and corrupt nature of capitalist society and to despise the landlord and capitalist classes and the imperialist aggressors.

Under our present-day conditions, however, it is very difficult to teach the rising generation to recognize the reactionary nature of capitalist society and hate the classes and society of exploiters. In our country the landlord and capitalist classes have been long since liquidated, and the social evils left over from the previous society have in the main been abolished. We have established a very advanced socialist system and all our working people are enjoying a happy life as proud masters of the country. In particular, our younger generation grow up happily without experiencing exploitation and oppression and study to their heart's content free from any anxieties. They have neither experienced the bitter life of the exploiter society nor come face to face with landlords and capitalists. Consequently, it is not easy to bring the younger generation to recognize the reactionary nature of capitalist society and to detest the exploiting classes and exploiter society.

People who have personally experienced the bitterness of life in exploiter society and have been exploited and oppressed more readily recognize the reactionary and corrupt nature of capitalist society and quickly become class conscious. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we conducted educational work among the workers and peasants wherever we went, exposing the crimes of the reactionary ruling circles and Japanese imperialist aggressors. They immediately realized that exploiter society was abominable and that the Japanese imperialist invaders were heinous. In those days we often stopped at farm villages and called together peasants and, giving examples from the chain of taxes levied on the people by the reactionary ruling circles one by one, we showed up the landlords and capitalists as exploiters and the crimes of the Japanese imperialists as aggressors. As a result, the peasants and young people came to support the revolution, fired by a burning hatred for the enemy.

Thus, people who have had personal experience of exploitation and oppression readily perceive the reactionary nature of exploiter society and quickly become class conscious. However, the new generation, who have been born and have grown up in socialist society, differ from them. As they have had no experience of exploitation and oppression, merely telling them once or twice in very general terms will not enable them to distinguish the reactionary nature of capitalist society nor develop their class consciousness. Pupils and students must therefore continually receive a class-oriented education reinforced by vivid examples.

By providing vivid examples to school children and students of the cruel oppression and exploitation of the peasants and workers by the landlords and capitalists in the past, they should come to distinguish the true colours of the landlord and capitalist classes as exploiters and the reactionary basis of capitalist society.

In particular, pupils and students should be fully informed of the reactionary and corrupt nature of south Korean society. South Korean society is the most reactionary and corrupt of all societies in the world. It is now a land of darkness where all democratic liberties and rights

have been trodden underfoot and terrorism and murder are rampant. In south Korea a handful of reactionary bureaucrats, landlords and comprador capitalists live in luxury, while the masses are in rags and starve, their situation going from bad to worse with each passing day. In south Korea today an ever-increasing number of people commit suicide, cursing the world, unable to endure any longer the sufferings brought on by exploitation, oppression, poverty and hunger. We should clearly inform pupils and students of the corruption of south Korean society and thus bring them to detest the landlord and capitalist classes and exploiter society.

Particular attention should be paid to bringing pupils and students to abhor the American and Japanese imperialists.

The American and Japanese imperialists, who have invaded our country throughout the ages, are the sworn enemies of the Korean people. American imperialism extended its tentacles of aggression to our country more than a hundred years ago. After we freed ourselves from the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists, they insinuated themselves into south Korea, and divided our nation and brought only misery and distress to our people. During the Fatherland Liberation War the American imperialists invaded the northern half of Korea and massacred countless numbers of our people, and even now are arresting, imprisoning and murdering innocent people at will in south Korea. Formerly, the Japanese militarists occupied our country for 36 long years and cruelly oppressed and exploited the Korean people, plundering our nation of its great wealth. Now, resuscitated, they are watching for a chance to invade our country again.

We must inform pupils and students of the aggression and the barbarities of the American and Japanese imperialists, so that they come to loathe them and fight staunchly against them.

In order to bring up the new generation to be revolutionaries, equipped with the revolutionary world outlook, we should also bring them to recognize the superiority of the socialist system and to have an unshaken faith in socialism and communism.

The socialist system is the most advanced of all social systems. It

defends staunchly the interests of the working class and the broad masses. In socialist society the masses are the masters of the state and the entire population participates freely in social and political life. Furthermore, in this society the people, freed from exploitation and oppression, can work and study to their heart's content according to their talents and ability and everyone can enjoy a happy life.

Socialism and communism, under which everyone can live happily free from exploitation and oppression, is the ideal and goal of mankind. With each passing day, more and more people in the world are turning towards socialism and communism, and striving to realize these goals. There is no doubt that socialism and communism will triumph on a worldwide scale thanks to the concerted efforts of the people the world over. The collapse of capitalism and imperialism is inevitable and the victory of socialism and communism is certain.

Only when the new generation fully realizes the superiority of the socialist system and has firm confidence in the victory of socialism and communism can it unflinchingly defend the socialist system established in our country and devote itself to the struggle for the construction of socialism and communism. Therefore, education in the schools should be conducted in such a way as to make pupils and students distinguish the superiority of the socialist system and to inspire them with firm confidence in the victory of socialism and communism.

In order to bring up the members of the new generation to be revolutionaries equipped with the revolutionary world outlook it is of great importance to intensify their training in revolutionary traditions.

A large number of loyal communist revolutionaries grew up in the crucible of the uphill armed struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggressors. The unyielding revolutionary spirit and heroic struggle of the anti-Japanese pioneers set a pattern for our working people, and the younger generation in particular, showing them how to live and fight.

We should intensify the training of pupils and students in the revolutionary traditions and so bring all of them to adopt the example of the indomitable fighting spirit and lofty revolutionary traits of their

anti-Japanese pioneers. In this way, we should bring up all of our new generation to be staunch revolutionaries and loyal communists.

If pupils and students are to acquire a revolutionary world outlook, teachers themselves must first have this.

Just as a mother cannot bring up her sons and daughters to be communists before she becomes a communist herself, so a teacher cannot instil a revolutionary world outlook in his pupils unless he himself has such an outlook. The thinking and also the behaviour of the teachers is emulated by their pupils. If teachers are ideologically unsound, the pupils cannot be sound in their thinking, and if teachers behave badly the pupils will do likewise. Therefore, in order to bring up pupils and students to be communists, equipped with the revolutionary world outlook, the teachers themselves should become exemplary communists possessing communist ideology and noble revolutionary traits.

Teachers, more than anyone else, should have a clear picture of the reactionary nature and corruption of capitalist society, abominate the landlord and capitalist classes and the American and Japanese imperialists and have a revolutionary determination to fight selflessly for the victory of socialism and communism. In particular, teachers should arm themselves firmly with our Party's Juche idea, and be versed in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Teachers should also have a deep knowledge of nature and society and should master the socialist theory and methods of education. Thus every word and action of the teacher must be purposive and provide a model to his pupils.

Next, many revolutionary works of literature and art should be created to equip the working people, youth and pupils with the revolutionary world outlook.

Such works play a considerable educational role in forming the revolutionary world outlook. Those works which have dissected the corrupt exploiter society and those works which have skilfully shown typical communist revolutionaries bring people to recognize and detest that corruption and encourage them to the revolution.

Reading the revolutionary works of literature and art in the past, I

became even more willing to make the revolution and learned a great deal from the heroes of those works. When I was incarcerated in Jilin prison, I read many such novels: the deep impression I received from the novel *The Iron Flood* remained with me for a long time, inspiring me with determination and courage whenever I ran up against difficulties in the revolutionary struggle.

It is a well-known fact that the works of Gorky and Lu Xun played a great role in rousing broad sections of the masses to engage in the revolutionary struggle. This was because these works showed up the class contradictions of exploiter society and truthfully represented the aspirations of the people. Gorky's works laid bare the depravity of Czarist Russia and graphically depicted typical revolutionaries fighting against it, and so were able to encourage and rouse the Russian people to the socialist revolution. Lu Xun's works showed up the degeneration of China's feudalist ruling system and vividly presented the people's aspirations for freedom and a new way of life, and so were able to play a great role in rousing the Chinese people to the democratic revolution.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we composed dances, songs and plays, which we presented often before the people. This helped greatly to awaken and rouse them to the anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle.

Let me cite an instance.

We wrote a play, *Sea of Blood*, and presented it before both the guerrillas and the people. The play dealt with the barbarities of the Japanese imperialists who murdered Koreans right and left, while the central character, a woman, slowly becomes politically conscious and then embarks on the road of the revolutionary struggle. Once we stopped at a village and presented the play before the local villagers. During the scenes when the Japanese imperialists murder old people and children in cold blood, the villagers ground their teeth with indignation. When the play was over, quite a few young men jumped onto the stage and pleaded to be accepted into the guerrilla army.

Revolutionary works of literature and art have a great role to play in

bringing people to recognize the corrupt exploiter society and in developing their class consciousness. Therefore, it can be said they are no less important in establishing revolutionary world outlook of people than general political and ideological and educational work.

In future, writers and artists should strive to create more revolutionary works geared to forming a revolutionary world outlook among the working people, youth and children.

They should first create a great many works showing up the aggressive nature and atrocities of the American imperialists.

The American imperialists are now converting south Korea into a military base. They are seeking to make Koreans fight Koreans, Asians fight Asians, under the slogan of so-called “reunification by prevailing over communism”. For this purpose, they are instigating the Japanese militarists and south Korea’s reactionary ruling circles. This is their dismal ulterior motive. The American imperialists and Japanese militarists are the sworn enemies of our people. Without driving the American imperialists out of our land and nipping in the bud the Japanese militarists’ schemes for reinvasion into south Korea, we can neither deliver the south Korean people from misery and suffering, nor achieve national reunification and the nationwide victory of the revolution. At present the revolutionaries and patriots of south Korea are fighting valiantly against the American imperialists and their lackeys, in defiance of their cruel suppression and persecution. It is the supreme revolutionary task of our nation to actively support them in their revolutionary struggle to drive out the American imperialists, to bring to nought Japanese militarism’s ambitions of reinvasion, crush their stooges and reunify the country.

Writers and artists should decidedly contribute to rousing all the people to detest the American imperialists and to fight unflinchingly against them by creating many works delineating their offensive disposition and outrages. In particular, they should produce many works depicting the struggle of the revolutionaries and patriots of south Korea against the American imperialists and their lackeys, thus encouraging their struggle and inducing the people in the northern half

of Korea to unfailingly support the south Korean people in their revolutionary struggle.

Many works showing up the aggressive nature of Japanese militarism should also be created. The Japanese militarists, revived under the patronage of the American imperialists, are actively embarking on aggression overseas with their backing. They have already begun to infiltrate into south Korea and are hastening preparations for an aggressive war by which to seize the whole of Korea. In such circumstances, we may once again face the Japanese militarists in the future. Therefore, we should train the entire nation to abhor Japanese militarism and to heighten their vigilance against it at all times by creating large numbers of works exposing the aggressive character of the Japanese militarists.

Writers and artists should also create many works showing up the landlord and capitalist classes as exploiters.

Landlords and capitalists still remain in the southern half of the country, and they continue to exploit the workers and peasants harshly. In the northern half of Korea these classes were liquidated long ago, but their remnants survive to this day. They are opposed to the socialist system and have not given up their dream of restoring the old regime. As the aggressive nature of imperialism does not change, so the predatory nature of the landlord and capitalist classes will not change.

Writers and artists should produce films and plays and write large numbers of novels to expose the cruel exploiting nature and action of the landlords and capitalists. In this way, through the media of literature and art, our working people, particularly the younger generation, should be made to recognize how cruelly the landlords and capitalists oppressed and exploited the workers and peasants in the past and they should be roused to abominate them.

One of the most important tasks confronting literature and art is the creation of large numbers of works based upon the revolutionary traditions.

The finest sons and daughters of Korea took up arms and waged a bloody struggle against the Japanese imperialists for as long as 15

years to regain their country. In the course of this struggle brilliant revolutionary traditions were created and a large number of loyal communist revolutionaries grew up. These traditions are one of the priceless assets of our revolution, and they are precious means for educating the people in a revolutionary way.

Writers and artists should create many works based on these traditions and thus greatly help towards inheriting and developing the glorious revolutionary traditions of our Party and towards the revolutionary education of the people.

Many works portraying the building of socialism should also be produced.

The building of socialism is the most important revolutionary task confronting our people today. Success in socialist construction is essential for the rapid advancement of the people's livelihood and for giving full play to the advantages of the socialist system. Furthermore, only when we have built socialism firmly, can we support the south Korean people in their struggle and lay the solid foundation for national reunification and the nationwide victory of the revolution.

Our people are now working determinedly because of their revolutionary enthusiasm to promote socialist construction and rushing ahead vigorously in the spirit of Chollima. At present the whole country is aflame with creative zeal and unprecedented successes and innovations are recorded everywhere. Writers and artists should make determined efforts to create a large number of works depicting the impressive viability of socialist construction and the heroic struggle of the people.

A large number of works dealing with the aim of instilling in the working people a revolutionary and working-class consciousness should also be created.

Our Party elaborated long ago the policy of revolutionizing and working-classing all members of society. Many officials, however, still have little idea of this policy and are ignorant of the means to bring it about.

At present some officials snub people with a complex family

background, saying that they cannot be revolutionized. This is completely wrong. It is Party policy that all members of society and not only people of good class origin but also people of complex background be revolutionized and working-classized. It is not possible to say that only those who have good class origin can be revolutionized: people with a complex class background can also be revolutionized perfectly well, and subsequently become communists. The issue is not class origin but how one endeavours to rid oneself of the vestiges of retrogressive ideologies, and arm oneself with communist ideology. Abiding by Party policy, we should revolutionize and working-classize the whole society by revolutionizing all working people, all households and then people's neighbourhood units and workteams.

At present, however, literary and art works dealing with this problem are very few. Plays and films and novels giving the problem serious consideration are few and far between.

In future, writers and artists should make greater efforts to produce works which treat this problem. They must thus create works showing the process by which the working people acquire revolutionary and working-class consciousness and produce a large number of works depicting archetypes of revolutionization, in other words, the revolutionized man.

In order to create a large number of revolutionary literary and artistic works, creative composition should be waged in a mass campaign. Our country now has an enormous number of people with secondary and tertiary education, who should be promptly enlisted, along with the broad masses, in the work of literary and artistic creation to write revolutionary novels, produce plays and films and compose songs.

I believe that thanks to the unflagging efforts of workers in these fields our education, literature and art will make effective contributions to the task of equipping the working people, youth and children with the revolutionary world outlook.

ON SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT DEALING WITH OUR NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of Workers
in the Fields of Science, Education, Literature and Art**

February 17, 1970

Today I should like to talk to you about how to deal with our national cultural heritage.

I have been told that, on the supposed pretext of opposing feudal-Confucian ideas, some of our schools do not teach their pupils and students the history of our country and our classical literature and works of art as they ought to, and that books on these subjects are not made available to them. This is a deviation which is due to an incorrect understanding of these subjects on the part of the people concerned.

Of course, it is necessary to examine all the books on the history of our country and our classical literature and works of art. But we must not renounce all our national cultural heritage which has been created by our people in the course of a long history. Such a nihilistic attitude in appraising and dealing with them basically contradicts our Juche idea.

We ought to have a correct understanding of the history of our country and of our national cultural heritage.

Our people are a resourceful people who have a long history and a brilliant cultural tradition. The revolutionary traditions of our Party were established through the anti-Japanese armed struggle in the 1930s but the dawn of our nation's history dates back several thousand years.

Its history of five thousand years is renowned for the cultural heritage which has been created during this period.

Culture and art are inseparable from the nation; they are part and parcel of its history. They give you an idea of the social system, political and economic life and the customs of the people in a given historical period. The works of art which were created in a feudal society show the social life at that time, and those which were produced during the rule of Japanese imperialism mirror the life in our country in that period.

Our singers sang the song of *Nostalgia* as a part of the programme for the celebration of May Day last year, and this song was a true reminiscence of the lot of our people and their feelings at the time of Japanese imperialism. It is a song which in the past many Korean patriots and other people used to sing in tears in foreign lands across the Tuman River, the Amnok River and the Korea Strait, longing for their dear homeland. Not only this song, but nearly all other songs which our people sang under occupation by Japanese imperialism sound sad. During the 36 years of its Korean occupation there were no joyful, but only sad, events for our nation. So it is natural that our people's songs in those years expressed the sorrow of the nation.

We must not deny the heritages of culture and art from the past without discrimination, simply because they are not revolutionary and contain feudal and capitalist elements. We must see them in the context of the history of the development of our nation.

Buddhism came into our country at one time in our history, and Confucianism at another. Buddhism and Confucianism, as trends of thought, were widespread in the world at one time in the past. Therefore, when Buddhism was a dominant doctrine in our country, all aspects of social life could not escape being tinged with Buddhism, and when Confucianism was predominant, this doctrine had to be followed.

This can be illustrated by the works of art which were produced, for instance, when Buddhism was dominant. Many of the ancient embroideries and sculptures have lotus patterns, and this is because the

lotus was favoured by Buddhism. We must not, in disregard of this fact, reject the artistic works of the past blindly, simply because they are tinged with Buddhism or with feudal-Confucian ideas. Nor will our people allow us to do so.

If we approach our national cultural heritage in such a way as to refuse to sing ancient songs because they sound feudalistic and the songs of the years of Japanese imperialist rule because they sound decadent, and to discard the paintings and articles featuring lotus designs because they are tinted with Buddhism, the younger generation will be unable to learn about our ancestors' way of life and the culture they have created.

We must not take a nihilistic attitude towards our national cultural heritage, but must teach it to the new generation properly from the point of view of the working class. We must develop their progressive and people-oriented aspects critically.

As I said when inspecting the Art Gallery a few years ago, there are certainly various defects in the works of our ancestors. They mostly deal with flowers, mountains, clouds, wild geese, chicks, butterflies and other natural objects rather than with human life. In the case of figure painting, the portraits of feudal rulers were drawn beautifully while ordinary people were painted to look very ugly and mean. This is because feudal rulers influenced artists not to describe social life truthfully and put pressure upon them in various ways.

In spite of their limitations, the works of fine art of the past ages have good points which we ought to accept and develop. The techniques and forms of Korean painting are excellent. The delicate and powerful, beautiful and elegant strokes of Korean painting are an eloquent proof of the distinguished artistic talents of our ancestors. The faults as well as the excellence of these paintings should be taught to our working people clearly so that they will have a correct understanding of this heritage. The younger generation should be given a clear understanding that the sculpture of Buddhist images, for instance, shows the kind of idol worshipped by the people who believed in Buddhism in their age and, at the same time, that the Buddhist images themselves are excellent pieces

of sculpture. It is better to teach the new generation about Buddhist images and give it a clear understanding of their falsity than keep them totally ignorant of them.

It is also unnecessary to keep the legends about Mt. Kumgang from being explained. Certainly, all these legends are fictitious. One of them says that fairies came down from the heaven and took a bath in the mountain stream. Who would believe that? Although the legends about Mt. Kumgang are not true, it is not bad to let people talk about them so that the younger generation can realize that Buddhism was prevalent in our country at some time in the past. The telling of legends about Mt. Kumgang will not revive Buddhism in our country.

The style of dancing in olden times must not be thoughtlessly discarded. Even ancient court dances or temple dances must not be abolished but their forms should be assimilated inasmuch as they agree with the taste of the Korean people.

The *Sadang* dance, for example, should be preserved. It is pleasant to watch and suits Korean sensibilities. But some people prohibited the performance of this dance, saying that it was a dance which was performed in temples in the old days. They did not even know the meaning of the word “*Sadang*”. This word does not mean a temple but a group of clowns. In the distant past there was no word for actors in our language. In those days people who engaged in singing and dancing were called *Kwangdae* or clowns. The *Sadang* dance means nothing more nor less than clowns’ dance.

If we are to develop our national dance, we have to preserve as many movements of the old dances as possible. The greater the variety of its movements, the better a dance is. It is not easy to invent a dance movement. By simplifying the movements of dances, some comrades discard those of our traditional dances. If things go on like this the forms of our national dance may all disappear.

The new culture of the working class cannot be created from nothing. Socialist national culture can be built successfully only by taking on the progressive and people-oriented elements of the culture of the previous ages and by developing them in conformity with the

requirements of our new life. Our Party's consistent policy on socialist national culture is that the peculiar national form of our culture should be preserved and properly integrated with the socialist content.

Combining national form with the socialist content in the creation of culture and art means expressing the revolutionary content—the struggle to destroy the old and create the new, the struggle against the exploiting classes and the exploiting society, the struggle to champion the interests of working people and to provide everyone with a happy life—in the form of culture and art which is liked by the Korean people and is congenial to their sentiments and tastes.

Our nation has an individual artistic form which is congenial to its sentiments and tastes. The Korean people like songs and dances which are graceful and decorous. They like a manner of speech which is gentle and modest. Therefore, in creating culture and art we must correctly preserve the national form which so well represents the psychological characteristics of our nation, its sentiments and the great talents of our people.

To this end, you must be very prudent in the evaluation and treatment of our national cultural heritage. If you abolish a single item of this heritage or change the name of one, for instance, the officials and scientists concerned must discuss the matter seriously and consult the public widely before they take a decision, rather than leave it to the discretion of individual officials.

We must further explore the works of literature and art of the past and put them in order.

There are few works of Korean literature and art which were published in the 1910s and in the 1920s. Our country had a population of 20 million in these periods. How can it be that only a few people out of that large population wrote novels and poems during those years? Probably there are good works which are not known to our people because they were not given publicity. We should organize an intensive search for the works of literature and art which were created in the 1910s and in the 1920s as well as the revolutionary ones which were produced in the 1930s.

We should also search for more good works of classical literature and art and publish them. Some of them should be published in the original and others, which were written in Chinese ideographs and are difficult to read, should be translated into our language before publication. Ancient stories which are good in content but uninteresting can be rewritten on the basis of the original by preserving the thoughts and sentiments of their authors.

We must make an orderly arrangement of all the works which are typical of each stage of the historical development of our country, including the revolutionary works dealing with the anti-Japanese struggle and the national-liberation struggle during the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. In future, these books should be published for libraries and bookshops. Then a larger variety of books will be available to our people.

Reading widely is one way to develop one's emotions and one's ability to express oneself to the full. Since they do not read many novels or a variety of other books, our officials do not have good command of a large vocabulary; they have no deep feelings; they are not good at expressing themselves and they do not have a keen sense of observation.

It does not contradict communist education to bring out works of literature and art from the past and compile them so that the working people can read them. The people's reading of these works will not weaken communist education. The people who are armed thoroughly with our Party's Juche idea and have acquired a firm revolutionary outlook on the world can analyse things of the past correctly from a critical working-class point of view.

Of course, we must not, on any account, neglect the creation of works of revolutionary literature and art simply because we have to find and publish the classics. At some time in the past, the wicked men who had infiltrated the Party ignored the works of revolutionary literature and art on the pretence of preserving the national cultural heritage; they even encouraged the people to read literary and artistic works which represent the interests of landlords and capitalists, spread

capitalist and feudal-Confucian ideas by introducing obscene dances and songs, blurred the working-class line on the development of socialist culture, and so prevented the fulfilment of the revolutionary requirement of the working class. We must never abandon the works of revolutionary literature and art simply because we have to preserve and develop our national cultural heritage. Since this is an era of revolution, we need the works of revolutionary literature and art and should produce more of them.

Historical relics should also be repaired and preserved. Of course, it is unnecessary to rebuild all those which were bombed during the Fatherland Liberation War or which no longer exist. The main purpose of reconstructing some of them is to give the people an opportunity to see the ancient architecture of our country. So we have to reconstruct and preserve only famous ones such as the Paeksang Pavilion, the Pohyon Temple, the Sogwang Temple, the Singye Temple and several historic sites peculiar to each historical age. Some of them can be reconstructed and used as museums.

While opposing nihilism in preserving and developing our heritage, we must also thoroughly reject the tendency to return to the past—a blind tendency to revive the things of the past in their original form.

The wicked proponents of this idea once said that in developing literature and art the things of the past, both their forms and content, should be restored exactly as they were. Therefore, we criticized them more than once for their tendency to call back the past. They said that *sijo* and *phansori* were the best kinds of entertainments. But these catered to the taste of the nobles in former times; they do not suit the aesthetic feelings of our time. *Sijo* lacks a sense of tautness and is chanted to a slow and leisurely tune which can lull the hearer to sleep even in the daytime. It does not harmonize with modern times when people fly in aeroplanes, plough with tractors and lead a full and busy life. Even if we were to put socialist content into this form, there would be no congruity between them.

We must not preserve the national form in singing, *phansori* for instance, as it is but develop it in such a way that our people can sing

and understand it easily and so that it suits the aesthetic taste of our time. A national form is not permanent. The national forms of literature and art should also be preserved and developed in conformity with the requirements of the age and of the working class. We cannot be expected to have topknots and wear horse-hair hats today simply because our ancestors once did so. It would be impossible to build socialism if we were to wear topknots and horse-hair hats on our heads. If we told our people to do so nowadays none of them would do it.

We must, in particular, thoroughly oppose the tendency to overestimate works of literature and art and individual persons of the past age and to exaggerate or distort historical facts.

At one time, some scholars exaggerated the value of the works of the past by saying that they were better than those of the present day. They were mistaken. How can it be that novels, sculptures or pictures from the past are better than those of today which are created on the basis of socialist realism? This is absolutely impossible.

In the past some people spoke very highly of the proponents of the *Silhak* school. Of course, the doctrines of this school contained some progressive elements. So there is no harm in reading the books written by its supporters. But we must not overestimate these scholars. The inflated evaluation which was made of Jong Ta San and other *Silhak* scholars in the past has to be corrected.

We should always take a critical attitude towards the legacies of our national culture and historical facts from the point of view of the working class and appraise and deal with them in the interests of our revolution.

As you all know, some works of literature and art of the past are progressive and some of them are reactionary and even give distorted accounts of historical facts. In other words, some of them are not harmful to our revolution and some of them are harmful. We should, therefore, preserve those aspects of our cultural heritage which are not detrimental to our revolution so that our younger generation can read and understand them. We should discard those which are harmful.

The story of *Kija*, for example, should be scrapped. In the old days

some unprincipled scholars who were infected with flunkeyism told the outrageous lie that a foreigner, Kija by name, came to Korea with several hundred technicians, founded a kingdom there and developed science and technology. These flunkeyists said that Koreans are the descendants of *Kija*. They even built his mausoleum on Moran Hill. The story of *Kija* and his mausoleum is totally unfounded. After liberation we excavated the grave and found nothing there but a few broken pieces of brick and china. Things like this which have no factual basis whatsoever and which are harmful to our revolution should be thoroughly eliminated.

As we always say, things of the past which are displayed or taught to our people must not hinder their revolutionary education; they must always contribute to their education in socialist patriotism and communism. We must recognize correctly which parts of our cultural heritage are progressive and people-oriented and which parts are outdated and reactionary. We have to discard the outdated and reactionary elements and preserve and develop the progressive and people-oriented elements critically in keeping with present conditions and the revolutionary requirements of the working class.

We must examine all the books on our history and the classical works of our literature and art as soon as possible, and distinguish between those which are detrimental, and those which are beneficial, to the revolution. Those which merit public reading should be made available to the public and those which deserve the attention of limited readers should be kept in special libraries for their use.

In order to do this work correctly, it is necessary to create a state evaluation commission consisting of the senior officials of Party and government bodies and educational, scientific, literary and art institutions. This commission should examine, one by one, the classical works of literature and art and the books on the history of our country and then adopt whatever measures are necessary. The commission must do this work correctly with the attitude of assuming full responsibility before the Party and the revolution and coming generations.

To proceed, we should adopt a proper stand and attitude towards foreign books.

We have translated and published many books including those on science and technology and on revolutionary literature and art, which we imported from many lands throughout the world. Taking advantage of this opportunity, some undesirable elements who were once in charge of directing publishing work, even imported various reactionary books in order to spread revisionism and bourgeois ideas among our people. So we gave instructions that reactionary publications were not to be imported.

Later, I was told that some officials had prohibited the reading of any foreign books, even those on the natural sciences, contrary to the Party's intention, allegedly to oppose dogmatism and flunkeyism. This is seriously wrong.

We are communists fighting not only for the Korean revolution but also for the ultimate victory of the world revolution. So we should know the history of foreign countries and the experience of their revolutionary struggles as well as the fighting history of our own people. If we are to do this, we have to read foreign books.

In addition, we are still lagging behind some other countries in some fields of science and technology. In order to reach world standards, we have to learn the latest technological achievements from developed countries. We must not, therefore, ban foreign books without using our discretion. We must translate and publish various good books including those on science and technology as well as revolutionary works of literature and art, so that they will be available to those of our people who need them.

We must also adopt a proper attitude towards Western musical instruments and make good use of them.

It is true that the national instruments ought to be given primary consideration in our country. But this does not imply that Western musical instruments should be rejected. Our Party has never rejected them, nor has it ever given instructions to this effect. On the contrary, our Party organized an orchestra immediately after liberation and ever

since it has encouraged it. Probably you comrades do not know how the orchestra was established in our country. Immediately after liberation, we collected Western instrumentalists from different places and organized the first orchestra in our country. There is no reason why we should reject Western instruments now.

Since we are communists who are fighting to make communism a reality on a world scale, we are in duty bound to look for things which are common throughout the world and develop them. Why, then, should we reject Western instruments which the whole world uses?

The question is what kind of music is played on these instruments. If they are used to play Western songs which do not appeal to the Koreans, instead of Korean music which is congenial to their feelings, they will lose popularity and will be discarded by the people. When we were visiting the Conservatoire a few years ago, some musicians there said that the piano was only suitable for playing Tchaikovsky. So we criticized them. We think that nobody will dislike the piano if Korean songs which appeal to the Korean sentiments are played, rather than Western music. We must preserve the characteristics of the Western instruments and use them effectively for the development of Korean music.

I am afraid you may misunderstand my instructions for the use of Western instruments and try to remodel our national instruments on Western ones. You must not do so on any account. If you make our national instruments very similar to Western ones in shape and sound, they will be national instruments only in name and not in fact. Our national instruments are characterized by their elegant sounds which are liked by the Koreans. If they produce high-pitched sounds like Western instruments, they will lose their characteristics as national instruments. We must preserve and develop the inherent characteristics of our national instruments and, at the same time, use them in proper combination with Western instruments.

I believe that you will have a correct understanding of the question of dealing with our nation's cultural heritage and will develop our literature and art even more strongly.

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

**Speech at the National Conference
of Workers in Local Industry**

February 27, 1970

In the name of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I should first like to extend warm thanks to you comrades and all workers in local industry, who have striven to develop it.

I want to talk about expanding local industry in order to bring about a great improvement in the production of consumer goods.

**I. ON QUICKLY DEVELOPING LIGHT INDUSTRY
IN STEP WITH HEAVY INDUSTRY**

As a result of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, our country's economy remained very backward and indescribably lopsided. The Japanese imperialists hampered the development of our heavy industry in every way, with the aim of subordinating our country economically and turning it into a permanent colony. If there was any heavy industry at all, it consisted of only a few extraction industries plundering our

country's rich natural resources and primary industries turning out semi-finished products.

Before liberation in our country not only was heavy industry in a very retarded state, but light industry was even less significant. In the exploitation of the Korean people, the Japanese imperialists curtailed the development of our light industry in many ways. They took away from our country enormous amounts of raw materials for their light industry and then sold to us the commodities they produced in their country. They made it virtually impossible for Koreans to learn skills and techniques with which to develop light industry. That was why our production of consumer goods was retarded and even our traditional handicrafts were completely destroyed. We were not in a position to make even pencils, pens or combs on our own. If we had any light industry at all in the period of Japanese imperialist rule, it consisted only of small-scale rubber shoe factories and paper mills not worth mentioning. As for the production of textiles, a key branch of light industry, our country had only one mill in Sariwon that was of any significance. The annual output of this mill was no more than several hundred thousand metres. Today the output of one of our local textile mills far surpasses that figure. This fact alone is enough to show how negligible our light industry was before liberation.

We inherited such a backward and lopsided colonial economy that after liberation, we had to start building heavy and light industry. This was a very awesome and complicated task to lay the bases for these industries from scratch. Nonetheless, we had to carry it out at any cost, no matter how many obstacles and difficulties there were. We put up the slogan: those with strength dedicate their strength; those with technique contribute technique; those with money offer money; those with knowledge devote knowledge; and all of us unite and build a new country! Under this slogan we expeditiously organized and mobilized all the people to create an independent and sovereign state, which is prosperous and powerful.

In order to lay the foundations of an independent national

economy and build socialism priority must be given to the development of heavy industry. The establishment of its own powerful heavy industry is indispensable for a country's industrialization, and the laying of the material and technical base of socialism is impossible without industrialization. Only when heavy industry is extended can both light industry and agriculture be developed. It stands to reason that in socialist economic construction heavy industry has to have priority. This is particularly urgent since our country is divided and we are building socialism in direct confrontation with US imperialism.

Light industry must be developed along with heavy industry. This alone will make it possible to increase the production of consumer goods and raise the people's standard of living. Our people groaned under the yoke of Japanese imperialist rule in poverty and starvation, and they were deprived of their means of living in the three-year war. Therefore, in order to secure their livelihood and ensure them a decent life at the earliest possible date, it was imperative for us to develop light industry rapidly.

It was from this objective demand that, immediately after the armistice, our Party put forward a line for economic construction which gave priority to heavy industry while at the same time ensuring the development of light industry and agriculture. Our Party's economic line was a new one, differing from policies adopted in other countries. Capitalist states developed light industry first and thus obtained funds to build heavy industry, and some socialist countries first concentrated on heavy industry for a certain period before developing light industry. But the factionalists who had wormed their way into the Party opposed this line, raving that no country had ever adopted such a policy for economic construction. Some people ridiculed our line, saying that machines could not provide food nor could the people live on them. However, we smashed all their calumnies and denunciations and persevered in our resolute campaign to carry through the Party's basic line for economic construction.

Experience has clearly proved that our Party's line of giving priority to heavy industry while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture was an extremely wise line, correctly reflecting the economic laws of socialism and the objective conditions in our country. Thanks to our energetic efforts to implement this line, we have gained great successes in the development of both heavy and light industry. In particular, radical changes have been brought about in the production of consumer goods as a result of the widespread campaign to develop local industry through an all-people movement following the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee which called for building more than one local factory in every city or county. If we had not taken this step, we would have had to spend an enormous amount of foreign currency on importing consumer goods. We are now producing on our own all consumer goods needed in the course of our daily life. Our people wear locally-produced clothes and footwear and use commodities we have ourselves made. This is a great achievement we have scored in the course of building a new society. We are justly proud of it.

However, we must not rest content with this. Our industrial base in general now places our country on the level of an industrial state. Nonetheless, the people's standard of living is not high enough. Light industry lags behind heavy industry. This year heavy industry is expected to produce 2.2 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of chemical fertilizer and 16,000 million kWh of electricity. This shows the relatively high level reached by our heavy industry, but the rate of light industrial development is not keeping pace.

As you all know, the most important thing in socialist economic construction is to maintain a proper balance between accumulation and consumption and between the production of the means of production and of consumer goods. Poor coordination will not ensure a steady expanded reproduction nor raise the people's living standards systematically. Therefore, when working out a national economic plan, we must always correctly determine the ratios between accumulation

and consumption and between the production of the means of production and of consumer goods.

It was on this principle that we drew up the national economic plan every year. However, because of our officials' poor organizational work in increasing the production of consumer goods rapidly through the effective use of the existing light industrial base and by mobilizing all reserves and potentialities, light industry is not keeping pace with heavy industry and the living standards of the people are not as high as our economic base would permit.

In our light industry, at present, quality, relatively speaking, lags behind quantity in the production of major consumer goods such as fabrics and footwear. In other words, the production base in this sector has to a large extent been laid and major consumer goods such as fabrics and footwear are produced in large quantities, but fall short of the people's demands because of their poor quality.

The textile industry provides an example. It can be said that we have established firm foundations, capable of producing a wide variety of good-quality fabrics required by our people. Our country has many large modern textile mills such as the Pyongyang, Kusong, Kaesong and Sariwon Textile Mills, the Hamhung Woolen Textile Mill and the Hyesan Linen Mill, all of which are on a par with the best in the world. There are also a considerable number of locally-run textile mills, all of which are several times bigger than those owned by the capitalists in the period of Japanese imperialist rule. Since firm foundations of the textile industry have been laid, we are able to produce over 400 million metres of fabrics this year. This will bring our textile output to more than 30 metres per person. However, our fabrics are still not of high quality.

As far as the consumer goods industry is concerned, manufactured goods are not only of low quality but their variety and output volume are still insufficient. It is said that the consumer goods necessary for the daily life of the people comprise tens of thousands of varieties. Yet the variety of our consumer goods is limited, and even these fall short of the people's demands.

Why, then, are our consumer goods of low quality, poor variety and small quantity?

The reason lies first in the fact that our light industry has a short history.

It was because of Japanese imperialist colonial rule that it could not develop before liberation. Moreover, we went through a war not long after liberation. It was not until the armistice that our light industry started to be developed on a large scale.

Japan, for instance, has a one-hundred-year long history of modern industrial development, dating to the Meiji Restoration. Britain's modern industry has a history of some hundred years. In the Soviet Union and China, too, light industry has over a long time been developed to a certain extent. Our modern light industry, however, has a history of a little over ten years.

We channelled tremendous energies into the creation of a modern light industrial base and unprecedented success was achieved. Being so recent, however, it has not yet been fully equipped, and though we have built many fine factories we still do not operate them at full capacity because we lack experience in modern factory management. We are unable to produce high-quality consumer goods in quantity commensurate with the industrial base we have already laid. This is inevitable because of the short history of our industrial development.

Another reason that our light industry lags behind is failure to supply the necessary equipment and materials for its development. Only a little more attention would have made it possible to supply as much equipment and materials as was needed, but formerly the State Planning Commission and other state economic agencies did not pay enough attention to this. In many cases, therefore, they did not include the equipment and materials demanded by light industry in state plans, regarding them as of minor importance, and earmarked less foreign currency for them. They saw only the big, thick branches of the tree while ignoring the small, slender twigs, so to speak.

Another reason for the backwardness of our light industry is that no effective guidance was given in this field.

The production of consumer goods has not attained a higher level not because the state made too little investment in light industry, nor because we have not maintained an adequate balance between accumulation and consumption, in accordance with the requirements of the economic laws of socialism. It is true, of course, that the development of light industry has been hampered to some extent by the defence industry to which we have directed much effort over the last few years. In the light of the obtaining situation, the Party Conference in 1966 put forward the line of simultaneously building up the economy and defences. Consequently a large additional investment was made to effect the policy to fortify the whole country, arm all the people, and turn the army into an army of cadres and modernize it from top to bottom. However, we cannot say that this is the sole reason for the failure to boost the production of consumer goods. The point is that the leading personnel in this field were not successful in their guidance and organizational work, and this meant that the potentialities of the existing light industries were not realized to the full.

In many cases in the past, leading personnel in light industry worked in a bureaucratic and subjective manner. More often than not they changed the production items at factories, in some cases doing so several times in a month. This made it difficult for workers at the factories to work to their best.

Let me quote the Sariwon Towel Factory as an example. This factory was famed for its fine towels. Nevertheless, officials of the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries went to the factory and arbitrarily gave instructions that it should switch to weaving mosquito-netting instead of towels. This switchover required the installation of new equipment and the mastery of different techniques. Therefore, it would have been better to build a new mill for this purpose or to have local industries, which were not up to turning out high-quality fabrics, undertake this job. Why then did they dictate that a factory weaving towels, a significant percentage of which were for export to other countries, turn to producing mosquito-netting?

When there are signs of improvement in the quality of specialized products, senior officials give instructions for other products to be manufactured instead. It is because they issue random directives that factories can neither boost production nor improve the quality of products however hard they try. This situation is analogous with that of a traffic conductor who gives signals which throw a driver into confusion. If the traffic conductor points his baton in all directions, the driver, however skilled, will come unstuck.

In particular, a serious error in the guidance given to light industry is that sufficient conditions were not provided for the provinces to bring their initiative into full play. The central authorities exercised too much control over local industry in the past, working on the idea of tightening the state's centralized control of the economy. We set up the Ministry of Food and Consumer Goods Industries for the purpose of rapidly developing the food and consumer goods industries. This was, of course, a correct measure. However, since too many factories were placed under the ministry, it was unable to lead and supervise them effectively. In the past, officials in this field merged one factory with another at random, peremptorily, without taking the specific conditions of each into consideration, claiming specialized production. As a result, many locally-run factories disappeared and the variety of goods was cut considerably. If the local government officials who were familiar with the actual situation had guided local industries, such a thing would never have happened.

The three points mentioned above, I think, are the main reasons why our light industry lags behind. Therefore, in order to bring light industry on a par with our developed heavy industry, we must first quickly raise the technical levels of the undeveloped sections of light industry by intensifying the technical revolution; second, we must ensure sufficient supplies of the necessary equipment and materials; and third, we must give better guidance in light industry so that the provinces are provided with every means for realizing to the full their potential in the production of consumer goods.

II. THE TASK OF DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY AND BRINGING ABOUT A FRESH UPSWING IN THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS FOR THE PEOPLE

If we only develop central light industry it will be impossible to rapidly advance light industry and bring about a fresh upswing in the production of consumer goods. This would take us too long to increase the production of consumer goods. Therefore, we should develop local industry on a wide scale along with central industry for the production of consumer goods. The key to the radical expansion of the consumer goods and food-processing industries and to satisfying the working people's demands for consumer goods to a greater extent is to stick firmly to the policy of simultaneously developing large-scale central industry and medium and small-scale local industry and further elicit and organize the creativity of the provinces and the talents of the masses while using the might of central industry to the full.

Local industry factories can be built and equipped without too much difficulty by using local raw and other materials and by mobilizing the untapped manpower resources. If housewives are enlisted into production you have no need to build additional accommodation for them. Therefore, the expansion of local industry will entail the construction of many factories in a short space of time, with minimal expense to the state and will rapidly increase the production of consumer goods.

The construction of many local industries brings production centres closer to raw-material resources and to the consumer. This will facilitate better production and supply and save socially necessary manpower. The construction of local industry will enable us to spread industries evenly across the country, develop the local economy in an

all-round way and prevent the concentration of population in the urban areas as has happened in capitalist society.

The expansion of local industry plays a great part in strengthening the ties between industry and agriculture and narrowing the distinctions between town and country. Locally-run factories purchase and process various agricultural and sideline products. This will very much serve to boost the income of the farmers, of those in the mountain regions in particular, and will stimulate the development of agricultural and sideline production, thereby accelerating growth in agriculture.

Innovations in the production of consumer goods through the large-scale expansion of local industry are also of great significance in freeing women from the heavy burden of cooking and other household chores. The women of our country have long been liberated from feudal and capitalist exploitation and oppression, but they are not yet completely freed from the heavy burden of household chores, including cooking. In the daytime they are on the job, and back home in the evening they have to prepare meals and do the washing and other domestic chores. They shoulder dual burdens, so to speak. If we mass-produce washing machines and various kitchen utensils by developing the consumer goods industry and process different kinds of non-staple foods by expanding the food-processing industry, the women's burden will be greatly lightened. If housewives take up a job at local industries, the income per household will be increased, the living standards of factory and office workers raised substantially and the revolutionization and working-classization of women stepped up.

The expansion of local industry is also very important from the standpoint of national defence. If all regions in the country are covered with a close network of medium and small-scale factories, we can carry on production without interruption in wartime to secure munitions and ensure that the people in the provinces produce a fair supply of daily necessities on their own, even in the event that large factories in the urban areas are destroyed.

As you know, the development of local industry assumes great importance in the political, economic and military spheres. Therefore, we should develop our local industry in the course of a dynamic mass movement so as to raise it to a higher stage and bring about a new phase in the production of consumer goods.

1. ON MARKEDLY INCREASING THE VARIETY AND QUANTITY OF CONSUMER GOODS

In order to increase the variety and quantity of consumer goods we must first raise the production capacity of the existing light industry factories and operate them to the full. We must reassess the amount of floor-space in the existing factories, and install additional equipment and rationalize production processes so as to increase to the maximum the capacity for consumer goods production. Conditions should be fully provided for production in all factories to be placed on a stable footing.

There is, however, a limit to which the production capacity of existing factories can be raised. Many new locally-run factories will have to be built to increase the variety and quantity of consumer goods rapidly.

As you have pointed out in your speeches at this meeting, there are still plenty of reserves and potentialities for building up new local industries. We should launch a vigorous mass movement to build a few more factories in each county by fully tapping these reserves and potentialities.

If you officials tackle your work determinedly, use your initiative and bring into play the creativity and talents of the masses, you will be able to secure enough manpower, equipment and raw materials needed for building more factories in your own localities.

Today, all the counties of our country have state institutions and most of them have a few big enterprises. We cannot say that all able-bodied members of factory and office workers' families are employed in state institutions or factories. Quite a few housewives still

do not go out to work. If we mechanize or automate production processes in the existing local industry factories we will be able to obtain considerable additional manpower. The local areas have great reserves of manpower capable of setting up new factories.

Raw materials are not a big problem. Close investigation will show that every county has an enormous amount of good raw material resources that it might exploit.

In an area where there is a large metal plant you can build a factory using its by-products to manufacture a range of daily necessities for the working people. If the workers in the factory put their minds to it, they will produce refrigerators for domestic use.

In the areas near mountains different articles for daily use and foodstuffs can be made from natural raw materials. You can produce wickerwork and furniture from bush clover and willow and a range of foodstuffs from wild fruits.

In the coastal areas also, fish, shellfish and other seafoods can be used to prepare different foodstuffs and commodities.

If a fur-tanning factory is set up in each county, you can get all the raw materials as you need. If local industry factories promptly procure rabbits raised by schoolchildren and others and produce canned and other foods, fur caps, children's overcoats, women's shawls and the like in large numbers, this will be a great help in enhancing the people's lives. The skins of rabbits and other domestic animals produced by state-run agricultural and livestock farms and cooperative farms and those of wild animals caught by the local inhabitants will also serve to supplement the range of high-quality consumer goods. Widespread processing of furs by local industry is of great significance not only in improving the present living conditions of the people but in making full preparations for a satisfactory solution to the problem of clothing in the event of an emergency.

There are many other local sources of raw materials that can be tapped and utilized. Therefore, if the state only supplies some essential supplementary materials, local industries can be operated well by exploiting their latent resources.

I think the problem of machinery and equipment for new locally-run factories can be solved if they are given a little assistance by the central industrial enterprises and developed local factories in that region.

Factories can also be built by the localities themselves. This problem can be solved by adapting existing buildings or constructing new ones. Factories can be constructed of stones where these are in abundance, or of wood where trees are in abundance.

As regards the funds for building new local factories they had better be granted by the state in the form of long-term credit.

If the problems of manpower, raw material, machinery, equipment and funds are solved in these ways, we will be able to construct a few more factories in every county.

The type of goods to be produced in the new factories must be determined by the specific conditions of the localities concerned. Everything that is demanded by the people must be manufactured if it can be produced in the locality. The greater the range of goods made, the better.

We do not mean that new local factories must necessarily produce only goods not already available. By tapping local reserves they may also manufacture what other factories are already turning out. Indeed, it would be a good idea to establish many factories producing the same goods in different areas. This measure is essential both to increase the quantity of consumer goods and improve their quality.

Until only a few years ago, the footwear factory in Sinuiju had to meet most of the country's needs. This being the case, when the factory mishandled its work and failed to fulfil its quota, the whole country ran out of footwear and this caused the people considerable inconvenience. This was also the cause of its failure to rapidly improve quality. If there had been many footwear factories, they would have made great efforts to improve the quality of their products because they would have been anxious not to produce the worst. However, since shoe-manufacture was concentrated at one factory, it managed to be indifferent about quality. In order to eliminate this situation, our Party decided a few

years ago to set up a footwear factory in every province. Since then, we have witnessed not only an increase in output volume but substantial improvement in quality.

At present we have only one big electric bulb factory. Therefore, if an accident happens at this factory or it fails to reach the production target because of mismanagement, supplies throughout the country will be exhausted. We should launch a drive to establish one or two factories of this sort in each province, as is the case with footwear.

Glass bottle factories should also be set up in many different places. Without mass-producing bottles the food industry cannot advance. Only if we have bottles can we put out different foodstuffs needed in the course of everyone's daily life, such as cider, beer, fruit juice, mineral water, carbonated water and other items that require bottling. Bottles are urgently required not only in the food industry but also in the chemical industry and in other industrial fields, and they are widely used in the course of one's daily life as well. As you know, the demand for bottles is very great, but at present in this country the Nampho Glass Factory is the one and only factory which specializes in their production. It is quite impossible to satisfy demand with those produced in this factory alone. In order to satisfy the demand fully we must build many similar factories in different regions. It is not so difficult to set up a bottle factory. If our officials break free of the idea that there is a mystery to glass making and make purposeful efforts, bottles can be made anywhere. Where there is sand and sodium carbonate, they can be turned out without installing very complicated equipment.

More pencil factories should also be set up in different places.

In our country today there is only one pencil factory. Needless to say, it is doing good work. Significant results have come from mechanization and recently it has made a fine innovation—pencils without wood. We can say that almost all the trying technical problems in pencil production have now been solved. Even while turning out cheap products as it is now, the output value per worker at this factory is very high, and this can

be credited to the high level of mechanization.

We have directed really tremendous efforts over the past 25 years to attaining the present high level of pencil production. You should be aware as to the efforts our Party has made to solve the pencil problem ever since the first days of liberation. When we were waging armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists, we did not expect such a thing as pencil production to come up as an acute problem after liberation. However, when we liberated the country and seized power, one of the first things we faced was the pencil problem. Food, work and study—these are indispensable to man's life, and we need pencils for study. Particularly right after liberation, we needed them very badly in order to eradicate the high degree of illiteracy. Yet we had no pencil factory. Therefore, after the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea was organized, we dealt with the pencil problem on the agenda of its first session and decided to make pencils ourselves. Upholding this decision, our workers and technicians devoted all their efforts and, at last, succeeded in making our first pencil, shaped like a candle, by mixing graphite with mud and gypsum. This is how our first pencil came to be produced. Thanks to our Party's constant and meticulous direction and tremendous effort of our workers, we have been able to produce good pencils such as we use today.

The task now facing us is that we set up more pencil factories and provide students and the working people with plenty of various kinds of high-quality pencils. No matter how well the existing pencil factory may be equipped and do its work, we should not rely on it alone. Since we have now found a new method of manufacturing good-quality pencils and graphite is to be found everywhere in our country, we can build pencil factories in many places without difficulty. We should carefully study the different conditions and establish these factories in suitable places so that there will be a marked increase in pencil production in the next few years.

In addition, in our efforts to rapidly increase the variety and quantity of consumer goods we should build in every region a good number of local factories that produce a range of goods.

2. ON IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF CONSUMER GOODS

Today, improving the quality of consumer goods is no less important than increasing their variety and quantity.

When consumer goods failed to meet the demand of the working people, it was more urgent to produce them in large quantities than to raise quality. However, the situation is different now. The general living standards of our working people have been raised considerably and they want consumer goods of higher quality. Poor-quality commodities in shops do not sell. The time is already past when such commodities made by locally-run factories sold well. Now is the time to raise the quality of all consumer goods to a higher level.

To do this light industry factories should be organized in line with the latest practices and production processes perfected.

The reason why our consumer goods are of poor quality is largely because these factories have not yet been equipped to undertake all necessary production processes. The textile mills provide an example of this. The production of good-quality fabrics necessitates certain treatment processes before and after manufacture. Some mills, however, are not equipped to undertake the after-treatment process and as a result their products are limp. Others have no equipment for dyeing. No product can be of good quality unless it goes through all of the necessary processes. Efforts should be made to perfect production processes in factories as soon as possible. Pilot or after-treatment process should be introduced where necessary. Equipment needed to perfect production processes should be supplied from domestic sources if possible or even bought from foreign countries if we are unable to manufacture them ourselves. In this way all factories will be able to perfect their production processes and turn out good-quality products.

At present light industry factories are unable to improve the quality

of consumer goods partly because the state planning agencies fix unreasonable production targets.

They should calculate production assignments to a factory on its production capacity and set a suitable target on this basis. But they often do not do so. For example, when a state planning agency sets a quota of 1.2 million pairs of shoes for a factory which only has the capacity for one million, the factory is obliged to manufacture them in a slipshod manner in order to fulfil this heavy assignment. This results in lowered quality.

From now on the state planning agencies should do away with such rule of thumb methods of work and make a correct calculation of the production capacity of factories so as to give them suitable assignments. When the production capacity of a factory is too low to satisfy state demand, a higher target should be set after measures are taken to boost its capacity. Only then can the factory produce better-quality goods while carrying out its scheduled assignment.

In order to improve quality it is most important that the officials concerned have a firm resolve to produce good-quality consumer goods in large quantities in their efforts to raise the people's living standards.

Some factories are neither fully equipped to undertake the necessary production processes nor turn out good-quality products on account of their obsolete equipment. In the final analysis, this is also because the officials do not strive to improve quality. In some places they have taken no measures even when a little attention would have made it possible to improve quality considerably with only a small outlay of funds and little manpower.

The lack of mechanized and automated processes in local industries manufacturing sweets and cookies is also entirely due to the fact that our officials are indifferent to the people's lives and work half-heartedly. If food factories are provided with a little more equipment, their production can be mechanized and automated and quality, too, markedly improved. At present, however, in a number of food factories, no one gives a thought to the renovation of equipment

and they merely stick to handicraft methods of production. This is also true of food factories located near large machine-building factories equipped with hundreds of machine tools.

The officials in light industry are responsible for this. No less responsible are the officials in the machine-building industry. If they showed even a little concern, it would not be difficult to manufacture at least one or two pieces of food-processing equipment in large factories which manufacture thousands of heavy and intricate machinery, such as trucks and tractors every year. The trouble is that the managers or chief engineers of machinery plants are quite indifferent about the failure to turn out good-quality sweets and cookies for nursery and kindergarten children and for the people, and they do not behave as men with a stake in the country's economy and the people's welfare.

If we are to improve the quality of consumer goods, we should begin by launching an ideological struggle to enhance the spirit of service to the people and the working class among the officials in light industry. We should see to it that they work with a high degree of revolutionary consciousness so as to serve the people and the working class wholeheartedly and acquire a sense of responsibility for their livelihood.

If all workers in light industry have fresh resolve as one man to improve on existing equipment, introduce new production processes and raise their technical and skill levels, and if they put their best into every product, they will be able to improve markedly the quality of all consumer goods in the next few years.

We should raise the quality of all our consumer goods to international standards through a struggle to improve quality in light industry.

All the people then will be supplied with fine clothes, overcoats, footwear and furniture.

We must raise the quality of consumer goods to world standards as soon as possible so that our light industrial products become a major source of foreign currency.

In the past we could not buy as much equipment and raw materials

as we wanted because our overseas markets were limited, but things are different today. We now have trade relations not only with socialist countries but also with newly independent states and capitalist countries. We can therefore import whatever we need if we have the foreign currency.

We have abundant sources of foreign currency and if we do good organizational work, we can procure large sums of it. While building many factories specializing in producing goods for export, we should strive to produce more than just one product for export from each local factory. Along with this, the factories specializing in exports should make efforts to increase production by extending mechanization and automation in the production processes.

Under a ten-year programme starting from this year, we should strive to ensure at least a 10 per cent annual increase in the output of exportable consumer goods, thus bringing the quality of all light industrial goods on a par with that of exports. Our provisional target, therefore, is to increase their production to over 50 per cent by 1975.

Considering our country's short history of light industry it is, of course, a very difficult task for us to bring our manufactures into line with those of the advanced countries. However, this is something worth trying, and if we tackle it with determination, we will be able to manufacture good-quality consumer goods at low prices and in large quantities no less than other countries.

We should not spare foreign currency in our efforts to improve the quality of consumer goods.

I am told that in the past the State Planning Commission did not include in the plan the import of raw materials and equipment for light industry, and for local industry factories in particular, claiming a shortage of foreign currency. This practice should be stopped. Of course, it is another matter if valuable foreign currency is asked for to import what we can make ourselves, but we should import what we do not have or what we cannot make right now by our own efforts. Suppose we are still unable to manufacture some equipment for consumer goods production or obtain some raw materials indispensable for high-quality

goods, we must import them although it might cost us a certain amount of foreign currency.

In order to guarantee an adequate supply of imported raw materials and equipment necessary for local industry, we should establish a system under which the State Planning Commission does not meddle in the use of 10 per cent of the foreign currency earned by local industry but transfers it to the foreign trade authorities and has them assume the responsibility for buying equipment and materials needed by local factories. Suppose a local factory gets foreign currency equivalent to one million *won*. Of this sum, 100,000 *won* should be allotted to the import of equipment and materials ordered by the factory.

In order to do this work well, I think it necessary to establish an import-export trading agency in each province. It is too heavy a burden for the Ministry of Foreign Trade to handle all trade affairs with other countries, and it may arbitrarily turn down what local factories have ordered. An import-export trading agency in each province empowered to carry out foreign trade would do away with such a practice. These agencies should deal only with the consumer goods produced by local factories and their establishment of contacts with foreign countries is subjected to Cabinet approval.

The establishment of model factories is necessary if the production of consumer goods is to be stepped up and quality improved. If a good model factory is established to cover every type of consumer goods and it is popularized throughout the country, we will be able to raise the food-processing and consumer goods industries to a higher stage very quickly.

3. ON MAKING ALL THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC SECTORS RENDER ACTIVE ASSISTANCE TO LOCAL INDUSTRY

It is a huge and difficult task to increase the quantity and variety of consumer goods and improve their quality in the course of the

full-scale expansion of local industry. This is not possible through the efforts of workers in local industry alone. Success in this task is possible only under the concern of the entire nation and with the support of the whole of society.

A characteristic feature inherent in the communist method of work is that advanced persons help the backward to come up into the front ranks and that advanced sectors help backward ones ahead so that all advance together.

A principle in socialist society is that the working class leads the peasantry, industry assists agriculture and the town supports the countryside. This principle should also be applied to the field of industry: heavy industry must assist light industry, central industry support local industry and a large factory assist a small one. Moreover, all branches are duty-bound to support local industry because bringing about innovations in the production of consumer goods is an important factor in raising the living standards of all the people.

Today, central industry, heavy industry in particular, has much to do by way of assisting local industry. Ever since its inception our local industry has made great strides. Compared with central industry, however, its material and technical foundations are weak, the workers' technical skills are lower and it has many shortcomings in management as well.

To begin with, a campaign should be waged in heavy industry to manufacture the machinery and equipment needed by local industry.

It is good for machine-building factories to turn out daily necessities but it is more important for them to supply local industries with machine tools such as presses, table lathes, table drilling machines and a range of single-purpose equipment.

The machine-building industry should help build up a machinery-producing base for local industry. Only when local industry has its own machine-building base can it add to the technical equipment of daily necessities and food factories and produce various kinds of single-purpose equipment and accessories needed for increasing the production of consumer goods. Machinery plants should

set up small shops and initiate a dynamic campaign in which one machine tool will make another so as to help each province establish one machine-building factory for local industry.

At the same time, we should use machinery and equipment lying idle in factories to help local industries. All cities and counties now have several factories and enterprises, including large-scale centrally-controlled industrial enterprises. Extra machines and equipment such as electric motors and drilling machines should therefore be sought out to reinforce the recently-built local factories.

The metal industry must help set up small-scale metal plants in the provinces. Thus, we should see to it that the provinces, instead of counting only on central industry for the supply of iron products as they do now, produce iron, cold-roll, and make tinplates and other metal products independently.

The chemical industry must produce larger quantities of sodium carbonate, bleaching powder, vinyl chloride and other products used in local factories. Along with this, chemical plants must undertake to establish chemical materials shops for local industry so that it can turn out its own chemicals and materials. Such a large-scale factory as the Pongung Chemical Factory should undertake to build at least ten of these shops.

The building-materials industry must help establish local building-materials production bases in each province to ensure an adequate supply of building materials needed for the construction of local industry. It is also necessary to allot to local factories a specific area for timber so that they will get the timber they need. When they cut trees down, local factories must reafforest, planting many fast-growing trees such as poplars and planes.

In addition, ministries, bureaus, factories, enterprises and scientific research institutes must give sufficient technical assistance to the development of local industry. Ministries, central industrial enterprises and scientific research institutes are now staffed with many technicians and research workers. If they are well mobilized and disposed, it will be possible to break through all manner of technical problems in the

way of the advancement of local industry. At present, we are not properly mobilizing and utilizing this huge army of scientists and technicians. As a result, quite a few technicians and research workers idle their time away, having no definite research assignments. Technicians working in ministries and bureaus, workers in scientific establishments and research institutes, lecturers at universities and colleges, technicians in large factories and enterprises—all should be mobilized to give technical assistance, each taking on one local factory for a certain period of time. If they go to local factories and give assistance in raising the workers' technical levels and skill, solving difficult technical problems, perfecting technical processes and improving raw materials supplies, they will contribute greatly to raising local industry to a higher plane.

The transport sector should also actively assist local industry. It is known that at present, local industry experiences delays in receiving essential goods. Measures should be taken to set this right.

4. ON IMPROVING GUIDANCE AND SUPERVISION OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

In order to develop local industry, we should establish a well-organized system of guidance and improve its guidance and supervision. First of all, we must increase the functions and role of the local industry management bureau under the provincial people's committee.

Some comrades have suggested that a general bureau of local industry, independent of the provincial people's committee, should be established in each province, as was done in the past. I think, however, that there is no need for this. If such bureaus were set up, their officials might by-pass the proposals of the people's government body and act arbitrarily. Our experience makes it clear that only when the body guiding local industry is under the jurisdiction of the provincial people's committee can we develop local industry to satisfy the

people's needs and, at the same time, find timely solutions to problems arising in local industry by tapping local reserves. Therefore, local industry must be managed and operated under the guidance of the provincial people's committee.

The most important task of the local industry management bureaus is the efficient supply of the goods needed for local industry factories through the material supply agencies. At the same time, they should give effective technical guidance to local factories and help in every way the regional planning commissions to devise good plans for local industry.

It would be a good idea for cities and counties to set up a specialized body for materials supply to local factories. The city and county people's committees now have local industry sections. These, however, are occupied mainly with materials supply work in addition to a little statistical work, since they are not able to provide technical guidance to local factories. Given these conditions, it would be better to replace the local industry sections with branches of the material supply agencies. If the local industry sections of the city and county people's committees are left intact and a branch of the material supply agency is set up in each county with the purpose of providing more guidance to local industry, the result will be that the local industry sections have far less to do and the number of administrative staff will be increased out of all proportion.

In some cities and counties where local factories producing the same kind of consumer goods including hardware, are concentrated, it is also necessary, I think, to set up a body solely for coordinating the business operations of these factories. In the city of Kim Chaek there are now many local factories manufacturing various kinds of hardware. In such a place it is advisable to set up an agency or office which will undertake supply and sale services for the hardware factories in a coordinated way. An agency like this could very well be situated in Nampho, Kangso County and other areas.

We must see to it that local factories are managed by as small a staff as possible, and that the manager and the Party secretary in a small

factory directly participate in production. If a small factory with 30 to 40 employees has many full-time management personnel, there will be only a few people left to work. Of course, the managers and Party secretaries of small factories should now and then work in their offices for a few hours to check management activities. Therefore, they may well take part in productive labour for four or five hours a day.

We should also establish a proper system by which the central authority gives guidance to local industry. Since the local industry management bureaus under the provincial people's committees give direct guidance to local factories, the ministries concerned should concentrate their efforts on giving technical guidance to local industry. I think we had better establish a new department under the Cabinet for giving guidance to local industry, which will exercise day-to-day supervision and control over the management and operation of local industry, assessing whether adequate planning is being done, materials supply work is being carried out well and production is being organized rationally, and will thus solve difficult problems promptly.

We should strive to establish this well-organized system and improve guidance to local industry.

In guiding local industry, it is important to give full play to local initiative. Our country now has several thousand local factories. It is impossible for the central authority to guide and supervise so many. In the past many local factories were turned over to central industry in order to put them under the direct guidance of the central authority. But results were no better than when they were under the direction of the provinces. Our local industry achieved its highest output value when it was under provincial guidance before and after the Changsong joint conference. There was a sudden decrease in output value after it was put under the guidance of the ministries.

This experience suggests that we should provide every possible condition for the regions to guide local industry by themselves and pay close attention to bringing their initiative into full play in the development of local industry. In particular, the practice of shutting down new local factories at random even before they are put into full

operation must stop. Local factories should not be reduced in number on the grounds that there are too many but instead, adequate assistance must be given in order that they continue to be reinforced.

In order to give full scope to local initiative in developing local industry, it is important to fix the standards and prices of the products turned out by local factories without delay. It is said that at present the State Commission of Science and Technology and the Price Assessment Commission do not fix standards and prices for new varieties of local products in good time, thereby creating difficulties for management. Such a bureaucratic attitude must be rectified as soon as possible.

If local industry is to be operated well, we should train many technicians and management personnel. It is because of the shortage of technicians in light industry and the poor qualifications of its management personnel that we are now unable to achieve the expected results in the production of consumer goods. In order to boost local industry and increase the production of consumer goods, it is essential to build up sound cadre ranks.

We need to reinforce universities and specialized schools for light industry. We should establish more schools specializing in food processing and the manufacture of consumer goods so as to markedly increase the numbers of engineers and assistant engineers in light industry. In addition, the short course cadre-training institutes should concentrate more on training management personnel for local industry.

While training large numbers of new technical and management workers, keen attention should be devoted to retaining the technicians and highly skilled workers already employed in local factories. Technicians and highly skilled workers who are not suitably placed should be transferred to local factories.

Local industry is faced with a very weighty task in helping light industry catch up with our more developed heavy industry and in improving the people's living standards in accordance with the industrial foundations already laid. Marked improvement in the living standards of our people in the next few years depends largely on the

efforts of you comrades in local industry.

In order to improve the people's material and cultural levels markedly, the Party intends to increase the wages of factory and office workers across-the-board by 30-35 per cent this year, thereby raising their average wage to more than 60 *won*. Moreover, we are planning to increase the average wage of factory and office workers to at least 85-90 *won* in the next few years, while considerably reducing the prices of consumer goods. This necessitates innovations in local industry as well as in central industry so that the output value per worker is increased to at least the 10,000 *won* mark and the production of consumer goods increased two or three times over the present level.

Of course this is no easy task. It is, however, completely feasible if workers in local industry uphold the Party's call and launch another unflagging mass movement to increase production and improve quality in the same spirit that they built local factories in all parts of the country after the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

What is important here is that the officials do not become passive but think boldly, and in line with our Party's revolutionary method of work, firmly rely on the masses and organize them well and draw on their strength and wisdom.

No work can be successful unless we firmly rely on the strength of the masses. The 40-odd years of experience we gained in the national-liberation struggle, the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and the building of socialism clearly show that we emerge victorious in the struggle when we organize the masses effectively and draw on their strength and wisdom and that, in contrast, we will end in failure when we do not adequately organize and mobilize them. "A general without an army is no general," and we cannot accomplish a great task single-handedly. Nothing is impossible if we firmly rely on the working class and the masses.

If we are to give full scope to the inexhaustible strength and wisdom of the masses, we must combat passivity and conservatism.

The radical changes effected by our Party in local industry in 1958

were due to the fact that it smashed passivity and conservatism to smithereens and boldly pushed ahead with a mass movement to build local industry. At the time our Party put forward the policy of building, through a nationwide movement, one local factory in every county to produce consumer goods by tapping latent local reserves and potentials. Our Party members and working people warmly supported this policy and strove to implement it. Some officials, however, who were passive and conservative, did not readily accept the Party's policy. Although we had even indicated concrete ways and means on the spot, some leading officials in North Phyongan Province did not implement the Party's policy in real earnest, alleging that they were capable of building only one or two local factories at the most in their province. Criticizing their conservative attitude, we personally conducted political work among the working people and roused the masses to action in constructing local factories. This sparked off an unflinching mass movement to set up local factories in all other parts of the country as well as in North Phyongan Province. More than 1,000 local factories were built in a few months.

At that time, we visited Kaechon County, South Phyongan Province. We saw housewives there weaving cloth in a small room installed with five or six looms. In a paper mill of Mundok County, housewives were using a few jars to make window paper.

Our local factories looked makeshift at first. Nonetheless, as the proverb goes, "Well begun is half done." In a year or two after they had started production their material and technical foundations had been gradually consolidated and production increased. Today, after ten years, they have all become modern factories. North Phyongan Province alone, which once claimed that it could build only one or two local factories, now has nearly 200 of them. Even in the remote mountainous county of Changsong there are seven factories. Changsong County, which was once financed by the state, now not only meets all its costs, including the wages of factory and office workers, from its own earnings, but contributes a considerable amount of money to the state.

If we had fallen captive to passivity and conservatism and had only complained about the lack of consumer goods, we might even now be unable to make a drinking glass, and the people's standard of living would have remained low.

The sharp increase in the production of chickens, eggs and vegetables in the last year or two is also due to the fact that we boldly set about things and pushed work ahead in a revolutionary way in our efforts to provide sufficient non-staple foods to the people.

Experience proves that when we set our hearts on something and are bold enough to push ahead, there is nothing that can stop us. Our Party is now going to increase the production of consumer goods several times over within a few years so as to markedly improve the people's living conditions. This task can be fully accomplished when all officials tackle it in a revolutionary way.

Our present situation is fundamentally different from 1958 when we set about things with a few hand looms. We have the foundations of a powerful heavy industry and a large-scale light industry which are capable of giving all kinds of assistance to the advancement of local industry. Moreover, we possess the valuable experience of building the powerful local industry we have today from scratch through a mass movement. We also have broad sections of the people, above all the working class, who are boundlessly loyal to the Party, with their unequalled talents and wisdom. When our officials conduct effective political and organizational work among the working people so as to bring their wisdom and talents into full play, we can produce everything needed in life—from medical apparatus and building materials to kitchen utensils and toys—and bring their quality on a par with the best in the world.

Today our working people have great political enthusiasm. They have a high degree of revolutionary determination to carry out any task no matter how difficult it may be by every means if it is demanded by the Party. At the beginning of January, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee discussed the question of building local industries on a wide scale through another all-people movement and

making more innovations in the production of consumer goods in order to radically raise the people's standard of living, and we called on the provinces to go all out in doing this job. In a little over one month, more than 300 local factories, including hardware factories, chemical plants, food-processing factories, textile mills and electrical appliances factories, have come into being in all parts of the country. Examine each province separately and you will find some are moving at a fast pace while others are slow. In general, however, their spirit is very high and the mass innovation movement is already in full swing, as the Party wishes.

To build more local industrial factories we must sustain the high revolutionary spirit of the masses and fire the mass innovation movement among the working people. In this way, we will markedly increase the variety and quantity of consumer goods in the next few years, while raising the quality of products to a higher level in all light industry factories and enterprises.

I am absolutely confident that you comrades will resolutely lead the mass innovation movement and thus fulfil with credit the militant tasks elaborated by the Party at this conference.

ON FURTHER DEVELOPING THE POULTRY INDUSTRY

Address to the National Conference of Poultrymen

March 31, 1970

Comrades,

We have been deeply impressed by the report and the speeches of many comrades at this meeting which is being held to discuss the question of developing the poultry industry.

To begin with, on behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I should like to extend warm thanks to all workers, technicians and office workers in the poultry industry who have devoted all their energy and talents to the campaign to develop the poultry industry in our country, and to all the working people who have actively helped in the construction of chicken plants.

As you all know, before liberation our country had no foundation for livestock and poultry breeding. It was only after liberation that this began to be organized in accordance with the correct policy of the Party. Since then, our Party has continued to pay close attention to its development, and has taken a number of steps to solve the question of non-staple foods for the people. As a result, the sound foundations of livestock and poultry breeding have now been laid.

In particular, great success has been achieved in the development of the poultry industry. During the last few years a large number of modern chicken plants have been built in our towns and workers' districts. As you know, we have built them on a very large scale. Few

countries in the world have such large and modern chicken plants. The biggest in a certain developed capitalist country is said to have an annual production capacity of 30 million eggs. But our Mangyongdae Chicken Plant has a yearly capacity of 100 million eggs. The Kangso Chicken Plant is no less productive. We can rate these chicken plants as modern and first-class by world standards in both their egg producing capacity and the technical level of their equipment. In addition to chicken plants, we have built many modern mixed poultry feed mills. We can now say with assurance that we have prepared firm foundations on which the poultry industry can make great progress, using modern technology.

This successful growth of our poultry industry was by no means easy to attain. We had to overcome many obstacles and difficulties before we laid the present foundations for poultry raising. We lacked experience in poultry farming, technicians in this field were few, and we did not have any good breeds because of the degeneration of pedigrees. So, at first no success was apparent in poultry farming in spite of all the measures adopted by our Party.

Our Party worked hard to develop poultry farming even under the difficult conditions of the Fatherland Liberation War, and it saw to it that duck and chicken farms were built in many places immediately after the war. However, in some localities where poultry farms were set up, people failed to run them properly. As a result, poultry farming made little progress.

Take duck farms for example. Those in Pyongyang, in South Phyongan and North Phyongan Provinces and in some other regions failed to produce any results worth mentioning because of poor management. Not only duck farms but also chicken farms experienced repeated management failure. To supply Pyongyang citizens with eggs, we built a big chicken farm in Pyongyang immediately after the ceasefire and sent technicians to a foreign country to learn advanced breeding methods. The workers on the farm, however, tried out advanced breeding methods for only a short time and then gave them up on the excuse that they did not pay and returned to the old, outdated

methods. Thus, with its meagre output of eggs, the farm failed to supply enough for the Pyongyang population.

It was certainly not the fault of Party policy that poultry farming made such a poor showing in the past. Our Party always put forward a correct policy, set a well-defined direction for the work and proposed ways to improve poultry raising. The responsibility for the poor results in the past lies entirely with workers engaged in poultry raising who lacked boldness and confidence in their work and did not work tirelessly to carry the Party's policy through to the end.

Despite repeated failures in the campaign to develop poultry farming, our Party did not hesitate in the least but continued to make great efforts to attain its goal.

In developing livestock and poultry breeding, our Party has laid special emphasis on poultry raising, because chicken plants are more profitable in many ways than stock farms. Chickens breed and grow faster and eat less than pigs or other domestic animals. Chicken raising is comparatively easy, and it can be done intensively. So it is possible to produce large amounts of eggs and chickens with a small workforce. In addition, chicken tastes better than pork and it is nutritious. The world trend in livestock and poultry breeding, as seen in many countries, is to put emphasis on the development of the poultry industry so as to produce large quantities of chickens and eggs.

Taking all these factors into account, our Party saw that one of the most efficient ways of meeting the people's requirements for non-staple foods was the speedy development of a poultry industry, and it concentrated great efforts on it. In particular, at the 17th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, our Party took the radical decision to build many modern chicken plants. After the plenary meeting, an energetic mass campaign was launched throughout the country to establish modern chicken plants, and the state put considerable effort into the work. As a result, great changes have taken place in poultry raising in our country over the last few years and we have had amazing successes.

If we had not built modern chicken plants on a large scale, but had

merely expected chickens and eggs to be produced in the rural areas, we would still be unable to provide the people with them. Our country areas cannot supply eggs and chickens in large quantities, for private production by farmers constitutes a weak basis. That is why eggs were scarce in the shops a few years ago and some were sold at high prices in the peasant markets. But now that many modern chicken plants have been built in recent years, chickens and eggs are being produced in large quantities in our country and people can get them at low prices at any time. Today there are good stocks of eggs and chickens in every shop in our towns and workers' districts.

We have gained a wealth of knowledge about poultry farming and accumulated valuable experience in the course of building and running the modern chicken plants.

All our successes provide a strong basis for raising the poultry industry to a new and higher stage, and the numerous modern chicken plants we have established constitute a valuable asset to be handed down to posterity. Indeed, over the last few years we have done a great deal of splendid work in poultry farming of which we can boast to the world. I think it natural that at this conference today you should proudly review your remarkable achievements in the development of the poultry industry in recent years.

Comrades,

Today we are faced with the honourable task of raising our poultry industry to a higher level on the basis of the successes so far achieved.

The most important task in the poultry industry is to regularize production and reduce costs at the chicken plants we have already built.

Putting production on a regular basis and drastically cutting costs is essential if we are to supply the people with more chickens and eggs at low prices. Some officials do not think about regularizing production and reducing costs at the existing chicken plants, but just suggest constructing new ones. They are wrong. It is not because our production capacity is small that we are unable to supply the people with large amounts of chickens and eggs at lower prices. The production capacity of our chicken plants is by no means small. The

problem is not that the production capacity is small but that it is not being used to its full extent and, in particular, that the costs of production are high.

Production costs are low at the Mangyongdae, Haeju and March 8 Chicken Plants and a few others at present. But they are still generally high at other chicken plants. This prevents the reduction in the price of eggs even in Pyongyang, Haeju and Songnim, although it is feasible in these cities. If egg prices were cut in these places only, the practice of trading might appear because obsolete ideas still remain in people's minds. In order to cut egg prices, chicken plants throughout the country must regularize production and lower their production costs.

The first thing the chicken plants must do to achieve this is to lower the rate of feed consumption and get ample supplies of good-quality feed.

At present, the Junghwa Chicken Plant has achieved the lowest level of feed consumption. There, 160 grammes of feed are consumed per egg produced. This is a sharp drop, compared with the past. In countries where poultry raising is highly developed, the rate of feed consumption per egg is generally between 120 and 150 grammes. But feed consumption at the chicken plants in our country is now higher than this, and so they are wasting a large amount of feed. Despite the strain on the country's grain supplies, our Party ensures that grain is supplied to the chicken plants as feed so as to provide the people with eggs. In view of this, feed must not be wasted. You poultry men and women must launch a forceful campaign to reduce the rate of feed consumption and thus economize on feed to the maximum.

In order to reduce the rate of feed consumption at the chicken plants the system of feeding should be improved. At present, chickens are fed throughout the day at the plants. That will not do. A hen will not lay more eggs just because it is fed all day long. If it is fed that much, it cannot digest everything. At chicken plants the flocks should be fed at proper intervals to suit the birds' physiological characteristics.

At the same time, good-quality feed should be used. Since they are raised collectively in the sheds of the chicken plants, the birds should be fed with various well-mixed nutrients. Only then can they become

highly resistant to disease, grow fast and lay many eggs. A few days ago we visited the Junghwa Chicken Plant, where each hen lays 260-270 eggs a year. This high rate is due to proper feeding suited to the birds' physiological characteristics. In future, chicken plants must be supplied with sufficient quantities of various nutrients, so that their flocks can be fed scientifically.

First, plenty of protein feed should be supplied. The meat and eggs of domestic fowls such as chickens and ducks consist mostly of protein, so they should be given large amounts of protein feed. It is no use, therefore, feeding chickens and ducks on other kinds of feed, no matter how much, without giving them proteins. I have heard that at one time the Kwangpho Duck Farm fed the ducks only on maize, as protein feed had run out, and the result was that the ducks neither grew well nor laid many eggs. This shows that it is essential for domestic fowls such as chickens and ducks to eat plenty of protein feed. The state must unfailingly produce and supply the beans required at the chicken plants as protein feed and, if it happens that home production falls short, it should even provide them with imported beans. In the meantime, chicken plants should make determined efforts to obtain protein feed for themselves instead of just turning to the state for supplies.

Quantities of different kinds of feed such as vitamins, antibiotics, microelements and dicalcium phosphate should also be supplied. A lot of feed of this kind should be fed to the fowls at the chicken plants since they cannot get much sunlight or enough fresh air. The Sopho Chicken Plant once introduced the cage method, but gave it up after a time precisely because the plant failed to obtain enough of such feed. The Ministry of Chemical Industry must see to it that large quantities of feed such as vitamins, antibiotics, microelements and dicalcium phosphate are produced and supplied to the chicken plants.

Fish meal should also be produced in abundance and supplied to the chicken plants. It is only by feeding fish meal regularly to the birds that we can make them grow fast and lay many eggs. If chicken plants only feed their flocks on fish meal from time to time when it is available, they cannot increase the production of eggs and chickens. The State

Planning Commission and the Ministry of Fisheries should draw up effective plans and organize the specialized production of fish meal, so that it can be supplied to the chicken plants in sufficient quantities.

If a chicken plant is to regularize production and reduce production costs, it must raise the survival rate of the birds.

If the chicken plants are to reduce production costs and increase the output of chickens and eggs rapidly, as I have urged at this conference, they must raise the survival rate of the birds to at least 85-90 per cent. At present, however, it stands at 80 per cent or less at many chicken plants. The chicken plants should boost the survival rate radically through improved poultry care.

The most important thing in this connection is to get the poultry men and women to play a bigger role. They should be given good training so that they will look after the birds with a high sense of responsibility, honour and pride in their work.

If poultry men and women want to do a good job, they must be very well versed in poultry care. Because of their limited knowledge, they are unable to use scientific and technical methods which are suited to the physiological characteristics of the birds. In order to improve their knowledge of poultry care, manuals and pamphlets on chicken raising which are easy for anyone to understand should be printed in large quantities, and technical studies should be widely organized among them.

To raise the survival rate of their flocks, the chicken plants should improve health and anti-epizootic work and protect the birds against disease.

Chicken plants raise tens of thousands of birds collectively, and so an epizootic disease, once it breaks out, is likely to bring about irretrievably serious consequences. That is why we emphasized when the chicken plants were under construction that health and anti-epizootic work should be the first consideration at the plants and that no birds other than the breed supplied by the state should be taken in. Also, we told these plants to restrict visits as far as possible and allow no one to breed chickens within four kilometres of the plants.

In spite of this, some chicken plants did not observe the health and

anti-epizootic regulations strictly. The Kusong and Hamhung Chicken Plants and some others have taken in different breeds of chickens from various places as well as those supplied by the state, in violation of the regulations. This is precisely what accounts for the lower survival rate of their flocks at present in comparison with other chicken plants. The chicken plants should make certain that such a thing does not happen again. Strict discipline must be enforced to forbid unnecessary access to the chicken plants. In cases where people are allowed to enter, they must be thoroughly disinfected and given white coats to wear.

At the same time, you must thoroughly establish a nationwide system of health and anti-epizootic measures to prevent poultry diseases.

Chicken plague has almost disappeared from our country as a result of the tireless health and anti-epizootic work in the past. But some other kinds of poultry disease still exist in the countryside.

By thoroughly establishing the system of health and anti-epizootic measures across the country in future, we must ensure that not a single hen catches a disease. In all places where chickens are bred, as well as in chicken plants, health regulations should be strictly observed under the motto: "Health first, health second, and health third." All sick fowls in the countryside should be destroyed. The chicken plants should also resolutely kill chickens which contract a disease. A good information system has to be established and information should be sent out promptly when a chicken disease breaks out, so that exhaustive measures can be taken to counter it.

The customs house should make absolutely sure that no sick animals enter our country from abroad, and must never allow disease-carriers to come in.

In addition to this, the pharmaceutical industry must be developed to increase the production of antibiotics, disinfectants and various veterinary drugs considerably.

One way to regularize production and reduce production costs is for the chicken plants to raise the level of mechanization.

This is essential to enable one worker to tend a large flock of

chickens, and it will make it possible to save manpower. Those chicken plants with a low level of mechanization should perfect mechanization as soon as possible, and those which are fully mechanized should gradually go over to automation. The chicken plants should thus mechanize all operations from feeding the birds to packing the eggs.

Good repair shops should be built for the chicken plants.

Unless these shops are competent it is impossible for the chicken plants to ensure regular repairs and proper maintenance of machinery and equipment, and consequently, to regularize production. In Pyongyang, there is now a factory specializing in the manufacture of chicken plant equipment and spare parts for it. In the future we must build a similar factory in both the east and the west coast areas, and ensure that, in due course, every chicken plant has a repair shop. Needless to say, we cannot possibly set up repair shops at all the chicken plants throughout the country in a year or two. If every one of them is to be provided with a repair shop there have to be a great many machine tools. Even if we gave only ten machine tools to each, we would need hundreds. At present we are not in a position to supply so many machine tools at one time. So the chicken plants should set up their own repair shops step by step as circumstances permit.

Until the chicken plants are equipped with repair shops of their own, nearby factories and enterprises should undertake to repair their machinery and equipment. The machinery and equipment of the Kangso Chicken Plant, for example, should be entrusted to the Kiyang Tractor Plant and the Kangson Steel Plant for repairs. In other words, the repair and power-supply shops of these factories must serve as repair centres for the Kangso Chicken Plant.

It is no problem at all for large factories and enterprises to undertake the repair of machinery and equipment for the nearby chicken plants. All they have to do is to repair some motors or make some bolts and nuts and simple machine parts for them. At present some chicken plants do not get their machinery and equipment repaired promptly. This is because senior personnel do not carefully arrange matters to enlist the help of neighbouring factories and enterprises. The Cabinet and the

provincial Party organizations should assign certain factories and enterprises the responsibility for repairing the chicken plants' machinery and equipment. Then, the chicken plants will be able to get their machinery and equipment repaired promptly and operate them to capacity. As a result, they will be able to regularize egg production.

While the existing chicken plants are more efficiently operated, new ones should be built so that more eggs and chickens can be produced.

First of all, we must increase the egg production capacity.

The chicken plants now have a capacity of 800 million eggs, and we are going to bring it up to the 1,000 million mark during the Six-Year Plan. To this end, we must construct more chicken plants devoted to egg production.

Those planned for the future should not be overlarge.

A lot of labour and time is required for constructing a large chicken plant with all the diverse facilities for hatching, rearing breeds, keeping young hens, and for isolation. But if we build a small chicken plant without all these facilities, we shall be able to complete it faster with less outlay of labour. We have already built many big chicken plants. So if we furnish them with a few more hatcheries and use them as bases for the small plants we build, we shall be able to produce large quantities of eggs. Therefore, we should not build overlarge chicken plants but small ones in different places, with an annual capacity of 10 or 5 million eggs or less. In that event, egg production can be increased by adopting the simple system of big chicken plants supplying the small ones with chicks to raise as laying hens.

The capacity for producing chickens should be increased.

Demand for table birds is very high among our people. We should construct many chicken plants devoted to chicken production and thus considerably increase the proportion of chickens in comparison with other meat. I have found that the draft prospective plan of the General Bureau of Poultry set the target for chicken production too low. When people want chickens, they should be supplied with them. They should not be supplied with other kinds of meat. Ducks or eggs are no substitute for chickens.

In the past we did not build many chicken-packing plants, because we did not have enough facilities for killing and freezing the birds. At present, however, we have large facilities. So, during the Six-Year Plan, we must build a chicken-packing plant in every big city, such as Hamhung and Chongjin and in each of the provincial seats, towns and workers' districts so that more chickens will be produced.

In order to produce large quantities of eggs and chickens, we must solve the feed problem efficiently.

No matter how many chicken plants are built, they will be useless so long as the problem of feed is not solved. We are unable to produce good feed in quantity, because we still do not have enough mixed poultry feed mills. As the production of eggs and chickens will increase in the future, we must build more feed mills and produce large quantities of good feed. For the present, one mill should be built in each province and, in the coming years, several more up-to-date ones should be erected in every province.

Next, an all-people movement should be launched to raise large numbers of chickens.

With their egg production alone, the state-owned chicken plants cannot satisfy the ever-increasing demand of the working people nor, in particular, can they provide enough eggs for the farmers.

In addition to the collective raising of chickens at the state-owned chicken plants, we should organize an all-people movement to raise chickens everywhere, so that more chickens and eggs are supplied to the rural population as well as to urban dwellers.

If chickens are distributed and raised everywhere, they can get enough ultraviolet rays and fresh air and varied microelements. This makes them very healthy. Moreover, if we introduce widespread chicken raising we shall have no need to build chicken plants which require an enormous outlay of materials, funds and manpower or install special equipment. Also, at chicken plants the laying stock must be renewed from year to year because their rate of laying declines in their second laying year. But birds bred in the villages go on laying for two or three years.

In future a mass movement should be launched to raise large numbers of chickens. To this end all possibilities should be turned to account. At the end of the Six-Year Plan, 2,000 million eggs should be produced annually through widespread chicken raising.

To begin with, all farm households should participate in the chicken-raising campaign.

If all families in the rural areas raise chickens, it will be possible to produce plenty of eggs with a small outlay of effort.

Let me give an example.

An elderly woman belonging to the third workteam of the Jangsuwon Cooperative Farm, Samsok District, Pyongyang, is producing a large number of eggs every year by raising chickens. She began with ten birds, and now her flock is 15, which gives her an average of eight eggs daily. She does not give much feed to the birds. Though a chicken plant consumes over 160 grammes of feed per egg, she uses 50 grammes or less. According to her account, when the chickens are given a lot of feed in the morning, they do not go out but only sleep on their perches. So they must not be fed in the morning, but should be given a little feed only when they return after pecking around outside. Only then will they readily fly up to the nests and lay eggs. As you see, this elderly woman is well versed in the chicken's habits, and is raising them well.

Another woman of the Jangsuwon Cooperative Farm is also a good chicken raiser. Every month she gets an average of 23 to 24 eggs per hen. If a hen lays 24 eggs a month, its yearly output will be 288 eggs. This means that it produces more than a layer at a state-run chicken plant.

If all farm households raise chickens in this way, the rural population will be able to have a constant supply of eggs. Hence, a widespread movement to raise chickens should be launched, not only amongst farming families but also amongst the families of factory and office workers, People's Army officers and all others in the country areas who can do so. I suggest that a drive be conducted to have every family keep seven birds on an average, while more can be raised by

families which include old people. I do not think it will be so difficult for a family to keep seven birds. The Women's Union organizations should strongly encourage the drive for keeping chickens in addition to raising silkworms.

A large number of chickens should also be kept at rice-cleaning mills.

Every county now has a state-owned rice-cleaning mill, and every ri, too, has one owned by the cooperative farm. Around rice-cleaning mills there is an abundance of chicken feed, such as rice bran and grass seed. In preparation for this meeting, I visited a rice-cleaning mill in the township of Junghwa a few days ago with cadres in the poultry industry, and we found plenty of feed for chickens there. When we asked how many birds could be raised at the mill, a worker answered that at least some 50 could be kept. Perhaps a state-owned rice-cleaning mill would be able to keep a great many more.

In future, state-owned rice-cleaning mills should raise some 1,000 chickens each, and cooperative farm mills about 50. It would be reasonable, too, for chicken plants to set up branches at state-owned rice-cleaning mills, but the cooperative farms should take care of the chickens at their mills themselves.

It is also possible to raise large flocks of chickens on the cooperative farm threshing grounds.

Threshing grounds are littered with grain, both in the waste-straw and on the ground. When I visited the third workteam of the Jangsuwon Cooperative Farm, Samsok District, Pyongyang, last year, I found plenty of chicken feed on its threshing ground. I told the workers to keep about 30 chickens there, so that each of the children in its creche and kindergarten could be given an egg every day. That workteam is now raising 30 chickens, as we suggested. A few days ago I visited Myongwol-ri in Junghwa County and asked the farmers how many chickens they could raise on their threshing ground. They answered 50 or 60.

In future, a widespread campaign must be undertaken to keep more than 50 birds on every cooperative farm threshing ground. If 50 birds

are raised there, their eggs alone will suffice to provide the children in their creches and kindergartens with eggs all the time.

Large numbers of chickens should be raised at granaries, too. This is possible because a lot of grain is scattered about the granary yards.

In order to raise large numbers of chickens through the all-people movement, the factories must aid the countryside and the working class must help the peasantry. State-run chicken plants should hatch many chicks and supply them cheaply to every household, rice-cleaning mill and threshing ground in the rural areas. The General Bureau of Poultry should introduce a system by which each chicken plant takes charge of a certain county and helps it. Therefore, the bureau should allot the counties to the chicken plants as seems appropriate.

Good technical guidance on poultry raising must be given if chickens are to be raised through an all-people movement. At present there is no official in the livestock and poultry breeding section of the county cooperative farm management committee who is specifically in charge of this work. This makes it impossible to give correct technical guidance on poultry raising. It is advisable to place one or two instructors on the county cooperative farm management committee to attend to poultry farming. At the same time, the expertise of chicken raising should be publicized through the widespread use of TV, radio and the press, and technical courses and the like should be given frequently to teach people how to raise poultry.

Furthermore, the training of personnel and scientific research in the poultry industry should be accelerated.

In order to operate the existing chicken plants efficiently and develop the poultry industry further, we must radically improve the training of personnel in this field and turn out larger numbers of competent technicians and specialists.

In the past, students of agricultural universities were given practically no courses on chicken breeding, although they were taught how to raise other domestic animals. In the future we must set up poultry farming departments in agricultural universities and add this subject to the curriculum of higher agro-technical schools to teach the

students the biological characteristics of chickens, the methods of tending them and veterinary and anti-epizootic information. The Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet should do organizational work efficiently to improve the system of personnel training in this field.

In addition to the training of technical personnel, scientific research in the poultry industry must be improved.

The most important thing in scientific research in this field is to do efficient work on breeding. The poultry industry personnel are at present only interested in purchasing breeding stock from abroad instead of planning to establish good stock of our own by doing good breeding work. They ought not to do this. Scientific and technical workers in the poultry industry should extend their research to produce good breeding stock which grows rapidly and lays well but consumes a small amount of feed.

Research into feed should also be carried on without cease.

A large amount of protein feed is needed to raise chickens on a large scale. But at present we do not produce enough ourselves. Beans contain a large amount of protein. But since cultivated land is limited and the bean yield is low in our country, we cannot produce large quantities of beans. In addition to this, we must make bean paste and soy sauce for the people with the small amount of beans produced. This makes it impossible for us to allocate a large amount for poultry feed. But it does not justify our continued dependence on other countries for protein feed. We must find a solution to the problem of protein feed by our own efforts, at all costs.

At present, workers in the poultry industry only look to the state to supply beans instead of doing research to make protein feed of their own. They think it indispensable to feed the birds on bean cake as is done in other countries. They are mistaken.

Scientific and technical workers in the poultry industry should boldly begin intensive research on making protein feed from crops which grow well in our country.

Research into yeast should also be given greater impetus. The

supply departments of the People's Army are getting good results in chicken raising by using yeast as feed. Research into this should be completed quickly.

Next, we should have a good commercial organization to distribute eggs.

If we do not do this, the people cannot get a reasonable supply of eggs which cost us a great deal of effort to produce and, moreover, many of the eggs might rot or crack. As egg production increases, commerce workers must organize their work better to supply eggs to the people more efficiently.

First, every provision should be made for the safe shipment of eggs.

Today, in some localities, a great many eggs are cracked because they are transported carelessly in wooden boxes for lack of egg-holder plates. This is really a serious state of affairs. Vinyl plastic egg-holder plates are not difficult to produce nor do they require much vinyl plastic. If the officials show a little initiative they can produce any amount of them. Cadres in commerce must see to it that enough egg holders and boxes are supplied so that not even a single egg is broken in transit.

In addition, a good system of egg procurement and supply should be established.

Some commerce workers now sell eggs when their stores receive a delivery but, at other times, they sit back with folded arms. They ought not to do this. As the commerce workers are directly responsible for the people's daily life, they must work hard as faithful servants of the people. When the stores run out of eggs, they should immediately inform the producing organizations and get in a stock to ensure a reasonable supply to the people. At present the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration is responsible for the procurement of eggs. But we think it preferable that the Ministry of Commerce should undertake this as it does for other foodstuffs. Only then can eggs be delivered to the shops in larger quantities and more quickly and supplied to the people more smoothly.

Good egg-processing facilities should be installed. Needless to say, our present output of eggs is not large, so there is no outdated stock of

eggs in the stores. But in the future when large numbers of eggs are produced through a nationwide, all-people movement, there may be times when they are left unsold. The necessary facilities, therefore, should be prepared from now on so that in such cases eggs may be processed and supplied to the people.

Furthermore, in order to procure and supply chickens properly, facilities for killing them, refrigeration plants and refrigerator vans should be produced in greater numbers, and cold storage and refrigerated counters should be set up in the stores. This organizational work is another important task and should be done well.

Comrades, the development of a large-scale poultry industry is an honourable task for supplying eggs and chickens to our people who lived in poverty in the past, and it is very useful work for raising our little ones, successors to our revolution, healthy and strong. All workers engaged in poultry breeding should have a high sense of honour and pride in their work and act as one in the struggle to develop the poultry industry. Not only workers in this field but also those in other branches of the national economy should fully understand that the endeavour to develop the poultry industry is an important revolutionary task to improve our people's welfare, and should make a greater contribution to it.

We must regularize production in the existing chicken plants, build more plants and breed chickens on a large scale through an all-people movement, so that chickens and eggs are supplied in abundance to the rural population as well as to urban dwellers. It is true that this is not an easy task. But if all the people put their shoulders to the wheel, the task will certainly be carried out, since we have already laid the firm foundations for the development of the poultry industry and have accumulated rich experience.

I firmly believe that you will bring about a new improvement in developing our poultry industry by putting the tasks which I have mentioned into effect without fail.

THE GREAT LENINIST IDEA ON THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN ASIAN COLONIES IS TRIUMPHING

**Article Published in *Pravda*, Organ of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
on the Occasion of the Centenary of the Birth of V.I. Lenin**

April 16, 1970

In common with all the progressive people of the world, we shall shortly be celebrating the glorious centenary of the birth of V.I. Lenin.

Lenin, great revolutionary leader and genius, devoted his entire life to the highest revolutionary cause of freedom and liberation for the international working classes and the oppressed nations all over the world. His exploits for the victory of socialism and communism will live for ever.

Lenin firmly defended the revolutionary quintessence of Marxism by his uncompromising struggle against opportunist trends of all kinds and creatively developed and enriched Marxism to suit the new conditions of the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Carrying out his activities in the age of imperialism when the contradictions of capitalist society were reaching their height, Lenin scientifically explained the nature and historical position of imperialism as the highest and latest stage of capitalism according to the laws of the emergence, development and downfall of capitalism as first described by Marx, thus demonstrating its inevitable ruin. In addition, Lenin was the first to propose the theory that the socialist

revolution can triumph in an individual country. He developed the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, formulated the organizational and ideological basis and tactical principles of a new type of Marxist party and mapped out the programme for socialist construction. Doing all this, Lenin aroused the working classes and the exploited and oppressed toiling masses of the whole world to a final revolutionary battle for socialism.

Leninism is creative Marxism in the age of imperialism—the theory, strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution, a powerful weapon in the hands of the revolutionary people for overthrowing the old society and creating a new world. It is a great militant banner of our times. The present situation strikingly proves the invincible vitality of Leninism as the revolutionary theory guiding the proletariat to change the world. The eternal revolutionary banner of Lenin is flying high all over the globe; and as time passes, it is giving an increasingly powerful impetus to the struggle of the progressive people around the world and is reliably leading all mankind to a bright future.

The colonial-national question is an important part of Leninist theory.

Lenin systematized the theory of the national-colonial revolution in the age of imperialism, the era of national oppression based on the domination of finance capital. In the era of monopoly capitalism the world was divided into two parts: a handful of imperialist powers on the one side and on the other, the colonies and dependent countries made up of the oppressed nations which comprise the majority of the world's population. Because of this fact, Lenin linked the national question with the colonial question, extended it from a local issue confined to the nations of "civilized" countries in Europe to a general question of liberation of the oppressed nations from the yoke of imperialism. And he regarded the colonial-national question as part of the whole question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin said that the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries must change from being imperialism's reserve force into the ally of the proletarian revolution and that the working

class must completely reject social chauvinism and fight in solid unity with the hundreds of millions of people in the oppressed nations—people who, until the age of proletarian revolution, had been completely excluded from the realm of historical progress and had been considered simply objects of history. Lenin went more profoundly into Marx’s scientific concept of the self-determination of nations, the basic principle for solving the national-colonial question. He pointed out that all nations are equal and independent, that no privileges should be given to any one nation for any reason and that all actions which infringe upon the rights of national minorities should be declared illegal. He also held that all nations should enjoy the freedom of secession and the right to political self-determination. At the same time he advocated the genuine solidarity of nations based on the principle of proletarian internationalism and categorically rejected bigoted national egoists and bourgeois nationalists who “in words, recognize the equality of nations, but in deeds (often covertly, behind the backs of the people) stand for certain privileges for one of the nations, and always try to secure greater advantages for ‘their own’ nation (i.e., for the bourgeoisie of their own nation), strive to separate and segregate nations, to foster national exclusiveness, etc.”

While advocating the freedom and independence of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries, Lenin directed particular attention to the national-liberation struggle of the Asian peoples.

From late in the 19th century to the early years of the 20th century, the Eastern countries were carved up between the world imperialist powers as colonies, and the Asian continent was turned into a source of raw materials, a place to export capital and a market for the surplus commodities in the interests of capitalist powers—into a vast supply base for imperialism. This greatly impeded the normal economic development of these Eastern countries where capitalist relations were branching out and thriving within a feudal society. Intensified oppression and exploitation of the Asian countries by the imperialist powers and the consequent obstacles to social and economic development inevitably aggravated national contradictions between

the imperialist powers and the peoples in this region. Compared with the peoples of the advanced capitalist countries, the imperialists subjected the Eastern peoples to multiple forms of extreme exploitation and barbarous national and racial oppression. Such intensified aggression by the imperialist powers in the East and the accelerated process of colonization and semi-colonization which went with it also worked to sharpen class contradictions to the utmost. Combined with exploitation by the indigenous reactionary ruling classes, the plunder by the foreign imperialists became increasingly intolerable. The contradictions among the imperialist powers and the race between capitalist monopolies for colonial interests and spheres of influence also produced serious confrontations in this area. This zone was, in fact, the focal point of the various contradictions which eventually gave rise to revolution; it was the weakest link in the chain of imperialist bastions and an area of decisive battles in the worldwide political struggle. Asia became the focal point of the national-colonial question. The peoples of the East awoke from centuries of stupor, and from the end of the 19th century onwards the peoples' revolutionary movements for freedom and independence began to grow all over Asia.

Lenin said: "The period of the awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution is being succeeded by a period in which all the Eastern peoples will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply objects of the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are becoming alive to the need for practical action, the need for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind."

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia opened a new era in the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia. The victory of the October Revolution awakened the Eastern peoples who had been kept ignorant by medieval policies and whose existence until then was justified only in so far as they were the fertilizer for capitalist civilization. The triumphant October Revolution linked the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations with the revolutionary movement of

the international working classes and thus lifted it to a new, higher stage of development.

Having drawn profound strength and courage from Lenin's great ideas of the colonial-national question and seeing the correct path of struggle in the victory of the October Revolution, the peoples of the East began to enter into resolute, valiant battle against imperialism and colonialism and won historic victories under the leadership of the working class. Since the end of the Second World War, in particular, a great revolutionary change has taken place in the East and the face of Asia has been fundamentally altered.

The Chinese people finally drove out the foreign imperialists and overthrew the feudal and bureaucrat-capitalist rule through a prolonged liberation struggle against imperialism. The triumph of the Chinese revolution was a great international event second only in importance to the Great October Revolution. The fact that the Chinese people, comprising nearly one-fourth of the world's population, cast off the shackles of imperialism and set off on the road to socialism meant that another huge breach was made in the imperialist colonial system. Furthermore, it decisively tipped the balance of forces between socialism and imperialism in favour of socialism.

The heroic Vietnamese people ejected the French colonialists and other foreign invaders by waging a bloody struggle. Then they founded a socialist state, the first of its kind in Southeast Asia. Today Viet Nam is the fiercest front of the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle. On the soil of Viet Nam a violent battle is raging between the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces and the aggressive forces of US imperialism. The People's Liberation Armed Forces and the people of South Viet Nam have already freed four-fifths of their territory and two-thirds of the population and have established the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. They continue to inflict irreversibly devastating military and political defeats on the US imperialist aggressors and are driving the US imperialists and the South Vietnamese puppets into a tight corner.

Under the leadership of the Laotian Patriotic Front, the people of

Laos have taken up arms for the liberation and independence of their country and to safeguard peace and security in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. They are unremittingly attacking the US imperialists and their stooges every day, winning ever greater victories in their struggle. The Japanese working class and people are carrying on a strong anti-US, anti-monopoly struggle and are striking hard at both the war policies of the US imperialists and the revival of Japanese militarism. The Thai and the Malayan peoples are also launching a powerful armed struggle against the US imperialists and the pro-American dictatorships. The Philippine people, youngsters and students have bravely gone into the streets to resist the political and economic subjugation of their country by US imperialism. The men and women of Cambodia are fighting for their national sovereignty and territorial integrity. And the peoples of India, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan and the other Asian countries are marching forward in the ranks of those fighting against imperialism and colonialism.

The whole course of the Korean revolution—filled with its harsh ordeals and heroic events—has been one glorious victory after another under the immortal banner of Lenin. The Korean people found a weapon of liberation in the great ideas of Lenin and, under his standard, they have been waging a noble battle for freedom and independence, forging a history of creation and victory.

In the darkest days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule when misfortune weighed heavily upon our nation, the Korean communists raised the banner of anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle with Lenin's revolutionary ideas as their strategic and tactical guide, waged 15 long years of heroic armed struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggressors and ended up by defeating Japanese imperialism and achieving a historic victory—the liberation of our motherland.

After the August 15 liberation our people embarked upon a new life and began carrying out a thorough anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. They established an impenetrable revolutionary base in the northern half of the country, courageously repulsed the

predatory invasion by US imperialism and its stooges in the Fatherland Liberation War and honourably protected all their revolutionary gains. Our victory in the Fatherland Liberation War proved that no aggressive imperialist forces can ever conquer a people who have risen up to defend the freedom and independence of their country under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party. It also exposed the vulnerability and corruptness of US imperialism and firmly convinced the oppressed nations of the world that US imperialism is by no means invincible—that it can, indeed, be defeated. Our Party has attained great victories and been highly successful in the socialist revolution and in building socialism by firmly adhering to the principle of Juche. Juche means both creatively applying the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of other countries to suit the historical conditions and national peculiarities of our own, and also always taking full responsibility for resolving our problems by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. Today our country has become a socialist state with full rights to political self-determination, a powerful, self-sustaining national economy, a brilliant national culture and a mighty capacity for self-defence.

The great socio-economic changes in the northern half of Korea exercise an enormous revolutionary influence on the people in south Korea who suffer under the tyrannical colonial rule of US imperialism. The south Korean people look towards the prospering and developing north as a beacon of hope. They have been fighting valiantly against the US imperialist policies of colonial subjugation and military aggression ever since the first days of the US imperialist occupation of the south. The October Popular Resistance in 1946, the massive April Popular Uprising in 1960 which overthrew the puppet regime of Syngman Rhee, long-time stooge of US imperialism, all the subsequent dynamic struggles of the south Korean people to oppose the “south Korea-Japan talks”, to smash the traitorous “south Korea-Japan treaty” and to oppose the intrigues of the present rulers in the south to prolong their term of office—all of these examples of resistance have shaken US imperialist colonial rule to its very

foundation. Today the revolutionary struggle in south Korea is gradually organizing itself and becoming deeply rooted amongst the workers and peasants, the main forces of revolution. People from all walks of life are rising up in an anti-US, anti-puppet fight. Expanding and strengthening their revolutionary organizations all the time, the south Korean revolutionaries and patriotic people are everywhere developing a broad mass struggle to eliminate US imperialist colonial rule, achieve the complete sovereignty and independence of the nation, reunify the country, oppose the military fascist dictatorship and win political freedom and democratic rights. The south Korean people will become awakened and steel themselves in the fight, ultimately drive out the US imperialist aggressors and topple their stooges. The final victory in the revolution will be theirs.

Once a colonized continent, Asia has become an area of raging revolutionary storms which will drown imperialism in their fury. It has become the front line of the international revolution against imperialism, the main arena of the worldwide revolutionary conflict for freedom and liberation. Dealt powerful blows by the national-liberation struggle of the Eastern peoples, the imperialists have been mortally injured, covered with wounds and completely isolated. Merciless and relentless imperialism and colonialism which kept hundreds of millions of people in poverty and hunger are now living their last days in the East. Their complete liquidation is imminent.

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the peoples on the Asian continent—a continent which holds more than half of the world's population and has enormous natural and economic potential—is strengthening the position of socialist countries in the world arena. This struggle is also creating conditions which are favourable for the continued development of the international working-class movement because it aggravates the general crisis of the world capitalist system and strikes imperialism from behind. The Eastern nations, which were for centuries oppressed, plundered and subjected to harsh national humiliation and racial discrimination by foreign aggressors, are

emerging today as the great revolutionary force of our times, which opposes imperialism and colonialism, and have become a primary motive force pushing forward the history of mankind.

Lenin said: “It is perfectly clear that in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect.”

Modern history, which is filled with events of revolutionary import, proves the correctness of Lenin’s prediction every day.

The US-led imperialists are terrified by the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces which are growing and daily becoming stronger in Asia. They are desperately floundering in an attempt to repress the anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggles of the peoples in this area –struggles which spread like prairie fire–in order to prop up their tottering colonial regimes.

The US imperialists have poured most of their foreign military “aid” into Asia, set up a whole series of military bases and thrown two-thirds of their overseas armed forces of aggression into the area. While they reinforce their aggressive forces, they nurse the fantasy of realizing their belligerent plans in Asia without any major difficulties through the strategy of “making Asians fight each other” by setting up Japanese militarism as a “shock brigade” and working up their satellite states and puppets in Asia. The US imperialists have rearmed Japanese militarism and aligned it with the south Korean puppets. On this basis they are trying hard to establish an Asian “anti-communist” military alliance. Conspiratorial intrigues directed by the US-led imperialists against Asia have increased particularly in the last few months. In working out their aggressive designs the US imperialists are openly using the military and economic potential of Japan, their junior ally and military base for aggression. The Japanese militarists, for their part, are openly running wild in an attempt to realize their old dream of the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” with the backing of US imperialism. Japanese militarists are already giving their active

support to US imperialist aggression in Viet Nam; they are openly accelerating their preparations to invade Korea and other countries in Asia, and they are intensifying their economic and cultural penetration throughout this area.

Despite its desperate efforts, nothing can help US imperialism and its stooges escape their inevitable fate in Asia. The more the US imperialists intensify their policy of war and aggression in Asia, the greater the resistance of the Asian peoples will be. The peoples of the East will develop their uncompromising, determined struggle for an independent, prosperous new Asia. In doing this they will destroy once and for all the imperialist colonial system headed by US imperialism.

Since the days of Lenin, the Soviet people have upheld the banner of anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle and contributed greatly to the cause of liberation for the oppressed peoples of the world. The Soviet people have helped our people liberate themselves from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule and have given substantial material and moral aid to our people's struggle to safeguard our country's freedom and independence and to build a new society. Our people do not forget the internationalist support and assistance of the Soviet people. To the Korean people, friendship and solidarity with the Soviet people in the anti-imperialist, anti-US front is of crucial importance. Today the militant solidarity between our people and the Soviet people continues to grow in strength. Forged in the flames of common battle against imperialism and colonialism, fighting for socialism and communism, and tested by the trials of history, the militant solidarity of the peoples of Korea and the Soviet Union will continue to be consolidated and strengthened in the days to come.

Long live the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the international working classes and oppressed nations all over the world, firmly united under the ever-victorious, revolutionary banner of Lenin!

ON IMPROVING THE SUPPLY SERVICE IN TOKCHON COUNTY

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Officials
from the Party and Government Bodies, Working People's
Organizations and Administrative and Economic Establishments
in Tokchon County, South Phyongan Province**

May 4, 1970

At this consultative meeting we are going to discuss how to improve the supply service for the working people in Tokchon County.

Whenever I visit this county I emphasize the importance of improving this work. But, so far, there has been no improvement.

At present, even vegetables, not to mention meat, cooking oil and fish, are not supplied in adequate quantities to the workers in this county. I visited some shops and found that large quantities of vegetables like leeks and garlic were not on sale.

The supply service for the working people in Tokchon County is not improving because the senior county officials and those who are in charge of factories and enterprises lack the revolutionary spirit to implement the Party's policy and have not acquired its monolithic ideological system.

After receiving an assignment from the Party, they ought to make every effort to carry it out. But they have not done so. Consequently, none of the tasks given this county by the Party in the past has been implemented properly. If they had implemented them properly, the supply service for the working people would have improved a long

time ago. There can be no other reasons or excuses for not improving it in the past. It is entirely due to the fact that the senior officials of the county have not carried out the Party's policy.

The senior officials of Tokchon County and those in charge of factories and enterprises are not interested in improving the supply service for the working people and they are not concerned about this work.

It is by no means accidental that the workers of the Sungni Motor Works say now that the Party secretary and the manager of their factory take no interest in their living conditions, concerning themselves only with production. This shows that the senior officials in Tokchon County have neither Party spirit nor working-class spirit nor the spirit to serve the people.

That Party policies have not been implemented properly in the county can also be explained to some extent by the fact that the county Party committee has not performed its role as it should.

Tokchon County is an industrial district with many large factories and enterprises including the motor works and coal mines and in which industrial workers account for nearly 85 per cent of the population. In order to ensure the correct organization and direction of the supply service for the workers and of county work as a whole, the Party set up a central county Party committee here and appointed good cadres to it. But the county Party committee has not fought resolutely against the practice of neglecting to carry out Party policies, although this practice was very much in evidence amongst officials in the past. So they have even been unable to solve the problem of the supply service for the working people satisfactorily.

What should you do to improve this work?

At present, some factories and enterprises are trying to improve it by developing their sideline economy. But this is not the way to effect a radical improvement.

The main thing to do to improve the supply service for the working people is to increase assistance to the rural communities so that cooperative farms can raise the output not only of grain but also of meat, eggs, vegetables, and so on.

We are still unable to solve the food problem by industrial methods. Cereals, meat, eggs, vegetables and other food items are all produced in the country areas. So the working class must help the farmers in developing agriculture. Then, meat, eggs, vegetables and cooking oil will be produced.

All the factories and enterprises in the county must give active assistance to the rural communities, as laid down in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

Our Party has made it a policy and slogan for the working class to help the farmers, for industry to assist agriculture and for the towns to support the rural areas. In counties like Tokchon County in particular where most of the inhabitants are industrial workers, the working class must help the farmers and the town must support the country areas. This is the way to become prosperous.

In Tokchon County where there is a large industrial population, the workers' district can help agricultural production greatly by collecting manure, including human excrement, and sending it to the country areas. This county will be able to supply its cooperative farms with nearly 100,000 tons of good manure obtained from the workers' district even after putting aside the manure to be used for the sideline farms at factories and enterprises and for the kitchen gardens of their employees. If this is added to another 100,000 tons of manure produced by the cooperative farms themselves, the total amount will be 200,000 tons. Since the area of cultivated land in this county is 7,800 hectares, the total amount will be enough to supply 25 tons per hectare. With this amount of manure you can produce more than 4 tons of maize per hectare and increase the production of vegetables considerably.

A few years ago we gave the factories and enterprises in Tokchon County the task of gathering manure, including human excrement, and sending it to cooperative farms, and we gave the Sungni Motor Works the task of increasing the production of lorries so as to supply one to each cooperative farm for the transport of manure. Tokchon County has implemented the task of producing one lorry for each cooperative

farm, but it has not carried out the other task.

Last year the Jenam Cooperative Farm which is said to have transported the largest amount of manure in the county carried 1,200 tons, the Hyongbong Cooperative Farm only 200 tons and the Unhung Cooperative Farm 700 tons. The lorries which had been supplied to cooperative farms to transport the manure last year were mobilized at will by county officials to carry things like coal, chemical fertilizer, and grain. That was why cooperative farms were unable to transport sufficient quantities of manure.

Last year factories and enterprises did not organize the work of gathering the human excrement as they should. The work of gathering such natural fertilizer can easily be done by mobilizing housewives who are not working and inspiring industrial workers. But the executives of factories and enterprises did not organize this work. We do not need officials who do not implement Party policy, and these people are not worthy of being Party members.

If factories and enterprises are to help rural communities efficiently, they should accept responsibility for cooperative farms on a permanent basis and should help them in a dedicated way.

The chief secretary of the provincial Party committee, the chairman of the provincial people's committee, the deputy director of the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee and the chairman of the provincial rural economy committee should discuss this matter with the senior officials of Tokchon County and give assignments to the factories and enterprises of the county to help cooperative farms by becoming responsible for them.

The Sungni Motor Works and other large factories and enterprises can each be given an assignment to support two cooperative farms or so.

In addition, each cooperative farm should be given an assignment to produce specified amounts of meat and vegetables for designated factories. Factories and enterprises are in duty bound to give assistance to rural communities, and cooperative farms are also under an obligation to produce meat and vegetables and supply them to industrial workers.

Factories and other industrial establishments must find out how tractors and other farm machines and lorries are working on cooperative farms, and, if any of these machines goes out of order, they should repair it for them promptly and help the rural communities effectively in all other work.

You must ensure that spare parts for lorries are supplied to the cooperative farms in the county without delay.

I am told that at present many lorries on the cooperative farms in this county cannot be used because of the shortage of spare parts. It is absurd that the county with a large motor works has to keep lorries out of work on account of a shortage of spare parts. You should encourage its workers to produce the spare parts for the cooperative farms.

You will have to supply lorries which will be used exclusively for carrying human excrement.

Cooperative farms need lorries to carry coal and farming materials. So the lorries which are now on the cooperative farms should be used for the transport of farming materials. The new ones which will be supplied should be modified and used for carrying human excrement all the year round under the control of the county cooperative farm management committee. If the farmlands are fertilized with human excrement for about three years, they will be improved radically.

Next, you have to solve the vegetable problem.

It is said that spinach does not thrive because of damage by frost during winter. So you must ensure that farmers plant leeks and garlic instead of spinach and cultivate as many autumn vegetables as possible and store them for use until spring vegetables are available.

I was told that the Tokchon people preserve unsliced radishes in salt in autumn and then eat them the following spring. This is a good way of storing vegetables. In Pyongyang, too, a large volume of autumn vegetables is preserved in salt and then supplied to the citizens in March and April.

In Tokchon County you should find a good method of preserving vegetables and so store a large amount of autumn vegetables. Autumn vegetables should not only be salted by individual households, but also

by factories and enterprises, and vegetable-supply agencies including those in the commercial network. In this way you will ensure that the supply of vegetables for the workers does not run short before spring vegetables are available.

Considering that the spring vegetable season comes later in Tokchon County than in other parts of the province, you should take measures to obtain a certain amount of spring vegetables from other districts.

In South Phyongan Province there are many places where the weather is warmer and spring vegetables ripen earlier than in this district. If spring vegetables are cultivated widely in such places and delivered to this district the workers here will be able to eat spinach and other spring vegetables. So far, the chairman of the South Phyongan Provincial People's Committee and the chairman of the Tokchon County People's Committee have not organized this work. This is not a work attitude worthy of the chairmen of people's committees who serve the people.

Tokchon County should obtain supplies of spinach and other spring vegetables for the industrial workers by making contracts with other counties in the province, with Jungsan County, for instance, where the weather is comparatively mild and where there are not many large factories and enterprises. It can conclude contracts with Kaesong or South Hwanghae Province for the supply of vegetables. If this is done, Tokchon County will be able to receive supplies of spring vegetables from around the 20th of April.

Tokchon County should also make contracts with other districts for the supply of fruit. In this way you will supply the workers with peaches, grapes and apples in their seasons.

If Tokchon County is to cultivate vegetables successfully it must plant vegetables in fields on slightly high ground where drainage is good and take firm measures to introduce the sprinkler irrigation system.

The county should quickly complete the introduction of the sprinkler irrigation system in the vegetable fields now under way. The plastic pipes for the sprinkler system should be manufactured by the

efforts of the province which must obtain raw materials.

The sprinkler facilities require regular maintenance and repair.

Last year we set up the sprinkler system in many parts of the country; some of them are not working because they have broken down. Cooperative farms cannot repair them because they have neither machine tools nor spare parts. In spite of this situation, no one gives the matter any consideration. You must not work in such a way that you construct the sprinkler system in a hurry, use it a few times, and then throw it away as soon as it goes wrong. Unless they rid themselves of the old habit of working carelessly, our officials will be unable to do anything properly, nor will they be able to manage the nation's economic life efficiently.

At present, Pyongyang uses the sprinkler system, repairing it regularly, having established a repair system.

Following the example of Pyongyang, other districts should also establish a repair and maintenance system, always supervise the use of these irrigation facilities, and when any of them goes out of order, repair it promptly.

The repair and maintenance of these facilities is not a task that can be neglected. When we did not have this system we produced only 20 tons of vegetables per hectare. Since its introduction, however, we have raised the per-hectare yield to 150 tons. This means a 7.5-fold increase, which is as though we had obtained that much new land.

Tokchon County should organize a sprinkler repair workteam at the farm machine station and assign several technicians and a few machine tools to it for the production of the necessary spare parts and for repairs and maintenance.

If you are to succeed in vegetable cultivation, you have to eradicate the surviving conservatism and selfishness from the minds of the farmers.

At present, there is a tendency among the farmers not to produce vegetables willingly for the working class on the excuse that the prices of vegetables are low. These remnants of outdated ideas must be eliminated.

In fact, the current prices of vegetables are not low, and the farmers are earning a large income from growing them. Last year the Sosamjong Cooperative Farm, Pyongyang, distributed 1,600 *won* in cash to each farm household on an average by selling vegetables. This means 130 *won* on a monthly average, a sum which is greater than the current monthly pay for a director of an administration bureau. Another reason why the cooperative farms in Tokchon County are reluctant to cultivate vegetables at present is that they probably do not know the profitability of vegetable farming.

The Academy of Agricultural Sciences and Pyongyang ought to give positive assistance to Tokchon County so that it can cultivate vegetables successfully.

The Academy of Agricultural Sciences should send five researchers specialized in vegetable growing to Tokchon County. While staying in this county for about two years they should teach cooperative farms the methods of vegetable cultivation and of selecting seeds suitable to the climatic conditions of this area and, at the same time, train experts in vegetable growing, so that the farms can grow vegetables well without being given further assistance. Pyongyang should select people who are experienced in growing vegetables and send one of them to each of the cooperative farms in Tokchon County.

You say that you want to organize a cooperative farm in Tokchon County which specializes in the production of vegetables. You need not hurry with this, but do it gradually by teaching the farmers in such a way that they will take an interest in vegetable cultivation. You should ensure that approximately 30 hectares are planted to vegetables at first and that 100 tons are produced per hectare by introducing the sprinkler irrigation system. This will encourage them to plant more vegetables in the following year, and then a cooperative farm will gradually become specialized in the production of vegetables.

This was how the Sosamjong, Sosin and Oryu Cooperative Farms and many others in Pyongyang became specialized in vegetable cultivation in the past. Now they supply adequate amounts of vegetables to Pyongyang.

In future, the state will have to sell grain to those cooperative farms which cannot meet their own needs for food grain because they concentrate on vegetable cultivation.

Next, you must develop solid bases for meat production and supply.

First, you must build chicken plants.

The chicken plant which has already been built in Tokchon County appears to be proving its worth. But, when a dam for a power station is built in Kumsong-ri in the future, the existing chicken plant may be submerged. Therefore, it must be moved elsewhere. There is no need for you to hasten the construction of a new chicken plant, but you should continue to produce eggs at the existing one and then move its facilities to a new building when it has been completed.

It will not be very difficult to build a new chicken plant. If the construction company in the county undertakes the project and if the workers and office employees help it on Sundays, the chicken plant will be built quickly. The state should supply the roofing and similar materials needed for the building, and the county should obtain concrete blocks and timber for itself. The province must not diffuse its efforts for the construction of chicken plants over many places, but concentrate on the one in Tokchon County.

The capacity of the new chicken plant should be higher than that of the existing one to the extent that it can produce 10 million eggs and 500 to 1,000 tons of chicken a year at the first stage. There must, therefore, be one system for producing eggs and another for producing chicken. It is true that productivity is not high at present because of the low level of technical skill in raising chickens. But both the technical level and productivity will rise gradually in future.

It would be a good idea to locate the new chicken plant as close to the county town as possible. This will reduce the number of eggs broken in transit.

You must build a cold-storage plant.

This plant is needed to store the meat from the chicken plant so that it can be supplied to the residents on a regular basis. It can also store meat and fish from other districts before they are distributed. The

Kangson Steel Plant has constructed a refrigerated plant which stores meat and fish brought from Pyongyang for its workers. But Tokchon County cannot obtain supplies of meat from Pyongyang even if the city is prepared to make supplies available, because it has no refrigerated plant.

Tokchon County should quickly complete the refrigerated plant which is now being built, and the economic sectors concerned must supply the three refrigerators and pipes of different kinds for the plant. The assembly of the equipment must be undertaken by the Sungni Motor Works.

The refrigerated plant now under construction has a capacity of 300 tons. If the freezing capacity now available at the factories and enterprises is added to this, the total cold-storage capacity of the county will amount to 500 tons. This is enough to meet the requirement of the county.

Pyongyang has to supply some meat to this county until the new chicken plant has been built. At present Pyongyang produces approximately 10 tons of chicken a day. It must supply one day's output to Tokchon County every month. A monthly delivery of ten tons of chicken to the county will enable its shops to keep chicken for sale to the inhabitants.

Tokchon County must also construct a small meat processing plant including slaughtering facilities beside the refrigerated plant once that has been built. The meat processing plant should be built well by following the designs of similar plants at Hwangju and Ryongsong. This plant will have to slaughter the pigs bought from cooperative farms, produce sausages and brawn and also process their trotters.

Support for cooperative farms must be increased so as to give a strong impetus to the campaign for each crop-raising workteam to produce two tons of meat and for each farm household to produce 100 kg of meat and 1,000 eggs. You should also promote a campaign to raise chickens and produce eggs by using all facilities and possibilities including the threshing grounds and rice mills of cooperative farms. The families of coal miners should also be encouraged to produce eggs

by raising from five to ten chickens each. The county cooperative farm management committee should organize a demonstration to teach people how to breed maggots and ensure that this good animal feed is provided for chickens.

If Tokchon County works hard to increase the production of meat in this way, it will be able to supply meat regularly to the workers of the Sungni Motor Works and the Tokchon Coal Mine and other factories and enterprises under its jurisdiction and even to Pukchang County.

Next, you must develop local industry, particularly the foodstuff industry.

The foodstuff industry in Tokchon County has begun to develop to a certain extent. The confectionary produced in the Tokchon Foodstuff Factory is fairly good. If we give it about ten cows in the future to provide milk for the manufacture of confectionary, quality will improve further.

But this factory still produces by manual methods. It needs a great deal of improvement. The county should modernize the equipment of the foodstuff factory by mobilizing the efforts of the Sungni Motor Works and other large factories and enterprises.

You should turn Tokchon County into a grain-producing area.

You say that the soil here is poor, but it is better than that in Changsong. Although the land in Changsong is infertile, the people there raise good crops and produce enough food and to spare. Why should Tokchon County with better land lag behind the Changsong people in agriculture?

All the workers in the county should work hard to turn their county into a grain-producing area.

If the factories and enterprises increase their support for the rural communities and if the farmers work with the attitude of masters, this will be achieved in Tokchon County. It can produce four to five tons of maize per hectare if the fields are well fertilized.

Runner beans must be planted on a wide scale. It is a very good thing that Tokchon County took action this year for every cooperative farm sub-workteam to grow 1,000 runner bean plants and for every

farm household to grow 150 plants. In addition, you should organize a campaign for each factory and office worker's household to grow 100 to 150 of these plants. The runner bean is highly albuminous, and the nutritive value of 50 beans is, they say, equivalent to that of a chicken egg. It would be good to cultivate it widely and cook it with rice, stew it or use it for stuffed cakes. You should ensure that sufficient quantities of foodstuffs made of runner beans are supplied to the children of nurseries and kindergartens. The provincial people's committee ought to organize a campaign for each of the families in the province to grow 100 plants.

The practice of clearing mountain plots by the slash-and-burn method must be prohibited.

On my way to Tokchon County on this occasion, I noticed that the mountains in Pukchang and Tokchon districts have become bare and unsightly, particularly those near the Tokchon County town. Mountains which are thick with trees prevent landslide and flood damage.

The people in Tokchon County have denuded the mountains by following the slash-and-burn method of agriculture. A widespread use of this method in Tokchon, Nyongwon, Yangdok and Maengsan Counties in the upper reaches of the Taedong River has caused great flood damage in the river basin in recent years. Pyongyang was a flood victim in 1967, and Tokchon County last year. The denuding of mountains to reclaim crop fields in the upper reaches of the Taedong River has resulted in silt being swept down the river in the rainy season, in the river bottom being raised and in the size of Rungna and Yanggak Islets being increased. Therefore, Pyongyang has to dredge the riverbed, using a great deal of manpower every year.

Tokchon County should completely eliminate the practice of reclaiming the mountains. It must raise the per-hectare yields of crops by intensive farming and at the same time it must plant many trees in the mountains. If you are going to prevent the practice of using the slash-and-burn method you must educate the people and tighten control. In future you have to take punitive action, including legal

sanctions, against those who use the slash-and-burn method.

In order to put an end to this practice, it is also necessary to take steps to give 20 to 30 *phyong* of land to each household of workers and office employees as their kitchen gardens.

Sloping fields should be developed into terraced fields. This will protect the fields and increase their per-hectare yields.

You must do this year's farm work well.

Rice seedlings this year are better than last year's when they were affected with various diseases because of cold-weather damage. At present the rice seedlings are in good condition, but maize seedlings may not thrive after planting because of the dry weather. Therefore, you should prepare maize seedlings in humus-cakes at the edges of fields, with which to replace the dry plants when it rains. This will not only prevent drought damage, but will be a precaution against the crop's failure to ripen.

In conclusion, I should like to speak about some immediate tasks of the industrial sector.

The Sungni Motor Works should be properly developed to modern standards and it must improve the quality of its products.

At present, this factory's workshops are in a state of disorder and they have not yet established modern production practices. The factory has to develop its workshops and introduce modern production practices throughout.

The factory must not only improve the quality of the lorries it produces but also increase their number.

Lorries are now required everywhere. They are required by factories and other enterprises, cooperative farms and the People's Army. The number of local industry factories has increased by more than 1,000. If each of them is to be supplied with one lorry, more than 1,000 lorries will be needed in all. We can only develop local industry and improve land development, city management and the supply of goods when we increase the production of lorries.

The small output of lorries is now retarding the nation's economic development to a great degree. This is partly due to the inadequate

supply of steel, but the main reason is that the production plan for lorries which was given to the factory was too small.

The Sungni Motor Works must make a detailed study of the possibility of increasing the production of *Sungni-58* lorries and then do so. If it can produce 1,000 more of them than provided for in the plan, it must do so even though it might have to postpone the production of some other items. Steel needed for the manufacture of lorries has to be supplied as a matter of priority. If you produce these additional 1,000 lorries this year, the contracts with the cooperative farms for lorries should be fulfilled completely. Next year you must produce 4,000 *Sungni-58* lorries.

The items which have to be obtained through cooperative production for the manufacture of lorries should be produced within this county.

At the moment, these items are produced at factories and other enterprises in all parts of the country. If war breaks out, you may find it difficult to obtain them. It is an important requirement of our Party's policy that the items needed for production which a county has to obtain through cooperative efforts should be produced within that county.

If the items which have to be obtained through cooperative efforts for the production of lorries are to be manufactured within this county, you must build local industries capable of producing them. The county should ensure that each of the coal mines builds one local industry factory. Each factory should be housed in a simple, one-storeyed building rather than a two-storeyed building. It should employ housewives who are not working now. If they are given effective assistance by technicians, even housewives can produce plastic goods, rubber goods, batteries, electrical components and other machine parts for lorries without difficulty.

If a housewife gets a job with a factory, she will benefit herself by increasing her family income and by revolutionizing and working-classing herself. Only when women play a full part in communal work can they have many opportunities to train and educate

themselves through practical activities.

The Tokchon County Party Committee should discuss the question of locally manufacturing the items which have to be obtained through cooperative efforts for the production of lorries at the Sungni Motor Works, and then give each of the coal mines specific assignments to build a local industry factory.

The output of coal has to be increased.

Tokchon County has so far implemented its coal production plans fairly well, and in future it should work better and continue to advance. But you must on no account try to cut coal without giving priority to heading excavation.

If tunnelling is not kept ahead of coal cutting, you cannot produce coal on a steady basis. In 1968, in an effort to carry out the coal production plan before the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, they concentrated on mining coal on all prepared cutting faces, without going ahead with heading excavation. In consequence, coal production did not progress well after the anniversary day, September 9, because there were no more available cutting faces. With the forthcoming Fifth Congress of the Party this year this may happen again. It must not recur. Coal mines must always observe the principle of cutting coal by giving clear priority to heading excavation.

Coal mines have to adopt measures to prevent waste products from being discharged into rivers.

Because it is carelessly disposed of at mines at present, a great deal of waste flows into rivers. The chairman of the Kaechon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee says that the river bottom has begun to rise since the opening of the Joyang Coal Mine. It does not appear that this coal mine disposes of its waste products carefully. At present ore mines try to prevent ore residue from getting into rivers, but coal mines do not do this with their waste products.

Coal mines should enforce strict measures to prevent the waste products from polluting rivers. Workers should be educated to take good care of the land, and walls must be built to keep shale from rolling down into rivers. In particular, Tokchon, Kaechon and

Pukchang Counties ought to attend to this problem.

In order to keep the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant working at full capacity so as to produce electricity at a steady rate, Tokchon County must supply it with sufficient coal.

If the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant is supplied with sufficient coal and can thus produce electricity at a steady rate for just two months, the dry season will be over and the power shortage problem will be solved. Tokchon County must direct great efforts to the production of coal so as to keep the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant well supplied.

The county town has to be developed.

Tokchon is an important place. We have built the motor works and other major factories here and we intend to build many more in the future. Enlightened workers who manufacture modern machines live in Tokchon, so you should develop the town in a communistic and modern way and provide them with cultured living conditions. Tokchon is a machine-industry area which is free from pollution. Therefore, you can develop the town as a recreation city which is good to live in.

In order to develop the county town well you have to lay it out properly.

The main street of the town should be lined with four- to five-storeyed dwelling houses combined with some seven- to eight-storeyed ones, and the side-streets ought to be lined with Songnim-style dwelling houses. The town should also be provided with good waterworks and sewerage.

The state bodies and enterprises in the county town must not construct buildings and one-storeyed dwellings at random. If this is permitted, the town will be ugly and, worse still, the area for vegetable cultivation will be reduced. Housing construction in the county town must be undertaken in accordance with the designs supplied by the state.

The construction company of the Sungni Motor Works should undertake the construction of the town.

At present the company has 700 workers. It should increase the number to 1,000 and assume responsibility for both industrial and town construction. A force of 1,000 building workers can build dwelling houses for 2,000 families a year.

You say that you will build houses for 1,000 families this year. The state should supply steel and cement for the flooring blocks needed for the project.

The promenade and embankment should also be built on the Taedong River. Since the stone and cement needed for this project are available in the county, you should mobilize the workers and build them attractively.

The hill behind the town should be developed into a park. It should be planted to pine-nut trees, larches and various other trees. In spring and autumn all the people should be mobilized to plant trees in the mountains.

In this way Tokchon County will develop the town attractively and also take good care of its mountains.

I believe that all the officials in Tokchon County will carry out the tasks discussed at this consultative meeting successfully by displaying their wisdom and energy.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION OF CHONGRYON

**Congratulatory Message Sent to the Chairman of the Presidium
of the Chongryon Central Committee**

May 24, 1970

In greeting the 15th anniversary of the formation of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and for my own part, I extend the most heartfelt congratulations to Comrade Chairman, the cadres of Chongryon and all the compatriots in Japan.

The formation of Chongryon with the Juche idea of our Party as its unique guiding principle was a historic event which has brought about a radical change in the struggle and life of the 600,000 Korean compatriots in Japan.

With the formation of Chongryon representing the unanimous will and inalienable rights and interests of our compatriots in Japan, the movement of Koreans in Japan could, for the first time, thoroughly establish Juche and ensure principled unity and cohesion based on the monolithic ideology of our Party. Since then, our compatriots in Japan have brought into being a reliable organization which fully protects their interests and have come to possess their clear fighting programmes and correct methods of work.

The glorious history which Chongryon has traversed in the past 15 years has by no means been all smooth sailing. But no wind and waves

or hardships could check the strong onward movement of Chongryon which has rooted itself deeply in the brilliant traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

Resolutely frustrating the daily-increasing vicious suppression and the destructive moves of the US and Japanese reactionary forces and the south Korean puppet clique and overcoming arduous trials, Chongryon has achieved great accomplishments which will shine for ever in the history of our people's struggle for the country's freedom and independence and the people's liberation.

In the course of carrying out its historic mission Chongryon firmly inspired its cadres and the compatriots with the monolithic ideology of our Party, solidly united them behind the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and developed its organizations into a reliable and organized force which is firm against any adversity.

Through the correct embodiment of our Party's Juche idea in all spheres of its activities, Chongryon honourably defended the Republic citizenship of Korean compatriots in Japan, protected their human rights and their right of existence and trained new generations to be national cadres infinitely faithful to the country and the people.

Chongryon, in hearty response to the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic for national reunification, strengthened national unity amongst our compatriots in all walks of life in Japan, extended powerful assistance to the anti-US, save-the-nation struggle of the south Korean people, and made a great contribution to the struggle against the crafty, neo-colonial policy of the US imperialists and the reinvasion moves into south Korea of Japanese militarism and for the promotion of national independent reunification.

At the same time, Chongryon pursued an active external policy and strengthened friendship and solidarity with the Japanese people and the revolutionary people and the progressive figures of various countries the world over, thus greatly enhancing the international prestige of our country and the external position of Chongryon itself.

As a result, Chongryon today has grown into a dignified overseas citizenship organization of the DPRK and all the fellow countrymen in

Japan under the leadership of Chongryon play a great part in the glorious struggle for the prosperity of the homeland and the nation's development as full-fledged overseas citizens of the socialist country, now no longer forced, to their grief, to live in an alien land.

All these successes and valuable achievements are the proper result of the patriotic devotion and the unyielding struggle of the Chongryon cadres and the compatriots in Japan. We have the highest esteem for them and look on them with pride.

At this time, the people in your homeland are bringing about a revolutionary upswing to greet the historic Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea through their political enthusiasm and brilliant labour achievements and are firmly consolidating the revolutionary base in the northern half of Korea, the source of the Korean revolution and the dependable guarantee for national reunification, politically, economically and militarily.

The south Korean people, greatly inspired by the success in the building of socialism in the northern half of Korea, are fighting vigorously against the colonial fascist rule of US imperialism and the Park Chung Hee puppet clique and for democratic freedom and national independence and the earliest realization of the country's independent reunification.

The international situation is also developing more favourably for our revolution, and the just struggle of our people for the independent reunification of the country is winning more and more international support and sympathy as time passes.

Today Chongryon is confronted by the important task of consolidating the successes achieved during the past 15 years and of making fresh advances.

Chongryon should firmly unite all the cadres and the compatriots in Japan around our Party and the Government of the Republic on the basis of the Juche idea by educating them thoroughly in the monolithic ideology and the brilliant revolutionary traditions of our Party and by strengthening education in socialist patriotism, and it must strengthen the ideological and purposeful unity and cohesion of the cadres and

compatriots centring on Comrade Chairman.

Meanwhile, it should resolutely defend the democratic, national rights which are rightfully held as overseas citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—the glorious motherland—under the situation in which the US and Japanese reactionaries and the Park Chung Hee puppet clique are daily intensifying their reactionary offensive.

Chongryon should develop democratic, national education amongst the fellow countrymen in Japan and particularly widen the campaign for the new generation to use our written and spoken language correctly.

Chongryon should also make a greater contribution to the realization of the country's peaceful reunification in such a way as to strengthen the work of national unity with compatriots from all walks of life and actively support and encourage the south Korean people in their anti-US, save-the-nation struggle and anti-fascist campaign for democracy.

Chongryon should continue to strengthen and develop friendly relations with the Japanese people and progressive people the world over, and thus gain extensive international support and sympathy towards our revolution.

Firmly believing that the Chongryon cadres and all the Korean compatriots in Japan will carry out their worthwhile tasks successfully, I wish good health to Comrade Chairman and other Chongryon cadres and happiness to all Korean residents in Japan.

SPEECH AT A CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF AGRICULTURAL OFFICIALS IN NORTH HAMGYONG PROVINCE

June 1, 1970

Agriculture in North Hamgyong Province is in a backward state at present. Needless to say, it is a little better than in the past. But my current inspection tour as well as materials drawn from reports show that no marked change has been effected in farming in this province. Neither farming methods nor seeds have been improved, and grain production has not increased. The production of grain in this province is still at a low level, as a result of which the amounts of distributed grain and cash are not large on cooperative farms.

The underdeveloped state of agriculture in this province can be ascribed to the fact that farming has not been put on a scientific and technical basis in accordance with the Party's policy. Its agricultural officials are obstinate and conservative and do not believe in science.

If North Hamgyong Province does farming as Changsong County does, it can succeed in this regard without difficulty. When we first visited that county, the people produced no more than 3,500 to 4,000 tons of grain annually, so they had to bring in provisions from other places. But now the county produces 9,000 to 10,000 tons of grain a year because it farms according to our instructions. Consequently, it is self-sufficient in food, and even keeps more than 4,000 tons of provisions as a reserve every year. This county has not been given additional supplies of chemical fertilizer by the state and its soil is no

more fertile than that in North Hamgyong Province. Changsong County's success in grain production is due to the strenuous efforts they have made in producing large quantities of manure for fields in support of Party policy.

The important task facing North Hamgyong Province today is to develop agriculture so as to be self-sufficient in food.

Your province has immense potential for this. But you have so far not made persistent efforts, which has resulted in the failure to attain self-sufficiency in food. In this province, you should advance agriculture on the principle of becoming self-sufficient in food. To this end you should produce at least 450,000 tons of grain. You should set, and strive to hit the target of producing 400,000 tons of grain this year, 450,000 tons in the next 2 to 3 years and 500,000 tons at the end of the Six-Year Plan.

In order to develop agriculture in this province you should put it on a scientific and technological basis.

First of all, seeds have to be improved.

The most important factor in developing farming is seed improvement. Improve seeds and sow them, and you will be able to increase crop yields several times over. Yonsa County produced less than 600 to 800 kg of flax per hectare in the past, but since improving the seeds, it produces two to three tons. How wonderful this is because now so much flax is produced from the land which could once yield only 600 to 800 kg per hectare! For this reason, other countries call an increase of per-hectare yield through seed improvement a "green revolution".

The present low production of grain in this province is due to the failure to plant good seeds which are suitable to its specific features. The yields of both sugar beet and potatoes are not increased because of bad seeds. At present your province produces eight to ten tons of potatoes per hectare at best, but you ought to produce at least 20 tons or even more.

This province should carry out seed improvement for potatoes, beans, maize, rice, sugar beet, and other crops in order to obtain good

strains suited to its own conditions. Cold-proof, fast-growing, early-yielding and productive varieties of rice and maize, in particular, should be obtained.

Efficient seed selection, as well as the intensification of seed improvement, should be conducted. I have already talked on several occasions about the need to establish a seed selection system, but the Agricultural Commission and provincial rural economy committees have neglected this. North Hamgyong Province should organize seed farms at an early date and start a system of obtaining superior strains and supplying them to cooperative farms.

A scientific fertilizing system should be established in conformity with the soil and the properties of crops.

The low harvest in North Hamgyong Province is partly due to bad seeds, but mainly to failure in applying microelement fertilizers to the crops.

All living beings, both animal and vegetable, must absorb indispensable microelements. Therefore, it is not sufficient to provide crops merely with nitrogenous, potash and phosphatic fertilizers; they must be given microelements also.

Because farmland in this province was reclaimed long ago, the soil may contain few microelements. Continuous farming without being supplemented by trace elements which are needed for the soil may make it impossible to increase grain production and could result in the deterioration of the land.

The establishment of a scientific fertilizing system well adapted to the soil and the properties of crops necessitates an efficient soil analysis. If it is difficult for you to do this work with your provincial force, you should mobilize lecturers and students of the Haeju University of Agriculture for the purpose. Since they have experience in analysing the soil in North and South Hwanghae Provinces, they are good at such work. In cooperation with them you should analyse the soil of all farmlands in the province, patch by patch, and find out in detail what microelements are needed.

In addition to soil analysis, you should also know about the

properties of crops. Crops differ from each other in their requirements for microelements; a single plant needs different microelements and quantities when growing and ripening. If you are ignorant of such properties of crops and indiscriminately apply any trace-element fertilizers, you cannot expect an increase in their yields.

North Hamgyong Province should ascertain the specific features of the soil and crops before establishing, in accordance with them, a proper fertilizing system for each patch of farmland. After doing this, it will have to provide the acidified plots with slaked lime and those plots which are short of microelements with suitable fertilizers.

Farming on a scientific and technological basis demands the prior intensification of agricultural scientific research work.

It is a long time since we assigned the Kyongsong Branch of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences the task of studying farming methods suited to the peculiarities of North Hamgyong Province, but scientists there have attained no result to speak of. Agronomists should become scientists who serve in the interests of the Party and the people and for our agricultural development. They must carry on scientific research in our own way, in strict accordance with the requirements of our Party's intensive farming methods.

All agricultural scientists and technicians in this province, including those at the Kyongsong Branch of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and on cooperative farms, should improve their research work and so contribute effectively to obtaining good seed strains, discovering methods of crop cultivation and establishing a scientific fertilizing system, in conformity with the special features of the province.

If agricultural scientific research is to be promoted, bases for the purpose have to be developed.

This province should supply the experimental apparatus and materials requested by the Kyongsong Branch of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and provide scientists with suitable facilities for their research. Since you have a number of large factories and enterprises and intellectuals within the province, you can solve the

matter of this equipment and materials on your own without difficulty. You should install sprinklers on experimental plots and build a greenhouse for the Kyongsong Branch. The Academy of Agricultural Sciences should staff that branch with competent agronomists.

A new agricultural university should be set up in this province.

This province, although limited in area, has a number of peculiarities in farming methods. Farming in this province should not blindly follow the example of South Phyongan or Kangwon or Jagang Province.

You must not try to get graduates from the agricultural universities of other provinces; you should open a university of this sort and train agronomists for your own use.

This university should be opened in Kyongsong. This makes it preferable to attach the Kyongsong Higher Agricultural School to the university and to close the Chongjin Higher Agricultural School.

The scale of the new university should be moderate enough to train as many agronomists as this province needs. Its enrolment should be some 400 in all, registering 100 annually, on a calculation of providing each cooperative farm with two agricultural and one stockbreeding technicians and one technician specialized in fruit and industrial-crop growing. Since other provinces also have agricultural universities, even if the enrolment is greatly increased, no place will accept the graduates.

The agricultural university should follow a four-year course and there should be an equal number of male and female students. It is advisable for the university to have departments of farmwork, husbandry, pomiculture and industrial-crop cultivation. At some time in the future, it should have a farm machinery department.

It must teach students how to grow rice seeds, how to cultivate beans and sugar beet and other expertise relating to the development of agriculture in this province.

Any teaching staff of which it might be short should be supplied by the members of the Kyongsong Branch of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, who have been studying farming in this province for a long time, and the university should be allowed joint use of the

experimental plots of that branch for the same purpose.

For agricultural progress in this province it is necessary to promote the mechanization of farmwork. At present this province has a very small number of tractors. The state should send 1,000 tractors this year. The province should make better use of tractors and make great efforts to mechanize farming operations.

Land realignment and river improvements should be undertaken efficiently.

Your province still has a great reserve for the increase of farmland. You can obtain large areas of arable land just by realigning terraced paddies and improving rivers.

The river improvement project was originally suggested when I visited this province. However, this has been carried out in other provinces, but has been neglected by this province. You must also start forceful land realignment and river improvement. To ensure success for this undertaking, the state should provide 50 excavators of 0.5 cubic metres and 200 bulldozers.

You must not carelessly turn any dry fields into paddies on the ground of expanding rice fields. Because most of the dry fields in this province are on slopes, their conversion into paddies gives rise to large numbers of ridges between them, which will hamper grain production. Therefore, you should turn into paddies only those dry fields in swamps where crops grow poorly, but must refrain from converting plots where maize and beans thrive.

More effort should be devoted to growing beans.

You have to use your initiative to achieve success in bean cultivation. Only successful bean growing enables you to make bean paste and soy sauce. These foodstuffs are indispensable for Koreans.

Because we cannot now produce an abundance of beans, we have to barter rice for it with a foreign country.

As your province has limited rice fields, but has a great number of dry fields, you should use every possible means to plant beans over wide areas and thus solve the problem of beans in our country. If you select suitable plots for bean cultivation and irrigate them before

sowing this plant as a main crop and then plant maize in places, you will be able to reap more than three tons of beans and 0.5 tons of maize from each hectare.

The Pongam Cooperative Farm in Kilju County harvested 3.032 tons of beans in 1968 and 3.058 tons per hectare last year, by irrigating the fields and applying different chemical and microelement fertilizers to suit the growing conditions of this crop.

In this province there are many counties which are suitable for the cultivation of beans. Hoeryong, Musan, Jongsong, Onsong, Yuson, Kyongwon, Kilju and Myonggan can be counted as such counties.

You in North Hamgyong Province should make an effort to produce 100,000 tons of beans. If you succeed in this task, the problem of beans will be solved in our country. Next year you should first irrigate 25,000 hectares of suitable fields and provide them with microelement, slag and various other fertilizers and harvest more than three tons of beans per hectare. In this way you should produce 75,000 to 80,000 tons of beans on a provincial scale. This is the most important task for this province at the current consultative meeting.

It is far better to produce three tons of beans from each hectare than four tons of maize. Officials of the North Hamgyong Provincial Rural Economy Committee and county cooperative farm management committees must go around the fields this year to find suitable plots for bean cultivation for next year. And the Academy of Agricultural Sciences should improve bean seeds and, at the same time, take steps to introduce choice seeds.

The state must produce a composite fertilizer necessary for bean growing.

In the past some cooperative farms used the fertilizers which they had received for beans for rice and maize. If a composite fertilizer which is exclusively suitable for beans is produced, the cooperative farms will not use it for other crops. This composite fertilizer should be made to contain microelements and ingredients of various other fertilizers which are beneficial for beans, and be packed and sealed before shipment.

North Hamgyong Province should also plant runner beans extensively.

This crop is highly productive. I am informed that Jagang Province produces ten tons of runner beans per hectare. Juul, too, is said to reap 700 grammes from each plant. If a family grows only 100 plants it can reap 70 kilogrammes. This is a large amount.

A determined campaign to plant this crop must be started in this province as it grows well here. You say that you will produce 8,290 tons of runner beans and 2,221 tons of kidney beans this year. You must do so. If you harvest large quantities of runner beans, you can consume some of it yourselves and sell the rest to other countries. One ton of it can be exchanged for two to three tons of wheat.

In this province it is important to introduce the cold-bed seedling method of rice cultivation.

The climate of this province is colder in spring and winter comes earlier than in other areas. Therefore, the growing season is too short for rice to ripen.

In order to enable rice to start ripening earlier and prevent its failure to do so, it is essential to introduce the cold-bed rice seedling method as well as planting early-ripening varieties. This method should be followed even more extensively by such a cold region as North Hamgyong Province. Only then is it possible to grow stout rice seedlings and bed them out earlier, thus enabling them to ripen early. But, giving way to conservatism, this province has so far been unwilling to introduce the cold-bed rice seedling method.

North Hamgyong Province must use this method in all paddy fields from next year onwards. The state should provide this province with vinyl sheets necessary for the cultivation of cold-bed rice seedlings.

In addition to this method, you should introduce the humus-cake method of raising maize seedlings. This is the only way to ensure that maize ripens and to increase its yield.

The vegetable question has to be solved.

Because of the cold climate, spinach does not grow well in this

province. So the planting of spinach will not help to solve the problem of spring vegetables.

In order to settle this question, you must ensure that autumn vegetables are planted widely so that they can be stored and used until spring vegetables are available.

Because of the poor yield of spinach, Tokchon County, South Phyongan Province, also pickles radishes in autumn and makes use of them until the spring vegetable season. Some time ago in that county I tasted radishes, seasoned with some leeks and red pepper, which had been salted down in autumn, and they were very tasty. Your province should also cultivate autumn vegetables extensively so that both industrial enterprises and individual households can preserve them with salt.

Leeks should be widely planted. They grow well, even in cold areas. Agricultural officials, however, are reluctant to plant them. Pyongyang started growing them on a large scale only after it had been criticized on several occasions. As a result, they can now be found in greengrocers in winter and in spring.

The successful cultivation of greens presupposes the prompt repair and maintenance of sprinkler irrigation facilities in vegetable gardens.

At present 1,700 hectares of vegetable fields in Chongjin are equipped with such facilities, but of these only 800 hectares are properly irrigated. Nevertheless, senior officials of this city do nothing about it. It is an industrial city, so there is no reason why it cannot repair sprinkler installations on vegetable gardens by its own efforts. A large number of workers live in that city and they should assist the farmers, and industrial enterprises should help the rural areas so as to develop solid bases for the production of vegetables and meat.

A combined repair centre must be built in Chongjin for sprinkler facilities, farm machinery, chicken plant equipment, and so on. The building of repair centres is a pressing necessity because an increased number of farm machines will be produced and supplied to rural communities and the mechanization of farming operations will be increased considerably in the future. Chongjin must develop a

combined centre to repair farm machines, sprinklers and the like promptly when they go out of order.

Large numbers of fruit trees must be planted.

Only then shall we be able to provide workers and everybody else with fruit and earn foreign currency. Even by canning only white apricots, which thrive in Hoeryong, and exporting them, you can obtain a large sum of foreign currency.

North Hamgyong Province should plant a great number of white apricot and other fruit trees which grow well in that region.

A long time ago I gave Hoeryong County the task of planting large numbers of white apricot trees. In hearty response to the Party policy, the county has created 1,000 hectares of white apricot orchards from which it will pick fruits after an interval of five years. However, Jongsong and Yuson, its neighbouring counties, planted them on only a few hectares, and Onsong and Unggi Counties also created very small orchards of these trees. When the Party gave Hoeryong County the task to plant white apricot orchards, all other counties where these plants thrive, to say nothing of its neighbouring counties, should have accepted it as an assignment for their own counties. But they did not do so. This shows that senior officials of the counties in North Hamgyong Province have not yet firmly established the Party's monolithic ideological system but remain parochial.

In future Hoeryong, Jongsong, Onsong, Yuson and Unggi Counties should plant many white apricot trees and thus produce larger quantities of fruit.

Peach and pear trees must also be planted. I am told that pears grow well in Myonggan and Kyongsong Counties. But there are no more pear trees now than there were ten years ago. These two counties should stop boasting that pears grow well there, and should plant large areas of pear trees.

Animal husbandry must be promoted.

North Hamgyong Province has a great number of workers who are engaged in hard labour at iron works, steel plants, coal and ore mines and in other branches of heavy industry. Heavy workers can only work

as they should when they have meat.

This province has to develop stock farming to ensure that they can eat as much pork, duck and chicken and as many eggs as they wish.

It is important to develop poultry breeding in increasing meat production.

To this end chicken and duck plants must decrease the levels of per-head consumption of feed. The raising of chickens and ducks at these plants now shows high levels of feed consumption. The Hoeryong Chicken Plant consumes three kg of feed to produce one kg of chicken, and the Ryongje Duck Plant, 2.8 kg for one kg of duck meat. In nature, the amount of feed used in raising chickens is lower than for ducks, but the reverse is true of North Hamgyong Province.

Chicken plants should reduce this level to 2.3 or 2.4 kg or less. Duck plants should ensure that each 45-day-old duck weighs at least 1.5 kg, by consuming 2.5 kg of feed.

To attain a lower level of feed consumption it is necessary to improve the breeds of fowls.

In North Hamgyong Province at present feed is given to chickens and ducks for five days more than in Pyongyang, before they are killed on the 63rd day and on the 45th day respectively, but their weight is only one kg and 1.42 kg each. At the Kyongsong Chicken Plant each hen lays some 180 eggs annually at best. Because of this, a large amount of feed is consumed, causing a loss to the state.

The breeds in the chicken plants in North Hamgyong Province must be replaced by those being raised at the Samsok Chicken Plant in Pyongyang. Those which are raised at the Samsok Chicken Plant produce many eggs and consume less feed.

In order to decrease the per-head level of feed consumption, you should give fowls good-quality mixed feed, as well as raising choice breeds.

This province has favourable conditions for producing good-quality mixed feed on its own. It has mixed feed factories and abundant sources of animal and protein feeds. With a long coastline from the city of Kim Chaek to Sosura it can obtain fish meal without difficulty. And

it is the largest bean-growing province, and has a number of soya-bean oil factories.

The North Hamgyong Provincial and Chongjin City Party Committees should see to it that mixed feed factories are supplied with various raw materials, including fish meal and beans, so as to operate at full capacity. In this way, good-quality mixed feed should be produced and supplied to chicken and duck plants.

Refrigerating and plucking equipment must be installed at the Ryongje Duck Plant. If chickens and ducks are supplied live, they lose weight whilst being transported. Therefore, they must be killed, plucked and refrigerated at the plants before they are supplied to working people.

More chicken plants have to be constructed.

These plants should be built in Kilju and Kyonghung. The Hoeryong Chicken Plant which has produced chicken meat for Chongjin must be converted into one which specializes in egg production. Since Hoeryong has a great many workers and a large population, it should have an egg production plant. This is the only way to ensure that its inhabitants have eggs. Because this plant is to be changed into an egg-producing plant, Chongjin should construct a new chicken plant in its vicinity or near the Kyongsong Chicken Plant.

A repair centre must be developed for chicken and duck plants. As it has many such plants, North Hamgyong Province should have a well-equipped centre to repair the machines and equipment of these plants promptly when they go wrong.

An electric-motor repair workshop must also be built. At the moment there are hundreds of thousands of electric motors in North Hamgyong Province alone. This province must build a well-fitted workshop of this sort either to produce electric motors or repair broken ones. This will be a great help to the state.

Pork production should be increased.

North Hamgyong Province should thoroughly implement the Party's policy that every farmwork team on the cooperative farms produces two tons of pork and each farm household produces 100 kg

annually. In addition, pork should also be produced in large quantities through communal stock farming.

To proceed. Sheep should be bred and looked after carefully.

At present attempts are being made throughout the country to increase the number of sheep, but in North Hamgyong Province countless sheep are allowed to die every year, resulting in a loss to the state. In this province you are raising 150,000 sheep now; there is no reason why you cannot do the job well. Because your province is favoured with many hills, you can raise as many as 300,000 sheep, not just 150,000. The death of a great many sheep every year in this province can be ascribed to the fact that agricultural officials have not established the Party's monolithic ideological system but lack the spirit of taking care of communal property. Because of the lack of this spirit on the part of shepherds and agricultural officials, sheep are being bred and tended carelessly without a sense of responsibility.

If sheep are taken care of with the attitude of a master as people in Changsong County do, they will not perish. In winter when sheep produce lambs Changsong folk nurse them carefully in their houses. Education in Party policy and in the spirit of protecting communal property should be intensified amongst shepherds and agricultural officials so that they will raise sheep with care.

North Hamgyong Province must transfer some sheep to other provinces.

Other provinces are now asking for sheep. Amongst them are South and North Phyongan Provinces and South Hwanghae Province. If some sheep from this province are shipped to provinces on the west coast, they may be raised well and their number will increase. The General Bureau of Stock Farming should form a guidance group and dispatch it to North Hamgyong Province where its members ought to investigate in detail, through consultation with cooperative farmers, how many sheep they should retain and how many they should offer, before determining the scale of transfer to other provinces. When transferring sheep, you must send ewes and rams in a proper ratio, instead of giving only rams.

It is of great importance in developing the agriculture of North Hamgyong Province that cadres of the provincial Party committee and all other senior officials in this province acquire advanced, scientific knowledge on agriculture which is suited to the specific features of this region.

Only then will they be able to give correct guidance to farming and develop agricultural production rapidly. They should make vigorous efforts to attain advanced, scientific knowledge on agriculture so as to lead farming along scientific and technological lines and boost the province's agricultural production as soon as possible.

**ON STRENGTHENING THE WORK
OF ESTABLISHING THE MONOLITHIC
IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF THE PARTY
AMONGST CADRES AND THE WORK
OF REVOLUTIONIZING THEM**

**Concluding Speech at the 21st Enlarged Plenary Meeting
of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

July 6, 1970

Comrades,

At this plenary meeting we have criticized the shortcomings revealed in the life and work of cadres and discussed measures to correct them.

Now I should like to mention how to strengthen the work of establishing the monolithic ideological system of the Party amongst cadres and of revolutionizing them.

**1. THE NECESSITY FOR STRENGTHENING THE WORK
OF ESTABLISHING THE MONOLITHIC IDEOLOGICAL
SYSTEM OF THE PARTY AMONGST CADRES AND OF
REVOLUTIONIZING THEM**

Today our Party is faced with the two enormous revolutionary tasks

of building socialism in the northern half of Korea and reunifying the country. As pointed out in the Party Rules it is essential that our Party tackle these two revolutionary tasks immediately.

If we are to reunify the country we must carry on the national-liberation revolution and the democratic revolution in south Korea, and if we are to build socialism in the northern half properly, we must carry out the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions energetically.

Since our country has not been reunified yet our situation is different from that of European socialist countries. These countries have only the task of building socialism, but we have to build socialism in the northern half of Korea and, at the same time, fulfil the tasks of the national-liberation revolution to free south Korea and the democratic revolution. Therefore, we are faced with heavier and more difficult revolutionary tasks than other countries.

The building of socialism in the northern half of Korea and the carrying out of revolution in south Korea are revolutionary tasks which are inseparable from each other.

If the building of socialism proceeds well in the north, the revolutionary forces in the south will grow quickly, and the revolutionary struggle will go ahead successfully. If the national-liberation revolution and the democratic revolution make progress in south Korea, the socialist construction in the northern half of Korea will also make progress.

This being the case, we must always think about these two revolutionary tasks in combination and forge ahead with them together.

It is by no means an easy task for us to promote the building of socialism while waging a struggle to reunify the country. It is a very difficult and complicated revolutionary task to turn our underdeveloped country into a developed one and our impoverished country without anything worth mentioning into a rich one. Furthermore, under the circumstances in which we are building socialism in direct confrontation with the US imperialists, we have

more than one or two difficulties and hardships.

In order to overcome all the obstacles which block our way and attack the two revolutionary tasks with equal force, we must first of all instruct cadres and all the masses about the monolithic ideology of our Party and make them ardent revolutionaries. This is of the greatest importance in the interests of both south Korean revolution and socialist construction in the north.

Let us look back, first of all, upon the experience of the south Korean revolution. If all the south Korean revolutionaries had been strongly inspired with the Juche idea, the revolutionary ideology of our Party, during the days immediately after liberation, the south Korean revolution would already have been accomplished and the country would have been reunified at that time. Even if there had been a little delay, the country's reunification could have been achieved during the days of the Fatherland Liberation War. However, at that time the south Korean revolutionaries were not as prepared as we could have wished. It is true that a large number of the US imperialists' hired spies and some alien elements had wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks of south Korea after liberation and that they did great harm to the south Korean revolution. But the main reason for the failure to fulfil the south Korean revolution lies in the fact that the revolutionaries there were not armed with a single ideology, the revolutionary thought of our Party. Because the south Korean revolutionaries were not inspired by the monolithic ideology of our Party they could not lead the revolutionary movement along the correct road of Marxism-Leninism. So, the south Korean revolution remains unrealized up to the present time. This is the bitter lesson gained at the cost of the lives of south Korean revolutionaries.

This is also true of building socialism in the northern half of Korea. Of course, socialist construction in our country has made great progress. But we have still not made all the progress we could have done in building socialism. The main reason for this is also the fact that our workers are not thoroughly educated in the monolithic ideology of the Party and they are not revolutionized. There are still some of our

workers who are infected with flunkeyism, and others with all kinds of opportunism including revisionism, and there are still others who have capitalist and feudal-Confucian ideas. These outdated ideas which exist in the minds of some workers constitute a large obstacle to the development of our revolution. If there is no such obstacle, our revolutionary force will grow stronger more rapidly and the building of socialism will be hastened considerably.

This question of establishing the monolithic ideological system of the Party is not one which we are now considering for the first time nor is it something which we are newly raising today. It is an important lesson gained in the course of our 20-odd-year struggle for the revolution and construction since liberation that the entire Party and all the people should be armed with the monolithic ideology of the Party thoroughly and achieve firm unity and solidarity on this basis. Only when the revolutionaries and all the people in both north and south Korea are comprehensively armed with this ideology can the national-liberation revolution and the democratic revolution in south Korea and the building of socialism in the north be successfully achieved.

This is proved not only by our experience in the making after liberation but by the history of our country and our experience of revolutionary struggle before liberation.

Why was our country devastated in the past? It was mainly because the feudal rulers were engrossed in factional strife and did not care about unity. During the period under the feudal Ri dynasty the pro-Qing group, the pro-Russian group, and pro-Japanese group and other factional groups were concerned entirely with seizing power, to the detriment of affairs of the state, with the result that our country fell prey to the Japanese imperialists.

The failure of the national movement, including the Righteous Volunteers' Army Movement after Japan's occupation of our country, was also entirely due to factional strife. At that time the nationalists were engaged in factional strife not only in Korea but also in northeast China. At first they organized the "Restoration Group", the "Great

Undertaking Group”, the “Army Preparation Group” and the like, only to fight against each other and, at the last stage of the national movement, they formed the “Sinmin-bu”, the “Chamui-bu”, the “Jongui-bu” and very many similar organizations which led to factional fighting. As a result, the national movement was doomed to failure in the end.

The early communist movement in our country also ended in failure because of factionalists. In the early period of the Korean communist movement not many people were Communists. Nevertheless, there were many factions in the ranks of the movement, such as the “M-L group”, the “Tuesday group”, the “Shanghai group”, the “North Wind Association” and the “January Association” whose factional strife greatly harmed the development of the revolutionary movement.

Afterwards, the Korean communists, learning from the bitter lesson gained in our country’s early communist movement, felt keenly that it was essential for them to fight as a firmly united force, with a single revolutionary ideology. Because of this, factionalism was not tolerated during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the communists launched a united armed fight against the Japanese imperialists. So, in the course of this struggle, the brilliant revolutionary traditions of our Party and people were able to emerge, and we call them the glorious revolutionary traditions which we have inherited.

Here I should like to tell a story about something which happened during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. As I have said before, a meeting of cadres from the anti-Japanese guerrilla units fighting in northeast China and in Korea was held in about the year 1941. At the meeting a man was introduced to me. What he said then was that he was not going to ask for a high post and that he would not mind remaining a soldier as long as he was allowed to fight at my side on Mt. Paektu; if he were to die for the sake of the Korean revolution, his wish was to be buried on Mt. Paektu. This determination to fight to the end, in strong unity, solely for the Korean revolution and not for high rank or fame, is the true attitude of real communists. In this way the

revolutionaries did everything possible for unity during the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

In days gone by the Korean communists were united by a single revolutionary idea in the course of their prolonged struggle not because they were forced to accept it, but because they wished to do so. They wanted to create a centre and fight around it in unity, and so they rallied around us strongly and fought. So, we were able to achieve victory in both the underground and armed campaigns under such difficult conditions against the Japanese imperialists for 20 years.

Even after the country's liberation, we worked hard to combine with people who came from various parts of the country. Moreover, we even made every effort to merge with Pak Hon Yong, a survivor of the "Tuesday group" and Choe Chang Ik, a survivor of the "M-L group" and with Pak Chang Ok and O Ki Sop. It can be truly said that, in order to carry on the revolution in unity with everyone after liberation, we formed the Party with people who came from Yanan, China, and from Russia and even the group supporting Pak Hon Yong who showed himself after hiding in a brick factory without participating in the revolution. And we followed the policy that those comrades who had fought the anti-Japanese armed struggle over a long period should be less involved in the leadership organs of the Party Central Committee. At that time I told those who had taken part in the anti-Japanese armed struggle that they must be prepared to work in any posts because others wanted the high positions, to which we appointed each of them. So, we appointed Pak Hon Yong and Choe Chang Ik to important positions and named Kim Tu Bong as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly. It was not because he had any fighting history that we appointed him to such a high rank. He was an anarchist and was active under the influence of Kim Won Bong after being associated with the "Lanyishe". In the final stage of his activity he went to Yanan, China, and formed an "Independence Union" just to say that he was engaged in the independence movement. Nevertheless, we promoted Kim Tu Bong to a high-ranking post solely for the purpose of unity. After liberation we chose those people who showed themselves as

activists and promoted them as cadres irrespective of whether they had taken part in the revolutionary struggle at home or not and tried hard to unify them. Although we made unceasing efforts for solidarity in this way, we were unable to achieve unity with them in the end. It is true that our Party has not been weakened by this breakdown of unity with them. Rather, our Party has become stronger, because all kinds of factionalists withdrew from it.

What, then, is the reason we failed to achieve unity with them, in spite of our constant efforts? It is because they looked upon themselves as “thinkers” and continued their factional activities. According to what a lady poet said there were various kinds of “heroes” in Seoul immediately after liberation. At that time there were factionalists who called themselves the “Marx of Korea” or the “Lenin of Korea”, posing as a “thinker” and a “leader” all at the same time. Their attempts to glorify themselves had brought unity to an end. They had no revolutionary theories worth mentioning. They did not know how to write decisions correctly, nor did they give any assistance to revolutionary work although they gave the appearance of doing so. Even though we appointed them to high positions in an effort to bring about unity, they were completely involved, all the time, in the struggle for higher positions, instead of making revolution. The factionalists had indulged in factional strife for the sake of “hegemony” in the past, and they continued their contest for high position without ridding themselves of this old habit even after the country’s liberation. In the long run, this led to their expulsion from the Party.

The conclusion which we have reached during the prolonged revolutionary struggle is that there must be only one ideology, one line and one policy in a party; not two ideologies, two lines and two policies.

A Marxist-Leninist party should have one idea and strive to bring it about. Only then can it be successful in both the revolutionary struggle and construction. This is proved by our experience during the revolutionary struggle and also by the experience of the international communist movement.

Lenin advanced revolutionary theories which developed Marxism

in keeping with the current situation in Russia and the Russian communists could thus achieve the great victory of the October Revolution by waging a battle based solely on Lenin's concept and Lenin's policy. With regard to the Chinese revolution, that also suffered many setbacks because of the Right capitulationist line of Chen Duxiu and the "Left" adventurist line of Li Lisan in its early stages and afterwards it had to overcome many hardships because of the emergence of various factional groups. However, the Chinese Communist Party has finally united on the basis of the idea put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong and was able to lead the Chinese revolution to victory by working hard to implement his idea. The Vietnamese revolution could also be successful, and is now triumphing, because it is based on the idea and policy of Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

This can also be said about the revolution in our country. There can be no other ideas, such as the idea of Pak Hon Yong or the idea of Choe Chang Ik, within our Party and the whole Party must be armed with only one idea, the Juche idea of our Party, and must be united on that basis. Unity which is not based on the revolutionary idea of our Party is nothing but false unity. Uniting based on different ideas means forming a united front within a party. We cannot tolerate such a unity.

A Marxist-Leninist party is a weapon of the revolutionary struggle. All guns use their own shells and bullets. Likewise, only one ideology can be allowed to exist within a party as a weapon of the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, in order to strengthen the Party all its members must be inspired by the Juche idea of our Party, its line and policy. And they must resolutely oppose flunkeyism, factionalism and all other unsound ideas which go against the concept of our Party. Only unity and cohesion which is based on a single revolutionary idea, the Juche idea of our Party, is genuine unity and cohesion, and only when such unity and solidarity is ensured can our Party develop into a real Marxist-Leninist party, and ever-victorious revolutionary party, with strong fighting efficiency. Herein lies the reason why we continue our struggle for the establishment of the monolithic ideological system throughout the whole Party.

The establishment of this ideological system aims at arming all Party members with the revolutionary idea of our Party firmly, thus establishing true unity and cohesion of the Party ranks and carrying out the revolutionary struggle and construction successfully. Therefore, we must not carry out this work in a formalistic way. The firm unity and cohesion of the whole Party based on the Juche idea is the most important success we have achieved in the field of Party construction during the past few years since the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee. While consolidating the success which we have already attained, we should continue the work of establishing the monolithic ideological system of the Party to good effect.

As we always say, if anyone, whoever he may be, does not try to make strenuous efforts to arm himself with the ideology of the Party and revolutionize himself, he can degenerate ideologically. It is not only those who came from Yanan who would be sure to become members of the Yanan group, nor would one particular person alone be sure to fall victim to flunkeyism and revisionism. Some of those who participated in the revolutionary struggle in the past could be infected with flunkeyism and revisionism. Under circumstances in which we are surrounded by capitalism and the ideological trends of all opportunism including revisionism are always prevalent they could infiltrate into our Party and everyone could be affected by this bad ideological virus.

Let me quote an example. If pure maize seeds are planted alongside hybrid maize seeds a new hybrid maize will be generated by the cross pollination of the two strains. This is a biological fact and a dialectical phenomenon.

Just as the hybrid maize pollen is broadcast over the original maize, all kinds of tainted ideas could find their way into our ranks from outside. No one can be certain that flunkeyism and revisionism will not encroach upon our country nor can he declare that he himself will not become tainted with such an ideology.

The veterans of the anti-Japanese armed struggle are no exception in this regard. We are now studying the *Reminiscences of the Anti-Japanese Guerrillas*. It is not because their ideologies remain

unchanged for ever, but because their ideologies were sound during the days of the armed struggle. There is no firm guarantee that some of them will not deteriorate at some time in the future. It would be a good thing for them to continue revolutionary work with the same ideology which they showed during the former armed struggle. But there may be some whose ideas will degenerate. If anyone, no matter who he may be, does not harden himself in a revolutionary way he will become corrupted by evil ideas.

In order to turn all Party members and the working people into ardent communists and revolutionaries infinitely loyal to the cause of our revolution, and to carry out our revolutionary struggle and construction successfully, the Party set out a policy of revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society, at its Conference which was held in 1966. However, the bad elements, far from trying to implement the decisions of the Party Conference, attempted to revive the overthrown landlords without bearing in mind the class line of the Party, and to spread capitalist ideas, feudal-Confucian ideas and all sorts of other unsound ideas. They forced cadres and Party members to read *Mokmin Simso* as their fundamental book, urged the people to recite poems written by a landlord and issued the so-called “ten-year perspective plan” which aimed at letting young people idle away their time. In these circumstances we could not ignore elements of this kind. Prompt action against them would make it possible to understand everything correctly and to help carry out the Party’s policies properly. That is why the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party put forward the objectives of smashing the anti-Party elements, rooting out the evil ideological consequences of bourgeois ideas, feudal-Confucian ideas, revisionism and other opportunistic ideas which they had spread, and arming all Party members and the working people with a steadfast revolutionary belief where they do not accept any other ideas than the monolithic ideology of our Party.

Because of this historic experience and the situation in which we are, it is very important and urgent to establish the monolithic ideological system throughout the Party and revolutionize all the Party

members and the working people. We can only make a greater success of socialist construction and hasten the cause of the south Korean revolution and national reunification when we firmly secure the unity and cohesion of the whole Party on the basis of the Juche idea, the monolithic ideology of the Party, and achieve the thorough revolutionization of the whole of society. I have already emphasized this subject several times, and I am stressing it again today.

But at present the work of establishing the monolithic ideological system throughout the Party and revolutionizing the whole of society is proceeding very slowly and perfunctorily. Because of this, negative practices are prevalent amongst cadres and Party members. Some cadres still approach the Party's lines and policies passively and superficially and they do not study the Party's policies deeply, or try to make them their flesh and blood. There are some people who babble all kinds of nonsense against the ideas of the Party—those who are confused Party members. We cannot be sure whether they are members of the Workers' Party of Korea or members of the parties of other countries from an ideological point of view. Just as the hybrid corn cob bears different seeds, white and yellow, the minds of such people are tainted. In brief, the minds of people of this kind are not only filled with the ideas of our Party but with revisionism and American-style bourgeois ideas or with ideological vestiges of Japanese imperialism.

People of this kind say that they all think of everything on the basis of Party ideology. But listening to what they say we cannot clarify whether they are armed with the Party's ideas or not.

What yardstick should we use to measure men's ideas?

By means of the atmosphere in which the nose becomes dry or clothes become damp, a man can tell whether a room is dry or moist. But he cannot tell exactly what the humidity in the room is. For an accurate measurement he must use a hygrometer. Just as the hygrometer measures humidity, the only criterion for determining what a man believes in is his behaviour. A man's ideas are expressed, not in his words, but in his deeds, that is, in his life and actions. In other

words, a man's beliefs become clear in the course of his political life and organizational life and in the course of his participation in economic construction and the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, a man's behaviour, not his words, must be the criterion which determines how strongly he is armed with the ideology of our Party, and to what extent he retains unsound ideas such as bourgeois beliefs and revisionism. Enemy spies and evil elements may sometimes disguise themselves as activists, but they are bound to be uncovered as traitors eventually. Although the evil elements make every pretence to be activists they can make a false move at any time.

On this occasion I should like to tell you something that happened during the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

We learned a great deal from our fight against the "Minsaengdan" organization at that time. The anti-"Minsaengdan" battle continued for several years, but it was fought on the basis of people's accusations without any evidence. Although dozens of accusations were made that the members of "Minsaengdan" were putting poison in wells, we had never found any evidence of this. As in other places there was no evidence about the spreading of poison in Wangqing County where I was active. As has been recounted in the *Reminiscences of the Anti-Japanese Guerrillas*, we tried to find any evidence which would prove the allegation that the stomach trouble suffered by guerrillas who drank water from a well was caused by its having been poisoned by a member of the "Minsaengdan". But all our efforts produced no evidence at all. Even the slightest corroboration would have been sufficient to confirm other people's suspicions of poison. But there was no evidence at all. Furthermore, the random arrest of those who fought boldly against the Japanese, on the excuse that they were members of the "Minsaengdan", made it impossible for us to believe the allegations. It is true to say that, at that time, a number of people were killed on being falsely accused of being members of the "Minsaengdan" in other units. But in the units under my direct command no one was ever killed on such a false charge, but some were killed in courageous battle against the Japanese imperialists.

The reason why I am retelling this story is to stress that people must be judged by their deeds and not by their words.

If you are going to talk about your establishment of the monolithic ideological system of the Party you must express it not by your words, but by your deeds. Shouting hurrah and slogans does not mean that you have established the monolithic ideological system of the Party. As we often say, Choe Chang Ik, an anti-Party and counter-revolutionary factionalist, raised more frequent cheers than anyone in the past. But in fact he had ambitions to overthrow our Party. This shows that people's beliefs must not be judged by their words.

At present a number of people say that they are loyal to the Party but, far from being thoroughly armed with Party ideology, they are now committing errors which are detrimental to the system of the monolithic ideology of the Party.

Amongst our workers there are some who falter in the face of temporary difficulties which arise in the building of socialism and others who are reluctant to carry out the Party's policies.

As you all know, we are now suffering from three consecutive years of drought. Many reservoirs, including Lake Suphung, are almost dry and the Suphung Power Station, the Unbong Power Station, the Jangjingang Power Station and the Hochongang Power Station are not now operating properly because of the lack of water. They are important power production bases in our country. Nowadays I am kept informed of the weather forecast every day. The northern region of our country has had no rain so far. If we have a great deal of rain for even one year and keep all reservoirs full of water, the following year will be all right, even if it only rains a little. But we are disturbed at the continuous drought for several years. Suppose these weather conditions had occurred in the past, then a large number of people would have starved because of the failure of the crops, not to mention the production of electricity. But even under such difficult conditions as these, our people today lead their normal lives without having to worry about the food problem and they are provided with daily necessities, including shoes, when they are needed. This is entirely due to the correct policy and wise leadership of our Party.

Because of the completion of irrigation in the rural areas in accordance with the farsighted measures adopted by the Party, we have been able to continue farming normally despite the severe drought, and thanks to the prompt construction of thermal power stations in keeping with the steps taken by the Party we have also been able to run factories on a regular basis. If our Party had not taken these measures at the right time we might have been unable to solve the food problem, and we might have found ourselves in a position where we had no electric lights in our homes.

We are facing many difficulties and hardships in the building of socialism and the problem of electricity is particularly severe. As usual, the State Planning Commission worked out the power production plan with the expectation that we would have a great deal of rain this year. But because of the lack of rain the power production plan has not been implemented, causing a great obstruction to production in the industrial sector. Of course, under these difficult circumstances our Party members and working people are redoubling their efforts to fulfil their production assignments and are creating “Kangson speed”, a new Chollima speed, in all sectors of the national economy.

However, some of our senior officials are not working hard to overcome these difficulties. In addition, they become pessimistic because of the hardships they encounter and, furthermore, complain at length about the Party’s instructions. It is this which proves that they have not established the monolithic ideological system of the Party.

This is not all. There are many practices in the work and daily lives of cadres which show that they have neglected to arm themselves thoroughly with the Party idea and that they have not revolutionized themselves.

As I said during the session, quite a number of senior officials still regard their posts as a high government office in the former society. For this reason, some people claim cars from the state as soon as they are appointed as cadres, I am told and, what is worse, they do not believe the state’s undertaking to provide cars for them at some later date and continue to complain the delay in delivery.

Our workers must not become wage earners but revolutionaries.

We provide cadres with better living conditions than other people to make them serve the revolution well. The wages given to cadres are not salaries to allow them to live in honour and wealth, but pays to allow them to carry out the work of revolution well, without worrying about their living expenses. As far as cars are concerned, the state provides cars for them to save as much time as possible, because they have to carry out distant business tours and so they can dedicate the hours they save to their work. It does not give them cars so that they can become more elegant.

Our providing the cadres with larger living accommodation is not because they are of high rank, but because they have to work harder and therefore need a good rest at home, because they sometimes work until late at night.

We also provide smelters with two or three-roomed apartments so as to allow them a comfortable rest at home.

The apartment houses we are now building on Chollima and Sosong Streets in Pyongyang will have more than two rooms each. This, of course, aims at improving the people's living conditions in accordance with the progress of our socialist construction. But, what is more important is to ensure that our people do their work well while having a good rest. However, some of our cadres regard our providing them with good homes as a natural result of their high rank.

Some of you may regard this matter as trivial. But you must not do so. If a man grows into an egoist who thinks of his own comfort at the expense of the revolution, he may not hesitate to be hired by an enemy spy and to steal money from his friends and the state and, in the long run, he might sell the Party or the state to the enemy. This kind of person is no better than an opium addict.

I have a story to tell you, which happened in the days of our anti-Japanese armed struggle. At the time I could not believe that an opium fiend would sell his wife, as some of our comrades claimed. One day I was on a mission in Wangqing where I saw the wife of an opium addict being sold.

After I had seen this, I told my men that the opium fiend was even

capable of selling his country in a difficult situation, because he did not hesitate to sell his wife. And then I established a strict rule which did not permit guerrillas to smoke opium under any circumstances. Like the opium fiend, the man who has become egotistical is capable of doing any wickedness for the sake of his interests.

Some of our cadres at present behave in an undisciplined and headstrong way and do not keep Party and state secrets.

Others are inclined to display individualist heroism and behave arrogantly, while attaching importance to their honour and drawing attention to themselves. Still others are not simple in their daily lives, but are dissipated, and do not rid themselves of a bureaucratic style of work.

If we do not amend these shortcomings we cannot expect our work to go well. For this reason we cannot punish all the people who have faults. The point of the matter is to re-educate them all by strengthening the campaign to revolutionize the cadres.

In fact, I was going to deal with the question of revolutionizing cadres first in the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and then at a plenary meeting after celebrating the 15th of August because I have to meet foreign guests, make preparations for the Party congress and direct many other urgent affairs. Therefore, I intended to have a consultative meeting first on this question on this occasion. However, the facts which have been revealed are so serious that we have to take immediate steps right through the Party. That is why the Party Central Committee has held this plenary meeting in order to criticize thoroughly all those who have committed errors and to introduce measures to revolutionize them as soon as possible.

2. ON MEASURES FOR REVOLUTIONIZING CADRES

I have emphasized ways of establishing the monolithic ideological system of the Party among cadres on several occasions, so today I

should like to mention only a few measures for their revolutionization.

A man's revolutionization is not achieved by the repetition of words nor by reading books over and over again, day and night like a Christian reading the Bible. It is true that if we are to be inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideas we must read books on Marxism-Leninism and if we are to carry out the Korean revolution well we must make a study of the documents of our Party. But studying alone does not answer the question of revolutionization.

In order to revolutionize cadres we must wage the ideological revolution, and, in particular, a strong ideological struggle.

What method must we use for the ideological struggle? It should be conducted by means of criticism in all cases, for it is a struggle to transform a man's ideology. Carrying out the ideological struggle by means of criticism as well as practical struggle and transforming people's ideology through the ideological struggle—this is precisely the policy always held by our Party in the work of re-educating men. It aims at remaking man by arguing against his wrong ideas and awakening him to remedy them through criticism after all. Without doing this, it is impossible to carry on the work of revolutionization, no matter how loudly they talk about a man's revolutionization.

For the revolutionization of cadres it is important, first of all, to strengthen their organizational life.

Everybody in our society, no matter who he might be, must become a member of a particular organization and live a sincere organizational life. Party members and members of the League of Socialist Working Youth, the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People and the Women's Union, must all lead a fitting organizational life within their particular organizations. There can be no exceptions to this. Even ministers and vice-premiers must be enlisted in a Party cell and lead a Party life to the best of their ability.

It is a great mistake to consider it a nuisance to take part in the lives of the Party and the working people's organizations, and as an interference with the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks and construction. Without strengthening the people's organizational life

we cannot build socialism successfully and even when we have built a socialist society it will become valueless. No matter how well we have built such a society, the socialist gains cannot be maintained, state property will be damaged and plundered and, furthermore, the revolution and construction cannot be carried forward if people do not value the interests of their organizations and collectives, pursuing only their own comfort and profit instead.

If we are to construct any projects properly, take good care of what we have already built and undertake the revolutionary struggle and construction as a whole, we must strengthen organizational life amongst the people and educate them in an efficient way. Leading an organizational life will not be an interference with socialist construction and revolutionary work, but it is, on the contrary, beneficial to them. It is essential for the purpose. We must ensure that all the cadres root out the tendency of thinking ill of organizational life and live and work under the strict control of Party organizations.

You must not be apathetic about living an organizational life. The life in Party and working people's organizations must be carried out at a high political and ideological level and in an atmosphere of principled criticism.

Revolutionaries are people who oppose what is outdated and decadent and strive for what is new and progressive. In the course of social development, the new and progressive are always accompanied by their opposites. The revolution can triumph over them by means of struggle. Therefore, revolutionaries must continue their fight against imperialism, against reactionaries, against opportunists and against all obsolete ideas, which block the way to social development. Revolutionaries live and work in the midst of this battle, and they devote their lives to it. Marx and Engels fought against all kinds of opportunism in their lifetime and Lenin and Stalin did the same.

Being unwilling or afraid to fight is an expression of revisionist ideas. Those who manifest this opportunist idea will not pursue the revolution to the end and will leave the noble revolutionary ranks halfway. In metaphorical terms, it can be said that the road to

communism is like the road from Pyongyang to Kanggye. One will encounter various obstacles as one walks towards the final destination, such as wet fields, thorny and stony fields, rivers and high mountains. If we are to reach Kanggye we must keep on overcoming these obstacles. Those who are brave enough to conquer difficulties can march towards communism with us and those who do not wish to fight hardships will desert our ranks halfway to the destination. We can say this is a natural law.

Our cadres must overcome all the difficulties and hardships which face them in the course of their revolutionary struggle and construction so as to complete the revolution. To this end, they must take an active part in organizational life and carry on the ideological struggle efficiently. Without doing this they cannot train themselves ideologically, nor can they be loyal to the revolution. In the long run, in the field of the ideological struggle, it is obvious who is an active element, faithful to the revolution. This plenary meeting has also shown who is efficient in ideological struggle and who is not. We can say that those who are efficient are activists and those who are not are passivists.

At present, some officials consider that anyone who does not criticize their defects or takes no notice of them is a man who is defending them, so to speak. This is quite a wrong notion. To take no action on becoming aware of someone's defects is just one way of turning the guilty man into an ideological laggard very quickly. If you genuinely care about your revolutionary comrades, you should criticize their errors promptly and let them correct these. Even in the case of parents or brothers or of intimate friends, you must not overlook their shortcomings. Family relationship will never suffer because of criticism, and neither will comradeship. In fact, if one wants to maintain true family relationships and to be on good terms with one's friends, one must criticize their faults immediately and help them to rectify their shortcomings.

We should ensure that cadres strengthen their organizational life and conduct a principled struggle against all mistaken practices. In the

course of ideological struggle you should not be afraid of differences between junior and senior positions, and give appropriate criticism to any cadres if they have defects. Just because he is a cadre you should not cover up his shortcomings, but criticize what has to be criticized, and attack what must be attacked promptly.

In the past ministers and other cadres were not criticized strongly in Party cell meetings in order to save their faces. This was a mistake. One of the main shortcomings revealed now in the work of our Party is, I think, precisely the fact that criticism has not been conducted well among cadres.

Because there has been scarcely any criticism of cadres in high positions, many of them become obviously uneasy when they are criticized once in a while, and think of how to retaliate against anyone who criticizes them, without thinking about correcting their faults and in a spirit of revenge. If cadres are left uncriticized in this way, and do not try to rectify their shortcomings, their minds will become impaired and they will degenerate rather than develop, thus finally quitting the revolutionary ranks.

Is it better to be expelled from the revolutionary ranks, or to march forward in company with the revolutionary comrades after having rectified one's shortcomings through the criticism of one's comrades? It is my opinion that if any cadre has faults he must boldly remedy them through the prompt criticism of his friends and continue to advance with his comrades in the revolutionary ranks.

As I always say, a revolutionary must work hard to revolutionize himself throughout his life and should be true to his revolutionary principles. Only then can he be called an honoured revolutionary soldier, even after his death. If, on the other hand, anyone carried on the revolutionary struggle properly at first and then turned into a traitor to the revolution or a factionalist halfway, not only he, but even his children would be spoken of disgracefully as sons of a traitor or of a factionalist. When the revolutionaries abided by the revolutionary principle and remained faithful to the Party and the revolution, they can be told their days were devoted to a worthwhile cause.

We now erect bronze statues of some people who died in the fight for the sake of the Party and the revolution. This is because they were true to the revolutionary principle to the last moments of their lives and single-heartedly loyal to the Party and the revolution. Those whose statues have been erected are people who deserve our respect and their exploits will last for ever.

Comrade Kim Chaek was an active defender of his leader to the last moment of his life and an excellent fighter for the Party and the revolution. That is why we still respect him. At this meeting a certain comrade told us the story of how he was educated by Comrade Kim Chaek after he had committed some errors in the past. His story was very impressive. He said: "Comrade Kim Chaek, with his Party membership card in his hand, told me that we should think first of the Party and always depend on it, and that he made it a rule to begin his daily work with a study of how well he would carry on the instructions of the General." How principled and impressive this story is! Comrade Kim Chaek gave this kind of effective education to many people. Our cadres should follow the examples of these people who were faithful to the revolution to the end.

We must wage an ideological struggle by way of criticism and re-educate people through it. Holding firm to the Party's policy, we must press forward with the work of revolutionizing cadres.

There are some principles to be observed always in criticizing one's shortcomings and conducting an ideological struggle.

Criticism should never be criticism for its own sake. It should be designed to help a comrade and to strengthen unity between comrades. As in the past, our criticism of the revolutionary comrades at the current plenary meeting is aimed at rectifying their mistakes and consolidating comradely unity. We must criticize their faults not to expel them from the revolutionary ranks or bury them politically but as a means of saving comrades in every way possible and doing revolutionary work with them. This is the first principle which we must observe in our criticism.

Next, in the course of criticism you must not transfer the

responsibility for your shortcomings to other comrades.

If cadres are to offer self-criticism they must make a thorough preparation and then make themselves clear to their subordinates. They must not shuffle off responsibility for their defects onto others in the course of their self-criticism. If cadres are not sincere in their self-criticism and try to defend themselves, while laying the blame on others, they will not only lose respect, but arouse great indignation amongst the masses. Even at this meeting some comrades did not criticize their faults sincerely and tried to speak vaguely, with the result that Party members were unanimous in condemning them. To be blunt, senior officials gave their guidance in a slipshod way in the past, so that many junior officials committed errors. In spite of this, some cadres at this plenary meeting were not straightforward in criticizing themselves and tried to shift their responsibility onto their subordinates. It is, therefore, natural that junior officials had their own views against them.

You must ensure that such practices as transferring the responsibility for mistakes onto others, and laying the blame for one's own errors on someone else, particularly when that person is being criticized by other people, do not occur again in future.

To proceed. You should not take revenge on each other through criticism. You must not criticize anyone spitefully, as though saying: "I will teach you a lesson because you criticized me severely. I will also blame you for everything which has gone wrong since you blamed me for alleged faults." This kind of criticism will not serve comradeship and does not suit the intention of the ideological struggle to re-educate comrades.

Some cadres in particular are trying, by one means or another, to take revenge upon their subordinates who have criticized them a little. They must not do so. If such revenge for criticism is encouraged, the atmosphere of criticism within the Party will disappear. Criticism aims to make a person aware of his faults. Who will give advice on another's shortcomings if revenge is allowed in retaliation for criticism? Anybody, whatever he may be, is likely to become arrogant, act as he

pleases and degenerate ideologically, in the long run, if he is not criticized.

Cadres must not think of taking revenge on their subordinates who criticize them. Commanding officers, in particular, should rely on their Party organizations thoroughly, and lead a Party life and, at the same time, they should not repress criticism from the rank and file nor should they take revenge against their critics.

Moreover, you must not wilfully accuse a person on a political charge when criticizing him.

It is true that a person's political disaffection may be uncovered in the course of criticism, but that is something different. Since criticism which is made between comrades always aims at correcting their faults, you must not make any irresponsible political charges against them.

At the same time, you must not create an atmosphere of fear when criticism is offered.

You should not try to dismiss or punish cadres recklessly just because their defects have been criticized. Only when it is quite impossible to reform the questionable cadres through criticism can you discharge them. You should take care of our cadres because all of them are the nucleus of the Party. You must not punish cadres when they are frank about their shortcomings. In this way you will ensure that cadres are not afraid but are willing to accept criticism given by their comrades and to conduct criticism in a revolutionary spirit.

The ideological struggle to revolutionize cadres should not be done in a short burst of activity, but on a regular basis and with strenuous efforts. And it is advisable to conduct an intensive criticism as was done at this plenary meeting once a year if necessary.

As a matter of fact, the ideological struggle for the revolutionization of cadres is rather belated. If we had carried it out a little earlier we would have isolated and dismissed the evildoers like removing useless warts and would have re-educated the rest. When dealing with a wart, you should not let it spread widely, for it gives you a great deal of trouble to remove many warts. Therefore, it is better to

remove the first one as soon as it appears and before it spreads further.

Although it is late, we must strengthen criticism among the cadres from now on and carry out the ideological struggle properly. In that way we shall ensure that all cadres are tempered in the furnace of the ideological struggle and are encouraged to carry on revolutionary work well.

What practices should we fight against then in the work of revolutionizing our cadres?

The things to oppose in this work are, first of all, mistaken ideas of all kinds which are detrimental to the Party's monolithic ideology, the Juche idea of our Party. In other words, in order to revolutionize cadres, we must fight all the outdated, reactionary ideological elements such as capitalist ideas, feudal-Confucian ideas, flunkeyism, revisionism, "Left" opportunism, factionalism, parochialism and nepotism which run counter to the interests of our revolution and to the monolithic idea of our Party.

Our tenacious ideological struggle should be directed first against the practices of flunkeyism and dogmatism which are evident amongst the cadres. Our experience proves that those who are imbued with the Juche idea of the Party think and act as the Party intends, but that those who are infected with flunkeyism and dogmatism do not do so. Therefore, cadres have to fight flunkeyism and dogmatism and arm themselves thoroughly with the Juche idea of the Party.

The work to establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party amongst cadres cannot be divorced from the fight against revisionism. In addition to the battle to oppose flunkeyism and dogmatism and establish Juche amongst cadres, we must continue a vigorous campaign to eliminate the virus of revisionism.

It is also important to strengthen opposition to bourgeois ideas, and petty-bourgeois ideas, amongst cadres. These ideas manifest themselves as egoism as well as in other forms. Without endeavouring to root out such remnants of obsolete ideas we cannot revolutionize people.

We should clearly understand that bourgeois ideas, and

petty-bourgeois ideas, have very damaging effects upon the revolution. Those people who have any of these ideas prefer licence and dislike an organizational life. They do not want to rely on their Party organizations and try to put on airs, thereby falling prey to individual heroism. If the remnants of these ideas grow, people will eventually give in to revisionism and develop a distaste for carrying on the revolution, thereby finding themselves separated from the ranks of revolution. We must further encourage the struggle to liquidate the survivals of bourgeois ideas, and petty-bourgeois ideas, amongst cadres.

We should also combat the practices caused by factionalism, parochialism and nepotism. Some cadres have not yet rid themselves completely of nepotism and, what is worse, it has gradually grown into parochialism and factionalism. We must keep a strict watch for any inclination towards factionalism, parochialism and nepotism which might be revealed amongst the cadres and take prompt action when they are expressed, even though they might be trivial, without any compromise.

In revolutionizing the cadres it is important to oppose the fact that they do not implement Party policies, idle away their time in the work of socialist construction and do not do their work well.

Even today, some cadres do not make an intense study of their duties and roam around from place to place without any specific plan, thus continuing a slothful way of working which is not in accordance with efforts to implement Party policies.

If ministers and vice-ministers are to give guidance to their lower echelons they must first devise plans and then make detailed preparations in accordance with them. Their visits should be approved by the Party committees of the particular ministries, agreed upon with the relevant departments of the Party Central Committee and also reported to the Cabinet. At present, however, quite a number of cadres do not work out what measure should be taken for particular problems during their guidance and carry out an aimless tour without even preparing speeches to be delivered at meetings which they expect to attend. If they do not have any discussions with subordinate workers

and tour several places a day by car, such a visit is quite useless in any case and, furthermore, it can be an obstacle to the implementation of the Party's policy.

The fact that Party policies are not being implemented by cadres can be seen also in their selfish practice of expediency. We must resolutely fight this practice. The word "expediency" is one which we first used immediately after liberation. "Expediency" is a manner of work in which one does not do one's duty properly, trying to give the appearance of having worked well. Although they have done nothing, these people deceive the Party and the state by trying to curry favour with their seniors when they visit them.

You must ensure that cadres' practices of making no attempt to implement Party policies, doing work in a slipshod way and wasting time, are thoroughly eliminated.

In addition, we must combat the inclination of cadres to dislike revolutionary organizational life and to escape from it.

As I have already said, there are still many cadres who are afraid of being criticized, dislike leading organizational life and do not rely on the Party organization in connection with their work and life. We must eradicate the tendency to neglect organizational life by intensifying criticism amongst cadres.

Another important object to be overcome in revolutionizing cadres is their indifference to the living conditions of the people.

At present some cadres pay no attention to the people's living conditions even though they know about the shortage of vegetables, fabrics, matches and so forth. Of course, I do not ask them to solve impossible problems in taking care of the people's living. But there are many things which could be solved if they gave them a little attention.

Let us take the vegetable problem as an example. Pyongyang has more vegetables than it can deal with, whereas the people in Kanggye have none. This is perfectly absurd. The two cities are not far from each other. Then, why is it impossible to supply the people in Kanggye with vegetables and fruit from Pyongyang? This is due to a lack of interest in the people's living conditions on the part of the Ministry of

Commerce and the leading officials of the Jagang Provincial and Kanggye City People's Committees.

If the sprinkler irrigation system is introduced in vegetable fields as required by the Party, enough vegetables can be supplied to the working people everywhere, and if autumn vegetables are kept in store, people can be provided with them continuously until next spring. Our cadres, however, do not organize this work.

We must carry out a strong ideological campaign against indifference to the people's living conditions. No matter how great the concern shown by the Party for the people is, they cannot enjoy the solicitude and benefits as they should if the cadres are indifferent to their living conditions. If a minister is not concerned about the people's living conditions he should be called to account. If the chairman of the provincial people's committee or the chairman of the county people's committee is indifferent, he should be brought to account. If there are any cadres who are not concerned about the people's lives and lack the working-class spirit and people-oriented spirit, they must be criticized by everyone and pressed upon by the masses. Then, the problems can be solved.

Next, we must fight the practices of misappropriating and squandering state property.

Ours is a socialist system for the people and all our property belongs to the people who have made it. We should wage an uncompromising battle against those who misappropriate property of the state and the people, even if it is trivial, or those who damage it, thus defending the interests of the people.

In addition, we must oppose bureaucracy amongst cadres.

Cadres still do not treat their juniors as revolutionary comrades and shout orders at people. Some cadres use their drivers and clerks as they wish because they do not regard them as their revolutionary comrades. This is quite wrong. This phenomenon can be seen not only amongst civilian cadres but also amongst military cadres.

At present some people do not take pride in their duties and the barbers and waitresses in particular regard their work as menial. This is

largely related to the fact that our cadres are lacking in revolutionary comradeship and do not treat their juniors as revolutionary comrades.

Cadres are not special beings. They are errand boys who serve the people. Why, then, do they shout at their subordinates and people at random and try to work their comrades as they please? Have they that right? This is not the time when one person used to force another to work and shouted at him. Moreover, under our system there is no one who obeys the commands of anyone else. The driver, the clerk and the aide are all revolutionary comrades, and the soldiers of the People's Army are revolutionary comrades-in-arms who are defending the country.

In our society people may undertake different duties in their given units, the revolutionary posts. But there must be no difference of high and low position in relations between people. This is also true of international relations. Some time ago I met the delegate of a certain fraternal party who was visiting our country. During our talk he said that his Party was too small to make any contribution to the development of the world revolution. So, I said to him: "You are mistaken in holding that point of view; your thinking is quite different from ours. There can be large and small countries and a large party and a small party, but there cannot be a superior country and an inferior country, nor an exalted party and lower party. Furthermore, there cannot be a party which does not have an effect on the development of the world revolution. All the fraternal parties, large or small, make a certain contribution to the development of the world revolution. Look at our hands, and we might think that the little finger is hardly of any use, but it has its own function. If one has a hand which lacks the little finger the hand is not a sound hand, but a deformed one. This being the case, in international relations, too, a large party plays its role as it is and a small party does its own part. Although your Party is small, it plays its proper role. We are absolutely opposed to big-power chauvinism and flunkeyism which underestimate the roles of a small country and a small party. I am not sure whether you will be welcome or not when you go to other countries and say what you just told me;

but we do not agree with your views.” Then he said that I was quite right, and he was very happy.

All our workers are socialist workers and people who are fighting together for the revolution. They are all carrying on their duties at their posts given by the Party and the state, and no one has the right to issue orders to them. It is a vestige of outdated ideology left over from feudal and capitalist societies to take pleasure in shouting at others and in working them hard on one’s own authority.

It is also an expression of bureaucratism that some cadres like to put on an air of importance. There was nothing different to be found in his manner when a man was in the post of vice-minister. But, as soon as he becomes a minister his style of coughing changes and so does his way of walking, and he asks for a better house. Once a man becomes a cadre he asks for a larger desk and a revolving chair in his office. Even when he is given a car, he asks for a black one. These comrades have already forgotten their past plight when they lived a hard life, wearing hemp breeches and living in small huts. As a matter of fact, when I visited Hamgyong Province once, I found many families with no quilts. Unlike this province, Phyongan Province cultivated cotton so that each household had quilts. But the people in Hamgyong Province could offer nothing but a wooden pillow to a guest, no matter how dear he was to the family.

As I have said before, one day immediately after liberation I met the son of Comrade Kim Chaek at the building where we founded the Communist Party. Comrade Kim Chaek brought his son to my office and introduced him to me, saying: “This boy hesitates to enter because of his bare feet. So, I urged him to come in saying that the General would not scold him for walking about with bare feet. I asked whether he thought the General would be happy to see him living in luxury and being smartly dressed? The bare feet are better, come along!” At the time his son was, as he had said, barefoot and wearing hemp breeches, with his belly exposed because all the buttons were missing.

Our cadres today are the people who lived this kind of poor life in the past, and amongst them there is no one who had been as prosperous

as the landlords and capitalists were. Now, however, they have forgotten their previous situation when they had to lead a hard life, with bare feet and shabby clothes. I have been told that they claim this type of car or that and a better chair in their offices because they are cadres, and when they are in hospital they complain about their doctors, the meals provided and the medicines dispensed.

Their duties are assigned by the Party and the people and their being appointed to the posts of cadres by the Party is in expectation of their faithful service for the Party and the revolution and for the country and the people. Nevertheless, some people behave arrogantly, regarding their high posts as something like an inborn government post. They must not act this way on account of their positions.

In revolutionizing cadres it is also important to reject the shortcomings which are evident in the observance of communist morals.

Some people believe that when a communist society is achieved, we shall no longer need morals or all sense of duty between father and son and between brothers. This is fundamentally wrong.

We do not oppose morality itself. What we are against is feudal-Confucian morality and capitalistic morality. Each society has a morality which it encourages. A communist society will have its own morality. We communists advocate and encourage communistic morality.

We should ensure that everyone opposes feudalistic and capitalistic morals which are outdated and rotten and willingly observes communist morals in every facet of social life.

First of all, we must educate the people to abide strictly by socialist public morality and order. Everything that we have built such as parks, streets, schools, theatres and trains are the common property of our people and for their happy life. No matter how much we have built and no matter how excellent a society we have established, that society will become disorganized and the material wealth which has been created will not contribute to the prosperous life of the people, if the people do not observe public order as they should, or deal with the communal

property carelessly. We should make sure that officials themselves are exemplary in maintaining public morality and order and that they behave themselves according to the requirements of our social system.

Next, we have to wage a firm ideological struggle against the failure of cadres to study.

Studying is one of the important methods for revolutionization. There are, however, many of our cadres who are still not willing to read and study. This is usually apparent amongst high-ranking officials who are less under control. Pretending that they are busy, some senior cadres do not make a proper study of Party policies, nor attend film shows or even read a single newspaper attentively throughout the day. They are rushing about achieving nothing.

If they do not study, cadres cannot do revolutionary work properly. Our scrutiny of the people who committed errors and ruined themselves so far convinces us that most of them disliked organizational life and neglected study.

We must establish the traits of studying amongst cadres thoroughly and severely criticize anyone who neglects studying. At present some cadres do not criticize those who do not study because they are friendly with them. This practice must stop. Study is also important in preventing people from committing errors in their work.

Going to school is not the only way of studying. If you try hard you can study while on the job in a planned way as you wish. From now onwards, when cadres neglect their studies, you should criticize them strongly at Party cell meetings and set them examinations, thus dealing with them sternly.

The Central Party School, the Marxist-Leninist Institute, the University of National Economy and other cadre-training establishments should intensify studies as well as conducting an ideological struggle. It is useless only giving lessons to the students without an ideological struggle. The cadre-training institutes must make certain that all their students are tempered ideologically even more during their student days through ideological struggle.

In addition to these shortcomings, I think that there are still many

others to be rectified in the work and life of cadres. We must continue our resolute fight amongst cadres against all mistaken practices which are detrimental to the monolithic ideology of the Party and harmful to revolutionary work and we must continually revolutionize cadres.

We should make a further study of the method of revolutionizing cadres.

In my opinion, in order to strengthen the organizational life of cadres and succeed in the work for their revolutionization and working-classization, it is advisable to reorganize the composition of Party committees, a little, so that cadres will lead their organizational life with people who are working on the spot. One cannot expect that people who are working together all the time will be able to carry out a disciplined ideological struggle. We are going to include workers who are directly engaged on the production sites as members of Party committees at all levels. This is one of the ways to let cadres lead their organizational life with the working class. In the case of the Party Central Committee, for instance, we are going to increase the number of its members with workers who are faithful to the Party and who have had more than ten years' experience of working on production sites, particularly at furnaces and similar places. If this is achieved cadres will attend meetings at the same place with the workers who are tempered on the production sites and receive criticism from the working class. With this objective we are now revising the Party Rules which will be discussed at the forthcoming Fifth Congress of the Party.

It is true that this kind of thing cannot be found in the party rules of other countries and that it is our first attempt at it. This method will have many good points. First of all, cadres will breathe the same air as the revolutionary working class and listen to their opinions as much as possible when a new Party policy is to be adopted; secondly, many cadres will be brought up in the ranks of the working class; and thirdly, cadres will learn the style of work and manner of the working class at first hand and will be encouraged by the sentiments of the working class even further. At present cadres, as office workers, only meet each other when they need to hold a meeting. But, if you reorganize the

composition of the Party committee in this way, you will meet workers who are in direct charge of a furnace, thus learning a number of good things from them.

The ministry Party committee should also enrol many workers who have been tested on production sites. It is our opinion that the ministry Party guidance committee should be reorganized in this way first, even before the opening of the Party congress, while leaving the ministry Party committee as it is. The ministry Party guidance committee should consist of about 50 members. Of these, 25 should come from the ministry itself and the other 25 from amongst hard-core workers at factories under the ministry concerned. In this way they will be able to participate in a meeting which discusses a plan to implement Party decisions or a meeting which deals with the ideological preparedness of cadres. It would be good for the ministry Party guidance committee to meet once a month or once a quarter according to its situation. Only then can the cadres of ministries breathe the same air as the working class and, at the same time, get rid of bureaucracy through criticism made by their juniors.

In addition to ministries, other units should take similar measures in conformity with their situation.

If you allow officials to lead their organizational life away from the working class and let them indulge in armchair argument all the time without distinguishing between right and wrong as it is today, then you will not succeed in the ideological struggle. Therefore, on the occasion of this plenary meeting, you must take steps to ensure that the ideological struggle will, in future, also be conducted in a new spirit with the participation of the working class.

If all our cadres are to become revolutionaries who are faithful to the Party and the revolution, they have to continue to harden themselves through strong criticism. In order to revolutionize cadres, we have emphasized the ideological struggle at this plenary meeting. Using this opportunity, all cadres must train themselves in the furnace of the ideological struggle. The cadres' honour will not be harmed, nor will their prestige be impaired just because they have been criticized or

self-criticized. On the contrary, when they clearly understand their own errors through criticism and are truthful with the Party about their shortcomings, their minds will be light, as though they had been freed from heavy burdens.

As I have always said, our Party is a motherly party. It always embraces people warmly and is generous to them. No Party members should conceal their shortcomings from the Party and all should live in its embrace. A Party member who is not completely honest with the Party and is estranged from it is like a man without a political life. Just as we cannot consider a child who is not frank with his mother about everything that happens in his life to be truthful, so we cannot call anybody who does not honestly confess his faults to the Party a true Party member.

At present some cadres do not tell the Party the unvarnished truth about what happened, but try to deceive it. They must not do this. Those who do not criticize their shortcomings plainly and deceive the Party always build up fences around themselves for fear of their errors being exposed and finally go to the extreme of committing evil acts in collaboration with undesirable elements. This is the lesson which we have learned in the course of our revolutionary struggle for more than 40 years.

Cadres should not be afraid of self-criticism, but must be sincere in criticizing their own defects before the Party. Only then can they be forgiven by the Party and re-educated. Everyone should make frank self-criticism about his shortcomings, such as incorrect behaviour detrimental to the Party's ideas, bureaucracy which he has practised, his neglect of home education and self-study and so forth, and, at the same time, he must criticize the errors of other people. In this way all cadres must train and reform themselves continuously through ideological struggle.

To proceed. I wish to speak briefly on where we should put the emphasis in revolutionizing the whole of society.

I consider that it ought to be placed on the revolutionization of the Party cells, the primary units of the working people's organizations,

and the workteams and sub-workteams and that we should start with the revolutionization of these specific basic units. If every Party cell is revolutionized the whole Party will be revolutionized, and if every primary unit is revolutionized all the working people's organizations will be revolutionized. Meanwhile, if every sub-workteam is revolutionized the whole cooperative will be revolutionized, and if every workteam is revolutionized the whole workshop and the factory itself will be revolutionized. Eventually, if each Party cell and each primary organization, each sub-workteam and each workteam is revolutionized the whole of society will be revolutionized. Therefore, you must not boast about the revolutionization of the whole of society, but start with this work in such small units as a Party cell, a primary organization, a sub-workteam or a workteam.

We must also pay particular attention to the revolutionization of families.

It is true that in our society everyone is provided with the opportunity to participate in a socio-political life and almost all the people enjoy this life. Therefore, everyone can be revolutionized through his socio-political life. A housewife who goes to work can be revolutionized in the workplace, and her husband can also be revolutionized in his workplace. Meanwhile, the children who go to school can be revolutionized in their sub-branches of the Children's Union and the young students can be revolutionized in their own Party cells or their primary organizations of the League of Socialist Working Youth in their schools. That is why, under a socialist system like ours, the question of family revolutionization cannot be separated from the revolutionization of the whole of society.

Although the question of family revolutionization is important in all families, this is more important for families with housewives who have no job and remain at home, looking through their wardrobes all the time and looking after their husbands only. In general, these housewives get together often, talk nonsense and cause a great deal of trouble.

Since cadres in particular do not revolutionize their families, many shortcomings are being brought to light. The wives and children of

cadres must observe the state discipline more strictly than other people and work hard. However, some of them do not do so.

Her husband is a cadre, but she herself is not, is she? Even if she is the wife of a high-ranking official, she is a factory worker when she works in a factory and an office worker when she works in an office or she is a housewife when she remains at home. At present, however, as soon as the wives of cadres are respectfully called “Madam”, they become arrogant and behave selfishly.

We must resolutely fight against these unrevolutionary practices and make every effort to revolutionize our families.

To this end, we must strengthen the Women’s Union organizations in residential areas and bring housewives under social control.

At the same time, we must furnish the necessary conditions for our officials to carry out home education. They need the time to educate their wives, children and elders and so revolutionize all their families. At present cadres go to office in the morning and return home late at night, and do so even on Sundays. This prevents them from finding the time for home education. They must be given time for this about twice a month without fail. In this way we should ensure that cadres give constant education to and have an influence on their wives and children at home.

The best way to revolutionize a family is to let all its members go out into the world. If housewives work and take part in organizational life they can be revolutionized quickly.

In addition to home education for family revolutionization, the Women’s Union organizations and all workplaces should start to work to this end, developing it into a social campaign. It is advisable to bring troublemaker-housewives, in particular, under social criticism. As a matter of fact, it is not easy for a man to educate his wife at home. As regards the troublemaker-housewives it is important to strengthen social control over them through social criticism, an organizational criticism, rather than home education. We should start with the thorough revolutionization of cadres’ families by strengthening family revolutionization.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize once again that we are living in the era of revolution and we are the people who should continue the revolution. None of us is allowed to adopt the attitude of giving up the revolution and living an idle life. Unless we make the revolution we cannot drive the US imperialist aggressors out of our country nor can we overthrow the regime of capitalists and landlords in south Korea. As befits revolutionaries we must work, study, live and fight in a revolutionary way. This healthy spirit should prevail over the whole of society.

We must rouse the entire Party to revolutionize the whole of society, while pressing ahead with the revolutionary struggle and construction work.

I am firmly convinced that you will make great progress in the work of revolutionizing cadres, Party members and the whole of society in hearty response to the spirit of this plenary meeting.

ON THE TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH HWANGHAE PROVINCE

**Closing Speech at the Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the South
Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee**

October 1, 1970

Comrades,

We held a consultative meeting with members of the executive committee of the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee, departmental directors of the Party Central Committee and many ministers of the Cabinet over a period of a few days, and yesterday we participated in the plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee and heard the report of its chief secretary and the speeches of many other comrades.

Prior to the forthcoming Fifth Party Congress we have discussed the Six-Year Plan for South Hwanghae Province at the plenary meeting of its Party committee because the province holds a key position in the grain production of our country. Moreover, some time ago the chief secretary of the Party committee of this province suggested that the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee should consider the matter of economic development here. That is why we have come here and held a meeting to discuss the tasks of the province in the period of the Six-Year Plan.

I am going to talk about some tasks confronting the Party organizations in this province.

1. ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

For several days we have assimilated the material offered by your report and speeches and the fact-finding investigation made by the guidance group. This information shows that South Hwanghae Province can produce two million tons of cereals a year without difficulty.

As I always say, one of the most important questions in a socialist society is the matter of producing a large amount of cereals. The building of socialism is aimed at providing all the people with a happy life. To do this, we must, first of all, solve the food question, the problem of cereals.

An abundance of cereals is the prerequisite for producing enough meat and foodstuffs of different kinds and for making enough confectionery. If we are short of cereals, we shall suffer a shortage of non-staple foodstuffs and we shall be very poor. In a socialist society, the question of cereals is very important because everyone has to be provided with fair and adequate supplies of food. For this reason, we said a long time ago that rice is, in essence, socialism.

Of course, industry is important, but industry itself must be for the production of cereals, for the solution of the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people. The ultimate purpose of our constructing heavy industry is to produce cereals, fabrics and so on in large quantities so as to improve the people's standard of living. Heavy industry purely for its own sake is of no value.

We must place the greatest importance on agriculture in the national economy and develop heavy industry in such a way that it can best serve the development of agriculture. If the production of cereals needs a large amount of chemical fertilizer, we shall have to construct more chemical fertilizer factories; if it requires more farm machines,

we must increase the production of steel; and if it demands more electricity, we have to increase the output of electric power. As you can see, the production of chemical goods, steel and electricity must, in the long run, be directed mainly to the development of agriculture. The level and direction of the development of heavy industry must be defined as required by agriculture.

Our industry must not, on any account, be directed at the production of gold. Obtaining gold can never be the overriding principle of production. Of course, one might think that as long as one has gold, one can buy cereals from other countries, but that would be a mistaken idea. Cereals may or may not be available on foreign markets; they may be available in one year but not in another. In a year like this when there is a worldwide crop failure, cereals are not only very expensive but cannot be obtained even for gold because the demand is too great.

Let me tell you a story.

Once upon a time there was a flood in a village. A peasant and a landlord who lived in the village climbed a tree, the former with several maize cakes and the latter with a few lumps of gold. But the flood did not abate for several days, so they could not come down from the tree. The peasant stayed on the tree eating his cakes little by little, but the landlord had nothing to eat and was very hungry. He could only look at his gold nuggets but could not eat them. He was obliged to ask the peasant for a cake in exchange for his gold. But the peasant refused, saying that he did not need gold. The landlord starved and was drowned, but the peasant kept sitting on the tree, eating his cakes, until the flood subsided, and then came down and lived happily ever after.

I am telling you this today in order to emphasize the great importance of cereals.

Our own practical experiences and the experiences of other socialist countries show that it is very important to produce cereals in large quantities. It is only when we have an adequate amount of cereals that we can consolidate the socialist system, achieve the complete victory of socialism and raise the people's standard of living. It is only when we have plenty of cereals that we can carry out the Korean and the

world revolution with success. If they lead the imperialist countries in the production of cereals, the socialist countries will be able to give greater influence and confidence to the newly independent countries and promote the world revolution that much more. Therefore, I once more emphasize that rice is, in essence, socialism.

In spite of the great importance of the question of cereals, some of our officials are very negligent about producing them. This attitude has been criticized at the Party Central Committee and at meetings of the Cabinet on many occasions: and again, yesterday, it was obvious that the practice of hoping for a spontaneous output of cereals with little investment in agriculture, still persists. Cereals will not just grow themselves.

Of course, agriculture has made great progress in recent years thanks to our campaign to implement the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. In South Hwanghae Province, for instance, the annual production of cereals has increased from 330,000 to 910,000 tons, or by nearly three times, in recent years. But we cannot yet consider it satisfactory.

On this visit to South Hwanghae Province, I have found that the Cabinet has not done many things for the development of agriculture in this province, although it could have done. Tractor repair plants and tractor spare part plants could easily have been equipped, but they have been neglected, with the result that tractors have not been operating as they should. This has hampered grain production to a considerable degree. Drainage equipment could also have been supplied in the required amounts, but it has not been provided. This is mainly due to the fact that the outdated capitalist idea of looking down on the rural areas still persists in the minds of senior officials.

In a socialist society it is impossible to produce cereals without making investment in the rural areas. If you farm by outdated methods, instead of organizing grain production by modern methods, you will be unable to produce large quantities of cereals. You must on no account cling to outdated methods and try to increase grain production by depending on an element of chance. In a socialist society cereals are

more important than anything else, so we must give priority to grain production and concentrate all our efforts on it.

If our country is to raise its annual output of grain to 7 million to 7.5 million tons during the Six-Year Plan, South Hwanghae Province must raise its annual production to two million tons. This province is one of the main grain production areas in our country. Agricultural success in this province, therefore, greatly affects the grain output of the whole country.

South Hwanghae Province has the conditions and capability of producing two million tons of grain annually. This province, with a mild climate and wide plains, can introduce double-cropping and mechanization on a wide scale. It also has a great deal of reserves for increasing per-hectare yields. At present, its per-hectare yields are amongst the lowest in our country. Its present per-hectare yields fluctuate around 2.3 tons of maize and 3.5 to 4 tons of rice. If all its counties follow the example of Jaeryong County in farming, the province will be able to increase its grain output considerably.

As was mentioned at yesterday's session, in Jaeryong County agriculture has been given efficient direction this year and, as a result, a yield of 5.5 tons of rice is being estimated per hectare. This means 1.5 tons more from every hectare than in other counties. This does not imply that this county has received more tractors or fertilizer from the state than other counties have.

Jaeryong County has grown good crops this year because it has organized work well and because work amongst the people has been efficient.

In this county, work amongst people, amongst the tractor drivers in particular, has been so effective that they have been encouraged to do a good job. As a workteam leader of the farm machine station of this county said in his speech yesterday, the tractor drivers in the county have worked well.

Another major reason for the 1.5-ton increase of rice yield per hectare in this county compared with other counties is that the county introduced the raising of rice seedlings in cold beds on a wide scale and

bedded them out early. If seeds are not sown properly, the seedlings do not grow well, and so they will have to be bedded out late. But in Jaeryong County the seeds were sown early and tended with care, so that the seedlings were transplanted at the right time. Since the county transplanted the seedlings early, it could dispense with manpower support.

If all the other counties in South Hwanghae Province follow the example of Jaeryong County, each of them will be able to increase the per-hectare rice yield by 1.5 tons. If the province raises the per-hectare rice yield by 1.5 tons from all fields except those watered exclusively by rain, the total increase will amount to 200,000 tons.

If you cultivate non-paddy fields a little better, you will be able to produce 3.5 to 4 tons of maize from a hectare. The present per-hectare maize output in South Hwanghae Province is only two tons. If it improves the cultivation of maize and produces 3.5 tons per hectare, the province will be able to increase the production of grain by at least 100,000 tons.

A comparison of grain yields in other counties with those in Jaeryong County within the same province, though not with those in Mundok County or Sukchon County in South Phyongan Province, shows that South Hwanghae Province has a great deal of reserves for grain output. Even without greatly strengthening the existing material foundations to increase agricultural production, South Hwanghae Province will be able to raise the present output by at least 300,000 tons simply through the efficient organization and direction of its farming efforts.

There are many other reserves for grain production in South Hwanghae Province. If it receives more tractors and chemical fertilizer and agricultural chemicals, improves irrigation, further develops agricultural science and technology and introduces double-cropping more widely, the province will be able to produce more than two million tons of grain annually. If it increases the grain output by 150,000 tons every year during the Six-Year Plan, it will be able to raise the annual output to two million tons. The figure of 150,000 tons,

if divided among the cities and counties, and then among the cooperative farms, is, in fact, small. It all depends on how you work to increase the grain yields.

South Hwanghae Province must launch a vigorous campaign to increase the grain output by 150,000 tons every year during the Six-Year Plan and attain the target of two million tons of grain without fail.

What, then, are the important tasks which South Hwanghae Province must carry out to achieve this?

The province must first give priority to political work so as to encourage all the agricultural workers to do their job willingly.

Party members and other farm members must be given a clear understanding of the profound meaning of the motto, "Rice is, in essence, socialism," so that they will increase the output of cereals for a further consolidation of our socialist system and for the complete victory of socialism. All the agricultural working people must take better care of tractors and other farm machines, use water sparingly and apply chemical fertilizers more effectively. Work among the tractor drivers in particular must be effective so as to encourage them to work willingly and honestly, with a clear understanding that it is their revolutionary duty to produce large quantities of cereals. All Party officials, the officials of the working people's organizations, and the executives of the administrative and economic establishments in South Hwanghae Province must cherish this idea. The officials who are present at this meeting must play a more important part than anyone in intensifying political work amongst Party members and other farm members.

You must ensure that the cooperative farms strictly observe the socialist principle of distribution.

It is an important requirement of the Chongsanri spirit and the Chongsanri method to implement the socialist principle of distribution thoroughly. At the moment, however, this principle is not implemented properly by cooperative farms. Cooperative farms in Ongjin and some other counties are wasting a great deal by putting aside a large sum of joint saving funds in the name of what they call expenditure on

farewells, receptions and so on. They still impose burdens upon the farmers over and above the taxes.

Some cooperative farms put aside cereals without good reason, and this also is a violation of the socialist principle of distribution. The cooperative farms must make public all the details of their financial and economic situation, make a proper evaluation of the people who work well, and implement the socialist principle of distribution correctly in accordance with the quantity and quality of work done. If the cooperative farms strictly observe this principle, their farming will be more successful.

Rural manpower must not be diverted to other purposes without just cause.

Farmers do not like doing a job which has nothing to do with farming. They know better than anyone else that they can receive a high distribution only when they work hard on their farms and grow good crops. So it is obvious that they are not happy when they are told to do something which is not farm work, for instance, the construction of office buildings of county-level institutions, theatres or hotels. In recent years, however, very many farmers in South Hwanghae Province have been mobilized for undertakings which have nothing to do with farming. At present, some officials mobilize farmers at random, assuming that farm production assignments are not absolute, although they cannot do so with the industrial workers whose production assignments and norms are explicit. The officials of state and economic establishments must do away completely with the practice of drafting farmers at random to do work other than farming because they regard such practice as unimportant.

Farmers must be mobilized only in work which is related to agriculture. For example, they can do the work of widening the narrow-gauge rails between Haeju and Paechon. They have an interest in this project. If the narrow-gauge rails are replaced with broader ones, supplies of fertilizer can be delivered to them opportunely, and the grain they have produced can be transported away promptly. Farmers can also be mobilized in irrigation construction, embankment

projects and other rural construction.

The ideological awareness of farmers is still lower than that of the working class. So they are lacking in the idea of one working for all. For this reason, it is important to run the socialist rural economy to suit the ideological level of the farmers.

As the manager of the Ryongyon County General Farm said in his speech yesterday, the question of changing cooperative ownership into all-people ownership cannot be solved in a day or two; it will take some time to do this. The Ryongyon County General Farm was organized a long time ago, but it has only got on the right track in recent years. The farm is now yielding profits for the state, and the standard of living of the workers of this farm is very high. It is only now that the people there have become agricultural workers and some change has taken place in their ideological point of view. They have realized the advantages of all-people ownership. They are working unsparingly and are affected little by departmental selfishness.

The state has made a great deal of investment in this farm to make it what it is today. Cooperative ownership cannot be transformed into all-people property at once because the cooperative farms will find it difficult to reach the level of the Ryongyon County General Farm immediately after their changeover to all-people ownership.

Since the question of turning cooperative property into all-people property depends mainly on the ideological level of the farmers, it has to be solved gradually. What I should like to emphasize to you today is that you must see all problems in the light of the ideological level of the farmers. You must not ignore the fact that cooperative farmers still think a great deal about their own interests, that is, how much distribution they will receive.

The idea of thy share and my share, an idea which still survives in the minds of farmers, cannot be changed all at once; it has to be reformed gradually. That is why the socialist principle of distribution must be strictly observed, and also why the dictatorial practice of drafting farmers for work other than farming in violation of the rules of cooperative farms must be stopped.

Cooperative farms must establish strict discipline under which every farmer works honestly and earns his obligatory work-points without reserve. Those who idle away their time without earning their obligatory work-points are not entitled to cooperative membership.

The agricultural sector must make effective use of the existing material foundations.

At present, in South Hwanghae Province the benefits given farmers by the state and various other material means are not being used effectively because work is not organized properly to this end.

The state has supplied the province with nearly 5,000 tractors, but only 50 to 60 per cent of them are said to be in operation. The low rate of tractor operation means that the farmers are doing that much more difficult work. This is due to the low work efficiency of the officials who are in charge of directing agriculture in South Hwanghae Province. The figure of 50 to 60 per cent of tractors in operation implies that at least 2,000 tractors in the province are out of use. The chairmen of the county cooperative farm management committees and the chairman of the provincial rural economy committee ought to feel self-reproach for having compelled the farmers to do backbreaking work by neglecting measures to ensure the effective use of tractors. They ought to be held responsible for this before the Party.

It is not a very difficult job to increase the rate of tractor operation. This problem can be solved by supplying the necessary tractor spare parts, by building up the tractor repair centres and by repairing tractors speedily. The chairmen of the county cooperative farm management committees and the chairman of the provincial rural economy committee have neglected these measures and obliged the farmers to do exhausting work instead of enjoying state benefits properly and they have hampered grain production. In spite of this, they feel no remorse for their misdeeds.

The chairman of the provincial rural economy committee and other senior officials in charge of the agricultural sector mostly came from among the people who had been servants of landlords before. The Party appointed such a man chairman of the provincial rural economy

committee because it believed that he would solve the farmers' problems, with a better understanding of those problems than anyone else. But the man who had been a servant has forgotten his past lot since his appointment as chairman of the provincial rural economy committee. He does not think of easing the difficult work of the farmers. This shows that even the officials who came from among the hired farm hands or from among the working class can behave like aristocrats unless they equip themselves with the revolutionary ideology of our Party. They must not simply boast of their class origin, saying that they came from among the working class. If they lack the revolutionary ideology of the working class, become imperious after their promotion to cadres and neglect to work for the farmers and workers, even the cadres of working-class origin can no longer claim this. They are labour aristocrats, and as such they are the targets of struggle. Therefore, our Party continually stresses the need to revolutionize and working-classize all the people.

If South Hwanghae Province is to make effective use of the existing tractors, it must build up the tractor repair centres, supply tractor spare parts rapidly, and manufacture good trailer implements and various other farm machines and equipment. It is particularly important to ensure the supply of tractor oil in a responsible manner. Farm work is seasonal, so there should be no default in ensuring seasonable ploughing and harrowing, because of a failure to supply tractor oil. If this happens, it must be considered a serious offence and uncompromisingly opposed.

You must build up the lorry repair plant and ensure the speedy repair of lorries. In this way you will ensure that the existing vehicles are used more efficiently and that fertilizer and other farming materials are delivered in time.

All rice seedlings must be grown in cold beds.

The state must ensure the supply of the plastic sheets needed for the cold beds. South Hwanghae Province must ensure that all its cooperative farms grow all their rice seedlings in cold beds. All counties in this province must follow the example of Jaeryong County

and harrow their fields well by using the existing tractors effectively and then transplant the seedlings at the right season. Rice seedlings which are transplanted later than the 25th or 30th of May are said to give 1 to 1.5 tons lower yields per hectare. According to the statistics, the area of paddies where rice seedlings were transplanted earlier than the 25th of May this year accounts for only 40 per cent of the total area of rice fields in our country. This means that the crop yield dropped by 1 to 1.5 tons in every hectare of the 60 per cent of our rice fields where the transplantation of seedlings was late. So we can increase the output of rice a great deal by solving the problem of transplanting rice seedlings at the right time.

I think that if it solves these problems satisfactorily South Hwanghae Province will be able to increase the grain output by 150,000 tons annually even before the state takes measures to build a large chemical fertilizer factory or to complete the irrigation works.

For the time being, South Hwanghae Province must increase its grain output by exploring latent reserves. You must not wait instead for the state to provide all your necessities before you endeavour to raise the output of cereals. Of course, the state is going to build another chemical fertilizer factory during the Six-Year Plan so as to increase the output of chemical fertilizer at least to three million tons. This amount will be enough to apply at least one ton of chemical fertilizer per hectare even including the area for double-cropping. We are planning to decide on this matter at the Fifth Party Congress and to attempt to reach this target.

You must solve the problem of water.

In South Hwanghae Province, it is imperative to take steps to increase the supply of water to the areas like Ongjin, Thaethan, Kangryong, Jangyon, Ryongyon and Paechon Counties, which are short of water, and also to introduce irrigation for non-paddy fields. Non-paddy field irrigation will ensure secure dry-field farming and increase crop yields.

It is advisable for South Hwanghae Province to refrain from turning any more dry fields into rice fields. If the per-hectare crop yield is

increased, the existing area of rice fields will produce enough rice to feed all the population. We are not short of rice, but of cereals in terms of their absolute quantity. Only when we increase the absolute quantity of cereals can we develop livestock farming and raise the output of meat. It is only when we produce meat in large quantities that we can reduce the consumption of cereals. So it is important to increase the output of cereals in terms of their absolute quantity. We must not only increase the production of rice, but also the production of maize, wheat and barley.

However, this does not mean that you must not reclaim rice fields at all. Wet land which is unsuitable for non-paddy fields should be reclaimed as rice fields. But it would not be bad to continue to cultivate those non-paddy fields which are favourable for mechanization and capable of increasing the output of cereals. The mechanization of dry-field farming is easier than that of rice cultivation. Crops like wheat or barley can be sown by machines in autumn and can be harvested with machines the next year.

Sprinkling is the best way of irrigating non-paddy fields. Of course, sprinkler irrigation requires a large amount of steel pipes. I was told that two tons of steel pipes are required to introduce sprinkler irrigation in one hectare of non-paddy fields. But we must not be niggardly with money if we are to raise grain output. We must supply steel pipes.

We must also introduce furrow irrigation, as well as sprinkling. Furrow irrigation should be used only on flat fields, because this type of irrigation on the sloping fields will erode the soil and damage the fields. You must also use tractors to irrigate non-paddy fields. If an irrigation system is provided for approximately 80,000 hectares of non-paddy fields in South Hwanghae Province, the province will become a reliable granary. The province must continue with its irrigation construction until none of its rice fields depends on natural supplies of water.

You must solve the problem of manpower.

If it is to irrigate its non-paddy fields completely, South Hwanghae Province will have to undertake many construction projects. It will

have to construct more reservoirs, both large and small, and dig more irrigation ditches. Of course, the state will supply tractors, excavators, bulldozers, lorries and other equipment necessary for irrigation construction. But these alone will not be enough. If you succeed in rural construction, you must solve the problem of manpower. Manpower will pose a most acute problem in carrying out the Six-Year Plan.

In order to solve this problem, you will have to thin out some work hands from the state-run fruit farms, and the fruit-growing workteams and livestock workteams of the cooperative farms. At present, these fruit farms and workteams have an excess of manpower. Of course, it would be difficult for the fruit-growing and livestock-farming sectors to reduce their work forces immediately, but they must do it gradually by increasing mechanized operations.

As I have already instructed during my visit to the Songhwa Fruit Farm, the fruit-growing sector must organize a workteam for every 40 hectares of orchards and allocate 25 workers and one tractor for the operation of the standard workteam.

The state-run fruit farms and the fruit-growing workteams of cooperative farms should build pigsties and raise pigs in the vicinity of orchards, use the manure from the pigsties for fruit cultivation, and mechanize the spraying of chemicals and all other fruit-farm work. If they do this, they will be able to spare a great deal of labour for other sectors.

The crop-farming workteams of the cooperative farms should also mechanize operations as far as possible and channel the manpower thus saved into rural construction. If they are to facilitate the mechanization of farming operations, they must re-organize their fields for this purpose. The development of the layout of the fields and the irrigation of non-paddy fields must be undertaken by well-organized rural construction corps, since these will have to be done on all cooperative farms.

Rural construction must not conflict with farming.

In view of its acute manpower situation and of the shortage of

machines, South Hwanghae Province should refrain from diverting too much effort to rural construction. In the busy transplanting and harvest seasons, rural construction workers must also participate in these operations and resume construction when these seasons are over.

If we mass-produce and use rice-transplanting machines and weed killers in the future, we shall be able to save a great deal of rural manpower. At present, the mechanization of agricultural production and the wider use of chemicals are being introduced experimentally at the Anak State Farm, the Migok Cooperative Farm in Pongsan County, the Chongsan Cooperative Farm in Kangso County, and at many other places, and we have come to the conclusion that in future crops can be cultivated easily with the help of machines and chemicals. For the present, however, such methods cannot be used throughout the country. So in the busy farming seasons all rural efforts have to be concentrated on farm work.

In the busy transplanting season, the chief secretaries of the city and county Party committees should also take their staffs to the field, with the exception of those people who take care of their offices, and should participate in transplanting. Factories must not suspend work, but office work can wait one month without serious consequence.

Because they were told to develop their county towns, the chief secretaries of the county Party committees are now even mobilizing rural manpower for this purpose. They must not do this on any account. Party organizations must exercise strict control to prevent rural manpower from being diverted to work which has nothing to do with farming. County towns should be developed by their office workers. These office workers should do their office work in the morning and build houses in the afternoon. They should develop the county towns in this way. But during the transplanting season they must suspend the work of developing their county towns and participate in transplanting for one month. We are not yet supplying the rural communities with enough farm machines, chemical fertilizer and weed killer. If we do not help the rural communities properly in these circumstances, we shall be unable to increase grain output rapidly. All Party organizations

and the chief secretaries of the city and county Party committees in South Hwanghae Province must support the rural communities in a responsible manner.

2. ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

The task of raising the annual grain output to two million tons in South Hwanghae Province during the Six-Year Plan entails something more than the development of agriculture. Industrial progress must keep in step with the development of agriculture, so that industry can ensure that this can be done. South Hwanghae Province is severely handicapped because of weak industrial foundations so the province must strengthen them in the period of the Six-Year Plan.

First of all, it must direct its efforts to the development of the mining industry.

South Hwanghae Province is not only suitable for rice cultivation, but is rich in mineral resources. It has the Hasong Mine, the Jaeryong Mine, the Unnyul Mine and many other iron-ore mines, with enormous deposits. Prospecting results show that the province has large deposits of gold, silver, copper, lead and other non-ferrous minerals. There are non-ferrous metal mines everywhere—in Ongjin, Pupho, Chongdan, Phyongchon, Paechon, and Jangyon. As *The Patriotic Song* says, our country is full of gold, silver and other treasure. We must extract these treasures from the earth as much as possible and use them for our economic progress and for the people's higher living standards.

You must mine large quantities of iron ore. In order to carry on the technical revolution smoothly during the Six-Year Plan, it is necessary to produce a large amount of steel, and to do this you must mine iron ore in large quantities and send it to the Hwanghae Iron Works. The Unnyul Mine, the Jaeryong Mine and the Hasong Mine must raise their annual output of iron ore to two million tons during the Six-Year Plan.

Large amounts of copper must be produced. Only then shall we be able to manufacture the large number of electric motors necessary for the rural communities and also electrify the railways.

We also need to produce enormous amounts of gold, silver, lead, zinc and other nonferrous metals. If we export them, we shall be able to import the industrial plants we need. Since we are not yet able to equip all our factories by our own efforts, we have to import some of the plants we need. This is the way to strengthen our material and technical foundations. At present, we are going to import a large fertilizer factory and a big chemical fibre plant, and each of them will cost us tens of millions of pounds.

The Party organizations at all mines in South Hwanghae Province must improve work among the workers and encourage them to increase the output of iron ore and nonferrous minerals.

A large amount of manpower is required to develop the mining industry. So, on the one hand, the industry itself must increase labour productivity through the technical revolution, and on the other the rural economy must save manpower by the technical revolution and send the surplus to the mining industry. This is the way to increase the output of minerals.

Since we are an industrial country, South Hwanghae Province must also become an industrial province. It must first become a developed agricultural-industrial province and then a developed industrial-agricultural province gradually.

Next, you must build many machine factories which serve agriculture.

You must first construct factories to manufacture different kinds of farm machines, agricultural chemical sprayers and dryers, and then gradually establish the machine industry to modernize agricultural production. You must also build many factories to process agricultural products.

It is necessary to develop the rice mills. At present, the output of polished rice is low, and the rice lost in the course of polishing amounts to tens of thousands of tons. South Hwanghae Province has a factory

that produces machinery for rice polishing, so it must equip the rice mills well and increase the output of polished rice.

Flour mills and fruit-processing plants must be built. A fruit-processing plant needs fruit dryers, tinning equipment, and fruit stores.

You have to build a meat-processing factory. At present, there is no meat-processing factory in South Hwanghae Province, so the pigs and cows raised in this province are not slaughtered and processed here, but are sent to other provinces. This being so, the blood, entrails, heads, and feet of these animals and other by-products are not processed for consumption within the province. In future, the province must build a factory to process meat for itself.

It is also necessary to construct a vegetable-processing factory. Since the province will cultivate vegetables widely from now on, it must process them and send them to the districts like Ryanggang Province and Jagang Province where vegetables are scarce and there are many factories and enterprises, and also to the deep-sea fishermen and the People's Army soldiers. Vegetables should be dried, salted or tinned.

You have to build a mixed feed factory and a soap factory. South Hwanghae Province now sends rice bran elsewhere, but in the future it must express oil from it for the manufacture of soap and supply the oil cake to other districts.

A packaging factory has to be built. Fruit processing requires the construction of a factory to produce tins and bottles.

You must build more corrugated board factories. There is one in Haeju now, but it cannot meet the demand. We need five or six corrugated board factories.

You must build a box factory and a packing-paper mill. On this visit we called at the Chongryong shop in Jaeryong County. The shop was clean, but it stored a pile of apples in a corner for sale because boxes were not available. Apples on sale should be clean for the health of the people who buy and eat them. You must construct the box and packing-paper factories and mass-produce these items.

If you are to build a packing-paper mill, you must also build a caustic

soda factory. Only then can you bleach paper and manufacture it properly. Liquid ammonia is required for the operation of refrigerated plants, and the numerous refrigerators at meat-processing plants, fruit-processing plants, shops and in all parts of the country. So every province should build a small chemical fertilizer factory which produces liquid ammonia and ammonium nitrate fertilizer. It is the Party's policy to build medium and small chemical factories in all provinces.

A great deal of industrial construction is required in order to modernize the rural economy and carry out the complete processing of agricultural products into food.

When a large number of pigs and cattle are raised and slaughtered in South Hwanghae Province, you will also need tanneries and leather shoe factories. If the province builds a leather shoe factory with the capacity of approximately one million pairs of shoes, it will be able to supply a pair annually to each member of the province's population. With an additional supply of other shoes, the province will solve the problem of shoes satisfactorily.

As you can see, South Hwanghae Province should build many factories such as tanneries, leather shoe factories, fruit-processing factories, rice-cleaning mills, flour mills, meat-processing plants and other factories which serve agriculture. You will have to undertake a great deal of construction if you are to build all the factories which serve agriculture. I cannot mention them all today. If you think about them, you will find very many more.

Major cities and towns of central and large counties must be developed. I believe that the towns of Yonan, Sinchon, Jaeryong, Jangyon and Ongjin Counties and the city of Haeju should be developed. Haeju and the Sinchon County town in particular should be developed properly, and key industries should be constructed there.

Next, you must build heavy industry factories and small building-materials factories.

If it is going to develop nonferrous metal mines in the future, the province will have to construct a smeltery so that the minerals can be smelted here. In addition, a steel plant, a small round-steel plant and an

electric motor repair workshop should also be constructed. If you are going to carry out urban and rural construction properly, you will need building materials. You must, therefore, construct brickyards, tile works, factories for prefabricated parts and building ware, sawmills, sanitary-ware factories, cast-iron pipe factories, a building stone factory, a slaked lime factory and so on.

South Hwanghae Province must not try to construct all these factories at once. It must determine the order of priority, namely, which to build during the Six-Year Plan and which in the next plan period. You must refrain from building factories which cannot be operated because of the shortage of raw materials and other necessities or on account of the lack of technical skill.

The senior officials of South Hwanghae Province must work in a responsible manner, with the attitude of masters.

The chief secretary of the provincial Party committee, the chairman of the provincial people's committee, the chief secretaries of the city and county Party committees and all other officials must always consider how best they can implement the tasks of the province, study hard, broaden the scope of their knowledge and also learn from the valuable experience of other people. No one has a good knowledge of everything from the outset.

When we came to power immediately after liberation, we were not certain what to do first or how to work. At that time we were confronted with a number of important tasks to build the Party, the state, the army and the economy. To make matters worse, some people behaved as if we were indebted to them; they demanded that we should give them rice because they had no rice, that we should give them salt because they could not brew bean paste and soya sauce on account of the shortage of salt, and that we should give them pencils because they wanted to educate their children.

Our country had been a colony of the Japanese imperialists for nearly half a century. In consequence, its economic foundations scarcely existed, and it was unable to manufacture even a pencil properly. We had had the experience of the revolutionary struggle to crush the

Japanese imperialist invaders and of establishing revolutionary theories, but we had had no experience in making pencils.

The way to overcome the difficult situation immediately after liberation was to strengthen our work among the working class, scientists and technicians. Although there were not many scientists and technicians in our country at that time, we held meetings with them, talked to them and encouraged them to participate in the struggle to build a new country. They worked for this cause faithfully. While, on the one hand, enlisting their knowledge and technical skill in this work, we gave rein to the creative ingenuities of the workers on the other. In this way we produced pencils and salt and ran the railways on our own.

As I always say, we must not consider all the old-line intellectuals undesirable simply because they were fairly prosperous in the past, without taking into account the fact that they were colonial intellectuals. Some of the old-line intellectuals have since died of sickness, but not many of them ran away to betray our Party.

In order to carry out the tasks confronting South Hwanghae Province successfully, it is important that the senior officials work properly among the scientists and technicians so as to encourage them to exert all their efforts and make full use of all their knowledge and skill.

Your immediate tasks are not difficult, compared with those which confronted us immediately after liberation, and now work is very easy, compared with our work at the time we started building a new country. At present, the Party Central Committee is giving you its support, the nation's material and technical foundations are sound, and we have trained a large number of scientists and technicians. Therefore, if they work in a responsible manner with the attitude of masters, the senior officials will be able to solve any problems, however difficult they may be.

All senior officials must be efficient in their work among the scientists and technicians and ensure that the people with knowledge offer their knowledge, that the people with technical skill contribute their skill, and that everyone contributes all his energy and talent. This is the way to carry out the colossal tasks of the province successfully

by means of a mass campaign. A man who ignores the wisdom of the masses and thinks that he alone is wise will not avoid failure in work. There is an old Korean saying that a general without an army is no general. This means that a man, single-handed, cannot become a general nor can he do anything alone. It is only when the wisdom and talents of many people are pooled and the masses are stimulated that creative ingenuity can be used to the full.

South Hwanghae Province must build up the industries which I have mentioned, one by one, by mobilizing the efforts of the masses during the Six-Year Plan.

You comrades might think that the state should construct Haeju for you next year, seeing that it has developed Sariwon this year. But the situation in South Hwanghae Province is different from that in North Hwanghae Province. You have many tasks of rural construction and many other projects to be carried out by intensive efforts; for instance, the replacement of the narrow-gauge rails between Haeju and Paechon with broader ones. Since South Hwanghae Province has many construction projects to do, it must not try to build Haeju by means of an intensive campaign. But this does not imply that you have to refrain from mobilizing those efforts which you can. You must mobilize every possible effort in urban construction.

3. ON MAKING GOOD USE OF THE MOUNTAINS

Our country is mountainous and has a small area of cultivated land, so we must make good use of the mountains.

As I always say, the people in mountainous regions must exploit the mountains well, and the people in coastal regions must turn the sea to good account. This is precisely the way in which we must develop our national economy.

How should we make use of the mountains?

We must plant large numbers of fruit trees, oil-bearing trees and other trees on the mountains. It is important for South Hwanghae Province to develop many groves of oil-bearing trees in particular.

One of the problems still to be solved in our country is that of edible oil. We have taken every opportunity to stress the need to plant groves of oil-bearing trees so as to solve this problem. But it has not yet been tackled. This is because the officials of Party and government bodies and the executives of economic establishments and other Party members have not clearly understood the requirement of the Party's policy. The Party Committee and the People's Committee of South Hwanghae Province are neglecting to organize and direct the planting of oil-bearing-tree groves. They must correct this fault as soon as possible.

It is advisable to plant walnut trees densely on a massive scale in South Hwanghae Province where they thrive. We have been cultivating walnut trees experimentally for many years. Walnuts are good nuts which produce a large amount of oil. These trees must be planted through a mass campaign.

Two-lobed walnut trees should also be planted densely. At present, these trees are growing very sparsely in small groups on the mountains, so people are unwilling to go to collect their nuts. For this reason, these trees must be densely planted on the mountains. The oil from these nuts can be used as human food or as a raw material for soap and lacquer. It can be used widely. The Pyongyang Botanical Garden must give a lecture on these trees to the officials of South Hwanghae Province.

If we develop large numbers of groves of oil-bearing trees today, these will benefit not only our contemporaries but also the coming generations. We lived in poverty at the time of Japanese imperialist rule, but we must provide the coming generations with a good life.

If the groves of oil-bearing trees are to be planted quickly, officials must give technical guidance on tree planting and organize demonstrations to teach how to grow saplings, for example. North and South Hwanghae Provinces and Kaesong must plant oil-bearing trees on the mountains on a large scale so that they will be thickly covered with these trees.

We must plant large numbers of metasequoias.

This tree has a long history. It was believed that the genus became extinct a long time ago, but I was told that survivors had been discovered, still growing in a limited area of China.

Being such a rare and precious tree, the Chinese People's Volunteers brought one in a flowerpot to my house when they came to our country during the Fatherland Liberation War. At that time I thought it a kind of ordinary pine and kept it in my tunnel. After the war I planted it in my garden. It grew and grew until it was taller than this conference hall. As it grew so quickly as to arouse my curiosity, I summoned workers of the botanical garden and told them to propagate it. They worked hard and succeeded in propagating it. There are now one million trees.

These trees not only grow very quickly but are hard and very good for furniture. They seem to be harder than larch trees.

Metasequoia is a subtropical tree, but it has now become used to the climate in our country and thrives even in the Pyongyang area. These trees have been planted in many places in Pyongyang and they are all growing well.

The weather in South Hwanghae Province is warmer than in Pyongyang, so they can grow better there. If you plant large numbers of them in this province, you will not have to bring timber from Ryanggang Province ten years from now. You must launch a mass movement and plant approximately 50,000 hectares to them in this province every year.

Large numbers of metasequoias must be planted not only in South Hwanghae Province but also in North Hwanghae Province and Kaesong so that all their mountains are thick with these trees. They are immune to pine-caterpillar attack, so you need not worry about damage.

You must also plant a large number of plane trees. These trees grow quickly and are used to make paper and matches. So, if you plant them widely, you can produce large quantities of paper and matches.

You must plant persimmon trees on a wide scale. South Hwanghae

Province is one of the areas in our country where persimmon trees thrive, so you must plant very many of them. Persimmons are a good fruit which can be eaten as a meal. If you eat two of them, you can dispense with a meal. Dried persimmons are also good. These are easy to store and a few of them will be enough for a snack. Persimmon trees do not require the use of many chemicals, because insects seldom attack them. You say that you will plant 15,000 hectares to persimmon trees in South Hwanghae Province during the Six-Year Plan, and this is a very good thing. It would be pleasant if you were to plant only 10,000 hectares to this fruit in the province.

In North Hwanghae Province jujube trees should be planted widely rather than persimmon trees. Pongsan, Unpha and their vicinities in North Hwanghae Province are noted for jujube. On my way here on this occasion, I paid particular attention to the jujube trees and found that the jujubes growing on Mt. Jongbang and other places in North Hwanghae Province were very large. In North Hwanghae Province and in Jaeryong County, South Hwanghae Province, where jujube trees thrive better than persimmons, jujube trees should be planted widely.

4. ON DEVELOPING SCIENCE

You must develop science if you are to develop agriculture, industry and other economic sectors in South Hwanghae Province. This is an age of science, and it would be impossible to advance even a step without it.

In order to develop science, cadres must first raise their level of scientific knowledge. Because of the low level of their scientific knowledge, our officials at present have a narrow outlook and are not sensitive to the world trends of scientific progress. They must work hard to increase their knowledge of science by looking upon it as a Party task.

In order to develop science you must build up the scientific research institutes and improve their direction.

For scientific progress in South Hwanghae Province, it is important to develop agricultural science. The province must develop this branch of science rapidly, using as a basis the Haeju Branch of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the Haeju University of Agriculture. You must develop these establishments properly and produce a large number of qualified agronomists. This will facilitate the development of agriculture in south Korea as well where the climate is mild, after the reunification of the country at some time in the future.

The provincial Party committee and the other Party organizations concerned must strengthen Party direction to ensure that the Haeju Branch of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the Haeju University of Agriculture are better equipped, and that the qualifications of the scientists and teachers are improved so that research work can be carried out successfully.

You must provide good material and technical facilities for their research work. This does not mean doing anything extraordinary. All that you have to do is to provide the scientists with adequate means of transport and with dwelling houses so there will not be any difficulties in their research work.

The important tasks of the agricultural research institutes in South Hwanghae Province are to study seeds and the method of crop cultivation which suit the weather and soil in this part of the country, and particularly to obtain good seeds capable of resisting typhoons and suitable for double-cropping so as to increase grain yields. Other countries are now increasing grain yields by improving seeds, and they are achieving great success in crop cultivation and livestock farming particularly through the widespread use of the first filial generation method. But in our country research in this field is still inefficient. Our country must also devote its efforts to this research.

South Hwanghae Province has many problems which require researches. Take the mining industry, for example. I was told that it is more difficult to extract valuable metals from the minerals mined here

than from those mined in other parts of the country. This problem must be studied well to ensure that all the valuable metals are extracted.

5. ON WORKING EFFICIENTLY AMONG THE RURAL WORKING CLASS

If it is to continue with the revolution after the seizure of power and to build a communist society, the working class must steadily expand its ranks.

By the rural working class I mean the tractor drivers and the workers of the institutions and enterprises which directly serve agriculture. The tractor drivers are the most important of all rural workers. They are the first contingent of the working class who have gone to work in the rural communities, and they are the hard core to take the lead in the technical revolution there. When five or six tractors are allocated to every 100 hectares of cultivated land in the future, tens of thousands of tractor drivers will be working in the rural areas.

The tractor drivers must improve their role and make sure that all the farmers can operate tractors and various other farm machines. At present, people in the rural areas consider machine operation to be something obscure and think that it requires special skill. This means that the farmers and the executives in charge of agriculture are still in a backward state.

Increasing the ranks of the rural working class is of tremendous importance in speeding up revolutionization in the rural communities. That is why we must continue to increase the numbers of tractor drivers in the countryside and work among them properly. At present, some officials consider only the industrial workers to be the working class, but not the tractor drivers who work in the rural areas, and they are not working properly among these drivers. Tractor drivers work separately in fields rather than collectively in factories. So it is

essential to intensify their ideological education. If you neglect work among the tractor drivers, they may be contaminated with the farmers' outdated ideas.

All Party organizations and the executives in charge of agriculture must improve their work among the tractor drivers who have been sent to work in the rural communities and among the workers of the farm machine stations, institutions and enterprises in the county which serve agriculture, so that they will be the standard-bearers of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the country areas.

You must develop the counties and increase their role. As was pointed out in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, the county is the base for the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the country areas. If you are to increase the role of the county, you must develop its farm machine stations, farm product processing factories and transport enterprises and improve your work among the workers of these establishments. In this way, these workers will be encouraged to become standard-bearers and play the part of the vanguard in carrying out the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the rural areas.

6. ON GIVING FULL PLAY TO THE ADVANTAGES OF THE ALL-PEOPLE OWNERSHIP SYSTEM

In South Hwanghae Province, we have made Ryongyon County a general farm under the system of all-people ownership and have developed the Anak State Farm into a model of technical revolution and are operating them on an experimental basis.

With the Ryongyon County General Farm we are conducting an experiment on how to determine the form of management on a county basis, how to direct the work of building socialism and communism on a county basis and how to working-classize the farmers. With the Anak

State Farm we are experimenting on how to carry out the rural technical revolution and to what extent we can do so.

From the experimental operation of these two farms we have come to the conclusion that in the not too distant future the farmers will be freed from backbreaking toil and work an eight-hour workday, each of them tending five hectares of rice fields or 10 hectares of non-paddy fields, by augmenting the material and technical foundations of agriculture and carrying out the technical revolution. We have also become convinced that we can abolish the distinctions between working class and peasantry, working-classize the farmers and develop cooperative property into all-people property.

If we strengthen the material and technical foundations of agriculture and carry out the technical revolution, we shall be able to tackle the problem of switching over cooperative ownership to all-people ownership without difficulty in our country. Laying these foundations means ensuring the production of different kinds of tractors and other farm machines, chemical fertilizer, agricultural chemicals, herbicide and other things which are necessary for the development of agriculture. When these foundations are solid, people will do their work with the help of machines and chemicals. Then farmers will work eight hours a day just as the industrial workers do, and they will have more spare time, the differences between agricultural and industrial work will disappear, and farm work will become easier.

The switchover of cooperative ownership to all-people ownership will result in the development of the form of management, in the elimination of unnecessary management organizations, in a drastic reduction in the number of people engaged in office work and in a corresponding increase in the number of people participating in productive labour. As was mentioned in a speech yesterday, there are now only 600 managerial workers in the Ryongyon County General Farm and the number will be further reduced, whereas approximately 2,000 people are engaged in office work in each of the other counties. This shows that the cooperative rural economy, though superior to the

private peasant economy, is inferior to all-people ownership.

If all the cooperative farms strengthen their material and technical foundations, carry out the technical revolution and come under the system of all-people ownership in the future by following the example of the two experimental farms in South Hwanghae Province, then the farmers' difficult work will be reduced a great deal, and the distinctions between working class and peasantry will disappear. The only difference, if ever there is any difference in that case, will be that the industrial workers work in factories and farmers in their fields. When this happens, it will be better to live in rural communities than urban communities. With this prospect we are going to propose the three major tasks of the technical revolution at the Fifth Party Congress.

The three major tasks represent the technical revolution to narrow, to a noticeable degree, the distinctions between industrial and agricultural work and between heavy and light labour and to free women from the heavy burdens of household chores. If we are to free women from such burdens, the light industrial sector must carry out the technical revolution.

We are planning to lay the main material and technical foundations of agriculture during the Six-Year Plan. To this end, the state will have to produce large quantities of tractors and various other farm machines, chemical fertilizer, herbicide and other agricultural chemicals for the rural communities and introduce irrigation widely in the cultivation of non-paddy fields. In particular, the output of chemical fertilizer must be high enough to ensure an application of one ton per hectare, and that of herbicide large enough to dispense with weeding.

When the material and technical foundations of agriculture are strong, 10 tractors can be supplied to every 100 hectares of the cultivated land as is the case with the Anak State Farm and 10 drivers can cultivate the 100 hectares. Then, since paddy fields can be sown directly to rice, harrowing and sowing will be done with machines and so will the application of herbicide, as well as harvesting and threshing. In that situation a six-hour workday can be introduced for women and an eight-hour workday for men in the rural areas.

At present, we cannot make use of the direct sowing of rice because this method precludes the possibility of weeding properly and because the crop yield is low. Direct sowing will be possible at some time in the future when herbicide is produced in large quantities and when seeds have been improved.

If we give a powerful impetus to the technical revolution and carry on the cultural and ideological revolutions successfully in the rural communities, we shall be able to remove the distinctions between working class and peasantry and build a classless society. When cooperative ownership has developed into all-people ownership and when the classless society has been established, we can say that socialism has emerged completely victorious.

Even after the complete triumph of socialism the tasks of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions will remain until we reach the high stage of communism. We must, therefore, continue these revolutions.

7. ON RAISING THE FARMERS' STANDARD OF LIVING

The thatched houses in the rural communities must all be replaced by modern houses.

South Hwanghae Province must build modern houses for 30,000 families in the rural communities every year during the Six-Year Plan and do away with all the existing thatched houses. You must not build them in a careless manner, but in a way to suit socialist rural communities. Not only one-storeyed houses but also multi-storeyed ones should be built in the country areas. It would not be a bad idea to build two or three-storeyed Songnim-type houses in the former county towns and large villages which were the centres of sub-counties.

It is important in rural housing construction to build modern houses at

the foot of mountains and on high ground and move the ones which have been built in the fields. I have mentioned this task whenever I have visited South Hwanghae Province, but it has not yet been done. You must settle this matter during the Six-Year Plan. Fields are squalid and infested with mosquitoes. The houses in the midst of fields should, therefore, be moved to the foot of mountains or to high ground. If these houses are far away from a mountain or high ground, they should be moved and rebuilt in a regular form on slightly higher ground than the fields. Rural housing construction should be undertaken with this aim in mind.

Some of the materials needed for the construction of modern houses in South Hwanghae Province should be supplied by the state, and the rest should be obtained by the province itself. The Ministry of Building-Materials Industry should supply 100,000 tons of cement to South Hwanghae Province and ensure the construction of a cement-tile works for this province. The Ministry of Forestry must not fail to supply the province annually with 70,000 cubic metres of timber during the Six-Year Plan. The province has no internal source of timber, so it is imperative to supply it with timber if it is to undertake rural housing construction.

The cement-tile works to be built by the Ministry of Building-Materials Industry will not be able to meet the full demand for tiles, so the province will have to quarry natural slate for its own use. If it has no source of natural slate, it will have to obtain it from North Hwanghae Province. The slate should be carefully dug out in thin layer of regular size. It would be advisable for South Hwanghae Province to organize a timber production enterprise which should obtain trees from Ryanggang Province or Jagang Province for its own use.

South Hwanghae Province should produce bricks, roofing tiles and slaked lime and establish quarries for the production of building stone. At present, modern rural houses are built without laying proper foundations, so that the houses get damp from penetrating subterranean water when it rains. High stone foundations should, therefore, be laid. Large counties must all produce bricks, roofing tiles and slaked lime to meet their own needs. In this way, South Hwanghae Province will build

modern rural houses for 30,000 families every year.

You should construct many school buildings. At the moment, we are providing compulsory nine-year technical education, but we are planning to propose at the Fifth Party Congress the introduction of compulsory ten-year education during the Six-Year Plan. You must build large numbers of school buildings to ensure the introduction of compulsory ten-year education in future. In addition, nursery schools and kindergartens should be constructed neatly and in large numbers.

In rural construction it is important to build good cultural facilities and amenities. A large number of such facilities and amenities which have been constructed and equipped well, will provide the farmers with benefits, and the young people in particular with as good a cultural life as can be found in urban communities. At present, the habit of developing schools well has been established, and from now onwards bathhouses, barbers' shops and other cultural facilities and amenities in the rural communities must be developed properly.

The rural communities must be provided with running water.

If this is done, country women will not have to carry water jars on their heads. We must free women not only from exploitation and oppression but also from toil and the heavy burdens of household chores. Women in rural areas have to work in the fields all day long, and then have to work at home in the evening. So we must lighten their household burdens.

Freeing women from the burden of carrying water jars on their heads amounts to a big revolution. How good it would be for the women if they have water taps in or near their houses! A communist society will not come about simply from an ideal; it can become a reality only through the struggle to build it.

The introduction of a tapped water supply in the rural communities requires a great deal of construction and a large quantity of pipes. So it is impossible to provide all the rural communities with this system during the Six-Year Plan, but we must speed up this project by making the maximum use of all available conditions.

Some cooperative farms in South Phyongan Province have already

completed the construction of waterworks. The women there are said to be very happy because now they can cook without having to carry water after the day's work. In contrast, other cooperative farms do not bother about this problem. It is because the officials there retain an outdated ideology with which they do not feel sorry to see women carry water jars on their heads and have troubles for lack of water. Now many officials fail to concern themselves with the construction of waterworks. Senior officials must get rid of their wrong attitude towards women and, with a firm resolve, get down to the construction of waterworks for the rural communities.

If it is impossible to provide every house with a tap, one tap will do for several houses. It is advisable to make use of subterranean water widely for the provision of running water in the country areas.

The director of the General Bureau of Geology should take charge of prospecting for subterranean water. He should carry out this work for the people in the Namuri Plain in Jaeryong County and other rural communities which are far from sources of surface water so that they can use subterranean water for their water supply system. He should also do it for the industrial zones which are short of water and should manufacture prospecting equipment for them to explore subterranean water sources for themselves.

You must also organize the wide circulation of newspapers and various other publications, improve radio broadcasting and work hard for the introduction of TV services in the rural communities. If a TV service is to be introduced throughout the country, TV sets will have to be produced by both the national and provincial establishments. South Hwanghae Province with 300,000 families needs that many TV sets if each of these families is to have one. In these circumstances, the national establishments should manufacture the major components for the provinces, and these provinces should build assembly plants to meet their own needs for TV sets.

You must introduce bus services in the rural communities.

This project aims at providing bus services between county towns and ri so that people will not have to walk all the way. Because bus

services are not available to every ri at present, people ride on lorries and suffer transport difficulties. We must introduce full bus services in the rural communities during the Six-Year Plan.

The problem of rural fuel must be solved.

The people in the flat areas without any mountains should use rice husks as fuel and also get some coal. People in provincial capitals and central county towns should cook with petroleum stoves in summer and heat their houses only on rainy days and in winter. As they even heat their houses in summer at present, they use a great deal of coal. Unheated floors can be cold in summer, so they must be furnished with low beds.

The people in mountainous regions should plant trees on a large scale on the mountains and obtain firewood from there. If they create wide areas of firewood forests, the people in many parts of South Hwanghae Province can also solve the problem of firewood. All its mountainous counties except Yonan, Paechon, Sinchon and Jaeryong Counties should develop firewood forests and solve the problem of firewood.

8. ON THE TASKS OF CENTRAL AUTHORITIES TO GIVE ACTIVE ASSISTANCE TO SOUTH HWANGHAE PROVINCE

The industrial foundations in South Hwanghae Province are much weaker than those in North and South Phyongan Provinces, South Hamgyong Province and even North Hwanghae Province. There are the Hwanghae Iron Works and other large factories in North Hwanghae Province, but there are no big ones besides the Haeju Cement Factory in South Hwanghae Province. In consequence, the officials in this province know very little about industry. The ministries and other central authorities must each take charge of one factory or

enterprise in South Hwanghae Province and develop it in a responsible manner. I think it a good idea to make it obligatory for each minister to be assigned to develop one industrial establishment.

The Minister of Metal Industry should be given an assignment to construct a cast-iron pipe factory, the Kiyang Tractor Plant an assignment to develop the Haeju Tractor Parts Factory, the Sungni Motor Works a task of developing the Haeju Lorry Repair Plant, and the Minister of Chemical Industry a task of constructing a caustic soda factory. The Ministry of Railways can undertake the work of widening the narrow-gauge railway in South Hwanghae Province and also another project. The Ministry of Electricity and Coal Industries can undertake the laying of transmission lines and another project, and the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 3 should construct an electric motor repair plant.

If each of the ministries and other central authorities take charge of one project and help the province, it will make rapid progress. The departmental directors of the Party Central Committee should examine the proposed assignments. If they find any of these unfair, they should revise it and organize an assignment for each ministry. They must specify a time limit by which each of the assignments for construction or for support should be carried out so that all these projects will be finished by 1973 at the latest. But this does not imply that urgent ones can be delayed until 1973. The cast-iron pipe factory, the roofing tile works, the lorry and tractor repair plants must be constructed or developed immediately.

Lastly, I am going to speak briefly about the matter of increasing the role of Party organizations.

If the colossal tasks of South Hwanghae Province are to be carried out during the Six-Year Plan successfully, you must first increase the role of Party organizations.

Success in all work depends entirely on how Party organizations do their duty. All Party officials must equip themselves firmly with the Party's policies, work hard to implement them, and refrain from doing anything contrary to these policies in any circumstances.

The Party organizations at all echelons must discuss all their problems collectively before they decide on them, organize assignments, direct and control their correct implementation and ensure that the policies which have been adopted and put forward by the Party are carried out thoroughly.

I hope that all the Party organizations and Party members in South Hwanghae Province will work hard to implement, in a thorough way, the instructions I have given today, the tasks which have been discussed during the two-day session of the Cabinet consultative meeting, and the forthcoming Cabinet decisions.

OPENING ADDRESS AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA

November 2, 1970

Comrades,

During the period from the Fourth Congress of our Party to this day our Party ranks were bereft of Comrade Kim Kye Rim, Comrade Kim Kyong Sok, Comrade Kang Jin Gon, Comrade Kang Yong Chang, Comrade Kim Un Sun, Comrade Ri Pong Su, Comrade Kim Kap Sun, Comrade Kim Thae Gun, Comrade An Ryong Gak, Comrade Kang Sang Ho, Comrade Ri Ju Yon, Comrade Kim Won Bin and other comrades who were boundlessly faithful to the Party and had fought devotedly for the revolution.

Also during the period under review a number of distinguished democrats and academicians, professors, doctors, People's Actors, People's Artists died. They include Mr. An Jae Hong, Mr. Han Tong Baek, Mr. Jong Ro Sik, Comrade Kim Ok Song, Mr. Kye Ung Sang, Mr. Hong Myong Hui, Comrade Thae Ul Min, and Mr. Won Hong Gu all of whom devoted all their energies and talents for the motherland and the people in various political parties, democratic organizations and in the fields of science, culture and art, upholding the policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic.

During this period many revolutionary comrades fell. They include Comrade Choe Paek Gun, Comrade Jo Yong Su, Comrade Ro Pok Dong, Comrade Pak Tu Jin, Comrade Choe Yong Do, Comrade Kim Jong Thae, Comrade Ri Mun Gyu, Comrade Yun Sang Su, Comrade

Kwon Jae Hyok, Comrade Min Hyong Gi, Comrade Kim Hong Rae, Comrade Kwon O Jong, Comrade Im Kwan Jae, Comrade Yun Ui Ro, Comrade Jon Hu Gyong and Comrade Choe Won Sok who fought heroically against US imperialism and its lackeys, for the revolution in the south of Korea and for the reunification of the country, while in the southern half of Korea.

Also in this period, Comrade Ri Jung Gwan, Comrade Kim Min Hwa, Comrade Kim Pyong So and other comrades who unflinchingly struggled in Japan against the US and Japanese reactionaries and for democratic, national rights, for the reunification and independence of the country died.

During this period, the ranks of the international communist movement were bereft of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, Comrade D.N. Aidit, Comrade Maurice Thorez, Comrade Palmiro Togliatti, Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Comrade Che Guevara, Comrade Johan Kopenich and other outstanding figures.

Before proceeding with the work of the present congress, I would like to propose in the name of the congress that a period of silent tribute be observed to the memory of our national and international revolutionary comrades and democrats who laid down their precious lives for the Party and the revolution, for the south Korean revolution and the reunification of the country, for the triumph of the common cause of socialism and communism.

Comrades,

The delegation of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in south Korea led by Comrade Ri Jong Hyok is here to congratulate our Party congress.

Also present at the congress is the congratulatory group of the Korean residents in Japan headed by Comrade Choe Yong Gun.

On behalf of this congress and our entire Party membership, I would like to offer a warm welcome to the delegation of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in south Korea and the congratulatory group of the Korean residents in Japan.

Scores of heartfelt congratulatory letters and messages have been

received prior to our Party congress from fraternal Communist Parties and Workers' Parties, ruling parties of newly independent countries, revolutionary organizations in many countries of the world, international democratic organizations and individual political figures.

Allow me to express my warm gratitude to the parties and revolutionary organizations of all countries, international democratic organizations and individual political figures for having congratulated us on the convening of our Party congress.

Comrades,

We are greeting the Fifth Party Congress today against the background of high national political enthusiasm and phenomenal labour exploits, amid the absolute trust and profound love of the masses of the people for our Party.

This year, our heroic working class purposefully advanced to scale the last height of the Seven-Year Plan ahead of schedule at "Kangson speed", a new Chollima speed, and worked veritable miracles in production.

The Suphung Power Station, Chollima Hwanghae Iron Works, Chollima Kangson Steel Plant, Kim Chaek Iron Works, Nampho Smeltery, Munphyong Smeltery, Musan Mine, Chollima Komdok Mine, Songhung Mine, Sinchang Coal Mine, Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, Pongung Chemical Factory, February 8 Vinalon Factory, Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill, February 8 Cement Factory, Sunghori Cement Factory, Chollima Ryongsong Machine Factory, Chollima Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, Kiyang Tractor Plant, Chollima Huichon Machine-Tool Factory, Pyongyang Textile Mill, Sinpho Fishing Station, enterprises in the fields of forestry and salt production and many other factories and enterprises and many cultural institutions including the Korean Documentary Film Studio, the Korean Film Studio and the Film Studio for Children and Science have made such innovations as to fulfil or overfulfil the Seven-Year Plan and this year's plan before the Party congress.

Meanwhile, all the factories and enterprises in the domain of the munitions industry have overfulfilled the Seven-Year Plan and the plan

for this year prior to the Party congress, upholding the Party's line of stepping up the simultaneous development of our economy and defence.

Our Party members and working people have resolutely mobilized local reserves and have recently built more than 1,760 local industry factories including over 500 factories dedicated to the Party congress in a little more than half a year, and are manufacturing a range of consumer goods for the people. This is an expression of the boundless fidelity of the Party members and working people to our Party.

Our agricultural working people have unfolded an innovative struggle in order to dedicate a richest harvest to the Party congress and have gathered in a record bumper crop this year.

Our urban and rural constructors have built up the capital city of Pyongyang more splendidly and constructed Sariwon and other local towns and comfortable modern farm houses for hundreds of thousands of households on the occasion of the Party congress.

In the name of the congress I should like to extend warm congratulations to our heroic working class, toiling peasants and all other working people who have produced shining achievements on all fronts of socialist construction in honour of the Party congress, displaying unparalleled devotion and heroism with an immeasurable loyalty to the Party.

Greeting the Party congress, our People's Army, Security Forces, public security agencies have admirably carried out their assignments for combat and political training and especially the plans for large-scale military exercises and have spared no efforts to increase the nation's defence capabilities and safeguard our revolutionary gains.

In the name of the Party congress I should like to offer fervent congratulations and thanks to all the officers and men of the People's Army and of the Security Forces who have devoted themselves to the struggle for carrying through the Party's military line and to all the public security personnel who are faithfully performing their duty as the stalwart defenders of the Party.

Comrades,

During the period from the Fourth Congress of our Party to this

congress, great changes have been brought about in the revolution and construction of our country. This congress will evaluate the implementation of the revolutionary tasks set out at the Fourth Party Congress and the Party Conference and will elaborate new militant tasks for stepping up socialist construction of the country and for hastening the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution.

This congress is attended by 1,734 delegates who are empowered to vote and 137 delegates who are empowered solely to participate in discussions, all of whom have been elected at the Party conference of each province (or city under the direct jurisdiction) in accordance with the rules for the election of delegates to the Party congress.

I am sure that great successes will be attained in the work of the congress with the enthusiastic participation of all the delegates present.

I now declare the historic Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea open.

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

November 2, 1970

Comrades,

Nine years have passed since the Fourth Congress of our Party, at which a magnificent programme of socialist construction was drawn up. This has been a period of harsh trial, in which very complex and difficult circumstances were created in our revolution and construction, but it has also been a proud period, in which revolutionary events of great historic significance have occurred in our people's advance towards socialism and communism.

During the period under review, boldly overcoming very many hardships and obstacles, our Party convened a well-timed Conference and plenary meetings in order to take stock of the changes in the situation, and it presented unique strategic and tactical policies for successfully promoting the Korean revolution as a whole and skilfully organized and mobilized the masses of the people to implement them.

Thanks to the wise leadership of the Party, great victories and achievements have been attained on all fronts of socialist construction, and the revolutionary base of the northern half of Korea has been consolidated as firmly as a rock.

The impact of our brilliant successes in socialist construction in the northern half of Korea has given added momentum to the revolutionary advance of the broad masses of the people—the workers,

peasants, students and intellectuals—in south Korea and the colonial rule there of the US imperialists has been shaken to its foundations.

During the years under review our Party has waged a dynamic struggle, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, and thereby enhanced our country's international prestige still further and contributed greatly to the general advance of the revolutionary movement all over the world.

In the course of its arduous battle for the revolution and construction, our Party has developed into a militant party capable of weathering any storm, into an invincible revolutionary party all of whose members are closely united with one idea and purpose around the Party's Central Committee and maintain ties of kinship with the masses.

Today we greet the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, the organizer and inspirer of all the victories of our people, with deep faith in the justness of our cause and with great pride and self-respect in the tremendous achievements attained by our people under the leadership of the Party. All our Party members and other working people, our overseas compatriots and our close friends in other lands, warmly congratulate us on this congress and wish us success in our work.

This congress will mark another milestone in our Party's struggle to consolidate and develop the socialist system in our country, give powerful support to the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people, achieve the independent reunification of our homeland and cement solidarity for our revolution all over the world. It will powerfully encourage and inspire our Party members and all the Korean people to new and greater victories.

I. GREAT RESULTS

Comrades,

The Fourth Congress of our Party reviewed our historic victory in

building the foundations of socialism and adopted an ambitious Seven-Year Plan, the main tasks of which were to carry out all-round technological reconstruction and a cultural revolution and to improve the people's standard of living radically, relying on our firmly established socialist system; and it forcefully roused all our people to the struggle for its realization.

All our Party members and working people, hopefully confident of their bright future, rose in the struggle to implement the new, militant programme set forth at the Party Congress and successfully carried the great Seven-Year Plan into effect, accomplishing new innovations and miraculous achievements every day.

However, our revolution and construction have been faced with great difficulties and hardships during the past few years, as the aggressive intrigues of the US imperialists have become more and more blatant and as a complex situation has developed in the international communist movement. This state of affairs urgently required our Party to arm all our people firmly with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and, in particular, to lead them to make thorough politico-ideological preparations for dealing with war. At the same time it also demanded that the Party direct tremendous additional effort to strengthening our nation's defences, even if this should mean a change in the rate of development of the national economy, so that we would possess a strong national defence which would guarantee the security of our country and people.

The Party held a historic Conference in October 1966 at which it took steps to build up our revolutionary ranks politically and ideologically and to reorganize all the work of socialist construction in line with the requirements of the prevailing situation; it also advanced a new revolutionary line of carrying on economic and defence construction simultaneously in order to strengthen our defence capabilities in the light of the intensified aggressive machinations of the enemy. In view of this, it was decided to extend the Seven-Year Plan for three years.

Ensuing developments have clearly shown that the measures taken

by the Party suited the fundamental interests of our revolution extremely well and that they were daring, active and intelligent measures for dealing with the changing situation. All our Party members and working people, true to the new revolutionary line put forward by the Party, have waged a heroic fight on the two fronts of economic and defence construction, fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan creditably, achieving firm politico-ideological unity throughout our society and turning our whole country into a mighty fortress which can withstand any surprise attack by the enemy.

1. CONVERSION OF OUR COUNTRY INTO A SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL STATE

Comrades,

Our greatest achievement in socialist construction during the period under review is that the country has been converted into a socialist industrial state as a result of our splendid fulfilment of the historic task of socialist industrialization.

Socialist industrialization was vital to reinforcing our socialist system and furthering socialist construction in the northern half of Korea. And it was the cardinal task of the Seven-Year Plan.

Relying on the foundations of an independent national industry and the material base laid for introducing modern technology in all branches of the national economy during the period of the Five-Year Plan, our Party ensured that a powerful campaign was waged under the Seven-Year Plan to create a comprehensively-developed, independent modern industry with a solid raw material base of its own and the latest techniques, and to effect the overall technological reconstruction of our national economy.

In conformity with the correct policy of the Party, our industry developed very rapidly, and its outlook changed radically under the Seven-Year Plan.

Thanks to the successful implementation of the Seven-Year Plan in

the field of industry, the value of our gross industrial output this year will be 11.6 times greater than that of 1956—13.3 times as much in the manufacture of the means of production and 9.3 times as much in consumer goods. This means that industrial production has made a great annual increase of 19.1 per cent, averaged over the entire period of industrialization from 1957 to 1970. Today our industry makes as many industrial products in just 12 days as were manufactured in the preliberation year of 1944.

Industry as a whole has developed rapidly, and this is particularly true of heavy industry.

In the period of the Seven-Year Plan our Party made sure that emphasis was laid primarily on the improvement and strengthening of the key branches of heavy industry, while, at the same time, extensive work was carried out to expand and consolidate our heavy industry bases. As a result of this policy, our heavy industry became fully equipped, with its own powerful machine-building industry at the core, and its strength was increased beyond measure during the period we are reviewing.

The greatest success achieved in the growth of heavy industry was the establishment of our own machine-building industry, the basis for the development of our national economy and technological progress.

Owing to the great efforts directed by the Party to the development of the machine-building industry under the Seven-Year Plan, our country—which could not even make simple farm implements properly before liberation—is now in a position to manufacture such large machines as 6,000-ton power presses, heavy-duty lorries, large tractors, excavators and bulldozers as well as electric and diesel locomotives, vessels of the 5,000-ton class, and precision machines; it can also produce not only individual machine units and pieces of equipment but also complete sets of equipment for outfitting modern factories. Under the Seven-Year Plan alone, our machine-building industry produced and supplied complete plants for more than 100 modern factories, including power stations

and metallurgical and chemical plants.

The power bases of the country have also been further consolidated to meet the demands of our rapid industrial development and overall technical revolution. Giant hydro- and thermo-power plants were built during the Seven-Year Plan, with the result that the total generating capacity of our country has grown considerably, the one-sidedness of the electric power industry—which had relied exclusively upon hydro-electric power—has been eliminated and the quality of the nation's power bases has been improved.

The rapid development of the ferrous metallurgical industry was one of the key tasks in achieving overall industrialization. Under the Seven-Year Plan our iron-producing bases were expanded and a new iron works was built in the western region. This resulted in an increase in our pig- and granulated-iron production capacity, the strengthening of an independent iron industry, rapid progress in the production of steel—particularly rolled steel—and the setting up of a number of new second-stage metal-processing branches. Our country's ferrous metallurgical industry, equipped with excellent production processes for everything from pig iron to steel, rolled steel and goods of second-stage metal processing, has become a powerful branch, and it can now satisfy all our demands for different metals needed to develop our national economy.

The appearance of the chemical industry has also undergone a fundamental change. During the period of industrialization, the bases of our chemical-fertilizer production were strengthened and a new branch producing agricultural chemicals and other branches producing vinalon and various synthetic fibres and synthetic resins were created. Thus, powerful bases for both an organic and an inorganic chemical industry have been laid in our country, enabling us to increase the use of chemicals in our national economy.

Rapid progress has also been made in the coal industry, mining industry, building-materials industry and in other branches of heavy industry.

This year our heavy industry will produce 16,500 million kWh of

electricity, 27.5 million tons of coal, 2.2 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of chemical fertilizer and 4 million tons of cement.

Our heavy industry, with a powerful machine-building industry at its core, is a guarantee of the country's political and economic independence. In addition, as the solid material foundation for the accelerated development of our national economy, it plays a great role in developing light industry and agriculture and in improving our nation's defences.

Great headway has also been made in the development of light industry. The Party, firmly maintaining its policy of concurrently developing large-scale nationally-controlled industries and medium- and small-scale local industries for the production of consumer goods, ensured that modern factories of centrally-run light industry were established under the Seven-Year Plan while, at the same time, many local industry factories were set up with local reserves and the technological reconstruction of this industry was actively promoted in company with the development of heavy industry. As a result our country now has all the sectors of light industry production, including a textile industry with an annual capacity of more than 400 million metres of high-quality fabric, a food industry and industry for producing daily needs. Moreover, up-to-date light industry bases have been set up which can fully meet our working people's demand for consumer goods ranging from draperies to products for cultural use.

With its rapid advance and great expansion, industry has come to play a more decisive role in the production of the gross national product and national income. Industry's share in the value of our total industrial and agricultural output rose from 34 per cent in 1956 to 74 per cent in 1969, and its share in our national income from industrial and agricultural production increased from 25 to 65 per cent during the same period.

In addition, there has been a marked rise in the per capita output of basic manufactured goods, an important index to a nation's economic strength and level of industrial development. This year the per capita

output of our country will be 1,184 kWh of electricity, 1,975 kilogrammes of coal, 158 kilogrammes of steel, 108 kilogrammes of chemical fertilizer and 287 kilogrammes of cement. This proves that our country has caught up with the advanced industrial countries in the per capita output of major industrial products and surpassed them in some items.

The task of bringing about an overall technical revolution has also been successful in every field of the national economy, thanks to our powerful heavy industry bases. With the development of our machine-building and other heavy industries, the technical equipment available for use in all fields of our national economy has been radically improved. Moreover, electrification and automation have been introduced on a wide scale throughout our national economy.

Powerfully supported by heavy industry, we have also carried out the technological reconstruction of our rural economy successfully.

The Party has directed great efforts to this technological reorganization, following the policy set forth at its Fourth Congress, particularly, along the path indicated by the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* adopted at the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party in 1964, and it has achieved brilliant success in this field.

The most noteworthy success attained in the rural technical revolution during the period under review is the completion of all our irrigation projects.

We forged ahead with irrigation projects on a large scale while, at the same time, making the maximum use of the existing facilities, thereby completing the irrigation of our paddy fields and irrigating many non-paddy fields, as well. Great efforts have also been made by the state on drainage projects over the past few years; consequently the major rice-producing areas of our country are now completely free of the harmful effects of stagnant water. Larger numbers of river improvement projects, dyke projects for controlling tidewater and afforestation works were undertaken all over the country, and paddy and dry fields and crops have been better protected against natural

disasters. In short, during the period we are reviewing a complete irrigation system has been established in our country, ensuring rich, reliable harvests every year, regardless of the weather, be it flood or drought.

The Party singled out mechanization as the principal task in the rural technical revolution under the Seven-Year Plan and worked hard to carry it out. During the period under review, the number of farm-machine stations, the bases of rural mechanization, increased considerably, and they were set up in every city and county throughout our country. Also, countless new farm machines were introduced in the rural areas. The number of tractors serving the rural economy was multiplied by 3.3—and lorries by 6.4—between 1961 and 1969, and several kinds of new farm machines were devised and manufactured so that more of our farm work could be done with the help of machines.

The task of electrification in the rural areas was also carried out admirably under the Seven-Year Plan. An all-out campaign was waged to guarantee that not one ri or farmhouse was left without electricity and, as a result, every ri in our country now has electricity and every farmhouse has electric light. In the country areas electricity is used extensively not only in the home life of the farmers but also as a source of power for machines and of heat in agricultural production. The annual consumption of electricity in the rural areas today amounts to 1,000 million kWh, most of which is used in production. The proportion of electric power consumed in rural areas to our total output is considerable, and our country already compares favourably with the advanced countries in the field of rural electrification.

We have also made great progress in the use of chemicals in agriculture. There was 3.2 times as much chemical fertilizer applied per hectare of paddy and dry fields last year as in 1960, and the variety of the fertilizers was markedly increased. In addition, an increase in the use of chemical sprays meant that crops were better protected against blights and harmful insects and the countryside had large supplies of highly effective herbicides.

All branches of agricultural production made rapid progress as the

rural technical revolution gathered way.

Despite some fluctuations in agricultural production caused by unusually severe natural disasters which hit our country repeatedly during the past few years, we reaped a good harvest every year, and this year we have also brought in a bumper crop. Our food problem has now been completely solved, and a firm basis of grain production has been laid which will allow us to develop all other fronts of our rural economy more rapidly. Having laid the solid material and technical foundations for stockbreeding, our country's animal husbandry has entered a new phase of development based on modern techniques. The poultry industry has experienced an especially noteworthy advance in the past few years, and now, by using industrial methods we can produce over 700 million eggs and large numbers of chickens every year.

The electrification of our railways is one of many major achievements wrought in the technological reconstruction of our national economy. Under the Seven-Year Plan 850 kilometres of railway have been changed over to electric traction so that the electrification of the major trunk lines has been substantially completed.

All this shows that the historic task of socialist industrialization has been carried out successfully in our country and that a once colonial agrarian land far removed from modern, technical civilization has now been turned into a socialist industrial state with modern industry and highly developed agriculture.

Comrades,

The implementation of the Party's line of industrialization was far from being an easy task; there were many obstacles and hardships that had to be overcome by our people who turned out to create a modern industry and effect the technological reconstruction of our national economy.

What industry we inherited from the former colonial society was negligible, and even that was almost entirely destroyed in the war unleashed by the US imperialist aggressors. During the postwar Three-Year Plan we successfully rebuilt our war-ravaged national economy, but the colonial imbalance of industry was not fully

eradicated and the foundations of our heavy industry were extremely weak. We had limited funds, insufficient raw and other materials and only a small technical force. Moreover, we had to wage our struggle to achieve the industrialization and the technological reconstruction of our national economy in the midst of the highly complicated internal and external conditions faced by our revolution, the most outstanding of which is the tense situation caused by the ever-increasing intrigues of the US imperialist occupying forces and their lackeys in south Korea, who are trying to unleash another war.

In spite of these difficulties, our Party carried through the line of socialist industrialization without the slightest hesitation, correctly leading our people to a tremendous display of revolutionary self-reliance, as a result of which they solved all the difficult and intricate problems which arose in the course of creating a modern industry and achieving the technological reconstruction of our national economy without recourse to outside aid.

All of our working people, maintaining the Party's line, joined in the efforts for the socialist industrialization of our country and the technological reconstruction of the national economy. Responding to the Party's call, "Let us press forward at the speed of Chollima!" our heroic working class and the rest of the working people waged an untiring battle to implement the Party's line of industrialization, smashing any passivism and conservatism that stood in the way and overcoming all hardships and difficulties.

Thanks to both the accuracy of the Party's line of industrialization and its wise leadership in carrying out this line, and to the heroic and devoted struggle of our people in their work, the difficult and complex task of industrialization—which took the capitalist countries a full century or even a few centuries—has been creditably accomplished in our country in a short time—in only 14 years.

The conversion of our country into a socialist industrial state is an event of great historic significance in the struggle to accelerate the building of socialism and communism in our country and attain a nationwide victory for the Korean revolution.

With the accomplishment of socialist industrialization our country has been provided with firm material and technical foundations for socialism and is now capable of meeting, by its own efforts, all the demands of its economic and defence construction as well as the people's needs for industrial products and agricultural produce. The conversion of our country into an industrial state as a result of industrialization has turned our revolutionary base into an impregnable fortress and provided us with a solid asset for powerfully supporting the revolutionary struggle of our compatriots in south Korea and securing the reunification of our homeland and its future prosperity.

With the founding of an independent, modern industry and the introduction of modern technology in all branches of the national economy, including agriculture, our country has finally done away with the economic and technical backwardness it inherited from the old society and has joined the ranks of the advanced countries of the world as a fully-fledged member. Our people, now free and having never again to suffer all those insults and contempts because of their backward economy, can proudly enter the international arena as a mighty and advanced nation on an equal footing with all the other nations of the world, large and small.

2. ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Comrades,

The cultural revolution was a matter of tremendous importance in our country, formerly a backward colonial, semi-feudal state. The Party has always paid a careful attention to combatting the cultural backwardness which was our legacy from the old society and to developing, as rapidly as possible, a new, socialist national culture, and it has worked especially hard in this regard during the period covered by the Seven-Year Plan.

In its work to bring about the cultural revolution, the Party attached

primary importance to public education and the training of our own cadres, giving top priority to these tasks. It adopted a series of radical measures aimed at training the younger generation to be able builders of socialism and communism and at creating large numbers of technicians and specialists, in keeping with the rapid pace of the technical revolution.

The most important success achieved in the work of public education during the period under review was the introduction of universal compulsory nine-year technical education. Based on the further consolidation of successes achieved under the compulsory secondary education system which had been introduced earlier, this system of universal compulsory nine-year technical education was put into practice by our Party from 1967. As a result, all children and young people in our country from the ages of 7 to 16 receive free, compulsory technical education at regular schools. This compulsory nine-year technical education, a full embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist theory on education, is the most advanced educational system that combines general studies with basic technical training, education with productive labour.

While putting compulsory nine-year technical education into effect, we have paid close attention to improving the content and methods of our teaching. In line with the correct educational policy of the Party, our socialist science of teaching has been further perfected, Juche and the working-class line have been fully integrated in our school education and the quality of our scientific and theoretical training has been raised even higher.

Benefiting from the compulsory nine-year technical education, the members of our younger generation today are all growing into a reliable new communist type of man with all-round capabilities, able builders of a new society who are firmly armed with the Juche idea of our Party and have wide general knowledge and a mastery of the fundamentals of modern science and technology. With members of the younger generation who have completed their compulsory technical education now starting to join all sectors of socialist construction in

large numbers, the ranks of our educated working people are steadily increasing and the general technical and cultural levels of our society are being raised.

The introduction of compulsory nine-year technical education is a great victory for the educational policy of our Party, marking another milestone in our country's cultural revolution.

The realities of rapid socialist construction called for more technicians and specialists. In view of the practical requirements of socialist construction, our Party continued to exert great efforts to train technicians and specialists and achieved many successes in this field, as well. During the period under review the number of institutions of higher education increased from 78 to 129, and 376 higher technical schools were newly established to train large numbers of technicians and specialists. In parallel with our regular system of higher education, various plans offering higher education for those who are on the job have also made progress.

Today more than 497,000 engineers, assistant engineers and specialists—4.3 times as many as in 1960—are working in the various fields of our national economy, admirably managing and operating state and economic organizations, scientific and cultural institutions, modern factories and enterprises and cooperative farms using their own talents and efforts.

In line with our Party's correct educational policy, comprehensive bases for training cadres have been firmly established all over the country. At present, we have at least one higher technical school or higher school in every county, higher technical schools and colleges in the factories in our major industrial districts, and agricultural universities, universities of medicine, universities of education, teachers training colleges, colleges for kindergarten teachers, communist universities and various other universities and colleges in all the provinces. Thus, all local areas are efficiently training the technical personnel, Party officials and state administrative personnel they need, in line with their own particular conditions.

As they have now basically met their requirements for cadres, our

localities have eliminated their previous dependence on the central authorities for cadres and are now in a position to deal with their tasks in socialist construction more satisfactorily by their own efforts. The establishment of the comprehensive bases for training cadres in the local areas is also of great significance in raising the cultural levels of all parts of the country to a uniformly high degree. These universities and colleges and higher technical schools, distributed throughout the provincial and county seats and other localities, are the bases of the cultural revolution. They have contributed greatly to introducing modern technical civilization in the local areas and raising the cultural and technical levels of the working people. This shows that our work in education and in training cadres for the nation has attained a very high standard, and that a solid foundation has been laid for training greater numbers of technical personnel and specialists in the future.

Socialism and communism cannot be built using the knowledge of a few people alone; they can only be built successfully by arming the broad masses of the working people with a vast knowledge of nature and society. Over the past period our Party has worked hard to raise the general cultural and technical levels of the working people while simultaneously going ahead with the training of technical personnel. Thanks to the enhancement of adult education and the improvement of our radio information work and press coverage and circulation, the general cultural and technical levels of the working people have been raised appreciably, and the Party's policy of having every working man and woman master at least one technical skill is bearing good fruit. As a result, all our working people are now taking part, purposefully and with a positive degree of knowledge and techniques, in the dedicated struggle to remake nature and society.

During the period under review great advances have also been made in the field of science. Upholding the Party's policy of firmly establishing Juche in scientific research, our scientists succeeded in solving a number of pressing scientific and technical problems by directing their efforts to research aimed at further increasing the independence of our national economy, thus making a great

contribution to socialist construction in our country.

Our socialist literature and art are at their zenith. Thanks to the successful implementation of the Party's policy in this area, all revisionist elements and restorationist tendencies have been removed. Our writers and artists are all busy creating revolutionary literature and art works which are based thoroughly on the working-class line; and workers, farmers and broad sections of other working people are actively participating in literary and artistic activities. Our literature and art have become the literature and art of the Party, of the revolution and of the people in the truest sense of the term and are becoming a powerful means in educating our working people along communist lines.

Having fulfilled the tasks of the cultural revolution successfully, our country has now become a land where all the people, young and old, are studying, a land where science and socialist literature and art are developing and flowering on every side. The cultural backwardness which we inherited from the old society has been overcome, and the centuries-old desire of our people to lead a cultured, happy life is being fully realized in the era of the Workers' Party.

3. CONSOLIDATION OF THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL UNITY OF ALL THE PEOPLE

Comrades,

During the period under review, our Party has made strenuous efforts to educate and transform the masses of our people, rallying them closely around the Party and further strengthening our revolutionary ranks.

The policy unswervingly followed by our Party in building up the revolutionary ranks and cementing the politico-ideological unity of society was that of going ahead energetically with the work of revolutionizing and working-classing the working people, while strengthening dictatorship over the hostile elements through a proper combination of the class and mass lines. This correct combination of

dictatorship with democracy, of class struggle with the work of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the people, as well as winning over the broad masses while isolating a tiny handful of hostile elements, is a fundamental requirement of the revolution and a basic work method of communists. The Party has put a great deal of energy into strengthening its revolutionary ranks politically and ideologically, guarding against both the “Leftist” tendency to ignore the unity and solidarity of the working class, cooperative farmers and labouring intellectuals—which constitutes the basis of our social relations—and to lay undue emphasis on the class struggle, distrusting and shunning people for no reason at all, and the Rightist tendency to neglect the class struggle against hostile elements and the survivals of outmoded ideologies and focus all attention on the unity and cohesion of the masses of the people.

It is essential that we isolate and put down all hostile elements in order to be able to strengthen our revolutionary ranks and ensure the success of our revolutionary struggle and work of construction. Our Party has promptly smashed all attempts to weaken the class struggle and has wielded proletarian dictatorship as an effective weapon in that struggle.

In the recent past some of our people, following this ideological trend toward Rightist capitulationism which had appeared in the international communist movement, asserted that the class struggle came to an end with the establishment of a socialist system and there was no need to exercise dictatorship over the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes. We made a powerful attack on these dangerous revisionist ideas promptly and utterly routed them.

Our Party stood firm by the principle of educating the broad masses, actively drawing them into the struggle against counter-revolution and bringing them to a class awakening through struggle against the enemy. Under the Party’s correct guidance we fought energetically against the counter-revolutionary elements as an all-Party, all-people movement smashing the conspiratorial plots of our class enemy before it was too late and completely isolating the

handful of hostile elements, firmly protecting the gains of our revolution and further solidifying its class position.

During the period we are reviewing, our Party vigorously went ahead with the work of revolutionizing and working-classizing the whole of society, while increasing dictatorship over the hostile elements.

This work is a requirement of the law that guides the construction of socialism and communism, and is one of the most important responsibilities of the dictatorship of the proletariat after the establishment of the socialist system. In the period of the socialist transformation of production relations the task of liquidating the exploiting classes and turning all the working people into socialist working people is of paramount importance. However, the principal task after the establishment of the socialist system is that of re-educating all the working people as members of the working class from the point of view of both their socio-economic status and their ideological and moral qualities, thus gradually doing away with class distinctions and turning them into true builders of socialism and communism.

In carrying through the policy of revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society, our Party has firmly maintained the principle of steadily enhancing the leadership role of the working class and of educating and reforming the farmers and intellectuals on the pattern of the working class.

For the working class to strengthen its leading role in the building of socialism and communism so that it can carry out its historic mission, it is imperative that its ideological and cultural levels be raised and its organization increased and that it temper itself in all respects in a more revolutionary manner. Ours is a young working class with a number of characteristic features in its development. The ranks of our working class which had not been very large, showed a sharp rise in a short period as industry developed dramatically following liberation, and our workers were joined by a large number of former peasants, small traders, handicraftsmen and members of the

younger generation who had had no revolutionary training.

Our Party therefore carried on a powerful campaign to revolutionize the working class. The Party increased its politico-ideological work among the workers in order to raise their class consciousness and lead them to steel themselves perseveringly in productive activities, and concentrated on strengthening the ranks of the working class organizationally and ideologically. As a result, the vanguard role of the working class in revolution and construction and its revolutionary influence on the working people have grown. Our working class is now fulfilling its honourable mission creditably as the leading class in the Korean revolution.

Working-classing and revolutionizing the farmers, a main detachment of our revolution, is one of the basic prerequisites for creating a classless society and assuring the victory of the cause of socialism and communism.

As there have never been many hired farm hands in our country, our rural population consists mainly of former poor and middle peasants. A small proprietor's mentality, egoism and other obsolete ideas are thus deeply rooted in their minds. Our farmers not only trail behind the working class technically and culturally; they are far behind them ideologically, as well. The socialist revolution has wrought a radical change in the socio-economic position of the farmers and also effected a great change in their ideological awareness, but the backwardness of the farmers compared with the advanced working class in ideology remains a major contributing factor to the class distinctions which still exist between our working class and farmers even after the establishment of the socialist system.

During the period under review, our Party has paid special attention to intensifying the ideological revolution as well as the technical and cultural revolutions in the country areas. The strengthening of our farmers' ideological education and organized life as well as their training through socialist collective labour all led to a marked rise in their level of ideological awareness and a further promotion of their collectivist spirit and organization. As the technical and cultural

revolutions progressed successfully in the rural areas, the technological and cultural levels of our farmers rose ever higher, and their socio-economic position approximated to that of the working class. Today our farmers, reliable allies of the working class and genuine masters of socialist construction, are staunchly defending the rural outposts of socialism.

Our Party has always devoted a great deal of effort to including our intellectuals, as well as our workers and farmers, in the revolutionizing, working-classizing process.

One major task facing a Marxist-Leninist party which has assumed power is how to solve the problem of the old intellectuals who served the old society correctly, while at the same time training new intellectuals. Basically speaking, the intelligentsia, as a social stratum, has a dual nature: it can serve not only the exploiting classes, but the working class as well. Most of the old intellectuals in our country came from wealthy families and served the exploiter society in the past. But, as intellectuals of a colonial and semi-feudal society, they were subjected to racial oppression and discrimination by the Japanese imperialists and, therefore, the majority of them had anti-imperialist leanings and a democratic, revolutionary spirit. In view of these characteristic features of the old intellectuals, our Party adopted a policy of active transformation and educated them patiently, while, at the same time, training large numbers of new intellectuals from amongst the working people. Now, in the stage of socialist construction, the question of the dual nature of the old intellectuals, that is, who they serve, has been solved, and there remains only the question of how best they can serve the working class and other working people.

During the period of socialist construction, when an all-out battle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas is the order of the day, our Party has devoted special attention to the revolutionization and working-classization of the intellectuals, who harbour the most vestiges of obsolete ideologies and have the least opportunity to temper themselves. The Party has energetically tried to turn them into

true intellectuals of the working class who will serve our homeland and the people more faithfully. Thanks to the Party's steady work of ideological education and also to revolutionary organizational life, a campaign against individualism and egoism was promoted among the intellectuals, tendencies to flunkeyism and dogmatism that remained in their minds were successfully overcome, and all our intellectuals have been more tempered politically and ideologically. Our experience shows that it is possible not only to enlist the services of the old intellectuals but also educate and reform them into true builders of socialism and communism. Today our intellectuals, as socialist working intellectuals, are confidently advancing along the road indicated by the Party and serving our revolution and construction well. This is a signal victory for our Party's policy with respect to the intelligentsia and one of our greatest achievements in the revolutionary transformation of the whole of society.

Revolutionizing and working-classing all society is a class struggle to root out all manner of retrogressive ideas and non-working-class elements from every sphere of social life. And, precisely as a question of re-educating the working people themselves, who are striving to build socialism and communism ever faster and better, it is a duty that should be tackled in leading all the working people to a communist society. Our Party, therefore, has conducted its work of revolutionizing and working-classing the working people by means of explanation and persuasion, putting the main stress on ideological education. We have worked unceasingly to revolutionize and working-classize the masses of all social backgrounds on the principle of boldly trusting any person who wants to follow our Party and winning him over to the revolutionary cause even though his origin, environment and social and political backgrounds are dubious.

Revolutionary struggle and the work of construction can only be carried out fully with the conscious efforts of the masses. Our Party found the key to a successful revolutionization and working-classization of society as a whole in the voluntary activity of the masses, and stepped up its organizational and political work among

the working people, infusing them with enthusiasm for revolutionary training. We combined practical activities closely with education and reformation, using the proper mixture of general and individual education, with the emphasis on eliminating negative phenomena through positive example, and the masses themselves took on the task of revolutionization and working-classization.

One important factor in expanding the struggle for the revolutionization and working-classization of the working people is the Chollima Workteam Movement. More than a collective innovation movement in production, it is also an excellent vehicle for educating and reforming the working people in a communist way and is a mass movement to speed up the revolutionization and working-classization of all society. We increased the depth and scope of the Chollima Workteam Movement, thereby also accelerating our efforts to educate and transform the working people in line with the building of a socialist economy and culture. Thus, the re-education of the people was pushed forward vigorously in all fields and in all units as a movement of all the masses, as well as a constant struggle for the successful fulfilment of our Seven-Year National Economic Plan.

Through the campaign for the revolutionization and working-classization of all the working people, we have overcome all manner of opportunism, flunkeyism, dogmatism and factionalism; we have armed them firmly with the revolutionary ideas of our Party and actively aroused their revolutionary enthusiasm, thereby achieving a great victory in socialist construction.

Today, as a result of the successful implementation of the Party's policy of revolutionizing and working-classizing the whole of society, the ideological and moral qualities of our people have undergone a radical change, and our society has been consolidated as never before. Our working people are now filled with the fine spirit of fighting devotedly for society and the collective, for socialism and communism, and all society lives and works as a revolutionary whole. The unity of our working class, cooperative farmers and working intellectuals has been further cemented, with all of society now

constituting a Red family whose members advance in solid politico-ideological unity, helping each other and leading each other forward; our revolutionary ranks have been turned into an invincible force.

4. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ALL-PEOPLE, NATIONWIDE DEFENCE SYSTEM

Comrades,

Increasing the nation's defence capacity is both one of the most important tasks facing a Marxist-Leninist party which has taken power and a vital issue for the building of socialism and communism in a world in which imperialism still exists. Strengthening the defences of our country has been a matter of particular importance for us, who are building socialism with our territory partitioned and in direct confrontation with the aggressors of US imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction.

This is why our Party has always devoted special attention to the work of national defence, correctly combining the building of defences with the work of economic construction. During the period under review, in particular, we took a number of radical steps to boost our nation's defence capabilities, in view of the US imperialists' increasing their aggressive actions and war provocations and the resultant heightening of tension. Carrying out our Party's policy, we did tremendous work to strengthen the People's Army, arm all the people and fortify the entire country, thus creating our own defence power strong enough to guarantee the security of our homeland against enemy invasion.

Our Party began by waging an untiring campaign of politico-ideological education among the officers and men of the People's Army, in order to make the most of its political and moral superiority as a revolutionary armed force. Carefully guarding against the tendency to neglect political work and concentrate only on

military-technical affairs in the army, we have held fast to the principle of increasing the political and ideological awareness of our soldiers, combining this correctly with military-technical work. Today the morale of the officers and men of our People's Army is high, and they are well prepared ideologically. The ranks of our People's Army are filled with great political enthusiasm and staunch revolutionary will to serve our Party and the revolution and fight for our socialist homeland and people, come what may; they display the fraternal unity between officers and men and bonds of kinship with the people that have been a tradition with us. Due to the splendid implementation of the Party's policy of turning the entire army into an army of cadres and modernizing it from top to bottom, our People's Army has become an army of cadres—each of our men being the equal of a hundred enemies—further steeled politically, ideologically, and in military techniques; it has grown into an invincible revolutionary armed force, fully equipped with powerful means of attack and defence.

One of the most important achievements made in strengthening our defence capacity during the period under review was the arming of all our people and the fortifying of our entire country. All of our people know how to fire guns and carry arms with them. Furthermore, we have built impregnable defences throughout the country and have even fortified all of our major production installations. This is the most powerful system of defence, one that can be established only in our socialist society in which monolithic politico-ideological unity of all the people has been attained and a solid independent economic system established.

Great success has also been achieved in the development of our national defence industry. In the past, our country had only an insignificant munitions industry which was confined to the production of a limited number of rifles. Now, however, thanks to the establishment of firm bases for an independent national defence industry, we are in a position to manufacture various types of up-to-date weapons and all the combat and technological equipment needed for the defence of our homeland.

This increase in our national defence capacity has been obtained at a very great price, however. It is true to say that our expenditure on national defence has been too heavy a burden for us, in the light of the small size of our country and its population. Had we been able to divert even a part of our nation's defence expenditure to economic construction, our national economy would have developed more rapidly and the standard of living of our people would have been raised markedly. But the situation never allowed us to do so. We could not throw the fundamental interests of the revolution to the winds in seeking temporary comfort, nor did we want to become a people without a country once more. Therefore, we devoted our great efforts to increasing our defence capacity to perfect the defences of our homeland even though this meant delaying our economic development and the raising of our people's standard of living.

That is why we were able to protect the security of our homeland firmly, even in the face of furious activity by the imperialists; the enemy did not even dare to provoke us. Things were extremely tense in our country at the time of the US imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo* incident in 1968 and again when the huge EC-121 spy plane incident occurred last year. The US imperialist gangsters massed armed forces at the very doorstep of our country and brazenly attempted an invasion of the northern half of Korea. The situation was extremely serious. The whole world awaited developments and expressed its deep concern. However, thanks to our powerful all-people, nationwide defence system, with the People's Army at the core, we were not in the slightest afraid, and we took a strong stand, stating that we would retaliate for the "retaliation" of the enemy and wage all-out war against all-out war, and finally we forced the aggressors to their knees. Our enemies are still active, trying daily to ignite a new war of aggression in our country. But we are sure that we are able to smash any and all aggressors, thanks to the wise leadership of our Marxist-Leninist Party, the unlimited strength of our people, united closely around the Party, our powerful, independent economy, our invincible revolutionary army, our armed citizenry, and our fortified territory.

5. THE THOROUGH ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Comrades,

In order to take the fullest advantages of the socialist economic system and build socialism and communism successfully after the socialist reorganization of production relations has been effected, we must work constantly to improve the guidance and management of our national economy.

The circumstances under which we brought about the socialist transformation of production relations and accelerated overall technological reconstruction in our country urgently demanded a new solution for the question of guidance and management of our national economy. Although we had established a unitary rule for the advanced, large-scale, socialist sector of our economy with the creditable fulfilment of our historic task of laying the foundations of socialism, the system and methods of guidance for our national economy as a whole had not yet been adapted to it, and the qualifications and ability of our officials also failed to meet our needs. These deficiencies, which were highlighted by the new historical circumstances, would have to be overcome before we could make any more rapid advances in socialist economic construction.

These requirements brought out by the new circumstances could only be met by establishing a thorough socialist system of management in industry, agriculture and all other fields of our national economy.

Setting up and perfecting a new socialist system of economic management is an extremely difficult and complex revolutionary task, as it implies making drastic changes to the old system and methods of work, which are rooted deep in tradition and order built up through a long historical process.

However, our Party, basing itself on all the experiences gained in

the socialist construction of our country and creatively developing Marxist-Leninist principles, scientifically worked out an original orientation and specific methods for socialist economic management, thus laying the groundwork for solving this urgent problem in practice.

Our guidance at Chongsan-ri in February 1960 marked a radical change in improving our system and methods of work and in establishing a socialist system of economic management, in line with changing conditions. In the course of spreading the Chongsanri spirit and method, which were an embodiment of the traditional, revolutionary mass line of our Party in actual socialist construction, further changes were effected in the work of the state and economic organizations.

Following this guidance our Party took radical steps to establish the Taean work system of industrial management, so as to facilitate putting the Chongsanri spirit and method into practice in the guidance and management of the national economy.

The Taean work system is a system of economic management admirably suited to the nature of a socialist system, for it stipulates that the factories and enterprises conduct all their management activities under the collective leadership of Party committees and carry out their economic tasks by giving precedence to political work, infusing the producing masses with an enthusiasm for work; that superiors do everything they can to help their subordinates and that the economy be managed and operated in a scientific and rational way.

Our Party put an end to one-man management by directors, the outmoded method of enterprise management; it defined the Party committee as the highest leadership authority at every economic unit; and it set up a system of collective leadership by the Party committee in enterprise management. In this way, the Party committee steers economic activities by discussing orientations collectively, deciding on the ways and means for settling important questions that arise in the economic work in each period and directing and supervising their implementation. In addition it scrupulously attends to Party organizational work and ideological education, thus actively

organizing and mobilizing all the working people to carry out revolutionary tasks. The use of this system has made it possible for us to eliminate the subjectivity and arbitrariness of individuals in enterprise management and to enlist collective wisdom in managing and operating our large-scale, modern, socialist economy efficiently. Moreover, it has also made the broad masses creative and active in production with the attitude of masters.

In addition to this, our Party established a well-organized system under which the officials of ministries, bureaus and other higher organizations and the management personnel of enterprises actually go to the production sites to solve their problems rapidly, and under which the higher, more centralized units responsibly provide their branches with all the equipment, materials and other goods needed for production. Thus, the old autocratic, bureaucratic methods used in the guidance of our economy are finally on the way out.

Moreover, in order to manage and operate the economy rationally, the Party has introduced a system of unified, concentrated guidance in production. This did away with the irrationality—caused by independent, unrelated systems of planning, technical guidance and production guidance—which had made it impossible for us to direct production efficiently in the past, and it enabled us to coordinate productive and technical guidance and carry it out effectively and, especially, strengthen technical guidance.

The Tsean work system is, indeed, a new socialist form of economic management which fully embodies the mass line and scientific principles in enterprise management and has completely done away with all survivals from the outmoded, capitalist method of economic management. The Tsean work system is also a form of industrial management embodying communist principles to a large extent. Here superior and subordinate personnel as well as producers learn from one another, help one another as comrades and work together as one, and the economy is managed on the basis of the great revolutionary enthusiasm of the producer masses.

Our Party has also done much to improve the guidance and

management of the rural economy.

The Party transferred the direction of the rural economy from the county people's committees to the newly established county cooperative farm management committees, placing all the agro-technicians and state enterprises directly engaged in agriculture under their authority. The county cooperative farm management committees were thus entrusted with the task of giving direct guidance to the cooperative farms and providing material and technical assistance from the state to the rural economy. While organizing the county cooperative farm management committees, our Party also established provincial rural economy committees and reorganized the Ministry of Agriculture—now the Agricultural Commission—so as to strengthen the scientific and technical guidance of agriculture.

The introduction of this new system of agricultural guidance with the county cooperative farm management committee as the basic unit has enabled us to direct agriculture by industrial rather than old administrative methods. As a result, it has become possible to approximate the methods of agricultural management and operation more closely to the advanced methods of industrial enterprise management, to plan and organize all management activities better and to increase technical guidance in agricultural production. The establishment of the new system of agricultural guidance has also made it possible to link cooperative ownership with ownership by all the people organically, and to create closer productive ties between industry and agriculture. This increases the leading role of all-people ownership in the development of agricultural production and greatly accelerates the process of turning cooperative ownership into ownership by all the people.

After establishing these systems of industrial and agricultural management, our Party ensured that unified and detailed systems of planning were effected in order to strengthen the democratic-centralist discipline in overall economic management and to develop our economy in a more planned and balanced way.

For unified planning, the Party has set up regional planning

commissions and state planning departments in the cities (or districts), counties, factories and enterprises, both under the direct control of the State Planning Commission. Moreover, the planning departments for all the sectors of our national economy—including those of the ministries and organizations at the national level—were subordinated, with regard to planning, both to the State Planning Commission and to their respective enterprise or organization. Thus, a unified system of planning was established which coordinates all the planning of our national economy, from the work of the central management bodies to that of the individual localities, factories, and enterprises.

Thanks to this new, unified system of planning, Party and state policies reach all the planning units promptly and are accurately carried out as all the work of planning done at the various localities and enterprises has been placed in the hands of personnel from planning bodies who have a thorough understanding of the intentions of the Party and the needs of the state. This has enabled us to do away with localism and departmentalism, thoroughly subordinate the plans of ministries, administrative bureaus, provincial organizations and all factories and enterprises to the national strategic plan, and work out dynamic and positive plans. The new system has also enabled us to eliminate subjectivism and bureaucracy from the state planning bodies and fully ensure the objectivity and feasibility of plans by having the planners work personally with the producer masses, actively enlisting their creative initiative and familiarizing themselves with specific conditions at each production site.

The new system of detailed planning, in addition to that of unified planning, is an important guarantee for the most scientific planning possible of our national economy.

Detailed planning makes it possible for the state planning agencies to coordinate general economic development closely with the management activities of every factory and enterprise and to draw up plans to suit prevailing conditions in all the branches of our national economy, localities and enterprises, so that everything—even down to the smallest detail—will dovetail. The introduction of detailed planning

has enabled us to develop our nation's economy rapidly without a hitch by totally eliminating the factors of imbalance and chance in economic development and by ably reflecting the law of a well-planned, proportionately developed economy.

From our own experience we can say with great pride that the socialist system of economic management established in all spheres of our country fully accords with the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and with the particular conditions of our country and that it constitutes the best economic management method for further consolidating and developing our socialist economic system and for giving great impetus to the development of our productive forces.

The overall introduction of the new economic management system has enabled us to more than meet the requirements of the economic laws of socialism, properly combining political and moral incentives with material incentives, and centralism with democracy in economic management. In particular, it has enabled us to completely overcome both the "Leftist" deviation of ignoring the transitional character of socialist society in economic management and the Rightist inclination towards decentralization in economic guidance and liberalization of enterprise management, that is, putting all the emphasis on material rather than political or moral incentives.

Comrades, thanks to our successful implementation of the lines set forth at the Fourth Congress of the Party and the Party Conference, we have achieved great triumphs and successes in socialist construction.

The historic task of turning our country into a socialist industrial state has been splendidly carried out, and the independent national economy built by our people in a spirit of self-reliance during the course of a hard-fought struggle has grown stronger. The newly established socialist system of economic management is forcefully promoting the development of our nation's productive forces. Culture and art are flourishing, and beautiful new towns and villages are being established everywhere every day. Our revolutionary forces have become invincible and now we have stronger national defences. Our

people have made giant advances in their battle to scale the high peak of socialism and are leading happy, worthwhile lives in our prospering socialist homeland.

We may state with confidence that we have amassed enough strength to ensure the complete victory of socialism and to attain the reunification of our homeland and the nationwide victory of the revolution.

On behalf of this Party Congress, I should like to warmly thank all our Party members, workers, farmers and the rest of the working people who have performed brilliant exploits on every front of socialist construction, in hearty response to the lines and policies of our Party.

II. ON THE CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY'S SOCIALIST SYSTEM

Comrades,

Today our Party and people are faced with the urgent task of further consolidating and developing our country's socialist system and hastening the complete victory of socialism on the basis of the achievements already gained in revolution and construction.

In order to strengthen the socialist system and attain the complete victory of socialism, we must carry on a powerful struggle to capture the material and ideological fortresses, which must be seized without fail on our way to communism.

We must keep on developing our productive forces by carrying the technical revolution to a higher stage. We must bring about a further development and flowering of socialist national culture by speeding up cultural construction. We must vigorously go ahead with the revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society by giving priority to the ideological revolution.

1. THE CENTRAL TASKS OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Comrades,

During the Seven-Year Plan we have founded a modern industry, self-supporting in structure, and have, in the main, put all branches of the national economy on a modern technical footing by vigorously accelerating the socialist industrialization of the country and the all-round technological reconstruction of the national economy.

However, we still have much work to do in the field of economic construction if we are to lay solid material and technical foundations for socialism. We must bring the might of our modern industry into full play by equipping it better and strengthening its independence. We must develop the nation's productive forces still faster by steadily introducing technical progress in all fields of the national economy.

The basic task of the Six-Year Plan in the field of socialist economic construction is to cement the material and technical foundations of socialism and free the working people from heavy labour in all fields of the national economy, by consolidating and developing the successes gained in industrialization and advancing the technical revolution to a new, higher stage.

During the period of the forthcoming new plan we should, above all, perfect the inner-structures of the industrial branches and further strengthen the Juche character of our industry.

With socialist industrialization now a fact, our industry is a well-balanced structure, equipped with new techniques, and one with enormous potential, relying mainly on domestic raw materials. Our industry, however, does not take full advantage of its strength, since some of its branches have not yet been completed and some minor, secondary sections and production processes are not in good working order. In particular, we still depend on foreign countries for some raw materials, and this inevitably affects the assured and normal

development of our industry to a certain degree.

We should continue with the work of improving all branches of industry, strengthening weak sections and creating new branches so as to perfect our industry quickly. At the same time, we should wage a dynamic campaign to base its expansion entirely on the raw materials available in our own country. In this way we can bring the power of our industry into full play and base all our industrial branches on Juche so firmly that they will be, at least, 60 to 70 per cent self-sufficient in regard to raw materials.

Great efforts should also be made to strengthen the independence of our iron and steel industry.

Our country has rich deposits of iron ore and very bright prospects for the development of this industry. However, we are now meeting the iron industry's requirements of coking coal through trade with fraternal countries, because it has not yet been found in our country. Such cooperation, of course, is very valuable to us, and in the future, we shall continue to promote economic cooperation with other countries on the principle of satisfying each other's needs. But we cannot afford to import all the vast amount of coking coal we need for our iron production, which is expanding rapidly in keeping with the needs of our developing national economy.

While intensifying our efforts to increase the production of pig iron with the least possible expense of coke, we must actively develop the iron industry by using home-produced fuel. During the period of the forthcoming plan we must increase the production of granulated iron and crude steel and industrialize the production of sponge iron and reduced pellets as soon as possible. We must also continue our research in the use of electricity in iron-manufacturing.

The variety and quality of steel should be increased; the variety and standards of rolled steel should be expanded considerably and the production of second-stage metal-processing goods should be developed rapidly, so that we can have an adequate supply of the different ferrous materials required for the development of the national economy and the technical revolution.

The nonferrous metallurgical industry should be developed rapidly so as to exploit and utilize our abundant nonferrous metal resources, effectively. We should produce the light metals essential for technical progress and for the improvement of our people's living standards, especially aluminum.

The development of the chemical industry is of very great importance in expanding the raw-material bases for industry and increasing our economic independence. Relying on the existing foundations of the chemical industry, we must further develop the inorganic and organic chemical industries and establish new branches in order to diversify this industry.

In order to bring about the widest use of chemicals in agriculture, the production of chemical fertilizers, herbicides and insecticides has to be increased.

The expansion and consolidation of the raw-material bases for light industry is an important task of the chemical industry. We must enlarge existing production bases for chemical fibres and synthetic resins and, at the same time, make great efforts in the Six-Year Plan period to build large new bases for a petro-chemical industry so that we ourselves can produce more than 70 per cent of the fibres needed for light industry. The production of synthetic resins should also be increased quickly.

In addition, we should speedily develop bases for synthetic rubber production to meet the domestic needs for rubber, and should intensify our attempts to produce and supply our own chemical materials for light industry.

The question of advancing the technical revolution to a new height and increasing the nation's productive forces as a whole depends largely on the growth of the engineering industry. In the Six-Year Plan period, immense efforts should continue to be made to develop this industry so that it can produce large quantities of more efficient and economic machines and equipment which are needed for our colossal nature-transforming projects and for the various sectors of the national economy.

Bases for the production of heavy machinery should be expanded and strengthened to manufacture heavy equipment on a large scale: large equipment needed by the metallurgical, cement and chemical industries; turbines and generators, boilers and other large-capacity generating equipment; 25-ton lorries, 300-hp bulldozers, large excavators and other kinds of large-scale equipment needed for the extractive industries and our huge nature-remaking projects.

The development of the fishing industry and water transport system demands a speedy growth of the shipbuilding industry. Under the Six-Year Plan, we should build more big vessels, including 5,000-ton refrigerated-transport and cargo ships. We should even build our own factory mother ships and cargo vessels of 10,000 tons and over.

The extensive introduction of semi-automation and automation in all spheres of the national economy has given the engineering industry the important task of developing the electronics and automation industries. Electronics and automation industry bases should be increased to produce different automation elements and large quantities of instruments and gauges. All the varieties of rare and pure metal materials needed in the electronics and automation industries should also be manufactured and supplied in sufficient quantity.

One of the important problems to be solved in the engineering industry is to mass-produce different kinds of single-purpose equipment needed for the production of consumer goods. During the period of the next plan we should set up many single-purpose equipment factories to rapidly increase the production of machines which are needed by the foodstuffs and consumer goods industries.

The tremendous tasks facing the engineering industry call for the increased production of machine tools. The output of machine tools should be boosted rapidly and quantities of special machine tools, automatic and semi-automatic machine tools, large-size and efficient single-purpose machine tools, in particular, should be produced.

The active exploitation of the rich natural resources in our country's subsoil is very important, not only in accelerating the nation's

economic construction, but also in promoting trade with foreign countries. We should expand the bases of magnesia clinker production and the capacities of our cement factories; at the same time, we should build many new medium- and small-size local cement factories, so as to achieve a sharp rise in the output of magnesia clinker and cement.

The major task to be tackled in light industry is to improve the consumer-goods industry rapidly. Articles of daily use produced in our country still lack variety and quality. We should make great efforts to develop this industry and, especially, strive to tap local reserves in order to bring about a further increase in the production of consumer goods in the next few years.

The main task facing the rural economy is to make agriculture highly intensive.

Above all, double-crop acreage should be expanded through the extensive introduction of irrigation in dry fields. When non-paddy irrigation is effected, dry-field farming will be freed forever from crop failure as is the case with rice farming, and the per hectare yield of dry-field crops can be increased considerably. During the period of the new plan we must work hard to introduce sprinkler and other irrigation systems in 300,000 hectares of dry fields with the main emphasis on the areas suitable for double-crop cultivation. This can be done by repairing the existing irrigation facilities and using them efficiently.

At the same time, the wider use of chemicals in agriculture must be accelerated. In the period of the Six-Year Plan, we should increase to one ton or more the amount of chemical fertilizer applied per hectare of cultivated land; the variety of the product should be increased and microelement fertilizers suitable to the soil and the peculiarities of the crops of our country should be produced and supplied in larger quantities. As well as the increased application of chemical fertilizer, its effectiveness should be increased to the utmost through the establishment of a scientific manuring system. Insecticides and other agricultural chemicals should be used on an extensive scale so that crops can be completely protected from all

kinds of blight and harmful insects.

A great possibility for raising the per hectare yield of crops lies in strengthening biological research and applying its results to agricultural production on a wide scale. All varieties of crops should be replaced by new superior strains by improving seed selection and increasing the production of choice seeds fitted to the climatic and soil conditions of our country.

Tideland reclamation should also be undertaken on a large scale to obtain new land. In the Six-Year Plan period we must obtain a great deal of new fertile land by concentrating our efforts, first of all, on those areas with favourable natural and geographical conditions, which can be reclaimed comparatively quickly.

One of the very urgent tasks facing us today is to eliminate the waste and loss of agricultural and industrial products while, at the same time, increasing their production rapidly.

Although our country produces an enormous amount of fruit and vegetables and catches hundreds of thousands of tons of fish every year, a lot of these products spoil. This is because measures have not been taken to facilitate their storage and to industrialize and streamline their processing. Frequently, careless packing spoils precious agricultural and industrial products.

Strong measures must be adopted to improve the storage, processing and packing of agricultural and industrial products to stop this waste completely. We should start a mass movement to build fruit stores in the production and consumption areas, so that more fresh fruit can be kept. We should also build many factories to process fruit, vegetables and fish everywhere and process them rapidly, using industrial methods, without the slightest waste. Large amounts of kraft paper, cardboard and other high-quality packing materials must be manufactured for the radical improvement of the packing of industrial and agricultural products.

Easing the strain on transport is a very urgent matter at present in accelerating the overall economic construction of the country. We should make every effort to develop the transport services to meet the

fast-growing requirements of our country in full.

At present our country has only one railway line linking the east with the west, and this is the main reason for the strain on railway transport. We must speed up the Ichon-Sepho railway construction now under way so as to hasten the opening of another railway line connecting the east and west coasts, and go ahead with the construction of a new railway linking Kanggye, Hyesan and Musan to connect the east and west portions of the northern inland region.

At the same time, we must continue the electrification of some overworked branch lines in the eastern and inland areas which have steep gradients and heavy goods traffic. Diesel traction should be introduced on the non-electrified lines and the traction-load and the operation speed of the locomotives should be increased in order to raise railway transport capacity.

Water transport should be further developed with a view to ensuring the efficiency of the rapidly increasing cargo shipment for foreign trade and to easing the strain on railway transport. We must endeavour to open up new routes to expand the network of coastwise and river shipping, develop joint railway-water transport and increase the use of our vessels in foreign trade. We must also develop motor transport to a greater extent on a par with the advancement of the automobile industry.

Comrades,

To continue to advance the technical revolution with all our strength is an important requirement to liberate the working people from backbreaking labour. The technical revolution is also essential to ease the present labour shortage.

Our working people have been conspicuously relieved from heavy backbreaking labour by the full-scale technological reconstruction carried out in all fields of the national economy during the Seven-Year Plan. But there is still the contrast between heavy and light labour and we have not yet eliminated work in excessive heat or under other harmful conditions. A big disparity remains between industrial and agricultural labour and women, who account for one half of the population, have not

yet been completely freed from household drudgery.

We have to launch a widespread technical innovation movement in industry and agriculture and all other branches of the national economy so that we shall considerably narrow the distinctions between heavy and light labour, and between agricultural and industrial work and free women from the heavy burden of household chores. These are the three major tasks of the technical revolution which we should aim to fulfil in the next few years.

In the first place, a great effort must be made to narrow the differences between heavy and light labour, to eliminate heat-affected and other harmful work and to introduce on a broad scale both semi- and full-scale automation in all fields of the national economy.

The principal task must be the launching of a wide-spread movement to introduce advanced technology into the mining industry where, more than in any other branch, arduous, labour-consuming jobs remain. The aim should be to make work in this field easier, safer and highly productive.

Ore and bituminous coal mines must introduce comprehensive mechanization and gradually change over to semi- and full-scale automation. A decided improvement must be brought about in mechanization at the anthracite mines which are responsible for the greater proportion of coal produced in our country and where the degree of mechanization is still low.

There must be an increase in mechanization in every sector of the lumber industry. The fishing industry should provide itself with large, modern all-purpose boats which will allow for the comprehensive mechanization of fishing.

Capital construction, like the extractive industries, is also characterized by the prevalence of excessively heavy labour. Efficient construction machinery should be supplied in greater quantity and the proportion of prefabricated construction should be increased still more to raise the extent of mechanization in the construction field radically.

The mechanization of loading and unloading operations is a vital necessity if we are to eliminate excessively heavy labour. These

operations have not yet been fully mechanized on the railways, at wharves, on construction sites and in other branches of our economy. Not only does this mean that many people are engaged in arduous work but also that the speed of these operations is not maintained. This is one of the reasons why we have failed to use our means of transportation more efficiently. During the period of the new long-term plan we must manufacture and introduce different types of efficient loading and unloading machines in larger quantities and thus speed up the mechanization of these operations.

A movement to make greater use of technology must be started throughout industry to eliminate work in excessive heat or under other harmful conditions.

Production processes must be completely automated to eliminate heat-affected labour once and for all in the iron and steel, chemical and cement industries as well as in all other industries where work is done in those conditions. We should begin with the branches of industry where there is exposure to high temperatures and change over to remote control step by step.

The health of workers and production itself are still affected to a certain extent by gas, dust and other noxious waste emitted in the course of production in the chemical, nonferrous metallurgical, mining and building-materials industries and in a number of other fields. We should facilitate technological reconstruction in these branches to do away with these harmful conditions as soon as possible.

By adopting these measures, we can convert harmful working conditions into harmless ones and prevent the health of workers and production itself from being adversely affected by heat, gas, dust or humidity in every branch of industry and every workplace.

The promotion of the rural technical revolution represents an urgent task for us at the present time. Overall mechanization and the greater use of chemicals in agriculture should be introduced in the Six-Year Plan period to narrow the distinctions between agricultural and industrial labour drastically and reduce the labour force considerably in the country areas.

We should make more effective use of existing farm machinery, design and manufacture various types of modern farm machinery in larger quantities, particularly those efficient kinds suited to the topographical conditions of our country, thereby introducing total mechanization into agriculture. During the period of the new plan we should first introduce it in the double-crop dry fields under irrigation and the paddy fields where rice is sown directly and then gradually spread its success so that a nationwide movement will be undertaken to achieve comprehensive mechanization completely in the near future.

Extensive levelling of fields and re-alignment of their boundaries is an urgent task if the all-round mechanization of agriculture is to be realized at the present stage.

It is mainly because the fields have not been properly re-aligned and levelled that we have failed to carry out mechanization of agriculture more rapidly, although we now have a considerable number of tractors, lorries and up-to-date farm machines of many kinds. This land improvement work must be launched as a mass movement with the aim of enlarging and straightening the boundaries of the fields and terracing the sloping ground so that machines can work efficiently in both rice paddies and other fields.

Machines by themselves cannot replace all the manual labour used in the rural economy. Therefore, farm work which cannot be performed by machines must be done with the aid of chemicals. Weeding, one of the most difficult and labour-consuming chores in the countryside, should be accomplished by chemicals through the wide application of different highly-effective herbicides.

By bringing about substantial advances in the rural technical revolution we should, in the near future, be able to reduce the labour power used on a hectare of rice paddy to a level of 60 to 80 man-days on average, and on a hectare of dry-farming land to a level of 20 to 30 man-days. Therefore, a single farmer will be cultivating at least five to six hectares of rice paddy or eight to ten hectares of dry-farming land. The eight-hour work day could then be gradually introduced on the

cooperative farms, as in factories and other enterprises, and the difference between town and country as regards working conditions would be markedly reduced.

One of the vital tasks in the technical revolution is that of freeing women from the burden of kitchen and household work.

Our Party has not only brought about the social emancipation of women but it has also made untiring efforts to provide better conditions for them so that they can participate widely in public life. Because of this deep interest of our Party, our women, as proud masters of the country, are now making an active contribution to the revolutionary struggle and constructive work.

But our women still have to devote a great deal of time to household work even though they are engaged in public activities beside the men. Therefore, they bear a double burden, that of public activities and that of housework. We should concern ourselves very seriously in using the technical revolution as a means for freeing the women from household chores and for increasing still more their role in revolution and construction.

The most important thing we can do to lighten the women's kitchen chores is to introduce innovations into the food industry. The processing of different kinds of supplementary food products should be developed on a large scale, as well as that of basic food items. In this way, all foods will be processed by industrial methods so that women can prepare meals quickly and easily at home.

At the same time as we develop the food industry, we should manufacture large quantities of refrigerators, washing machines, electric cooking pots and other kitchen utensils so that women need not spend so much time in the kitchen and in doing general household chores.

When all these tasks, which are vital to the technical revolution, are carried out successfully, all our working people will be free from backbreaking, labour-consuming and inefficient work. Their labour will not only be safe and easy but it will have attained a high level of productivity, and they will be much better off materially.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST CULTURE

Comrades,

Socialism and communism not only require highly developed productive forces. They also demand working people with a high cultural level. It is only when the cultural revolution, in company with the technical revolution, continues to be developed with vigour, that we can hasten the complete victory of socialism and satisfy the essential requirements of a socialist and communist society.

One of the most important tasks in building a national, socialist culture today is the battle against cultural penetration by imperialism.

The fight against the outmoded culture of the exploiter society and reactionary capitalist culture responds to the laws that guide the building of a national, socialist culture. Under present conditions, especially, when the imperialists are maliciously conspiring to spread reactionary bourgeois culture among us, it is imperative to fight against every expression of reactionary culture.

Cultural penetration, one of the principal methods used by the imperialists to carry out their neocolonialist policy, paves the way for their foreign aggression. Through cultural penetration the imperialists, led by US imperialism, act cunningly to destroy the national culture of other countries, dull the people's revolutionary spirit and their consciousness about national independence and demoralize and corrupt them. An outstanding example of this is the ideological and cultural penetration by the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists in south Korea. As a result of the policy to obliterate our national culture, pursued by the US and Japanese reactionaries and their stooges, it is wantonly trampled on today, and degenerate "Yankee culture" and Japanese fashions and way of life predominate in south Korea, eroding the spiritual life of the people. The US imperialists are unscrupulously trying to implant their reactionary culture not only in south Korea but also in the northern half of Korea, employing every

means at their disposal including the radio, publications, literature and art.

Unless this cultural penetration by imperialism is thoroughly checked, we shall be unable to develop a healthy national, socialist culture or defend our socialist gains with firmness. From historical experience, we know that if imperialist cultural penetration is not strictly blocked and if reactionary bourgeois elements are tolerated to the slightest degree in the development of culture, national culture is gradually eaten away; the people develop illusions about imperialism, and suffer ideological confusion; and the revolution and construction face grave difficulties and crises.

Therefore, the principal target of the cultural revolution is cultural penetration by the imperialists. We must be vigilant and prevent the infiltration into our ranks of any manifestation of corrupt bourgeois culture or the life style promoted by the imperialists. However trivial, bourgeois elements in the construction of culture should never be tolerated.

If a national, socialist culture is to develop on a sound basis, we must also resolutely oppose the tendency of returning to the past.

Reactionary tendency is an anti-Marxist current in ideology which advocates the uncritical restoration and glorification of anything old while ignoring the needs of the times and class outlook. If this tendency is permitted in the field of cultural construction, every variety of the old, pernicious culture will rise again and reactionary bourgeois concepts, feudal-Confucian ideas, and other outmoded ways of thinking will breed in the minds of the people.

A relentless battle must be fought against this tendency to copy antiquated and reactionary examples from the past blindly and exalt them on the pretext of reclaiming our national cultural heritage. We must discard what is backward and reactionary in our cultural inheritance and critically assimilate and develop what is progressive and popular in accordance with the socialist realities of today.

We have to develop all spheres of socialist culture including education, science, literature and the arts more quickly and on a sound

foundation. To do this, we must block imperialist cultural penetration completely and overcome the trend toward restorationism through a vigorous ideological campaign in the field of cultural construction.

The main task facing education is that of forming large contingents of technicians and specialists, the nation's huge army of intellectuals.

The productive forces of our country today have reached a very high stage of development and the economy has grown markedly. Unless we train more technicians and specialists, we cannot run the national economy, which is equipped with up-to-date technology, properly, nor carry out the aims of the technical revolution with success.

We must train technicians and specialists on a large scale to meet the practical demands of socialist construction. Thus, during the period of the new long-term plan, the number of engineers, assistant engineers and specialists from universities, colleges and higher technical schools has to reach more than 10 per cent of the labour force at all factories, enterprises and cooperative farms. Within the next few years, the total number of technicians and specialists should exceed one million.

In order to train a large number of technicians and specialists, work should be improved and enrolment increased at existing universities, colleges and higher technical schools. We should build more universities and colleges in both the capital and the provinces after making a correct assessment of our requirements for technical personnel in every branch of the national economy. There should also be a significant increase in the number of factory colleges and higher technical schools as well as further improvement in the work of night schools and correspondence courses.

In addition to the training of a large army of intellectuals, we must energetically continue our endeavours to raise the level of the working people's general and technical knowledge.

As a result of the introduction of universal compulsory nine-year technical education, all children in our country today receive technical training before going out into the world. Consequently, an important way to raise the general cultural and technical levels of the working

people is to improve the quality of this compulsory technical education. The material assets of schools must be strengthened, the ranks of teachers should be augmented and education should be constantly improved in terms of both content and method.

In order to raise the general technical and cultural levels of the working people, we must continue the work of educating those adults who never had an opportunity to learn under the exploiter society of the past. We must guarantee all working people a place in some branch of our educational system so they can study on a regular basis in future as well.

With the aim of raising the working people's cultural and technical levels, the distribution of publications and information by radio should increase and improve. Particularly necessary in this respect would be the broadening of our television network to cover the whole country as soon as it is feasible.

The work of raising children under state and public care should be developed. This is an important task in the cultural revolution and in building a socialist society.

The raising of children by society is both an important communist policy and a communist educational method. Man's character and thinking are formed from childhood; accordingly, a proper education and the cultivation of good habits from the earliest years exert a powerful influence on a child's future development. Raising children under public care trains them to be organized and disciplined, fosters in them the spirit of collectivism and a communist character and accustoms them to organizational life from childhood. Their schooling and social education, therefore, can be more effective when they are older.

We have to enlarge the capacity of our existing nursery schools and kindergartens and build many modern ones to provide the best facilities for the education of our children all over the country. All our pre-school children must be brought up in nursery schools and kindergartens at state and public expense.

The immense tasks we face today in socialist construction—especially

the new goals of the technical revolution—require a radical improvement in our scientific research. The major efforts in the natural sciences should be directed toward solving scientific and technological problems which relate to the more effective use of our present economic base, the strengthening of the Juche character of our industry and the development of the technical revolution to a higher stage. At the same time, new areas in science and technology should be actively explored. In the social sciences, it is necessary to make theoretical generalizations about the achievements and rich experiences of our people in their revolutionary struggle and work of construction and demonstrate in a more profound way the correctness of our Party's lines and policies.

Literature and art play an important role in the communist education of the working people and in the revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society.

Our central task here is to create more revolutionary works of literature and art which will arm the working people with a communist world outlook. Writers and artists should produce more works which are based on our glorious revolutionary traditions—the deep roots of our Party and revolution—and which depict the heroic feats of the soldiers of the People's Army and the people who carried forward the brilliant revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and fought bravely during the Fatherland Liberation War. They should also vividly portray the glorious reality and the full life of our people today in which, mounted on Chollima, our people drive ahead like a hurricane, filled with revolutionary zeal. The struggle of the south Korean revolutionaries and the patriotic people who are fighting valiantly for the revolution in south Korea and for the reunification of the country needs to be skilfully represented. In order to produce many revolutionary works which will have an emotional impact on our people and inspire them in their march forward, writers and artists should examine reality more carefully, study life seriously and make good use of socialist realism in their creative activities.

It is the masses of the people who make socialist culture.

Literature and art in our society can only advance rapidly with the broad participation of the working people. We have to guard against professionalism in literary and artistic activities, destroy the abstruse nature of creative work and develop literature and art on a broad popular basis.

Language is one of the characteristics common to everyone in a nation. It is a powerful weapon for scientific and technological progress and a major ingredient in determining specifically national forms of culture. Therefore, a national, socialist culture cannot be successfully built without developing the national language.

Our language, a priceless treasure and the pride of our people, is facing a grave crisis in south Korea today. Under the US imperialists' policy of destroying our national language, it is gradually losing its purity and degenerating into a hodgepodge of many languages. This gives rise to serious concern among all Koreans. For the development and flowering of a brilliant national, socialist culture, for the everlasting prosperity of our nation, we must organize a nationwide campaign to defend our mother tongue from the attempts of US imperialism and its stooges to adulterate it. Meanwhile, we should work hard to bring into common usage pure Korean words, developing them to conform to present-day needs.

The strength and health of the working people are vital to the revolutionary struggle and the building of a rich and powerful society. We must make physical training and sports popular and extensively improve our defence sports. This will further increase the physical strength of all the working people and resolutely prepare all the people for work and defence. Juche must be thoroughly applied in physical training and sports, and the science and techniques of physical culture must be rapidly developed.

We must turn our culture into a true people's culture at the service of our socialist working people—a militant and revolutionary culture actively contributing to the revolutionary struggle and construction. The way we can do this is by carrying out all these tasks of the cultural revolution successfully.

3. IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION, REVOLUTIONIZATION AND WORKING-CLASSIZATION OF THE ENTIRE SOCIETY

Comrades,

The ideological revolution represents a sharp class struggle for the final liquidation of capitalism, including its vestiges which remain in men's minds. It is a vital revolutionary task that must be fulfilled in order to free all the working people from the fetters of all obsolete ideologies and to arm them with progressive working-class ideas, with the ideas of communism. Whether or not the ideological revolution is thoroughly carried out is tantamount to whether or not the revolution will be carried to its final conclusion. Accordingly, this is one of the fundamental determinants for the success of the construction of socialism and communism. A Marxist-Leninist party which has seized power can only triumph in the revolutionary cause of the working class when it repudiates all deviations and solves this crucial question correctly. Historical experience has proved that if a Marxist-Leninist party does not continually raise the class awareness of the masses and strengthen the ideological revolution among them, the influence of bourgeois ideas increases and the revolutionary consciousness of the working people becomes paralysed. As a consequence, not only is there difficulty in consolidating and developing the socialist system but, even more, the achievements of the revolution are put in jeopardy. On the basis of the consistent line of the Party, we must continue to drive the ideological revolution forward energetically and give it explicit precedence in all our work.

To achieve the working-classization of the whole of society while steadily revolutionizing all the working people by giving priority to the ideological revolution is a vital task which must be fulfilled in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Only by

working-classizing all the members of society, is it possible to obliterate class distinctions, build a classless society and win complete victory for socialism. However, even after the whole of society has been working-classized and the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism have been carried out successfully, some survivals of outworn ideologies still remain in the minds of people, and it cannot yet be claimed that all working people have become real communists. Even after the complete victory of socialism, the Marxist-Leninist party should continue its efforts to revolutionize all the working people, consolidating the success made in working-classizing them. Only in this way can the ideological fortress of communism be conquered completely.

During the period under review we have vigorously carried through the Party's line of revolutionizing and working-classizing all of society. We have registered great success in this endeavour. This is only the beginning, however. We have just started to work. On the basis of our successes and experiences we must develop the revolutionization and working-classization of the working people in a more concentrated way.

The working-classization and revolutionization of the whole of society requires, first of all, the intensification of ideological education among the working people.

We must continue to conduct communist education among the working people without slackening.

Class education is fundamental to communist education. There can be no communist doctrine other than the revolutionary doctrine of the working class, nor can there be communist education other than class education. The class consciousness of the working class forms the kernel of communist ideology. Therefore, only when the working people are firmly armed with proletarian class consciousness can they be transformed into real communists. We should fill all the working people with a working-class outlook so that they will learn to hate the class enemies and fight relentlessly against imperialism and the system of exploitation. In particular, the hatred of the working people for US

imperialism and Japanese militarism which are our major enemies, should be further increased. We must give sound ideological training to all the people so that they are ready at any time to fight staunchly to force the US imperialists out of south Korea and carry the revolutionary cause of national reunification to its final conclusion.

Collectivism is one of the intrinsic characteristics of the working class. It is the basis of social life in socialist and communist societies where the working people are closely united and work towards common goals. We must continue to pay particular attention to strengthening the education of the working people in collectivism. In order to equip our people with this idea it is most important to accelerate the struggle against individualism and egoism. Educational work should be intensified among the working people with the aim of cultivating in them the revolutionary idea of cherishing the collective and organization and working devotedly, any time and anywhere, for the benefit of society and the people, and the Party and the revolution, as opposed to a preoccupation with an easy and happy life for oneself. In this way all the working people will learn to work, study and live in conformity with the communist spirit of “One for all and all for one”.

Fostering a communist attitude towards work holds an important place in communist education. We must educate the working people to esteem labour, regarding it as the most honourable activity, display willing enthusiasm and creativity in their work and participate sincerely in communal labour for the good of the collective and of society.

Education in socialist patriotism should also be emphasized among the working people. Socialist patriotism means love for the socialist homeland whose revolutionary achievements are the power of the proletarian dictatorship, the socialist system and an independent national economy. It is only when the working people are firmly armed with the idea of socialist patriotism, that they can fight staunchly for the prosperity and progress of our homeland and for the victory of the revolution. We should convince the working people fully of the revolutionary essence of the power of proletarian dictatorship, the true

superiority of the socialist system and the might of our independent national economy. They will then have great pride and a sense of honour, living in their socialist country, they will treasure above all else the socialist gains won and guaranteed by our people at the cost of their blood and sweat and they will work harder for the consolidation and development of these achievements. We should patiently educate all the working men and women to value and protect the property of the state and the people, conscious of the fact that they are the masters of the nation's economic life, and to work with all their wisdom, talent and energy to make a greater contribution to the building of a rich and strong socialist homeland.

The communist education of the working people must necessarily be conducted in close combination with education in revolutionary traditions.

Our revolutionary traditions were formed in the course of creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory to suit the specific conditions of the Korean revolution and through combining revolutionary theory and practice thoroughly. They are a priceless revolutionary heritage grown out of the flames of the unprecedentedly arduous and bloody anti-Japanese armed struggle. Experience shows that communist education, when linked to education in our revolutionary traditions, has a decisive influence and an unlimited power to move people. Education in revolutionary traditions is necessary for everyone, but it is most essential for the younger generation who have not undergone the ordeals of revolutionary battle. The revolution continues and one generation inexorably replaces another. Only if the new generation is educated in the revolutionary traditions will it be possible to form them into genuine heirs of our revolution, who will continue it.

The education of the working people in revolutionary traditions must be increased. We should teach everyone the historical roots of our Party and our revolution and imbue them with their forerunners' infinite fidelity to the cause of revolution, with their indefatigable fighting will and revolutionary optimism; the working people must also assimilate the experiences of the revolutionary struggle and the

communist method and style of work acquired during the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Our Party's lines and policies are a creative application and development of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism in accord with the specific realities of our country. They guide all our action, being the most accurate strategy and tactics for the successful accomplishment of our revolution. Only when Party members and the working people in general are firmly armed with our Party's revolutionary ideas, lines and policies, will they become true revolutionaries, loyal to the Party and the revolution. Only then will they carry out the revolutionary tasks assigned to them correctly. We have to intensify the education of Party members and the working people in the policies of the Party so as to clearly understand their quintessence, fully grasp their correctness and make them a sturdy faith. Therefore, everyone must firmly arm himself with the monolithic ideology of our Party and make its lines and policies an integral part of his character, working in strict conformity with these policies at all times and everywhere, resolutely striving to defend them and carry them through under any difficult conditions.

Revolutionary practice is a powerful instrument for reforming ideological consciousness. It is in the course of the arduous and complex practical struggle for transforming nature and society that people are tempered at all times and formed into revolutionaries. We should link the ideological work of educating and reforming the working people closely with the revolutionary struggle and practical activities for the building of socialism and communism. They will thus steel themselves ideologically and cultivate in themselves a strong revolutionary will in the course of performing their revolutionary tasks. The intellectuals in particular who are not directly connected with productive activities should constantly be made to enter into the midst of the realities of socialist construction, not only to consolidate their book knowledge and find a solution to new scientific and technical problems but also to learn from the sense of organization and fighting efficiency of the working class and its loyalty to the Party and the revolution.

An essential means of revolutionizing and working-classing people is to strengthen their revolutionary organizational life.

A major criterion of a communist is his strong sense of revolutionary organization. To be called a true communist one must possess this attribute as well as noble ideology, pervaded with a communist revolutionary spirit. The sense of revolutionary organization of the communist is formed and strengthened through a revolutionary organizational life.

Organizational life is a furnace for ideological tempering and a school for revolutionary education. Only through a disciplined organizational life can one be steeled in a revolutionary way and formed into a real revolutionary, loyal to the revolutionary cause of the working class. We must work hard to strengthen the organizational life of the working people. Every person should be encouraged to take an active part in organizational life, observe organizational discipline of their own accord, faithfully carry out what is entrusted to them by their organizations, live under the guidance and supervision of their organizations and constantly attend to their revolutionary education.

Increasing criticism is the most important thing in the development of organizational life. Ideological struggle by means of criticism and education and reforming through ideological struggle—this is the policy consistently followed by our Party in revolutionizing people. All organizations must strengthen criticism and conduct a strong ideological battle against unsound ideological elements of every description.

In this regard it is necessary to fight resolutely, first and foremost, against an incorrect approach to criticism. People must be taught to adopt a principled attitude towards it. Under all circumstances criticism should be aimed at saving comrades and cementing unity; it should never be criticism for criticism's sake. In criticizing, one must not try to shift the responsibility for one's own faults onto others, take revenge after being criticized, frivolously mark others with political stigmas or punish those criticized in a dictatorial manner. Furthermore, criticism should be conducted patiently and on a regular basis, not in a

shock campaign. We must educate all our people in this spirit of principled criticism, thus creating a favourable atmosphere for revolutionary criticism and tempering everyone through it. In this way we shall ensure the people's timely and uncompromising struggle against errors, in the course of which they will be constantly educated, transformed and revolutionized.

A vital question posed in carrying out the task of revolutionizing and working-classing society is that of sweeping away what is left of the old way of life in all spheres and establishing a new socialist way of life throughout society.

The socialist way of life means the way people act in a socialist society. Therefore, to establish this way of life means ensuring that everyone conducts his activities in all spheres—political, economic, cultural and moral—in accordance with socialist standards of social life and behaviour.

Many successes have already been achieved in the work of instituting a new socialist way of life. However, the way of life inherited from the old society still lingers on to a considerable degree in every sphere ranging from state activity to private life. This represents an obstacle to the building of socialism and to the work of educating and reforming the working people.

We must eliminate the old way of life and introduce the socialist way of life thoroughly in all fields so that everyone lives and behaves in conformity with the intrinsic nature of our society which is based on collectivism. Capitalistic administrative rules and regulations must be done away with in all spheres of state activity; new socialist administrative rules and regulations must be perfected, and particular emphasis should be placed on introducing socialist order into our economic work. Socialist order must be fully established in a way that leaves no room for outworn ideas in any of the functions of economic management and administration, from registering, auditing, maintaining and managing the property of the country and the people to utilizing and dealing with common property. It is also necessary to establish appropriate order in socialist community life as regards the

daily social life of the people and constantly develop norms of culture and morality commensurate with socialist and communist society. Educational work should be intensified in order to obliterate outdated moral standards which exist amongst the working people. At the same time, new moral standards must be developed and popularized systematically through a social movement and the norms of communist morality must be gradually perfected.

All our Party members and the working people in general—the working class, cooperative farmers and working intellectuals—must uphold the Party’s line of revolutionization and working-classization and continue the dynamic struggle to carry it through. Our Party members and working people must endeavour to remake themselves along communist lines and revolutionize their families. Senior officials, in particular, should take the lead in revolutionizing themselves and their families. We should begin revolutionizing our families, and then the sub-workteams, workteams and people’s neighbourhood units passing to the work centres and the ri and gradually revolutionizing and working-classizing all of society by creating models and spreading the experience gained. All our working people will thus become ardent revolutionaries, true builders of socialism and communism. All society will have become firmly united with a single ideology, the monolithic ideology of our Party, and will pulse with revolutionary enthusiasm and creative zeal. All this will bring the day of ultimate victory for our revolution closer.

4. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE NATION’S DEFENCE CAPABILITIES

Comrades,

The situation in our country is still critical and tense. The aggressive actions of the US imperialists are being intensified and their plots to unleash another war are becoming more blatant. Under the wing of US imperialism, the Japanese militarists are again increasing

their aggressive moves against Korea. The puppet clique of south Korea, the stooges of both US and Japanese reactionaries, are behaving recklessly in an attempt to execute the war policies of their masters. In our country the danger of war is mounting with every passing day.

To deal with the prevailing situation we must speed up our socialist construction to the maximum and build up our national defence capabilities at the same time. We should continue to maintain the line already put forth by the Party, that of arming all the people, turning the entire country into a fortress, converting the entire army into an army of cadres and modernizing it from top to bottom. Furthermore, we should more thoroughly implement the principle of self-defence in guarding the nation.

The most important thing in increasing the defence capabilities of the country is to arm all the people more efficiently. Everyone should study military science seriously and take a more active part in military training. The workers, farmers and all other working people should always maintain their readiness to annihilate the aggressors anywhere they may attack, while at the same time accelerating socialist construction, with a hammer or sickle in one hand and a rifle in the other. When all the people are under arms, when all the people learn to hate the enemy, when all the people join in fighting against the aggressors, it will be possible to defeat any enemy.

Our People's Army is entrusted with the honourable mission of protecting our magnificent socialist achievements and the freedom and happiness of the people from the encroachment of the enemy. The People's Army should keep itself prepared at all times to deal the aggressors rapid crushing blows and annihilate them even in the event of a surprise attack by the enemy.

The important task to be fulfilled for strengthening the combat power of the People's Army is that of stoutly arming the soldiers both politically and ideologically and, on this basis, ensuring that they continually study and perfect the art of war suitable to the actual conditions of our country, thus modernizing the army.

Ours is a country with many mountains and rivers and long

coastlines. If we make good use of such topographical features, skilfully using mountain warfare and night actions and correctly combining large-unit with small-unit operations and regular-army warfare with guerrilla warfare, we shall be completely able to destroy an enemy, even if he is armed to the teeth with the latest military hardware. This was proved by the experience of our Fatherland Liberation War, and is being proved today by the war in Viet Nam.

Therefore, we have to base ourselves strictly upon our own specific conditions in modernizing the People's Army and developing military science and technology. If we try, instead, to copy foreign war strategies mechanically or introduce foreign weapons and other military hardware dogmatically, on the pretext of modernizing the People's Army, it could mean a serious setback to our nation's defence construction.

We must perfect our military strategy in such a way as to compensate for defects in the People's Army, reinforce its weak links and develop its strong points in line with the requirements of the Party's military strategic thought based on a full consideration of the existing conditions in our country and the experience of the Fatherland Liberation War. On this basis, we must advance our military science and technique and constantly improve the weapons and other military hardware of the People's Army. We must always adhere to the principle of producing many weapons suitable to the specific conditions of our country and modernizing our military equipment in line with the level of our industrial capacity. The combat training of the People's Army soldiers must also be conducted in such a way that they master the art of war which is best suited to the actual conditions of our country and acquire our own military science and technique fully.

Ours is a small and newly-developed country. It must be admitted that we are not in a position to compete with developed countries in military technical equipment and we are not required to do so. The destiny of war is by no means decided by modern weapons or military technology. Although the imperialists have a military technical ascendancy, our People's Army has politico-ideological superiority.

The lofty mission and revolutionary spirit of fighting for the freedom and liberation of our homeland and people, and noble traits such as comradeship between officers and men, conscientious military discipline and bonds of kinship with the people, are characteristic features of our People's Army which no imperialist armed forces of aggression can ever possess. Precisely because of this politico-ideological superiority our People's Army can readily defeat an enemy who is technically superior.

In order to strengthen our nation's defence capabilities the whole Party and all the people should also get down to the task of accelerating war preparations still more. All Party members and all the working people must combat indolence and slackness and must constantly maintain keen revolutionary vigilance. They should be on the alert, ready to fight and repel the enemy without the slightest fear no matter when the surprise attack might come. We must never become victims of a pacifistic mood and, in particular, we must strictly guard against the revisionist ideological trend of being afraid of war, and prevent it from penetrating our ranks.

The outcome of a war depends largely on whether or not the manpower and material requirements of the front and the rear are fully met over a long period. We should ensure ample reserves of the necessary materials by intensifying the movement for increased production and economy in all fields of the national economy, develop the munitions industry, reorganize the economy as the situation demands and prepare ourselves in advance so as to be able to continue producing even during the course of a war. In this way, we shall build up a firm material base for the better implementation of the principle of self-defence in protecting the nation.

Comrades, our national defence capability is literally of a defensive nature and is designed to defend the security of our country and our people against imperialist aggression. We have no intention of threatening or carrying out aggression against anybody. Threats and aggression against others have no place in the policies of our Party. Our country is a peace-loving socialist country, and our people is one

which ardently loves peace. Our consistent advocacy of peace stems from the inherent nature of our state and social system. We are doing all we can to preserve and consolidate peace. However, no one should take our desires and persevering efforts for peace as a sign of weakness. Our people have no interest in provoking others but they will never allow anyone to attack them. We are trying to prevent war, but we are not afraid of it. If the imperialist aggressors invade us with their armies, we shall destroy them to a man and not one will return home alive. We shall strengthen the nation's defence capabilities and decisively smash any surprise attack by the enemy, firmly protect our socialist achievements and indomitably defend the eastern outpost of socialism.

5. THE BALANCED IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS

Comrades,

Our Party's activities are governed by the supreme principle of systematic promotion of the welfare of the people. After all, our struggle to build socialism and communism is aimed at bringing a more plentiful life to all people and making them equally prosperous. As in the past, so also in the future, our Party will continue to concern itself with systematically improving the people's living conditions.

We have already made great strides in socialist construction and our economic gains are enormous. If we could devote them all to raising living standards, our people would be much better off than they are now and able to live as well as others. But we are still carrying on the revolution. Under present conditions, with the US imperialists occupying one half of our territory and incessantly committing provocative acts against the northern half of Korea and with the reunification of our homeland not yet achieved, it is unthinkable that we should live in luxury and extravagance. Our way of life must be frugal, befitting a people in this age of revolution. We must save and

economize wherever possible, giving priority to war preparations against every type of enemy invasion and to material accumulation for meeting the great revolutionary event of national reunification with full preparedness. At the same time, we must strive to make the working people's lives free of discomfort and improve their living standards on the basis of equality for all.

At present the most important task we have to face in order to improve the lives of the people is to eliminate, as soon as possible, all distinctions between workers and farmers in living standards and between urban and rural inhabitants in living conditions. Indeed, during the period under review, our Party changed the appearance of the countryside, rapidly improved the living conditions of the farmers and did a great deal of work to build the socialist rural areas by strengthening working-class leadership among them and by boosting industry's assistance to agriculture and urban support for the countryside. But the rural villages of our country were so backward in the past that they are still behind the towns economically and culturally; and our peasants were so badly off before that their living standards are still not as high as those of the workers. We must pay particular attention to solving this matter, finally rid the countryside of its backwardness as soon as possible and raise the living standards of the farmers to those of the workers.

The most important thing for the improvement of peasant life is to develop the counties and enhance their role.

The county is the lowest unit of administrative leadership, which gives direct guidance to the rural areas and is in direct contact with the life of the farming population, and it is the base for linking the towns with the countryside in all political, economic and cultural spheres. Therefore, the development of the countryside and the improvement of the farmers' lives depend largely on the role of the counties. We ought to develop the counties correctly and enhance their role, and thus further accelerate construction of the socialist countryside and rapidly improve the living conditions of the rural population. Development of the role of the county as a supply base for the rural villages should be

given top priority. It is necessary to build refrigerated plants, fruit- and vegetable-processing factories and meat-processing factories, and to provide many mobile processing facilities for every county so that meat, fruit, vegetables and other agricultural produce can be purchased from the farmers and processed speedily. Meanwhile, the work of supplying the rural areas with processed foodstuffs and a variety of manufactured goods should be further improved by building a strong county supply base and siting the rural network of stores rationally. If the county's purchase of farm produce and its supply of commodities to the country areas work smoothly, the farmers' incomes will increase more rapidly and they can buy what they need in the districts as easily as in the towns.

One of the urgent problems in eliminating the difference in living conditions between urban and rural inhabitants is to introduce bus services in every rural ri. The opening of bus services to the rural ri will not only free the rural working people from inconveniences in travel, but will also strengthen the ties between town and country in all political, economic and cultural spheres. This will be a great help to ridding the countryside of its backwardness quickly. In the next few years we must improve the roads linking counties and ri and start bus services to all rural ri where they are not yet available.

Water services are of great importance in improving the living conditions of the rural population. We should lay water pipes in all rural villages as well as in those county seats which do not yet have a water service, so that rural women need not carry water jars on their heads and so that all rural dwellers may live more up-to-date and healthy lives.

While placing primary emphasis on enhancing the living standards of the farmers and improving the conditions of modern life for the rural population, we should also take a number of steps to provide a better life for all working people.

We should continue building many houses to solve people's living problems properly. We will launch a general mass movement to build 100,000 family units in towns and 150,000-200,000 in the countryside

every year in order to cover the present housing shortage and fill future housing demands for our growing population. As a matter of course, particular attention must be paid to building comfortable, convenient, modern and healthy dwellings. At the same time, central heating systems should be installed in Pyongyang and other major cities so that working people will enjoy a more comfortable and pleasant life.

In the next few years, we should raise the wages and salaries of factory and office workers as a whole and, in particular, sharply increase the pay of the factory and office workers in the low-wage category. Prices of all consumer goods should be cut drastically in keeping with an increased production of daily necessities and various other consumer goods, and prices of mass consumer goods which are in great demand should be reduced by more than 50 per cent.

We should further develop the public health service so as to protect and promote the health of the working people better. We should build more hospitals, increase the number of medical workers and produce and supply more medicines and medical instruments of various kinds to improve both preventive and curative medical care for the working people still further. In particular, we should build up the county hospitals, improve maternity facilities for rural women, develop the clinics in rural ri into hospitals, and establish children's wards in all ri, so that medical services for the rural inhabitants are improved radically.

We should thus improve and equalize living standards for all workers and farmers and ensure all the working people of our country a better life.

III. FOR THE SOUTH KOREAN REVOLUTION AND THE REUNIFICATION OF OUR COUNTRY

Comrades,

The south Korean revolution is a component part of the whole

Korean revolution. To achieve the victory of the Korean revolution on a nationwide scale, it is essential to push forcefully ahead with socialist construction in the northern half of Korea and, at the same time, further advance the revolutionary struggle in south Korea.

The period under review has witnessed tremendous changes in the south Korean situation. The US imperialists have more completely reduced south Korea to a military base of aggression, their military appendage, and pushed their policies of aggression and war harder than ever through a fascist military dictatorship. On the other hand, national and class contradictions have become more acute in south Korea and the revolutionary advance of the workers, peasants and other broad sectors of the people has been accelerated. As a consequence US imperialism's colonial rule is facing a more serious crisis. These are the main developments which occurred in south Korea during this period.

The south Korean revolution is a national-liberation revolution against the US imperialist aggressors and, at the same time, a people's democratic revolution against the stooges of US imperialism—the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats—and their fascist rule. The basic task of this revolution is to drive the US imperialist forces of aggression out of south Korea, get rid of their colonial domination, and overthrow the fascist military dictatorship in order to establish a progressive social system, thus developing south Korean society on a democratic basis.

The US imperialists are the real rulers who have seized all power in south Korea. They are the first target of the south Korean revolutionary struggle. The occupation of south Korea by US imperialism and its colonial rule is the basic cause of all the misery and anguish the south Korean people are suffering. Until the US imperialist aggressors are forced out of south Korea and their colonial rule is smashed, the south Korean people cannot escape from their present wretched plight. The tiny handful of landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats in south Korea faithfully execute the aggressive policy of the US imperialists and, under their patronage, cruelly oppress and exploit the people.

The driving force of the south Korean revolution is the working class and its dependable ally, the peasantry, and the progressive young students, intellectuals, patriotic-minded soldiers and some patriotic national capitalists and petty bourgeoisie who are opposed to US imperialism and its lackeys.

The revolutionary struggle in south Korea is a just struggle of these and other sectors of the people against the US imperialist forces of aggression and their accomplices—the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats.

From liberation until now, the south Korean people have kept up an unflinching revolutionary struggle against US imperialism and its underlings.

The revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people has gradually entered a new stage of development, especially in the postwar years, and has fought its way, despite harsh trials, to greater successes. After the war the south Korean people—inspired by the achievements in socialist revolution and construction in the northern half of Korea—fought on staunchly against US imperialism and its stooges, for political freedom, democratic rights and the reunification of the country.

In the course of this struggle, the south Korean revolutionaries and the people have shed much blood and suffered a number of heart-rending setbacks. But their sacrifices and failures have not been in vain. This has gradually led them to realize a valuable truth of revolutionary struggle: the ferocious enemy can only be defeated by organized force.

The south Korean revolutionaries keenly felt the need to build a party to unite the revolutionary forces into one solid mass and to give coordinated leadership to the struggle, and they strove to make that a reality. As a result of their untiring efforts and as a reflection of the essential requirements of the development of the south Korean revolutionary movement, the Progressive Party, a legal political party of the south Korean revolutionaries, came into being in December 1955.

The Progressive Party put forward a fighting programme with anti-imperialism, anti-fascism and peaceful reunification as its key points and launched an active campaign to rally patriotic democratic forces from various backgrounds, opposing the policies of national division and the introduction of fascism pursued by US imperialism and its henchmen. The Progressive Party acquired increased prestige among broad segments of the south Korean people and the peaceful reunification programme advanced by the Party especially enjoyed strong support from the south Korean public. This was unquestionably proved during the puppet presidential “election” in 1956, when the Progressive Party “candidate” won more than 2 million votes, or slightly less than what was recorded by Syngman Rhee, loyal ball carrier for US imperialism—and this despite the outrageous repression, fraud and swindling on the part of US imperialism and its stooges. This graphically showed that the south Korean people were against the fascist colonial rule of US imperialism and its policy of national division and fervently desired the peaceful reunification of our country and democratic social development. The US imperialists and their henchmen were so terrified by the rapidly expanding and increasing influence of the Progressive Party among the south Korean people that they launched bloody repression, the bestial barbarity of arresting and imprisoning numerous members of the Progressive Party and killing its leader Mr. Jo Bong Am. They forcibly dissolved the Party and it ceased to exist in January 1958. Although the Progressive Party failed to transform the fighting spirit of the south Korean people into a mass revolutionary movement against the enemy or even to take effective action to preserve its own revolutionary forces, it gave considerable impetus to the trend towards national reunification in south Korea and to the development of the anti-US, anti-dictatorship struggle of the people.

After the dissolution of the Progressive Party the US imperialists and their stooges further aggravated their repression of the south Korean patriots. In spite of all hardships and trials, however, the dynamic revolutionary struggle of the people went on without pause

and the revolutionary forces grew steadily in south Korea.

The Popular Uprising of April 1960 marked a new turning point in the advancement of the south Korean revolutionary movement. The April Popular Uprising was an explosion of the enmity and resentment of the south Korean people which had long been building up under the colonial rule of US imperialism and its lackeys. It was a mass resistance struggle against the US and for national salvation, involving millions of the broad masses throughout south Korea. The puppet government of Syngman Rhee, veteran lackey of US imperialism, was finally overthrown by the heroic struggle of the masses of the south Korean people including young students and intellectuals. This was the first victory won after the war by the south Korean people in their anti-US national-salvation struggle. The April Popular Uprising clearly demonstrated the heroic mettle of the south Korean people and proved that if the masses pool their strength and rise against the oppressors, they can assuredly crush any enemy stronghold. With the April 19 Uprising the crisis of the colonial rule of US imperialism grew worse in south Korea, and the situation turned in favour of the revolution.

Following the April Popular Uprising, the revolutionary advance of the patriots and the masses of south Korea grew with every passing day and progressive political forces appeared on the scene, and in the process the Socialist Mass Party came into being. Under the guidance of the south Korean revolutionaries the Socialist Mass Party set forth, as its immediate task, the founding of a unified democratic state based on the line of national independence, and conducted energetic organizational and political activities aimed at leading a massive advance of the people in a national-salvation movement for the independent reunification of our country. The Party formed the “Central Council for Independent National Reunification”, a united-front coalition of the broad democratic forces, and organized and directed the joint struggle of all levels of the people against US imperialism and its lackeys. Under the leadership of the Socialist Mass Party the fierce flames of struggle enveloped the whole of south Korea

and the students and people there waged a heroic fight to tear down the barrier between north and south, with slogans like “Reunification is the only way out”, “Let us go north, come south, let us meet at Panmunjom!”

The Socialist Mass Party, however, was not able to develop the revolutionary advance of the students into a struggle that would end the occupation of south Korea by US imperialism, smash its colonial ruling machine and establish a democratic government; nor could it organize the workers, peasants and other sectors of the broad masses, and mobilize them in the struggle. When the US imperialists instigated the reactionary military gangsters to stage a counter-revolutionary “military coup” and make a fascist attack on the revolutionary forces, the Socialist Mass Party failed to strike a resolute counterblow, and the struggle of the students was finally suppressed.

After the May 16 “military coup” the US imperialists and their stooges launched into naked fascist military rule in south Korea. They trampled on even the elementary democratic freedoms and rights of the south Korean people and forcibly dissolved all progressive political parties and social organizations, closed down organs of the press and perpetrated such barbarities as the wholesale arrest, imprisonment and slaughter of hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries and patriotic people. The Socialist Mass Party was thus destroyed by brutal repression on the part of the enemy, and the revolutionary forces of south Korea suffered heavy losses.

But the revolutionaries and patriotic people of south Korea were further awakened and learned many valuable lessons and gained priceless experience in this postwar process of struggle. The historical experience of the south Korean revolutionary movement has clearly proved that there can be no peaceful transition in the struggle for power and that no revolution can be led to victory by a mass movement alone. Under the patronage of US imperialism, the successive reactionary rulers of south Korea cold-bloodedly slaughtered progressive figures backed by the people when there appeared even the slightest likelihood of their assuming power. Every mass movement of the people for

national reunification against US imperialist colonial rule was answered with barbarous repression. The Progressive Party was crushed as soon as it gained popular support in the elections with its slogan of national reunification, and the Socialist Mass Party was also forcibly dissolved when it led the broad masses in the national-salvation struggle for the reunification of our country and won high prestige among the people. It is usual for the enemy to resort to terrorism against those who are inclined to take a revolutionary stand for the sake of their country and nation. Shortly after liberation, the enemy assassinated Mr. Ryo Un Hyong simply because he had advocated the peaceful reunification of the country. They also assassinated Mr. Kim Ku when he turned progressive after attending the Joint Conference of Representatives of the North and South Korean Political Parties and Social Organizations. The revolutionaries and patriotic people in south Korea grew to realize more keenly that they could win power only through revolutionary struggle, since the reactionary south Korean rulers would not meekly relinquish their ruling power but were desperately resorting to counter-revolutionary violence to stifle the progressive forces. They learned from this the priceless lesson that, in order to win victory for the revolution, they had to be fully prepared to resist the enemy's counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence, while carrying on an active mass struggle for democratization against fascism.

The April 19 Popular Uprising and subsequent developments, in particular, taught an important lesson: that the people could win their democratic freedoms and rights only through a decisive revolutionary battle to drive the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and to overthrow the colonial rule of US imperialism and that this struggle would only emerge victorious when the broad masses of the people, including workers, peasants and students, were mobilized under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, the vanguard detachment of the working class.

Drawing on the valuable experiences and lessons acquired at the cost of blood in their struggle against the enemy, the south Korean

revolutionaries have devoted everything to developing the revolutionary struggle in defiance of cruel repression by the fascist military rulers. In the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class they found the key to overcoming the most serious weaknesses of the previous revolutionary movements in south Korea and to advancing the revolution successfully. They hastened the building of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in the face of great hardships and difficulties.

As a united Marxist-Leninist party, a party of the working class, the Revolutionary Party for Reunification was born in the hard revolutionary fight of the south Korean revolutionaries and people against the US imperialists and their stooges. With its emergence, broad masses of the oppressed and exploited people in south Korea have acquired a genuine defender of their class and national interests. The south Korean people today have a dependable political general staff in their revolutionary battle for freedom and liberation.

The political stand and the fighting goals of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification are explicitly stated in its Manifesto and Programme, which were published in the name of its Central Committee in Seoul in August of last year.

The Manifesto and the Programme of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification stressed that the guiding principle of the Party is the Marxist-Leninist idea of Juche. They declared that the ultimate objective of the Party is to build a socialist and communist society, while its immediate objective is to carry out a people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and fascist rule in south Korea, overthrowing the corrupt colonial and semi-feudal social system and setting up a people's democratic government on its grave and, further, to fulfil the great cause of reunification of our homeland, the nation's desire and aspiration.

The fighting goal and programme put forward by the Revolutionary Party for Reunification reflect the law of socio-economic development and the unanimous aspirations of the people of all walks of life in south Korea. As such, they constitute the joint political programme of all the

patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea in their fight against the colonial rule of the US imperialist aggressors and for the democratic development of society and the independent peaceful reunification of our country. They constitute the aim of struggle of all the south Korean people.

The organizations of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification took an active part in the June 3 Uprising of 1964 against the traitorous “south Korea-Japan talks”, the August Struggle of 1965 to reject the “south Korea-Japan agreements”, the campaign against the puppet presidential and puppet national assembly “elections” in 1967 and many other campaigns, and are now playing a leading role in the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people. In the course of this struggle the Party has undergone steady revolutionary training and has gained the confidence of the south Korean people, increasing its influence among them.

Today the south Korean revolutionaries are consolidating the organizations of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification, firmly rallying the patriotic people around it and are launching a heroic anti-US struggle for national salvation, underground, in the mountains, in the prisons and even on the gallows.

Comrades, in order to vanquish the counter-revolution and achieve the victory of the revolution in south Korea, it is necessary to strengthen the revolutionary forces steadily. Only when the forces of the revolution are adequately prepared, can they react quickly to repel the enemy’s counter-revolutionary offensive and also meet the great revolutionary event fully prepared.

It is of paramount importance in preparing the revolutionary forces to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist party—the General Staff of the revolution—and rally the workers and peasants closely around it to build a firm central revolutionary force. The south Korean revolutionaries should work hard to expand and strengthen Party forces everywhere there are workers, peasants and other revolutionary masses, and root themselves deeply in the masses. To expand and consolidate the mass base of the Party it is necessary to continue to set

up mass organizations in various forms among the working people and to solidify them.

All the social groups interested in the revolution must be welded into a single political force at the same time that the main detachment of the revolution is being developed. Only in this way can the counter-revolutionary forces be isolated completely and the overwhelming supremacy of the revolutionary forces be ensured. The revolutionary organizations of south Korea should do everything possible to form an anti-US united front for national salvation embracing all patriotic political parties, social organizations, different sectors of the people and individual public personalities under the banner of democracy against imperialism and fascism. They should make particularly strong efforts to integrate the students firmly into the revolutionary ranks and strengthen the organizational ties between them and the workers and peasants who establish the main force of the revolution.

It is only in the course of a widespread mass struggle that the revolutionary forces can steadily grow in scope and strength. Only amid the flames of an active revolutionary struggle does the political awakening of the masses become intense; only then is the work of organizing them accelerated; and only then do the activists of the revolution become more numerous and the revolutionary organizations increase their fighting efficiency. The more urgent the task of increasing and developing the revolutionary forces in south Korea, the more actively should the mass struggle against the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys be organized and developed, and correct strategic and tactical guidance for it be ensured. It is important here to analyse and judge the prevailing situation scientifically, taking proper account of the requirements of the development of the revolution and the level of political awareness of the masses and, on this basis, issue suitable fighting slogans and choose the right forms and methods of struggle, skilfully taking advantage of all possibilities, including the internal disagreements and weaknesses of the enemy. The south Korean revolutionaries and people should firmly propel the

revolutionary movement forward by correctly combining various forms and methods of struggle—political and economic struggles, legal, semi-legal and illegal struggles, violent and non-violent struggles, large- and small-scale struggles.

An important task facing the south Korean revolutionaries and patriotic people at the present stage is the positive development of the mass campaign for the democratization of society and against the colonial rule of US imperialism and fascist suppression by its henchmen. It is important to establish an organic link between the political struggle against US imperialist colonial rule and fascist military dictatorship and for the attainment of democratic rights—including freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration—and the economic struggle of the toiling masses for the right to exist. The struggle of the students for political liberty must be made more purposeful and conscious and their democratic movement must be closely combined with the political struggle of the workers and peasants. Revolutionary forces must be developed so as to crush counter-revolutionary violence by revolutionary violence, always answering violence with violence.

If the south Korean revolutionaries and people build a solid political army through struggle and constantly increase their revolutionary forces, they will be ready and able to meet the decisive hour of the revolution. In this way they will eventually topple the present reactionary “regime” and set up a people’s democratic government, thereby finally achieving the objectives of the south Korean revolution.

It is true that the south Korean revolution still has a thorny path ahead before it achieves victory. But neither the enemy’s reckless actions nor any number of trials and tribulations can check its triumphant advance or block the path of the south Korean revolutionaries and patriotic people who have risen in a sacred fight for freedom and liberation, deeply convinced of the justice of the cause.

The people in the southern half are not alone in their revolutionary struggle. They have a powerful revolutionary base in the northern half

of Korea. Of course, the south Korean revolution is a struggle of the south Korean people themselves for their liberation from national and class oppression and exploitation by the US imperialist aggressors and their minions. The oppressed and exploited masses can win freedom and emancipation only through their own revolutionary battles. Therefore, the south Korean revolution must, whatever the situation, be made by the south Korean people on their own initiative. But it is the obligation and responsibility of the people in the north, as a part of the same nation, to support the south Korean people actively in their revolutionary struggle. The general international situation is now changing to the disadvantage of the counter-revolution and in favour of the revolution. The progressive peoples of all continents denounce US imperialism for its aggressive policy on south Korea and strongly support and encourage the south Korean people in their righteous liberation struggle.

The disintegration of US imperialist colonial rule and the triumph of the revolutionary cause of the people in south Korea are certain.

Comrades,

The US imperialist occupation of south Korea has partitioned our territory and split our nation; it has not only visited untold misery and suffering on the south Korean people but brought national calamity to all the Korean people and raised a great obstacle to the coordinated development of Korean society as a whole.

To reunify the divided homeland is the greatest and most pressing national task for all the Korean people at the present time. Its solution brooks not a moment's delay.

The whole world knows our Party's policy on national reunification. We have made it clear time and again that if democratic people with a national conscience come to power in south Korea and demand the withdrawal of US troops, release political prisoners and guarantee democratic freedom, we are ready to negotiate with them at any time and in any place on the question of the peaceful reunification of the country. Even after the present south Korean rulers staged the fascist military coup and usurped power, we put forward the fairest and

most reasonable proposals for the reunification of our homeland and made consistent efforts to bring them about. We did this in the hope that they would desist from their treacheries to the country and people and would take a truly national stand. More than once we proposed to the south Korean authorities that after the US imperialist aggression army had been driven out of south Korea, the north and the south should each reduce their armies to 100,000 men or less, conclude an agreement to refrain from using armed force against each other, initiate such measures as economic and cultural exchanges and visits of individuals between north and south and establish a unified, democratic government through a free north-south general election. We proposed that such a general election be held when the basic conditions are provided for reunifying the country peacefully in accordance with the free will of the Korean people; if such a general election were not immediately acceptable to them for some reason or other, a Confederation of north and south Korea would be established first as a transitional step for solving matters of urgent common concern for the nation and hastening the reunification of our homeland.

But the south Korean rulers have been dead set against the independent peaceful reunification of the country, each time ignoring our just proposals which reflect the unanimous aspirations of the whole nation.

The south Korean puppets, under the aegis of the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists, are claiming that the reunification of Korea must be a “reunification by prevailing over communism” and that it is necessary for them to foster their own power for this; they talk about actions to “protect” south Korea against the fictitious “threat of southward aggression”. This is nothing but a smoke screen covering their plan to stifle the south Korean revolution, and to invade the northern half of Korea by force of arms. With such absurd pretexts, the enemy schemes to perpetuate the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialist aggression army on the one hand, and on the other, reinforces the aggressive armed forces on a large scale, expanding military installations and recklessly increasing war preparations in south Korea.

The “reunification by prevailing over communism” vociferously advocated by the south Korean rulers means wiping out communism to attain “reunification”. This is no more than a fantastic daydream, feeble-minded gibbering. For 25 years now, the people in the northern half of Korea, using communist ideas as their guiding principle, have been building an independent sovereign state which is rich and powerful, and creating their own new, happy life. Communist ideas have taken firm root in the hearts of the people in the north and have been converted into a great indestructible material force. To reunify the country by excluding the communists in Korea is, in fact, to reject reunification and leave south Korea for ever in the hands of US imperialism as its colony.

As for the so-called “peaceful reunification programme”, much vaunted of late by the south Korean puppets, it is nothing but a strategic piece of political propaganda filled with lies and deceit from start to finish, devoid of any formula for the settlement of the question of national reunification. The “peaceful reunification programme” and all other bombast of this type are aimed at dampening the ever-increasing trend in south Korea towards independent peaceful reunification, disguising their treachery to the country and nation, and confusing world public opinion, which supports our national reunification programme.

How can we discuss the question of the reunification of the country with traitors to the nation who are blocking its independent, peaceful realization; who are using bayonets to repress the south Korean people’s struggle for it; who are begging the US to continue its military occupation of south Korea; who are welcoming into south Korea the aggressor forces of Japanese militarism; who are selling their fellow countrymen to foreign countries as slaves; and who are forcing young and middle-aged south Koreans into the war of aggression in Viet Nam as cannon fodder for the US imperialists?

The peaceful reunification of our country is utterly unthinkable as long as the US imperialist army of aggression and the present puppets remain in south Korea.

To achieve national reunification, it is essential to expel from south Korea the US imperialist aggressors who are its main obstacle and liquidate their colonial rule, overthrow the present fascist military dictatorship and win the victory of the revolution. When a true people's government is thus established in south Korea, the reunification of our homeland will be achieved easily by the united efforts of the socialist forces in the northern half of Korea and the patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea.

No amount of reckless intrigues by the US imperialists and their minions can break the staunch fighting will of the Korean people to reunify the country. All the people of north and south Korea will closely unite and vigorously fight the US imperialists and their stooges to frustrate the insidious machinations of the enemy to perpetuate this national division. Thus, we shall finally achieve the reunification of our homeland.

IV. FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF THE WORLD

Comrades,

During the period under review our Party has made a prompt and correct appraisal of the changing, complex international situation, applied a just foreign policy and done a great deal of work in the field of international relations. Our Party's independent and principled foreign policy has won the support of many fraternal parties and countries, numerous revolutionary organizations and people of the world and has further consolidated our country's international position. We have gained a large number of revolutionary comrades and friends internationally and our revolution's international solidarity is being steadily cemented. This is a result of the serious efforts our

Party has made for solidarity with the revolutionary forces of other countries and conclusive proof of the correctness of our Party's foreign policy.

The international environment in which our revolution exists still remains complex and tense today. But the general trend of developments is turning in favour of the people who fight for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism and against the forces of imperialism and reaction. The main feature of the present international situation is that whereas the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people is gaining momentum with every passing day, the imperialists headed by US imperialism are further accelerating their policies of aggression and war.

Everything that has happened on the international scene in recent years glaringly shows the aggressive and predatory nature of imperialism and of US imperialism above all. The aggressive ambition of US imperialism knows no bounds. With the constant aim of dominating the whole world, US imperialism is stretching out its crooked hands of aggression to all continents, all regions and all countries of the world—Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, Europe, Oceania, large and small countries—and is malevolently challenging the cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism. Because it is on the decline and hard pressed, US imperialism resorts ever more desperately to policies of aggression and war.

While overtly pursuing a “policy of strength”, the US imperialists utter false slogans of “peace”, “negotiation”, “exchange”, and so on, boasting of what they call their “peace strategy”. This is an old deceptive trick simply designed to conceal their true nature and distract the world's attention from their aggression. The “peace strategy” of US imperialism is nothing but the other side of their war strategy. It is under the very cloak of “peace” that the US imperialists carry out barbarous wars of aggression against the progressive peoples and it is also under the cloak of “peace” that they increase their actions to soften up other countries ideologically and politically.

US imperialism is the most ferocious and shameless aggressor and plunderer of modern times and the principal enemy of all progressive peoples of the world.

There is no more urgent task on the international scene today than fighting the US imperialist policies of aggression and war. Only through a relentless battle against the aggressive forces of US imperialism can world peace be protected, and victory be attained in the struggle for national liberation and independence and for democracy and socialism.

Today the fight of the people against the US imperialist policies of aggression and war has become a trend of the times which cannot be held in check. The flames of the anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples are flaring up furiously; the working-class movement is growing in strength in capitalist countries; and more peace-loving people are joining the struggle against the aggression and war policies of imperialism led by the US. The people's anti-war movement has assumed a mass character in the United States itself. US imperialism is being battered in all parts of the world, driven into dead ends internally and externally.

In order to check and frustrate the US imperialist policies of aggression and war, the anti-US struggle must be developed more actively and more extensively in every part of the world—Asia, Europe, Africa, Latin America—and in all countries, both large and small. A powerful anti-war movement should be waged on a worldwide scale, first of all against US imperialism's criminal aggression in Viet Nam. The anti-imperialist forces should provide more active support to the peoples of Indo-China and of other fighting countries. Meanwhile, all the peace-loving countries and progressive peoples of the world should fight more resolutely against the aggressive actions of the US imperialists in the divided countries. To successfully foil the US imperialist policies of aggression and war and preserve and consolidate world peace and security, the fierce flames of revolutionary anti-imperialist, anti-US combat must be kindled everywhere US

imperialism sets its foot, and all the anti-imperialist forces must strongly support and encourage the people's revolutionary struggle.

Comrades, today Asia has become the fiercest battle front, the main arena of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The US imperialists are directing the spearhead of aggression against Asia precisely because there are many revolutionary countries, fighting countries, in this area, and the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement is going ahead with great strength there and the imperialists' foothold is becoming very insecure.

The US imperialists are making all kinds of desperate efforts to check the rapid growth of the revolutionary forces and prop up their colonial rule in Asia. They are working to destroy, by force of arms and one by one, those Asian countries which are carrying on the revolution, while trying, by intensified ideological and cultural infiltration, to subvert those countries which are ideologically weak and whose anti-imperialist stand is uncertain.

The US imperialists, openly displaying their criminal nature, are continuing their iniquitous war of aggression against the Vietnamese people and are intensifying their armed intervention in Laos. Recently they launched their armed forces of aggression and mercenaries from the satellite countries in a brazen armed invasion of Cambodia. As a result, war has spread all over Indo-China. Every day the US imperialists carry out provocative acts with the aim of igniting another aggressive war in Korea. They continue to occupy Taiwan, an inalienable territory of the People's Republic of China, and continue to escalate their aggressive acts against the Chinese people.

In an attempt to cover up their policy of Asian aggression, the present US rulers are talking a great deal about a change of policy. But there has been, and can be, no change in the aggressive policy pursued by the US imperialists in Asia. If anything, their aggressiveness and guile have increased. While escalating aggression by mobilizing their own armed forces, the US imperialists are pursuing the more sinister aim of realizing their aggressive designs on Asia the easy way, "making Asians fight Asians". For this purpose, they are mobilizing

Japanese militarism and other satellite countries and puppets in Asia in accordance with their notorious “New Asia Policy”. Such aggressive actions on the part of the US imperialists have created an extremely tense situation everywhere in Asia, and world peace as a whole is seriously endangered.

All the peace-loving countries and progressive peoples of the world cannot sit by with folded arms while the US imperialists expand the war to the whole of Indo-China and increase their aggressive actions in every part of Asia; they should rise as one in a determined campaign to frustrate US imperialism’s war policy and its aggressive tricks. In this matter there can be neither hesitation nor passivity.

US imperialism is the mastermind of Asian aggression and therefore the peace and security of Asia cannot be maintained and consolidated without fighting against the US imperialist aggressors.

In order to thwart US imperialist aggression in Asia, it is particularly important to cement the militant solidarity of the peoples of the revolutionary Asian countries.

The peoples of the Asian countries have a long and brilliant tradition of fighting victoriously, shoulder to shoulder against imperialism and for the revolution. The Korean and Chinese people joined in fighting against Japanese imperialism and also fought together for victory against US imperialism. The peoples of Indo-China victoriously fought side by side against the French and Japanese imperialists and are now evolving a joint struggle against US imperialist aggression.

Today the aggression of US imperialism unites all the revolutionary Asian countries in a single front against it. The peoples of the revolutionary countries of Asia—particularly those of Korea, China, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, who are suffering US imperialist aggression directly—must further consolidate the anti-imperialist, anti-US united front and wage a strong anti-US joint battle to strike a more powerful collective counterblow against US imperialist aggression in Asia. Thus the US imperialist aggressors must be driven out of south Korea, Taiwan, South Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, and

everywhere else they have set their foot in Asia, and their stratagem of making Asians fight Asians must be foiled. The US imperialists are blustering, but they cannot hold out and will finally be driven out of Asia when all its revolutionary people join in collective action and pressure against them with the support of the world's revolutionary peoples.

The Asian peoples and the progressive peoples of the world are confronted today with the very urgent task of combatting the revival of Japanese militarism while frustrating the aggression of US imperialism.

On the instigation of the US imperialists, Japanese militarism has now raised its head again in Asia as an ever-growing threat to world peace and the independence and security of the Asian countries. This cannot but arouse the deep anxiety and apprehension of all those who value the peace of Asia and the world.

Japanese militarism is the sworn enemy of the Asian peoples. In the course of history it has invaded other countries with the backing of the big imperialist powers. In collusion with the US and British imperialists and under their patronage, the Japanese militarists occupied Korea, stretched out their talons of aggression to the Asian continent and brought immeasurable suffering and calamity to the Asian peoples. In conspiracy and collaboration with fascist Germany and Italy, they also ignited the Pacific War and lusted to become the "leader" in Asia. Japanese militarism fattened on aggression and war, and finally met its doom in war. The history of crimes committed by the Japanese militarists against the Asian peoples and all humanity is still fresh in the memory of those peoples.

This criminal history of Japanese militarism is being repeated today. The aggressive nature of Japanese militarism remains and will remain unchanged.

With the backing of US imperialism, a revived Japanese militarism is once again overtly stretching out its tentacles to Korea and other Asian countries and recklessly seeks to realize its old dream of the so-called "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere". Armed forces of

aggression are now being increased on a large scale in Japan to meet the demands of the “New Asia Policy” of the US imperialists and the overseas expansion policy of Japanese militarism. The accelerated rearmament plans of the Japanese militarists, in a rapacious scheme to dominate Asia, are becoming increasingly dangerous with every passing day. Japan’s reactionary ruling circles are spurring on militarization and transforming the internal structures more rapidly along fascist lines, continuously clamouring for Japan to play a “leading role in Asia”, claiming that it is high time for Japan to have “military power commensurate with her national power”.

The reactionary US-Japan alignment for Asian aggression has been strengthened, especially in recent years. The conspiracy and collaboration between the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists constitute a greater threat because US imperialism is directing the spearhead of its aggression towards Asia, using Japan as a base. Further escalating their policies of aggression and war in Asia, the US imperialists have set out to make more active use of the military and economic potential of Japan—their junior ally and military base of aggression—in the execution of their aggressive policy. At the same time, the Japanese militarists are working to carry out their ambition for overseas expansion, taking advantage of the US imperialists’ Asian strategy. The Japanese militarists’ rash moves to rearm and provoke aggression are nothing but a direct product of the Asian strategy of the US imperialists.

Japan has again become a hotbed of new aggression and war in Asia, against which the Asian peoples must be ever more vigilant. Our country is Japanese militarism’s first target for foreign aggression. The Japanese militarists have already begun creeping into south Korea. Manipulated by US imperialism, they have worked out the most reckless invasion plans against Korea, openly scheming to send their aggressive armed forces to the Korean front, and even declaring the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea a zone of operation.

Filled with the vile desire of expanding overseas, the Japanese reactionaries are swaggering about everywhere in the world with

impunity, under the cloak of “peace” and “aid”; they are intensifying their economic and cultural infiltration of countries in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. Pretending to be “friends” of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples, they are craftily scheming to restrain the anti-imperialist struggle and disorganize the anti-imperialist front of the people of these regions.

The struggle against Japanese militarism is a struggle to protect peace in Asia and the world and is the main link in the chain of the battle to check and thwart the Asian strategy of the US imperialists. While fighting US imperialism, all the peace-loving peoples of the world must further intensify opposition to Japanese militarism and, by concerted action, foil its aggressive ambitions.

One must not harbour any illusions about the Japanese reactionary ruling circles or pin any hopes on them. It is an immutable law of imperialism that when monopoly capital expands at home, it follows the line of foreign aggression. Japanese monopoly capital has already swelled to the fullest and re-established its supremacy. The Japanese militarist policy of rearmament and overseas expansion is being carried out precisely on the basis of the revival of Japanese monopoly capital and its hegemony.

To refuse to see the aggressive nature of Japanese militarism and fail to fight against it, or to eulogize Japan’s reactionary government and establish close relations with it—this is tantamount to increasing the danger of war in Asia still further and encouraging its overseas expansion. It will also lead to consolidating the position of US imperialism in Asia and weakening the anti-imperialist struggle as a whole.

The rearmament of Japanese militarism and its moves towards foreign aggression must be resolutely curbed and the aggressive US-Japan alignment must be firmly thwarted. In particular, the Japanese militarists must be stripped of their cloak of “peace”. They must be isolated in the international arena and their schemes to soften up the anti-imperialist front must be fully exposed and smashed.

In order to combat Japanese militarism and smash the aggressive

alignment of the US and Japanese reactionaries, it is important to support the Japanese people in their struggle and strengthen solidarity with them. The struggle of the Japanese people is striking telling blows against US imperialist aggression in Asia and the revival of Japanese militarism, and is contributing greatly to the cause of peace in Asia and the world.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people are watching the dangerous development in Japan very closely. Our Party and people will never tolerate Japanese militarism's new plot of aggression; we shall continue to fight resolutely against it. In particular, we shall fight to the end in firm unity with the Japanese people and all the other anti-imperialist revolutionary forces in Asia in order to check and frustrate the insidious actions of the reactionary Japanese government—which is actively collaborating with and assisting US imperialism's aggressive moves against Korea—and abrogate the criminal “south Korea-Japan treaty” engineered by the US imperialists.

In collusion with US imperialism, the Japanese militarists are desperately seeking ways to invade Korea and other Asian countries and become the “leader” of Asia. But this is no more than a fantastic pipe dream.

Asia today is not the backward Asia of yesterday. Gone are the days when the imperialists could lord it over Asia. Hundreds of millions of Asian people, long oppressed and plundered by imperialism, have risen forcefully and are taking their place on the stage of history. The political, economic and military might of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China have been incomparably strengthened; the irresistible flames of the liberation struggle of the heroic Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese peoples are raging furiously; and the revolutionary awareness of the Japanese people is growing. No imperialist force can conquer the Asian people nor break their united strength. The Asian people have now grown into a great revolutionary force of our times, which is burying imperialism and colonialism. If the Japanese militarists launch another aggressive

adventure against Korea and other Asian countries, despite warnings from the Asian people and other progressive people of the world, they will finally meet their end at the hands of the great revolutionary force of the Asian people.

In order to defeat imperialism, headed by the United States, solidarity must be strengthened not only between the peoples of the Asian countries engaged in revolution but also between all the other peoples of the revolutionary, fighting countries of the world. The US imperialists fear the united strength of the world revolutionary people more than anything else. Hence their strategy of preventing the revolutionary and fighting countries from pooling their strength and of destroying the revolutionary forces piecemeal by every possible artifice. This strategy of the US imperialists must be firmly thwarted.

The peoples of revolutionary countries in Asia, the Palestinian people and other fighting Arab peoples, the African and Latin-American peoples fighting for freedom and liberation, and all the other revolutionary peoples of the world should band together to smite and dismember US imperialism. The peoples in the revolutionary, fighting countries must tear US imperialism limb from limb and decapitate it everywhere in the world. US imperialism will meet its doom when the revolutionary peoples of the world unite, however small their forces may be, and fight the decisive battle against it, attacking it from all sides.

Comrades, the Korean revolution constitutes a part of the world revolution, and the victory of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people in the revolutionary struggle depends to a large extent on strengthened solidarity with other revolutionary forces all over the world as well as on the consolidation and development of the revolutionary forces in north and south Korea. The greater the support and sympathy we win for our revolutionary cause by cementing solidarity with the revolutionary force of other countries, the further we can isolate the US and Japanese reactionaries and their stooges, and the more favourable the international environment we can create for the advancement of our revolution. Strengthening solidarity with the

revolutionary forces of other countries can be an important factor now in forcing the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea, winning the national-liberation revolution, reducing tension in Korea and achieving the peaceful reunification of our country. Our Party and people, therefore, must make every effort to promote the revolutionary movement throughout the world and develop close ties with it, while strengthening and developing our own internal revolutionary forces in every way.

In the future as they have in the past, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, will continue to fight staunchly against US imperialism and Japanese militarism and for the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism in unity with the peoples of the other socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties, the international working class, all the fighting peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and all other peace-loving peoples of the world.

V. FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF PARTY WORK

Comrades,

The great victories and successes which we achieved in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction during the period under review are due to the correct lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and its wise leadership. Taking Marxism-Leninism as its constant guiding principle, our Party mapped out the correct lines and policies best suited to the specific conditions of our country in each period of the development of the revolution and effectively organized and mobilized all Party members and working people to implement them.

In the course of carrying out difficult and intricate revolutionary tasks and through the fierce struggle against internal and external enemies, our Party has been increasingly seasoned and steeled, and it has strengthened itself and developed into an indestructible revolutionary party.

Today a monolithic ideological system has been firmly established within our Party, and the whole Party has attained firm unity and cohesion based on Marxist-Leninist ideas—the Juche idea of our Party. This is the most important result of Party work during the period under review; it is the basic factor behind the increase in our Party's fighting capacity.

During these years, the internal and external conditions in which our Party carried out its activities were very difficult and complicated. On a worldwide basis the imperialists prosecuted an unprecedented escalation of their aggression and moves to ignite war, and revisionism appeared in the international communist movement, disturbing its unity and cohesion and causing ideological confusion. In particular, the situation in our country—where we were confronting the US imperialists face to face—was marked by greater complexity and tension. US imperialism and its stooges rattled their sabres almost every day, threatening the northern half of Korea and threw many obstacles in the way of socialist construction in our country.

As the aggressive designs of the imperialists became more intense and revisionist ideological trends penetrated from outside, revisionist elements lurking within the Party did not implement the Party's policies sincerely, resorting to underhanded methods, and intrigued in the open and under cover to resurrect bourgeois and feudal-Confucian ideas.

By rousing its organizations and the rank and file to action, our Party thoroughly exposed and smashed the insidious moves of the bourgeois and revisionist elements and battled unflinchingly against every single tendency to oppose the lines and policies of the Party and to undermine its unity. We also developed a forceful ideological struggle to root out the poisonous aftereffects of all the different reactionary and opportunist ideologies which they spread.

While resolutely combatting the bourgeois and revisionist elements and their dangerous ideological influence, our Party worked untiringly to equip its members and the working people with its revolutionary ideas and to instil in them the spirit of defending and implementing Party lines and policies to the end.

Consequently, today our Party is pervaded throughout with Marxist-Leninist ideology, the revolutionary ideology of our Party, and all Party members and the working people are armed with unshakable faith, so that they admit no other ideas than the revolutionary ideas of our Party. They are capable now of judging anything that arises according to the standards of Party policies and of waging a principled struggle, without the slightest compromise, against anything incompatible with these policies. With all its members fully equipped with the monolithic ideology of our Party, its unity and fighting efficiency have been further strengthened. All Party organizations and members have come to think and act with one mind and one will based on the monolithic ideology of the Party, and they have been rallied closely around its Central Committee. The Party has turned into an integral living organization like a biological organism—into a revolutionary and militant organization which is capable of withstanding any stress.

Today our Party's unity and cohesion have reached a new, higher level—vital and solid as never before. We can say that only today have the Party's unity and cohesion which we communists wanted so much to see, been fully realized, on the basis of the monolithic ideological system of Juche. This is a splendid fruit of our long drawn-out efforts and a great victory of historic significance in the construction of our Party.

Comrades, the Marxist-Leninist Juche idea constitutes the quintessence of the revolutionary ideas of our Party, the monolithic ideology of the Party, and the monolithic ideological system of our Party is the ideological system of Juche.

Closely linked with the battle to establish Juche in all domains of revolution and construction during the period under review, the Party

mounted a campaign to cement its unity and cohesion based on the monolithic ideological system. Thus it not only attained unity in its ranks but also ensured the overall victory of the Juche idea. This idea has now become the firm and unchangeable guiding ideology of our Party and the very correct guiding principle in all our revolutionary struggle and the work of construction. This, too, is an extremely notable result of our Party's activities during the period under review.

To establish Juche means, in brief, to approach revolution and construction in one's own country with the attitude of a master. This means adhering to the independent stand of rejecting dependence on others and of taxing one's ingenuity, believing in one's own strength and displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, thus solving all problems for oneself on one's own responsibility. It also means maintaining the creative stand of opposing dogmatism and of applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism as well as the experiences of other countries to suit the actual conditions and national peculiarities of one's own country. The Juche idea is in full agreement with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; it came into being as a reflection of the new stage of development of the international communist movement and its essential requirements.

The question of establishing Juche assumed particular importance for us because of the peculiarities of the historical development of our country, because of its geographical environment and conditions, and because of the complex and arduous nature of our revolution.

Flunkeyism has a long history in our country. For a longtime some of our people maintained the servile idea of doubting their own strength and blindly worshipping and following others. Even after liberation, flunkeyism was still a great obstacle to revolution and construction on the one hand and to the consolidation and development of the Party on the other. When allied to dogmatism, it wrought greater damage.

Even when the people became masters of the country and attained their own state power and Party, those who were infected with flunkeyism and dogmatism did not study our own situation, but sought to copy foreign things mechanically, continuing to doubt their own

strength and relying on others. The harmfulness of these tendencies was glaringly revealed during the war, and it became all the more intolerable when the socialist revolution and socialist construction proceeded on a full scale after the war. With the trend towards opportunism spreading widely in the international communist movement, the flunkeyists and dogmatists went so far as to import it into our country. Without eradicating flunkeyism and dogmatism and thoroughly establishing Juche, it was impossible to carry on the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction successfully in strict adherence to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. The experience of history shows that when a person turns to flunkeyism he becomes an idiot; when a nation takes to flunkeyism their country falls into ruin, and when a party acquires flunkeyism it makes a muddle of revolution and construction.

From the beginning of its leadership of the revolution, our Party carried out an untiring fight against flunkeyism and dogmatism and for the establishment of Juche, developing it more effectively as the revolution and construction developed in depth and scope. During the period under review in particular, the struggle to establish Juche in the revolution and in construction proceeded on a wider scale and in greater depth than ever before. This process was closely linked to the struggle against opportunism. The Party waged a powerful ideological struggle against flunkeyism, dogmatism and opportunism of every kind among cadres and Party members. At the same time, it educated them in the brilliant revolutionary traditions of our Party, patiently teaching them, in particular, to arm themselves firmly with its lines and policies and to solve all problems according to the actual conditions of their country and, mainly by their own efforts.

The struggle to establish Juche has brought about a fundamental change in the ideological life of the Party members and the working people and in their way of thinking, and it has resulted in a great surge forward in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction. The practice of blindly despising our own things and accepting foreign things completely is no longer in evidence among cadres and Party

members; their national pride and awareness of independence have increased further and the revolutionary trait of relying on their own efforts has been thoroughly instilled in them. Now we can say that flunkeyism, national nihilism and dogmatism have mainly been eliminated as ideological trends amongst our Party members and our people. The establishment of Juche in ideology is a great victory in the realm of the ideological revolution; it has freed our people from the shackles of obsolete ideas which poisoned their awareness of national independence.

Our Party has endeavoured to embody the Juche idea thoroughly in all areas of the revolution and construction in the same way that it established Juche in ideology. All the lines and policies of our Party stem from the Juche idea, and they are permeated with it. Our Party's consistent principle of independence in politics, self-support in economy and self-defence in guarding the nation is the embodiment of the Juche idea in all realms. Under the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea our country has turned into a socialist state with complete political sovereignty, a solid independent national economy, strong self-defence power and a brilliant national culture. The establishment of Juche has made our contribution to the international revolutionary cause today greater than ever before. All our achievements represent a shining victory for the Juche idea of our Party and are the fruitful results of the independent line of our Party.

During the period under review our Party has also taken a great step forward in improving its work system and work methods in conformity with the requirements of the developing situation.

We endeavoured, first of all, to change Party work into work with people and we established the work system with the main stress laid on work with people in all Party organizations. The system of working with cadres and the system of guiding the members' Party life were completely established throughout the Party, and we instituted the work system and method of both educating the masses to rally them around the Party and organizing and mobilizing them dynamically to fulfil revolutionary tasks.

In particular, we continued to pay particular attention to embodying the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method fully in Party work.

In its method and style of work, a ruling party should always guard against the tendency to abuse party authority and practise bureaucratism. After a party has come into power, the danger of putting on airs and violating the mass line increases among some officials who are not firmly armed with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. That is why the party should constantly improve its method and style of work in order to implement the mass line and provide proper leadership for the revolution and construction.

During the period under review, the Party intensified the ideological struggle against bureaucracy amongst officials and perseveringly strove to raise their spirit of allegiance to the Party, the working class and the people and to put into effect the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method in all spheres of Party work. Thus the Party brought about a radical improvement in its style of guidance and method of work and strengthened the performance of Party work. Through the struggle to introduce the Chongsanri method the outmoded bureaucratic style of work which had blocked the progress of Party work for a long time was basically eliminated, all the officials came to possess the revolutionary style and method of work, and democracy was given full scope within the Party. The Party also established a well-organized work system in which the officials of higher organs personally visit lower units to give material assistance to their subordinates as the Chongsanri method requires. The national level was made to help the provinces, the provinces to help the counties, and the officials of county organs were encouraged to continually visit the ri in order to solve problems there promptly and to help the subordinates in their work in a responsible way, by working with them. The Party ensured that the senior officials went to outlying places and organized many model and demonstration lectures to teach the work method to the lower-unit officials by presenting examples. The Party also made sure that senior officials further consolidated the foundations of Party work and actively educated the junior officials on

the spot by using the new form of travelling lectures.

An essential requirement of the Chongsanri method and a revolutionary work method emanating from the very nature of the communists is to give precedence to political work so as to raise the political awareness of the masses of the people all the time, and to encourage them to carry out their revolutionary tasks on their own initiative. Our Party strictly adhered to the principle of giving precedence to political work in all its activities, and in fulfilling any revolutionary task it made a point of fully explaining and disseminating the relevant Party policy to all Party members and the masses so that they could join in the campaign to carry it out with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm. In conducting political work, work with people, the Party maintained the revolutionary work method of rousing the whole Party and all the people to action in such a way that one person rouses ten to activity, ten persons a hundred and a hundred persons a thousand. First we gave proper training to cadres and nuclei to educate and assist Party members; then we improved the vanguard role of Party members so that they could educate the broad masses, stimulating them to fulfil revolutionary tasks.

We established the work system under which the upper units help the lower units, officials at higher organs visit the actual work sites to teach their subordinates, and cadres and core elements educate the Party members and the masses and rouse them to action. As a result, not only has Party work turned into work with men and women, but also the intentions of the Party Central Committee have been instantly brought home to the lower units, and superiors and subordinates have become more closely united and understand each other better. All Party members actively offer their creative suggestions on how to advance Party work, and the Party organizations are now accustomed to listen to members and accept their constructive views with an open mind. In fact, our Party today fully displays the fine communist trait of superiors assisting their subordinates and comrades helping each other, and all the members participate in Party work with the attitude of the master. This is a very valuable achievement which we have made in Party work.

During the period under review the ideological education of Party members has been further intensified, and the habit of studying has been thoroughly implanted in the whole Party.

In line with the Party's correct policy, a well-planned system of education has been established throughout the Party, and the contents and methods of this education have been further improved. The educational network has been organized in all areas and in all units and is run under the centralized guidance of the Party Central Committee. This network includes all Party members so that they receive regular political and ideological education.

The quickly changing situation urgently demanded that the cadres and Party members improve their political and practical levels. Therefore, our Party worked hard to establish the revolutionary habit of studying among cadres and Party members. The Party made it a rule for all cadres and members to study more than two hours a day and for cadres to study collectively every Saturday; the Party also ensured that lectures were given regularly. In particular, the Party took bold steps to have all active-duty cadres sent to political schools at various levels for one month every year. Studying has now become a very important revolutionary task and an integral part of our Party's regular routine.

With the establishment throughout the Party of the revolutionary habit of studying and with the enhancement of both Party spirit and the political and practical levels of cadres and members, their unity and cohesion have become more conscious and voluntary. Every cadre and member has become more capable of serving the Party and the revolution with a high degree of political awareness.

Comrades,

During the period under review we have recorded major achievements in Party work and gained many valuable experiences and lessons.

Important and numerous as they are, our successes and experiences are no more than a basis for strengthening our Party further and for winning new victories. We have to continue to consolidate and develop

the Party organizationally and ideologically and increase its leading role in the revolution and construction.

The most important thing in strengthening the Party is to establish a monolithic ideological system amongst all its members and, on this basis, to continue to ensure the unity and solidarity of the Party ranks.

The oneness of ideology and will is the life of a Marxist-Leninist party and a decisive factor in all victories. If any alien idea incompatible with the monolithic ideology of a party is allowed to infiltrate the party to even the slightest degree or if unity of action is not secured, such a party can, in fact, hardly be called a party. Factions are bound to arise in a party which lacks unity and cohesion based on a single guiding ideology. Consequently, a party of that type cannot unite the masses around itself and ensure unified leadership in the revolution and construction, and it cannot even guarantee its own existence satisfactorily.

We must continue to improve and develop Party work, being firm in making it our general task to establish the monolithic ideological system more thoroughly in the Party with Marxist-Leninist ideology, our Party's Juche idea, as our unshakable guiding doctrine and, on this basis, to strengthen the singleness of ideology and will within the Party ranks.

The essence of Party work is work with people. In other words, Party work is precisely the organizational and political work with people needed to arm cadres, Party members and the masses with a single ideology and will so that we can rally them closely around the Party and organize and mobilize them to implement the Party's policies. We must oppose any deviation towards reducing Party work to a technical or professional affair and should always put emphasis on our work with people.

The Party organizations should, above all, direct great efforts to the work with cadres.

Cadres constitute the main nuclear force of the Party and the commanding personnel of our revolution who directly organize and guide the execution of the Party's lines and policies. The Party's

leadership in revolution and construction is, in the last analysis, carried into effect through cadres, and they are the ones who will solve all problems.

The most urgent task in the work with cadres today is the decisive acceleration of the struggle to raise their political and practical qualifications.

It is true that all our cadres are good cadres, and, generally speaking, we have built up the ranks of cadres with those who are faithful to the Party and the revolution. But our cadres are not well enough prepared to keep abreast of the rapidly changing conditions and their qualifications, as a whole, are low when compared with the needs of the Party. This is mainly because the struggle for revolutionization has not yet been intensified among the cadres. Many cadres use the excuse that they are busy with work in order to avoid hard study and faithful participation in Party life. And among our cadres there are even some who, because they neglect the need to temper themselves in a revolutionary way, try to stand on their dignity once they have been promoted to high posts. They do their work in a careless manner, do not even listen to the admonitions of their comrades, and become bureaucratic and arrogant; they try to show off, thinking that they have an inherent right to hold their present positions. As a result, they end up ideologically spoiled and degenerate and go so far as to drop out of the revolutionary ranks.

Our situation is such that socialist construction has developed to a high level and, in particular, the ideological revolution has been strengthened; this requires competent cadres now more than ever before. It is only when the cadres themselves are thoroughly revolutionized and more firmly prepared politically and technically than anyone else that they can run an advanced socialist society properly, guide the ideological revolution correctly, speed up the revolutionization and working-classization of society and be fully prepared to meet the great revolutionary event of national reunification. To raise the qualifications of the cadres—this is a precondition for the successful settlement of all questions that will

arise in our revolution and construction in the present period.

We must first of all pay attention to the work of educating the cadres and wage a more powerful Party-wide struggle to revolutionize them and raise their political and practical levels.

To begin with, Party life should be tightened decisively amongst the cadres. Experience shows that when cadres, whoever they may be, neglect Party life and get away from Party supervision, they become, without exception, indolent, lax and arrogant and cannot perform their revolutionary tasks properly. We must resolutely combat the tendency among cadres to shun Party life and see that all of them, without exception, take an active part in Party life and willingly observe the organizational discipline of the Party. Our cadres should all make conscious and continuous efforts to rely on the Party organizations in their work and in their life and let themselves be supervised by these organizations and by rank-and-file Party members.

It is particularly important to temper the cadres through the practice of sharp criticism. An atmosphere of principled criticism should be created among the cadres and they should be criticized regularly. All cadres must try hard to act like revolutionaries who know both how to criticize themselves promptly on their own shortcomings and how to accept criticism made by rank-and-file Party members sincerely. The Party organizations should lead cadres to intensify the ideological struggle through the practice of criticism and steadily steel themselves in a revolutionary way in the course of a relentless ideological struggle.

In order to improve the qualifications of cadres, it is also necessary to get them to study hard.

Studying is the first and foremost task for a revolutionary. Without studying one can scarcely become a genuine revolutionary or carry on one's revolutionary work.

All cadres should study the Party's policies hard in order to arm themselves firmly with the ideas of our Party and become completely familiar with the Party's policies; they should take them as the standard by which to conduct their work at any time and in any place. The cadres should constantly acquire knowledge on political, economic, cultural,

military, and all other activities and should be proficient in the work assigned to them. Everyone must study, and the cadres in responsible positions in particular must study harder. The Party organizations should strictly supervise the studies of senior cadres and pay particular attention to establishing the habit of deliberate study in them.

We should continue to operate the system of one-month training courses properly. The viability of these courses has been proved in practice, and we should make it compulsory for all cadres to undergo the training once a year. Also, we should see that in sending people who have not undergone any systematic education to cadre-training institutions for further education, preference is given to managers and chief engineers of factories and enterprises, chairmen of cooperative farms and other officials who personally organize and guide production. We should also make strenuous efforts to educate and temper cadres through practical work, create examples in all fields and arrange model lectures to publicize these models on a wide scale, so as to keep improving the levels of the cadres.

In educating cadres it is very important to establish the system of individual education. The Party organizations at all levels should guide senior personnel to constantly study the cadres for whom they are responsible and patiently educate them on an individual basis. A well-regulated, Party-wide system of educating cadres should thus be established under which all cadres educate others and are themselves educated at all times; the system should be organized in such a way that cadres at upper units educate the men and women at lower units, and these cadres, in turn, educate their subordinates.

The Party organizations, while strengthening the work of raising cadres' qualifications, should continue to pay careful attention to the correct selection and allocation of cadres. In selecting cadres they should adhere strictly to the Party's consistent principle of placing the main emphasis on a person's political qualifications while giving sufficient consideration to his work qualifications; Party organizations should choose as cadres those workers who have been tested and steeled in practical struggle and other people of basic class origin, such

as former hired farm hands and poor peasants. The Party organizations should strictly guard against the mistaken tendency of going only by family and social background in selecting cadres, and should, under all circumstances, choose cadres mainly in terms of political and ideological readiness. In this way the ranks of our cadres will be built up on a firmer class and political basis.

In order to consolidate the cadres' ranks and supply the new cadres required by all fields of the revolution and construction, a system of reserve cadre training should be correctly established. The Party organizations must mark out active-duty cadres as reserves for higher positions and train them well; at the same time, they should choose many reserve cadres from among nuclear Party members who have been tried and tested in practical work, especially core workers of factories and enterprises in the key industrial branches, and train them systematically.

In strengthening the training of reserve cadres it is important to build up cadre-training institutions and enhance their role. We should conscientiously build up the teaching staff of these institutions at all levels with people who are politically and technically qualified, base the education on Party policies, combining it closely with practical activities, and further raise the scientific and theoretical levels of our training.

The Party organizations must select, appoint, educate and train cadres on the basis of their Party life. This work should be one of the Party committees' central tasks. In particular, to strengthen cadre ranks they should discard, once and for all, the subjective work attitude of judging cadres only in the light of their personal records; they should always test cadres through their Party life and practical activities and systematically study and get to know them.

Another important aspect of the Party's responsibilities is to work well with its members, and especially to intensify their life within the Party organization.

The Party is a political organization which unites the mass of Party members. For a Party to be a powerful, active and militant organization, all the members must be politically and ideologically

sound and must work well according to the Party's organizational principles. Party life is the organizational and political life of its members; it is the activity of discharging their duties as laid out in the Party Rules. The main element in Party work lies in guiding the members' Party life correctly. And the foundation of Party building also lies precisely in strengthening the Party life of all members. Only when Party life is strengthened will the Party spirit of the members be tempered, their vanguard role enhanced in revolution and construction, and our revolutionary tasks carried out with success.

In the first place, to tighten their Party life all members should be encouraged to participate in it of their own free will. Nothing is more honourable and necessary than such participation. The entire Party membership must endeavour to rely entirely on the Party organizations and participate faithfully in Party life in accordance with the Party's organizational standards. We must ensure that in Party life democracy is given fuller play and that the weapon of criticism is maintained to establish a revolutionary atmosphere within the Party.

The correct organization and guidance of the Party life of the members is an important guarantee for strengthening Party life. Party organizations should give each member a specific task suited to his particular abilities, check to see whether or not it has been fulfilled in good time, and actively help to implement the task; when the given job has been completed, it should be reviewed and a fresh task assigned so that every member always has a new Party task and is active at all times. The Party organizations should regularly review the members' Party life in an atmosphere of sharp criticism and organize and hold Party meetings on a high political and ideological level. All Party members should thus become ardent political activists, strong both politically and ideologically, who work resolutely to carry out the Party's lines and policies at the head of the masses.

While giving Party members revolutionary education, we should continue to expand the ranks of the Party and improve the quality of its members. In our country today, members of the new generation who have received a great deal of socialist education since liberation are

emerging as reliable masters of the country, and they are playing an important role in all sectors of revolution and construction. The Party organizations should admit fine people into the Party from amongst the new generation which it has raised, especially from amongst the working-class youth. In this way, the quality of the Party ranks should be further improved and its nuclei steadily increased, and our Party should develop into a party which is always alive with revolutionary spirit.

In order to strengthen work with cadres and members, the Party cells should play an ever-increasing role. A Party cell is a combat unit directly executing the Party's policies among the masses. It is the most basic organization of our Party—every member belongs and operates within this unit. We should build up the nuclei of Party cells firmly and steadily enhance their function so that all the cells carry out their work with cadres and members more skilfully.

At the same time, we should bolster the work of the Party committees at all levels. They should put right the system of work with cadres and Party members and make organized efforts to give more effective guidance to their Party life.

With a view to making the Party committees militant general staffs which function actively, the Party committees at all levels should be correctly composed of cadres and core Party members. In particular, large numbers of nuclear Party members who are workers directly engaged in labour at production sites should be enlisted in the Party Central Committee and provincial, city and county Party committees. The proper representation of core workers in the Party committees will not only increase the working-class character of our Party but also make it possible for the Party to strike deeper roots in the masses and closely study and learn how matters stand at the lower units and take correct and timely guidance measures. This will also make it possible to educate large numbers of new working-class cadres and enable cadres to learn the working-class viewpoint and the revolutionary spirit and fighting efficiency of the working class through Party committees.

It is very important to improve the role of the organizational departments of the Party committees at all levels in strengthening work

with cadres and with Party members. The Party organizational department is a section which takes charge of the Party ranks and directly supervises and leads the Party life of the members. Whether Party organizations are active or not and whether the Party ranks are built up firmly or not depends chiefly upon the role of the Party organizational departments. The Party committees should further improve the work of the organizational departments so that they can give correct guidance to the Party organizations, systematically study and learn about the Party life of the cadres and members and direct and supervise it properly.

To intensify the guidance of the Party life of cadres and members the organizational and the information and publicity departments of the Party committee must conduct effective concerted operations. We can say that the organizational department plays the role of a doctor while the information and publicity department plays that of a pharmacist in guiding cadres and members in their Party life. In order to cure a person of a disease the doctor must diagnose the case accurately and the pharmacist must prepare medicine in accordance with the diagnosis. Likewise, for the strengthening of the Party life of cadres and members, the organizational department should always understand their Party life, analyse it scientifically and judge both the defects and their causes correctly; then, on this basis, the information and publicity department should conduct the appropriate ideological education to correct these problems.

In this way, we shall help all cadres and members to follow the organizational principles of the Party and convert all Party organizations into living militant bodies which carry out their functions correctly.

The Party organizations should strengthen work with the masses still further.

The revolution is for the people's benefit and is the work of the masses of the people themselves. Unless the broad masses are organized and mobilized, the revolution cannot emerge victorious, and in the final analysis, the fundamental question which decides the

triumph and success of the revolution and the work of construction is whether or not an overwhelming majority of the people are won over. Therefore, a Marxist-Leninist party, while reinforcing its ranks, must always work hard to educate and transform the masses and rally them closely around it.

The line consistently followed by our Party in work with the masses is to combine the class line and the mass line properly so that the class positions of our revolution are solidified and all people, except a handful of the reactionary class enemies, are educated and reformed in such a way that they will unite firmly around the Party.

The basic masses are the class foundations our Party relies upon. Only by educating this basic sector properly to heighten its class awareness continually can we reinforce the class positions of our revolution and firmly build up its main detachment. The Party organizations should strengthen their work with this sector of the masses to give them solid political and ideological weapons and further increase their role on all fronts of socialist construction.

Meanwhile, we should conduct work with those sectors of the masses whose social and political backgrounds are complex in the proper way. It is our Party's traditional principle of work with the masses to judge people case by case, attaching primary importance to their present conduct, to trust them and test and reform them through struggle. By establishing the revolutionary mass viewpoint in cadres and Party members and working well with those people in all walks of life who have complex social and political backgrounds, the Party organizations should accelerate the breakdown of classes, exercise dictatorship over reactionary elements and educate and reform all the people who can be won over, thereby uniting them closely on the side of the revolution.

In order to strengthen work with the masses the role of the working people's organizations must be raised further.

It is a Marxist-Leninist principle in the guidance of the masses to work with them through the working people's organizations. Only by rousing these organizations to positive action can we knit the masses

closely around the Party and correctly organize and mobilize them for the revolution and construction.

An important task in the Party's guidance of the working people's organizations is to increase their independence so that they can take the initiative in organizing and carrying out their activities. By strengthening the Party's guidance of the working people's organizations we do not imply that the Party should take their work upon itself. The substance of Party guidance of the working people's organizations lies precisely in helping them carry on their activities effectively in an independent and creative manner in accordance with the Party's lines and policies. The Party organizations should persuade officials to hold a proper opinion about the working people's organizations, actively put them in the lead in work with the masses and boldly assign them tasks. The working people's organizations should be provided with proper working conditions and given clear directions on work to do and ways and means of carrying out their tasks to suit their respective characteristics, so that they can organize and conduct work with the masses actively and skilfully.

In order to improve the work of the working people's organizations the ranks of nuclei should be firmly established amongst the masses. The Party organizations must steadily expand those nuclear ranks in the working people's organizations and give them firm guidance to reinforce the cadres, who are their basic cores. In this way all the working people's organizations should be able to rouse the nuclei to action, educating their members effectively and mobilizing them to fulfil their basic tasks accurately.

The most important task confronting the working people's organizations today is to carry out the movement for revolutionization and working-classization among the working people effectively.

The working people's organizations should increase ideological education among their members and, in particular, make them all take an active part in organizational life, patiently educating and tempering them. The General Federation of Trade Unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth

and the Democratic Women's Union should always do good work inside their organizations and make all their members Red fighters of the Party, staunch builders of socialism and communism; and they should organize and mobilize them dynamically to implement the Party's policies.

It is particularly important to strengthen the work of the League of Socialist Working Youth. The LSWY, as a militant organization of the young people who are heirs to our revolution, is a reliable reserve and active second to our Party. The future of the country and the prospects of the revolution depend, in the long run, on how young people are brought up. Consequently, to raise the role of the LSWY is an important matter which affects the future of the country and the nation.

The LSWY must organize and conduct work with the young people from all backgrounds in a more active way, with the main emphasis on their ideological education. The LSWY organizations should work hard to establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party thoroughly amongst the league members, to organize diverse activities suited to young people's qualities and to educate them in a revolutionary way. All the young people should thus be induced to acquire great pride and self-respect in their important contribution to the revolutionary struggle, to the cause of building socialism and communism and to the sacred work of transforming nature and society; they should always be taught to lead a revolutionary life full of revolutionary optimism for the future, high spirits and vitality. The LSWY organizations should particularly strengthen their work with young people and children in school to bring them up as heirs to our revolution with infinite faith in the Party, as versatile builders of socialism and communism who are knowledgeable, virtuous and healthy. We must ensure that the young people, always maintaining the policies of our Party, discharge their honourable duty as the vanguard, as the shock brigade creditably, taking the lead in difficult work in national defence and all spheres of economic construction.

One of the important tasks before the Party organizations is to improve Party ideological work.

As well as Party organizational work, Party ideological work is an important inner-Party task and it is unthinkable that the two could be separated. Only when Party organizational and ideological work are well coordinated is it possible to strengthen the Party in these two areas and steadily increase its combat capacity.

The central task before us in the field of Party ideological work is to continue to go ahead with the thorough establishment of the monolithic ideological system throughout the Party. Party organizations should strengthen education in the Party's policies and revolutionary traditions and escalate the campaign against all such unsound ideologies as bourgeois ideas, revisionism, flunkeyism, dogmatism, factionalism, regionalism and nepotism—thereby arming all members and working people more firmly with the monolithic ideology of our Party, its Juche idea. At the same time, Party members and working people should be constantly brought to class consciousness and solidly equipped with the spirit of combatting the enemy uncompromisingly as well as with the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

A particularly important task in Party ideological work at present is to strengthen ideological education against revisionism amongst Party members and the working people.

Revisionism is a trend of counter-revolutionary opportunist ideology aimed at rejecting the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism. The greatest evil of revisionism lies in denying the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and opposing the class struggle; it obscures the line of demarcation between friend and foe, yields to US imperialism, being scared by its policy of nuclear blackmail, makes overtures to the imperialists while paying lip service to an anti-imperialist position, gives up the struggle against imperialism and compromises with it, disarms people ideologically by spreading fear of war, bourgeois pacifistic ideas and illusions about imperialism and reaction, and abhors and hinders the revolution of the oppressed peoples. The canker of revisionism also lies in objecting to revolutionary organizational discipline and advocating bourgeois liberalism, in encouraging selfishness and making people indolent,

dissolute and afraid of work. Revisionism is, in the final analysis, a dangerous idea which undermines socialism and revives capitalism. Therefore, we cannot neglect the struggle against revisionism amongst Party members and the working people. If a Marxist-Leninist party does not combat revisionism but tolerates the revisionist ideological trend within its ranks to even the slightest degree, such a party cannot become a fighting party, a militant revolutionary party, and in the long run it will be reduced to an emasculated petty-bourgeois party.

We must continue to increase ideological work against revisionism amongst Party members and the working people. While they are all closely armed with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, they should be given a clear idea of the essence and harmfulness of revisionism, and a resolute struggle must be waged to prevent the infiltration of the virus of revisionist ideology into the Party.

Revisionism is generated and breeds upon the soil of bourgeois ideas and spreads widely by means of such ideas. Revisionism is also the main factor in reviving bourgeois ideas. Therefore, in order to overcome revisionism we should thoroughly uproot the noxious aftereffects of bourgeois ideas. We must further intensify our fight against all the harmful effects of the obsolete ideologies including bourgeois and feudal-Confucian ideas among Party members and the working people, and continue to conduct strenuous ideological education so that we leave no room for the revival of old ideologies. In particular, a determined ideological struggle must be waged against all forms of unhealthy behaviours which lead individuals to refuse to participate honestly in socialist collective labour and to abuse state and social property.

Our country still remains divided and we are building socialism in direct confrontation with US imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction. We cannot, by any means, become self-satisfied, indolent or lax. We must continue to equip Party members and the working people thoroughly with the revolutionary ideas of our Party and fill them with the revolutionary militant spirit to fight to the finish for the ultimate triumph of our revolution. We should develop a strong ideological

struggle among Party members and working people against all kinds of unsound ideas which are incompatible with revolutionary principles and against all practices unworthy of revolutionaries. And we should conduct our ideological work meticulously, so that revolutionary work habits and lifestyle are more solidly established in all areas. We should thus ensure that all Party members and the working people always live in a revolutionary way and that our entire revolutionary struggle and work of construction develop on a sound basis.

In order to carry out the tasks now facing the Party in ideological work smoothly, it is necessary to improve the organizational leadership of the Party bodies in this field. The Party organizations from top to bottom should conduct their ideological work efficiently to conform with the Party members' levels and the prevailing conditions and in close association with the pressing revolutionary tasks. We must link information work correctly with motivation work and properly coordinate their different media, thus organizing an ideological offensive and ensuring its promptness. The Party organizations must organize their ideological work in conformity with specific reality, check to see whether it is implemented punctually, review the results, and then organize it again; this is the way to intensify Party ideological work steadily and thus eliminate formalism without fail.

In order to strengthen Party ideological work we must strengthen the ranks of officials engaged in this work and increase their role; we must also help all cadres conduct political and ideological work amongst Party members and the working people in a responsible way, combining it with their practical activities. All Party workers and officials of administrative and economic organs have to propagate Party policies widely among the masses in a variety of forms including lectures, talks and explanations everywhere they go; and they should conduct political and ideological work according to a regular routine.

Comrades,

While consolidating the Party organizationally and ideologically and rallying the broad masses of the people closely around it, we must

not stop increasing the Party's role in leading the revolution and construction.

The basic task of our Party at this stage is to stimulate socialist construction in the northern half of Korea strongly, help the south Korean people accomplish the south Korean revolution, and bring about the reunification of our homeland. Our efforts to strengthen the Party in organization and ideology are, in the long run, aimed at raising its fighting capacity and successfully carrying out the revolutionary task that lies before us.

Our Party is the General Staff of the Korean revolution and the political leader of our people. It bears the whole responsibility for our country's revolution and construction, and our people's future. Without Party leadership it would be impossible to advance our revolutionary struggle and work of construction by even one inch or hope for our people's bright future.

Experience shows that it is only under the centralized leadership of the party that the state, economic and cultural institutions and the working people's organizations can be sure of a singleness of action in carrying out the historical mission of the working class and purposefully organize and mobilize all the people to work for the building of socialism and communism. Today the internal and external situations of our country are complex, and the revolutionary struggle and work for construction are developing in depth and scope. This situation urgently demands the continued growth of the leading role of the Party in all sectors of socialist economic and defence construction.

We should strengthen Party leadership in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction in a way which will conform with the demands of the changing conditions and the prevailing situations.

First of all, Party guidance of socialist economic construction has to be strengthened.

It is important in such guidance that Party committees be expert at steering economic activities. The Party's steering includes defining the directions and suggesting ways to execute the Party's policies, adopting correct decisions on the basis of collective discussion at Party

committees, and politically ensuring the correct implementation of these decisions by rousing the Party bodies and members concerned to action. The Party committees should make it a rule to adopt correct measures through collective discussion on all important questions which arise, do organizational work to mobilize lower-level Party bodies and their members, the working people's organizations, and the masses to work hard to carry out Party policies; then they should check and review the implementation of committee assignments and decisions so that they can be carried through correctly. This alone will allow us to do away with the subjectivism and arbitrariness of the individual in economic guidance, enhance the independence and sense of responsibility of officials in ministries, management bureaus, economic organs and enterprises, and rectify deviations and shortcomings revealed in their work promptly.

The Party committees should ensure that the state and economic organs run our economy in a more scientific and rational way by constantly improving their guidance and management in line with the requirements of the Taean work system and the new system of agricultural guidance—both excellent forms of management of the socialist economy created by our Party—by thoroughly implementing the policy of unified and detailed planning of the national economy, and by systematizing the management of enterprises.

The people's committees at all levels are the most comprehensive transmission belt linking the Party with the masses; they are the executors of our Party's lines and policies and the householders in charge of the people's living conditions.

The Party organizations should try to build up the people's committees at every level with good workers who are firm in their class positions, infinitely loyal to the Party and popular with the people and to enhance their functions in the revolution and construction. Party organizations should both help the people's committees politically to exercise good control over all bodies, enterprises and residents in the area under their jurisdiction and lead them to fulfil their role as householders with direct responsibility for protecting the people's

well-being, as well as state and public property, for managing all economic affairs.

We should strengthen Party leadership over organs having many functions of proletarian dictatorship such as the People's Army, public security organs and judicial and procuratorial bodies.

To increase the leadership of the Party over the army is a fundamental requirement for the building of revolutionary armed forces. It is only under such leadership that the People's Army can become strong and grow into an invincible revolutionary armed force which will fulfil its lofty duty.

During the period under review we promptly overcame the tendencies to weaken the leading role of the Party, ignore political work, hinder adequate military training and implant military despotism in the army; we also strengthened the Party's leadership and political work there, thus making it possible to increase the fighting power of the People's Army.

In the future, as well, we should guarantee that the work of the Party committees in the army is positively strengthened and that everything the People's Army does is organized and conducted under the leadership of the Party committees. All military and political affairs in the army should be discussed in the Party committee of each unit and decisions should be made collectively. In addition, a work system should be firmly established under which military personnel engage in military activities, political workers in political work, and logistical personnel in logistic work according to the decisions of the Party committee. These committees should be especially careful to tighten Party control over the military commanders so that they always rely on the Party committees in their work and participate faithfully in Party organizational life.

While strengthening the Party committees, we should raise the role of the political organs and their workers and, in particular, the political commissars who together directly organize and execute the Party's political work in the People's Army. The political organs and workers should carry out the politico-ideological education of the soldiers

effectively and make every effort to ensure both combat and political training and the absolute combat readiness of the units, on Party lines and in a political way.

As well as Party leadership in the army, the Party guidance of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards should be strengthened. The Party committees at all levels should lead the Worker-Peasant Red Guards to consolidate its ranks, intensify military and political training among its members and perfect its combat readiness and commanding system still more.

Party leadership over public security, judicial and procuratorial work should be further strengthened. The Party committees ought to discuss this work on a regular basis, steer it in the right direction, and thoroughly guide and control all the activities of the public security, judicial and procuratorial organs. These bodies, as political defenders of the Party, should energetically protect its policies and supervise their implementation everywhere and, in particular, uncover and thoroughly suppress all spies, subverters and saboteurs who attempt to damage our state and social system. In addition, we must work hard to establish a strict system and order and strengthen revolutionary discipline in all sectors of state and social life.

By doing this we shall promote an active campaign to strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically and enhance its leading role in the revolution and construction, thereby increasing the fighting capacity of the Party in every way and driving our revolutionary struggle and construction work ahead still more dynamically under the leadership of our Party.

* * *

Comrades,

During the period we are reviewing our Party has led the masses of

the people to achieve great victories and successes in revolution and construction.

Our socialist system has been consolidated more than ever before and is demonstrating its great superiority. We have laid firm material foundations on which we can rapidly develop the nation's productive forces, steadily promote the welfare of the working people, and give powerful support to the south Korean people in their revolutionary struggle and be completely prepared for the great revolutionary event of the reunification of our homeland. We have also incomparably strengthened our military power. Our society has moved onto a higher stage of development and our country has entered a period of unprecedented prosperity.

The whole Party and all of the people are solidly united around the Party Central Committee with one ideology and will, the whole of society is permeated with an atmosphere of gaiety and liveliness and everyone is full of revolutionary ardour and optimism.

All this attests to the correctness and indestructible vitality of our Party's policies and demonstrates the inexhaustible might of our people who march spiritedly ahead under the leadership of the Party.

Our Party and people have known innumerable difficulties in their fight to progress, and we have undergone many ordeals. Following the Party leadership, however, our people have surmounted all these difficulties and ordeals by battling untiringly, always deeply convinced of the justness of their cause. They have built our socialist homeland more splendidly than ever before.

Our struggle is now a prouder, more forceful one, and wider horizons are opening before us. When the great programme set out by the Party Congress is translated into reality, the socialist system in the northern half of Korea will be greatly strengthened and epoch-making progress will be achieved in our people's struggle for socialism and communism. The attainment of this programme will further inspire and encourage the south Korean people in their revolutionary struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges; it will open up a decisive phase in hastening the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution. In

order to fulfil the tasks advanced at the Party Congress we should continue to struggle dynamically, ever mobilized and ready, and move forward as rapidly as we can despite the obstacles and hardships along the way.

The revolutionary cause of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people is a just one, and we are sure to triumph. Our people who are fighting for the righteous cause of revolution under the leadership of the Party will always be crowned with victory and glory. No force can ever check the advance of our Party and people.

Let us all unite even more closely around the Party Central Committee and march forward valiantly towards our bright future of socialism and communism, holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the great revolutionary banner of our Party's Juche idea.

CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA

November 12, 1970

Comrades,

For several days we have discussed the report to the Party Congress on the work of the Party Central Committee and the Six-Year National Economic Plan. The report and the plan were strongly supported and approved by all comrades, the delegates to the congress. This proves that the whole of our Party and all the people are firmly united behind the Party Central Committee.

The Fifth Congress of our Party is a congress of unity and a congress of victors. And it is a congress that fully demonstrates to people all over the world the brilliant prospect of greater success in the future.

In closing the Party Congress today I do not suppose that there are new matters to be dealt with. I would, therefore, like to comment further on the present situation and the tasks facing us.

1. ON THE PRESENT SITUATION

At present the US imperialists are being driven into a tight corner and continue to be on the decline.

They have many internal contradictions and are suffering from the serious politico-economic crisis. In the United States the anti-war movement has reached tremendous proportions and the contradictions among the ruling circles have been further aggravated.

At present the US imperialists are deploying their armed forces to every corner of the world. The US imperialist forces of aggression can be found in all parts of the world—be it Europe or Africa. They are not now in a position to keep their military forces concentrated in one place. This is one of the weak points in their military designs.

They no longer have as many allies as they had in the past. When they started the war in Korea in 1950 they brought in troops from their 15 satellite countries. Today, however, in the Viet Nam War they have only gained the support of some mercenaries from a few countries, including the south Korean puppet regime, their most faithful stooge.

In brief, at present the US imperialists are faced with many difficult internal problems, their military forces are scattered around the world and they have few allies. Under these circumstances, in an attempt to escape their doom, they are resorting to every possible stratagem.

Recently they have further increased their invasion in Asia by mobilizing their armed forces and, at the same time, are trying to realize their aggressive ambitions by mobilizing their satellite countries and stooges, so that, in the main, Asians will fight Asians. This is precisely what the so-called “New Asia Policy” pursued by the US imperialists means. They are implementing this policy not only in Asia but also in Europe.

It is true that this is not the first time in recent years that the US imperialists have used such a policy. They openly stated soon after the Korean war that Asians should fight each other in Asia. Typically, the US imperialists replace their original aggressive methods with other cunning means of invasion if their first plans do not succeed.

They have a plan to resuscitate the Japanese militarists and make them into a “shock brigade” in their aggression in Asia, and are, therefore, encouraging them to take part in overseas aggression in every possible way.

Now the Japanese militarists, under the aegis of US imperialism, are determinedly hastening rearmament, blatantly showing their aggressive intentions. They are producing aircraft and submarines according to the designs of the American imperialists and are boasting openly that they will soon have nuclear weapons.

Some people, however, say that the Japanese militarists will not invade other countries because in the Japanese Constitution there is no article which allows for military expeditions. This is an unrealistic and erroneous supposition. There is no article in any constitution in the world that makes it a matter of course for any one country to invade others. Moreover, no aggressor invades another country in accordance with a constitution which sets out its aggressive intentions. Even in the Constitution of the United States of America there is no such article which allows it to invade other countries. We cannot believe that the Japanese militarists will only begin their aggressive moves after including in their constitution an article allowing them to invade other countries.

When monopoly capital is unbridled it is bound to embark on the course to overseas invasion. Whatever monopoly capital it may be, when it has expanded, it demands both commodity markets and the exportation of capital, and these will inevitably be followed by overseas aggression. This is the law which governs the development of imperialism. It is a revisionist attitude to dress up the Japanese militarists as having no intention of invading other countries, while conceding the fact that Japanese monopoly capital has grown to its limit.

Under the guise of “peace” the Japanese militarists are now infiltrating all parts of the world and intensifying their export of capital and commodities. Japanese goods glut the European market. They can also be found in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and the rest of the world. This is a very dangerous situation.

South Korea is already in the tentacles of the Japanese militarists. They are stepping up their invasion against south Korea in the political, economic, cultural and military spheres. They are increasing their

military collaboration with the south Korean puppets and are investing a large sum of capital in south Korea. They have infiltrated their culture into south Korea on a large scale. On returning to his country after visiting south Korea the Japanese Foreign Minister stated publicly that they should pay more attention to the education of south Korean youths through the medium of Japanese. They seem to think that south Korea has already been taken over.

If Japanese militarism extends itself further its first target for invasion will be our country. We should, therefore, strengthen our opposition to Japanese militarism. Thus, we should expose its semblance of “peace” and thwart its expansionist ambitions.

On studying the current international situation we cannot say that the outbreak of war is imminent in our country. However, there is always the danger that a war might break out in Korea at any moment. No one can predict the date on which this will happen.

American imperialist forces of aggression are in south Korea and there are hundreds of thousands of puppet troops which have been armed by them. The American imperialists and their stooges are increasing their armed provocations against the northern half of Korea and continuing to intrude into our airspace and territorial waters. These moves by the enemy engendered the incident of the armed spy ship *Pueblo* in 1968 and the incident of the large espionage aircraft EC-121 last year.

As is well-known, the US imperialists’ *Pueblo* infiltrated a long way into our territorial waters in order to commit espionage and was then captured by the courageous marines of our People’s Army.

The capture of the *Pueblo* was a self-defensive measure and a legitimate military action to safeguard the country’s sovereignty. In spite of this, the American imperialists, far from apologizing for their crimes, admitting that they had flagrantly intruded into our territorial waters and committed acts of espionage, demanded that we beg their pardon for our “mistake” and, on that occasion, they recklessly threatened war.

As soon as the armed spy ship *Pueblo* was captured, the American

imperialists concentrated their destroyers, cruisers, aircraft carriers and many other war vessels in our East Sea and shipped into south Korea fighter-bombers, thus threatening to attack the northern half of our country. They boasted that they would bomb the port of Wonsan in a “retaliatory measure” to sink the *Pueblo* or would land in Wonsan to take her away. They also threatened that they would bomb an airport or some other target in our country.

At that time the situation was, indeed, tense. The whole world was discussing the developments in our country and the peoples of many countries feared the possibility of a war breaking out in Korea.

We were all set to fight the enemy as soon as he began hostilities, and were ready to fly south to bomb enemy positions as soon as he commenced bombing Wonsan or any airport. We took the firm resolve to return retaliation for “retaliation”, all-out war for all-out war. Our resolute stance which did not yield to the military pressure of the American imperialists obliged them to give up their plans.

The year 1969 witnessed another incident which was caused by the large-espionage plane EC-121. The situation then was more critical than at the time of the *Pueblo* incident. Nevertheless, at this time, also, the American imperialists did nothing beyond threatening.

At the time of the *Pueblo* and EC-121 incidents the situation did not deteriorate further because the enemy thought better of an invasion. If he had attacked us a war would, without a doubt, have broken out in our country.

Hostilities do not always start only after a declaration of war on an appointed date.

In view of both the history of the world and the war ignited in our country, a conflict is precipitated by a trifling incident and it inevitably escalates into a full-scale war.

In fact, the war unleashed by the enemy in June 1950 in our country was an extension of earlier encounters on Mt. Unpha. The skirmishes on Mt. Unpha and Mt. Songak and the clashes in the regions of Rinje and Yangyang escalated into a full-scale war. Immediately after liberation the enemy invaded areas in the vicinity of the Unpha and

Songak Mountains and, at the same time, steadily conducted aggressive acts against the northern half of Korea in the central and eastern areas. We were, therefore, forced to fight the enemy soon after liberation.

Even now, the enemy continues to intrude into our territorial waters and airspace while perpetrating incidents in the vicinity of the Military Demarcation Line. The continuation of these conflicts could, eventually, lead to war.

If the south Korean people take part in a revolution and demand our support, we should give them our assistance. Of one and the same blood we have a responsibility to assist our brothers in south Korea. Our support for the south Korean masses in their struggle will be a further reason for the enemy to fight us. War would then break out in this land.

Whether or not a war breaks out in our country does not depend on us but on what the US imperialists and the south Korean reactionary rulers do, and the peaceful reunification of the country also depends on how they act. We do not want a war, nor do we intend to be the ones to start it. We have stressed this again and again. If the American troops are withdrawn from south Korea, political prisoners are released and the people are granted political freedoms and democratic rights, the country could be reunified in a peaceful way. The US imperialists and the reactionaries, however, will make no voluntary concessions and continue to commit reckless acts without hesitation.

In our country there are some factors which might cause a war at any moment. Therefore, we should always be ready to deal with a war.

Although I have already emphasized the need to make thorough preparations for war during this session of the Party Congress I must, in closing the congress today, once again stress this matter.

Our Party has already put forward the policy of simultaneously developing the economy and our defences. The armed spy ship *Pueblo* incident and the incident of the large-espionage plane EC-121 prove once more how correct this policy of our Party is.

We should look to our laurels and unreservedly implement the

decisions of the Party Conference and those of this Party Congress, thereby fully preparing ourselves to defeat the enemy by our own strength.

In the course of making thorough preparations we should mass-produce sophisticated weapons and combat equipment suited to the needs of our country. The workers in the war industry must build their factories well and concentrate on the production of munitions.

The various sectors of the national economy should make all necessary preparations so as to be able to continue production even during wartime. It is imperative to build factories which produce the same range of goods in various places. This is good because a large quantity of goods could then be produced in peacetime and production would continue at associated factories even if any of the other factories was destroyed during the war. People in the provinces should build locally-run factories efficiently and depend on their products.

We should set aside adequate reserves of war materiel. If we are to undertake extensive capital construction and, at the same time, raise the living standards of the people and accumulate reserve supplies, we should remain unswerving in our efforts.

We must ensure that the people are well-dressed. This is an important element in preparing for war.

Dressing people well does not mean that their clothes should only be decorative. It does mean that we have to provide our people with adequate clothing for winter. In summer people need the least amount of clothing. In winter, however, they cannot survive the cold weather if they are poorly dressed.

We are the men who are making a revolution. It does not matter if revolutionaries do not wear the finest clothes, such as woolen suits. We should ensure that children, women and elderly people are provided with warm winter clothes made of wool which is to be used to weave suiting and that they are also supplied with woolen scarves and fur-lined shoes. This preparation will make it possible for them to go without further supplies of clothing for a few years if there is a war.

2. ON THE SIX-YEAR NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN

Each of the targets set in the Six-Year National Economic Plan is ambitious. As regards the steel target of four million tons per year this is a very high figure for our country which has a population of 15 million.

Can we, then, implement the Six-Year National Economic Plan? Yes, of course we can.

I think that it is not too difficult to fulfil the quota for electric power. The power problem was acute, both last year and this year, because of the severe drought, but I hope that during the period of the Six-Year Plan it will not be as acute. If we increase the capacity of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant by 200,000 kW annually after raising its generating capacity to 500,000 kW this year, put the Sodusu Power Station into commission next year and construct the Unggi Thermal Power Plant in the future, the power problem will be solved.

The target of 4,000,000 tons of steel is also well within our reach.

The most difficult target set in the Six-Year National Economic Plan is that for coal. Although they talk about the immense coal deposits in our country, the workers in the coal industry cannot mine great quantities of it. Consequently, some factories and enterprises cannot maintain a steady rate of production because of the inadequate coal supply. If one were to ask the officials in the Ministry of Electricity and Coal Industries why they do not supply coal, they would answer that they have the coal but that the problem lies with the railways. When one raises the matter with the workers in the Ministry of Railways they say that there is no coal in the mines. It is wrong for officials not to assume responsibility on this or that pretext. The strained transport system is a factor in the inadequate supply of coal

but the major reason is that coal production has not yet been put on a regular basis.

We should make the greatest efforts to increase coal production and so solve the matter once and for all.

To this end, we should maintain tunnelling ahead of coal cutting, step up scientific research and promote the technical revolution. We have stressed these matters over several years, but things are still unsatisfactory. I have, therefore, to draw attention to this matter once again at this Party Congress.

In our efforts to solve the coal problem we should also mobilize more manpower into this sector. Since the technical revolution has up to now not been carried through in the coal industry we cannot expect the output of coal to be very high if the present level of manpower is not dramatically raised. We should send a large number of young and middle-aged men to the coal industry.

We must ensure that the coal industry is allotted, on a preferential basis, the iron and machines essential for the production of coal. The provincial Party committees, the central county Party committees and all ministries should also direct their efforts to coal production.

In addition to the coal industry we should also direct our efforts to other sectors of the mining industry.

Although we have built many cement factories in recent years they are not operating as well as they should because of the inadequate supply of limestone. The reason for this is that the mining industry is not kept ahead of other sectors. Giving priority to the mining industry is an essential for industrial development.

We have stressed time and again the necessity of building up reserves of raw materials to last for more than three months by giving priority to developing the mining industry. It is only when more than three months reserves of raw materials are in stock that the Taaen work system can be established properly.

One of the most important problems in the Six-Year National Economic Plan is the development of light industry.

Originally, the groundwork for light industry had not been laid in

our country and we possessed only a handful of light industry technicians. The light industry factories which had been built in the days of Japanese imperialism were insignificant; most of them were situated in south Korea. In north Korea there were only the Sariwon Textile Mill and a small shoe factory.

After liberation our Party made great efforts to develop light industry and, as a result, our textile industry today has 600,000 spindles. We are going to increase the number to one million in future. At present we do not import light industrial goods and use only what is made locally. We must take pride in this fact. However, we should not rest on our laurels.

Although we use a large amount of raw materials we still fail to produce high-quality light industrial goods.

It is true that during the period of the Seven-Year Plan we worked hard to develop light industry. At the time, however, we had to invest large sums of money to increasing our defence capability, given the situation prevailing in our country. If we were to build light industry factories with the funds which are now allocated to increasing our defence capability, the living standards of our people would be raised dramatically.

In the period of the Six-Year Plan we should spare no efforts to develop light industry. We have to build many light industry factories by our own efforts on the one hand, and import some on the other. We shall then be able to clothe our people well, and mass-produce commodities to sell them to the people more cheaply.

In the course of the full-scale campaign to raise the quality of light industrial goods we should produce a variety of goods which are fashionable and will last a long time and increase the volume of production rapidly and reduce the prices of manufactured goods considerably.

If we are to turn out as many high-quality light industrial goods as we want, we must build light industry factories properly and also make greater calls on the producers than in the past.

Some time ago I went to inspect the newly-built Kumsusan Hotel

and noticed that the bathtubs were unattractive. While making my tour of the newly built houses in Chollima Street I reached the conclusion that wardrobes and doors were not manufactured to as high a standard as the buildings themselves. This is because senior officials do not fight against the practices of producing goods in a slipshod manner nor do they make great calls on the producers. If the officials are going to make our people live more comfortably and provide them with more beautiful and better things, they ought to take scrupulous care of even the smallest details and demand even more than ever before from the producers.

We must introduce intensive methods in agricultural production. Without doing this we cannot meet all our food needs.

At present the population of our country increases by hundreds of thousands every year. This is a good thing. It would be fine even if our population were to increase to 20 millions or 30 millions. The point, however, is that we feed and clothe them well.

We can certainly supply sufficient food to all the people and provide them with good clothes. Under our socialist system there can be no reason for not doing so.

If we are to provide adequate provisions for our people we should produce a large amount of rice. In order to produce a great amount of rice under the conditions of our country, where arable land is limited, we should introduce intensive agricultural production decisively. It is true that we shall be able to obtain more land by reclaiming many tidelands. But that is something to be done in the future.

The most important factor in intensive agricultural production is the establishment of the sprinkler irrigation system.

As a chairman of a county cooperative farm management committee said in his speech yesterday, use of the sprinkler system can more than treble the present production of cereals. If this system is introduced in the fields where maize is planted as a staple crop, the yield of maize per hectare will reach 7 to 8 tons. If in future we install the sprinkler system in fields of 300,000 hectares it will be the equivalent of having an extra 600,000 hectares of land.

The agricultural workers should strive with a firm resolve to establish the sprinkler irrigation system and farm intensively. If this work is even slightly neglected or sabotaged the food problem will remain unsolved and other work will also not proceed smoothly. Therefore, the Party organizations must buckle down to the work of introducing intensive methods in agricultural production and speed it up.

Greater efforts should be made in the transport sector, particularly in the railways.

Because of the full-scale campaign for railway electrification in the past we electrified very nearly all the major trunk lines. If we are to make effective use of railway electrification we have to solve other problems related to it.

Light rails must be replaced by heavy ones. A steam locomotive hauls loads of 700-800 tons, whereas an electric locomotive can haul 1,500-1,600 tons. At present, however, rails are so weak that the electric locomotive cannot transport the maximum loads. Therefore, the present light rails must be replaced by heavy ones as soon as possible. Sleepers should be good and many sidings must also be extended. Large goods wagons must be manufactured. In future, large numbers of 60-ton goods wagons should be produced.

It is only when we have replaced light rails by heavy rails suited to the electrification of the railways, laid good sleepers and manufactured many 60-ton goods wagons that we can say that we have mainly completed railway electrification and we feel a pride in having achieved this. All the sectors of the national economy should give every assistance to the campaign for completing railway electrification and Party organizations, for their part, should control and expedite it.

It is important to solve problems caused by the shortage of labour.

The most difficult problem relates to manpower needed to implement the Six-Year National Economic Plan. The current strains on our manpower resources are as a result of the last war. During the Fatherland Liberation War the birth rate fell and those children who were born in the postwar period have not yet reached working age. The strains on our manpower will be eased from 1974 or 1975.

In our efforts to solve the acute manpower problem we should improve manpower administration. Only then can we be sure to implement the Six-Year National Economic Plan, without fail. I, therefore, stress this as a very important issue today. All Party organizations should discuss the decisions of this Party Congress in detail and adopt measures to improve manpower administration so as to solve the acute labour problem once and for all.

Some rural manpower should be saved by mechanizing and making wider use of chemicals in the rural economy. Just as the chairman of the Management Board of Chongsan Cooperative Farm has pointed out in her speech, the cooperative farm has retrenched 200 members by the introduction of mechanization in agricultural production. If cooperative farms have any idle manpower, the share of the members will be that much less. This being the case, they do not want a labour force beyond their needs. Therefore, if we are efficient in mechanizing agriculture and make wider use of chemicals we shall be able to save some of the labour force in the country areas.

In order to solve the acute manpower problem, able-bodied men should be transferred from those branches of light industry and other fields that do not tax one's strength.

We should wage a determined campaign for earning foreign currency.

If our people are to lead a more prosperous life during the Six-Year Plan period, we should build many light industry factories for ourselves and, at the same time, import some factories from other countries. Such factories as a paper mill, a Tetoron and an Orion factory have to be imported. There are many others which must also be imported.

At present many countries want to sell their factories. In the past the US imperialists and some capitalist countries tried to blockade our country economically, but nowadays, all countries, with the exception of the imperialist United States, favour trade relations with our country. If we have the foreign currency we can import as many factories as we need.

We should launch a full-scale campaign for obtaining foreign currency. We should raise the quality of goods to be produced in light industry and export them in greater numbers. If shirts and similar items are well-made and sold abroad they will earn a great deal for us. The many housewives in the coal mining towns who up to now have been idle will make a tremendous number of high-quality shirts if they are supplied with sewing machines.

3. ON IMPROVING THE IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE PARTY

I shall not speak at length on the tasks relating to Party ideological work because they have already been described in detail in the report to the Party Congress.

At present, an important part of the ideological work of the Party is to fight resolutely against the infiltration of imperialist culture.

Nowadays the imperialists are pursuing two courses in their policy of aggression towards other countries. They are attempting to use armed aggression against those countries which are revolutionary, and cultural aggression against those which are not.

The decadent culture of imperialism is transmitted by literature and the arts. The experience of other countries proves this beyond doubt. If the culture of imperialism penetrates a country, that country is sure to degenerate.

Now that the imperialists are even remorselessly attempting to infiltrate their corrupting culture into our country we should heighten our vigilance against their plans. Therefore, we must ensure that the degenerate culture of imperialism does not enter our country.

In the field of culture we should also thoroughly repudiate the tendency of returning to the past. We should not foster the reactionary tendency of indiscriminately restoring things which are old, on the

pretext that we are encouraging our national traditions.

In the past some people always sang the praises of the unimportant trifles of the old days as though they were better than the things of today and they went to the extent of prescribing for senior officials ancient books crammed with feudal-Confucian ideas. We should remain vigilant lest this reactionary tendency raises its head.

If we are to fight against the cultural penetration of imperialism and the tendency of returning to the past we should consolidate a socialist way of life and develop our socialist literature and arts still more. When our things are not as good as they should be people will, quite naturally, look around to see whether foreign things are better.

We have to frustrate reactionary and degenerated forms by using revolutionary ones. In the early 1930s when the revolutionary movement was at its height, not a single decadent song was heard in the guerrilla bases. At that time revolutionary songs were sung there and the young men regarded the singing of decadent songs instead of revolutionary songs as taboo. We should enliven the whole of society with the singing of revolutionary songs and, for that purpose, compose many songs which are pleasant to hear and which are easy to sing. Only then can we transcend retrogressive and degenerate forms with the revolutionary practices and prevent capitalist influences from infiltrating into our ranks and retrogressive practices from re-emerging in our society.

We must complete our socialist educational science.

In the field of education there are still many vestiges of mixed education which is neither socialistic nor capitalistic. If we are to build communism, we should establish an educational science which is geared to communism.

Nobody has yet written about socialist educational science and, moreover, no foreigners can write and produce anything on it for us. We must formulate our own socialist science of teaching by our own efforts.

In socialist education what is fundamental is how to turn everyone into communists in the course of instilling communist ideas in them. It is not impossible to evolve a socialist science of teaching. We should

make every effort to achieve this as soon as possible.

We must develop scientific research speedily.

At present neither the Party nor the Cabinet gives effective guidance on the work of the Academy of Sciences. Inadequate control and direction on the work of the Academy of Sciences has meant that scientific research is not effectively carried out and that equipment imported from other countries for this purpose is not properly used, either.

Scientists are, at present, widely scattered. This is because ministers who have fallen into departmentalism set up their own institutes. After setting up their research institutes ministers do not tour them, nor do they give clear tasks to them or provide them with adequate facilities for scientific research. How can we, therefore, expect new advances in research? As far as the Institute of Agricultural Mechanization is concerned, it has not produced any innovation worth mentioning although it was set up some years ago.

At the moment the quality of our scientific research is poor and the calibre of our scientists, too, is not high enough. We should, therefore, make every effort to develop scientific research conspicuously.

To this end, we should reorganize the scientific research institutes and bring together the scientists who have been illogically separated, thereby providing the right working conditions for the research institutes to perform their functions efficiently. Furthermore, we should increase guidance and control over the research institutes, give clear tasks to scientists, and promptly evaluate whatever successes they achieve in their research.

Ideological training to combat revisionism should be increased.

If a party falls into revisionism it cannot effectively lead the revolution. Our country still remains divided and the US imperialists are looking for any chance to attack us. Given these circumstances, if we fall prey to revisionism and fail to maintain vigilance, idling away our time, we are bound to be engulfed by the enemy. We should, therefore, declare the struggle against revisionism as a matter of the greatest importance.

We must launch a strong battle to prevent revisionism from appearing within the Party and remain on the alert against revisionism which might infiltrate from abroad.

We should be unsparing in our efforts to revolutionize all the people.

A number of years have already passed since we first advanced the question of the people's revolutionization. Nevertheless, our workers pay only lip service to the revolutionization of the whole of society and their token efforts are unsuccessful. We should do away with these practices and expedite this undertaking.

Increasing organizational life is an essential means of revolutionizing people. We should ensure that Party members and the working people make a competent study of Party policies so as to be fully aware of them and, at the same time, that they lead a faithful life in all organizations, including Party organization. In these ways Party members and the working people should come to criticize and correct promptly their mistakes through their organizational life, and come to play an active part in the fight against retrogressive ideas. People cannot revolutionize themselves by merely having recourse to study, without combatting all shades of retrogressive practices in the course of their participation in the appropriate organizations.

In the course of combatting retrogressive opinions you should not indulge in personalities. The ideological struggle should in any case be a struggle against all shades of retrogressive opinion including revisionism and bourgeois ideas that have some sway over the minds of people. If you indulge in personalities and brush aside a person's achievements in his work simply because of a trifling expression of obsolete ideas, you can neither revolutionize him nor bring a good influence to bear on others who could be revolutionized.

It is important to revolutionize intellectuals.

In order to do this we should demonstrate our trust in them and treat them generously. While trusting intellectuals we should also make every effort to set right their faults. Our experience has been that when we trust intellectuals and educate them properly we can easily revolutionize them and, as a result, they serve the interests of

the Party and the revolution faithfully.

From immediately after our country's liberation to this day our Party has always concerned itself with work with intellectuals. Our Party's policy towards them is not to use them expediently but to re-educate them, accomplish our revolution, and progress to a communist society.

While trusting intellectuals and encouraging them to work we should test and train them. If we merely place our trust in intellectuals and neglect their training they could repudiate the Party and become arrogant, and again start to commit errors. This should be borne in mind in work with them. We should continue to believe in intellectuals and cherish them and, at the same time, criticize and nip their vices in the bud. Only then can we solve the question of the intelligentsia. You should never try to deal with this question hastily.

We should revolutionize not only intellectuals, but also all the members of society.

At present there are many people who have not been revolutionized even amongst the officials of poor-peasant origin and of working-class origin. Some officials of working-class origin are lazy, neglecting study and seldom participating in organizational life. At present there are some who think that revolutionization should necessarily be conducted amongst intellectuals, people of peasant origin or those with complex backgrounds. This is quite mistaken. Everyone can harbour retrogressive and even bourgeois ideas. In this case they should strive to revolutionize themselves.

All Party organizations should make every effort to promote the work of revolutionizing people. By doing so, all the people, firmly united as one, will be able to hasten the building of socialism, repulse any enemy invasion successfully, and thus win the nationwide victory of the revolution.

I am firmly convinced that you will carefully study the report to this Party Congress and its decisions and work hard to realize the important goals set at the Party Congress, by firmly uniting all the Party members and the working people around the Party Central Committee.

CLOSING ADDRESS AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA

November 13, 1970

Comrades,

The historic Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea is now winding up its work.

The current congress was convened under the circumstances in which the revolutionary struggle and work of our people in the field of construction were gaining unprecedented momentum and proceeded against the background of high national political and revolutionary enthusiasm.

The whole Party membership and all the people warmly congratulated the congress and showed keen interest in the work of the congress. All comrade delegates participated in the work of the congress with sincerity.

The congress has successfully wound up discussion on all items on the agenda and carried out its task with credit, amid the great expectation and interest of all our Party members and working people and with the active participation of comrade delegates. We are very satisfied with the whole course and results of the work of the congress.

In the name of the congress, I express deep thanks to comrade delegates and all our Party members and working people who made unsparing efforts to ensure the success of this congress.

Comrades, this congress evaluated the victories and achievements made by our Party and people in the revolutionary struggle and in the

field of construction work during the period under review.

Our Party has led the people, courageously pulling through innumerable difficulties and obstacles in our course, to creditably realize the magnificent programme of socialist construction elaborated by the Fourth Congress and thus turned our country into a socialist industrial state. In the building of a new, prosperous and powerful socialist country, we have scaled one more high peak.

In the course of the struggle to implement the resolutions of the historic Party Conference on stepping up the simultaneous development of our economy and defences, we have come to possess self-defence power capable of repulsing any surprise invasion of the imperialists and reliably defending the security of the country and the gains of socialism.

During the period under review the revolutionary south Korean masses made further advances, dealing heavy blows at the colonial rule of US imperialism and an epochal advance was brought about in the struggle of our people for achieving the reunification of the country and expediting the nationwide victory of the revolution.

The independent, principled foreign policy of the Party has further enhanced the prestige of our Party and of our country in the international community and has strengthened international solidarity with our revolution as never before.

All the victories and successes we have attained in the revolutionary struggle and in the work of construction are in consequence of the great unsurpassed Juche idea of our Party and its brilliant application.

In the course of our unflinching struggle against flunkeyism and dogmatism we thoroughly established Juche in all fields of the revolution and construction and so ensured the overall victory of the Juche idea.

The congress unanimously ratified the Juche idea as the permanent guiding principle of our Party and noted with satisfaction that our revolutionary line of independence, self-reliance and self-defence is brilliantly reflected in the political, economic, military and all other

fields of the revolution and construction in our country.

The Juche idea of the Party, Marxist-Leninist ideology, runs through the whole Party and the unity and cohesion of our Party ranks have been further cemented on a new basis, and all the people have rallied closer around the Party than ever before.

The Fifth Congress of our Party may be called the congress marking the great successes in industrialization, the congress marking the outright victory of the Juche idea in the history of our Party and our country.

The congress indicated the new orientation and goal of struggle and elaborated the momentous tasks facing our people in the Six-Year Plan.

The tasks put forth by the congress are a militant programme for expediting the complete victory of socialism and the nationwide victory of our revolution.

When this new programme is carried into effect, our country will become a developed socialist state with a more powerful economic might and military capability, our revolutionary force will grow and strengthen into an invincible one and our lives will be more prosperous and cultured in all respects.

The implementation of this programme will more powerfully inspire and stimulate the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people and open a decisive phase in realizing the independent reunification of the country.

Comrades,

In this period we attained truly great victories and successes in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction. However, our cause has not yet been brought to completion and we are still on the uphill course of revolution and construction.

We should continue to advance resolutely towards a new victory, not resting content with anything less than victory or yielding to pressures.

As those struggling for revolution, we should always live by a revolutionary code of conduct. All our Party members and working

people in carrying out the militant tasks determined by the Party Congress should continue to make every effort, ever ready to advance at an even faster pace, with great hope for a brighter morrow and confidence in victory.

In implementing the resolutions of the Party Congress, it is necessary for us first of all to strengthen the Party and firmly build up the revolutionary ranks. The monolithic ideological system should be thoroughly established in the Party, and, on this basis, the unity of the Party ranks in ideology and purpose will be firmly guaranteed and the masses be rallied closer around the Party.

The ideological revolution should be stepped up so as to train all the working people as ardent revolutionaries and true builders of socialism and communism and so further expedite the course of the revolutionization and working-classization of the whole society.

Socialist economic construction is an important revolutionary task facing us today. We should make great efforts in all fields of the national economy so as to implement ahead of schedule the Six-Year Plan elaborated by the Party Congress.

All the Party members and working people should study science and technology purposefully and devote all their energies and talents to socialist construction. All should unflinchingly break through every obstacle and difficulty lying in the course of socialist construction and make continued innovations and an uninterrupted advance in the spirit of Chollima, displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

In this way we should successfully carry out the Six-Year Plan, thereby consolidating and developing the achievements in industrialization, expanding still further the material and technical foundations of socialism and freeing the working people from backbreaking labour in all sectors of the national economy.

We should continue to devote great efforts to reinforcing defence capability along with socialist economic construction and make full preparations to cope with a war.

The whole Party and all the people should spurn pacifism and the revisionist tendency of fearing a war and have strong militant and

revolutionary spirit to fight the enemy valiantly if he dares to attack us.

The Party's military line of self-defence should be thoroughly carried through so that the all-people and all-nation defence system can be further consolidated and the whole country be turned into an impregnable fortress.

By intensifying the struggle for increased production and economy in all sectors and in all units, we should secure more material reserves and make preparations for guaranteeing production in the event of war.

It is true that the tasks confronting us are painstaking and immense and our struggle is an uphill one. There will still be a lot of difficulties in the way of our advance and we are certain to encounter trials.

We have, however, all the conditions and possibilities for overcoming all these difficulties and trials and winning a new victory.

The lines and policies of our Party are correct and they light up the course ahead of us. Our people trust the Party and are firmly united around it and are resolutely advancing, breaking through all obstacles, along the road marked by the Party.

Our revolutionary cause is just and we enjoy the active support and encouragement of the revolutionary people throughout the world.

Our victory is certain as long as we have the sagacious leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the unbowed strength of the people rallied closely around it and international support and encouragement. No force on earth can ever bar the triumphant advance of our Party and people.

Comrades, the congress unanimously elected a new Central Committee. On behalf of the new Central Committee, I express deep gratitude to delegates for their deep trust.

The newly elected Central Committee is faced with a great responsibility and heavy tasks.

I firmly believe that the new Central Committee will live up to the great confidence expressed by the congress, successfully carrying out the resolutions of the congress and making even greater efforts to achieve the final victory of our revolutionary cause.

Comrades, our congress has been held amid warm congratulations

from fraternal parties and from our friends in the world.

A large number of Communist and Workers' Parties, the ruling parties of newly independent countries and revolutionary organizations of many countries of the world have sent kind messages and telegrams of congratulations to our congress. These make us very happy and inspire us tremendously.

In the name of this congress and all our Party members, I express thanks to the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, the ruling parties of newly independent countries and revolutionary organizations of all the countries which have sent messages and telegrams of congratulations to the congress.

In the name of the congress, I extend greetings to the working class and revolutionary people throughout the world who render support and encouragement to the revolutionary cause of our people and wish them greater success in their struggle.

The delegates of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in south Korea and the congratulatory group of Koreans in Japan attended our congress and warmly congratulated the congress and encouraged us.

I, in the name of the congress, express thanks to the delegates of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in south Korea who congratulated our congress and, through them, to the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in south Korea and extend warm encouragement to the south Korean revolutionaries and patriots who are fighting valiantly for freedom, liberation and the reunification of the country, not yielding to the fascist repression of the US imperialists and their stooges.

I also express thanks to the congratulatory group of Koreans in Japan who attended our congress and, through them, to Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), and convey greetings to the 600,000 compatriots in Japan who are fighting valiantly for the national rights and the reunification of the country.

Comrades,

After the congress, comrade delegates will return to their posts and enter upon a new struggle for carrying out the resolutions of the

Congress. You who represented all our Party members, workers, peasants and working intellectuals at this congress, bear a particularly heavy responsibility in the struggle for fulfilling the resolutions of the congress.

I firmly believe that you comrades will, in the future, too, as in the past, staunchly defend and carry through to the last the lines and policies of the Party, firmly arm the Party members and working people with the monolithic ideology of the Party and organize and mobilize them, thereby making an active contribution to advancing the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction.

Everyone should steadfastly advance, rallied closely around the Party Central Committee, holding high the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea of our Party, the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and thereby accelerate the nationwide victory of the revolution and win the complete victory of socialism.

Wishing the delegates of the congress and all our Party members and working people great success in their future tasks for carrying out the resolutions of the congress, I declare the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea closed.

ON MAKING THE LEAGUE OF SOCIALIST WORKING YOUTH CHEERFUL AND MILITANT

**Speech Delivered at the Consultative Meeting of the Senior
Officials of the Youth-Work Department of the Central
Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and Those
of the Central Committee of the League
of Socialist Working Youth**

November 24, 1970

Today I should like to speak about the question of building up the ranks of cadres of the League of Socialist Working Youth with young people and other matters arising in its work.

It is very important in the revolution and construction to work well with young people. The future of the revolution depends largely on how we work with them. The situation in our country today all the more urgently requires that we should do this work well.

Only when we train the new generation to become ardent revolutionaries by improving and strengthening the work of the LSWY can we reunify the country and build a socialist and communist society successfully. If we are to reunify the country we must radically improve the work of the LSWY. For this reason, I have always stressed the need to work efficiently amongst young people and children and put forward concrete tasks for the LSWY organizations. But I cannot say that at present the LSWY is working at the level required by the Party.

The LSWY organizations are not implementing their tasks satisfactorily. They are also not efficient in revolutionizing the young people and children or in stirring up the young people to the commendable struggle for socialist construction. The young people ought to be enthusiastic about reunifying the country as soon as possible as well as about building a socialist and communist society. But they are not. At present none of the LSWY activities is noteworthy except that of the travelling youth motivation team.

The reason why the work of the LSWY has been below the expectations of the Party is not that its working conditions are unfavourable. Working conditions in our country today are better than ever before.

In the past when there were the individual peasants' economy and private trade and industry, youth work was difficult because the young people used to work separately, each in his own way. At present, however, this work is done in very favourable conditions in that the production relations have already been transformed on socialist lines and all young people lead a collective life as socialist working people. The LSWY is fully provided with publications including its own newspaper and magazine and various other educational means. During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we worked well among young people and trained them to be revolutionaries even under the unfavourable conditions where they lived far away from each other. The LSWY workers should not confine themselves to studying our Party's revolutionary traditions, but put them into effect in their work. If the LSWY organizations work well amongst young people by taking advantage of the present favourable conditions, they will be able to train all of them to become ardent revolutionaries and get them to do their share in the building of socialism.

Party organizations' ineffective assistance to the LSWY in its work is a reason why the LSWY has not functioned as required by the Party. But the main reason is that the leading officials of the LSWY themselves have not played their roles properly.

At present they do not press forward with their work by displaying

youthful forcefulness. The single fact that they are not playing a proper part of masters in the construction of the LSWY University is patent proof of their inefficient work. The LSWY is a large force of young people. It has a large contingent of young student-technicians in the University of Construction alone. If they are given an assignment to design the LSWY University, they will be able to work out an excellent design with the help of their teachers. If the LSWY convenes a conference of its activists and makes an appeal to its members throughout the country, it will be able to obtain the materials, machines, equipment and everything else needed for the construction of the university by its own efforts.

The LSWY officials' lack of forcefulness in their work is due to their mature age. The officials working in the LSWY organizations at different levels, including its Central Committee, are old enough to have had grandchildren in olden times. So there is nothing youthful even in their manner of walking, and in every respect they lack an attitude befitting workers of the LSWY. At present, they savour of the elderly, not of the young.

If we are to develop the LSWY into a youth organization which is vigorous and enterprising and improve its work, we must, above all, build up its ranks of cadres with young people.

In reorganizing the cadre ranks of the LSWY we must abandon the old practices and boldly promote young people to cadres. If they undertake the work of the LSWY, they will be able to work wonders.

The organizational life of the LSWY members is, in any event, a transitional life. Therefore, the officials of the LSWY can also only conduct the work of the LSWY for a limited period. When they become old they should immediately be replaced by young people and transferred to Party organs or other organizations of the working people. Only when the cadres of the LSWY are continuously replaced by younger people in this way can the LSWY remain as an enterprising, youthful organization and the work of the LSWY be forcefully promoted.

The LSWY workers must not show a trace of old age. They must be

cheerful and aggressive. In future the Central Committee of the LSWY should be staffed with people who are under 35 years of age. The best age for the staff of its Central Committee is 27 or 28. It does not matter if the officials of the Youth-Work Department of the Party Central Committee are a little older, but the LSWY officials who deal personally with its members should be young. Heads of youth-work departments of county Party committees can be chosen from amongst the people who are 35 to 38 years old.

In order to keep replacing the ranks of the LSWY cadres with young people, it is necessary to train its reserve cadres properly.

The LSWY must establish a proper system of training reserve cadres so as to produce a large number of ardent revolutionaries and social workers. This is the way to build up the ranks of the LSWY cadres and also train the reserve cadres for the Party. At present, the LSWY is not training reserve cadres as it should, so it cannot develop the ranks of its own cadres nor meet the requirement of the reserves of Party cadres. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we got the Young Volunteers' Army and the Young Communist League to train the reserve cadres of the revolutionary army. The young people who had been trained in the YCL became the hard core of the Party after being admitted to it or became the core of the armed units after being enlisted in the People's Revolutionary Army, proving themselves to be good fighters.

You say that at present there is no source of LSWY cadres, but this is ridiculous. Now that LSWY organizations are active in all parts of our country, you can select sound young people and give them a systematic training to be LSWY cadres. The situation is as it is now because the LSWY has not established a system of training reserve cadres. But there is a large number of fine young people who are promising to become cadres. With the help of the LSWY organization of the Haeju Revolutionary School, the LSWY organization of Haeju City can mark good pupils out for promotion to LSWY cadres after graduation.

You need not necessarily try to select only the children of martyrs

because you have to build up the ranks of the LSWY cadres with sound people. Other young people can also be promoted to be officials of the LSWY if they have knowledge and ability and are enterprising and strong in their fighting spirit. Of course, it would be better if we could build up the ranks of the LSWY officials with martyrs' children. But there are not so many of them now. You should choose as reserve cadres of the LSWY the young people who are about 28 years old and have a strong fighting spirit, and should train them.

The reserve cadres for the Central Committee of the LSWY should be selected from amongst the graduates of the Mangyongdae and the Haeju Revolutionary School and from amongst sound young people of working-class origin. University students can also be chosen for training as reserve cadres of the LSWY. There is also a large number of young women who are qualified for this training.

We must hasten the appointment of the officials who will direct youth work.

We must first staff the Youth-Work Department of the Party Central Committee and those of the provincial, city and county Party committees. We should also strengthen the ranks of cadres of various LSWY organizations by promoting young people. The workers of the county LSWY committee, for instance, can be selected from amongst the fine young descendants of martyrs in that county. University graduates can also be selected for appointment to the LSWY leadership.

The most important task of the LSWY today is to give a strong impetus to the revolutionization of the younger generation.

The League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea and the Children's Union of Korea are the political organizations which train the young people and the children of our country to be the genuine reserves for the building of socialism and communism. Revolutionizing them is fundamental to this training.

Revolutionizing the young people and children means equipping them firmly with the monolithic ideology of the Party so that they can be heirs to the revolution. In other words, it means helping them to

acquire the revolutionary world outlook and training them to be ardent revolutionaries who will devote their all for the building of socialism and communism in our country and for the victory of the world revolution. It is only when they are revolutionized that they can enjoy working, take good care of state and social property and dedicate themselves to the defence of the socialist gains from enemy encroachment and to the cause of the south Korean revolution and national reunification.

At present we are fighting for the revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society. Since the Party has raised the slogan for revolutionization, the LSWY ought to follow the Party's policy and endeavour to implement it. But LSWY officials, being unresponsive to this policy, do not try hard to revolutionize the young people in spite of the Party's slogan.

As a consequence, some of the LSWY members are still selfish, weak in their revolutionary spirit to safeguard the socialist gains from enemy encroachment and in their revolutionary determination to dedicate themselves to the struggle for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism. In the early years of our revolutionary activities, we worked hard to revolutionize young people and they all came out in the revolutionary struggle with a firm resolve. Young people nowadays are not so revolutionary because the LSWY is not revolutionizing them properly.

It is very important to revolutionize young people and children. At present the US imperialists and their stooges are making threats of war all the time, increasing their preparations to invade the northern half of our country. If we do not revolutionize the youngsters and children in this situation so that they possess a bitter hatred for the enemy and acquire the revolutionary world outlook, they will be unable to fight against the US imperialist aggressors nor will they be able to carry forward the revolution. The LSWY organizations must strive to instil in their minds a strong hatred for the enemy and to equip them firmly with the revolutionary world outlook.

The LSWY organizations must get down to the work of

revolutionizing the young students and schoolchildren in particular.

The system of universal compulsory nine-year technical education has now been established in our country and all young people receive school education before they go out to work in society. Therefore, if the school organizations of the Children's Union and of the LSWY organize the work of revolutionizing the young students and pupils carefully, these people can acquire the basis of the revolutionary world outlook before they enter society.

At present, schools talk a great deal about knowledge, morality and healthy bodies. But they are not working hard to revolutionize their students and pupils. Since knowledge, morality and health are the content of our Party's revolutionary educational policy, the school organizations of the LSWY ought to uphold the slogan for revolutionization and work hard to revolutionize the young students and schoolchildren.

In revolutionizing them, it is most important to ensure that they become accustomed to the organizational and collective life in their early years.

The LSWY organizations must intensify their organizational life and ensure that they become conscious of the fact that they cannot maintain their political integrity outside the organization and the collective. The younger generation must be trained in childhood to acquire the good habit of revolutionizing themselves. If they are trained in this way so as to lead their organizational life faithfully in childhood, they will be faithful to organizational life when they are admitted to the Party, the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People or the Women's Union after completing their LSWY life.

The LSWY organizations must pay special attention to the strengthening of the organizational life of their student members. The schoolchildren wearing red scarves around their necks are all faithful to the life in the Children's Union but when they have become LSWY members, some of them neglect their organizational life. This shows that the LSWY organizations do not educate their student members

properly. You have to strengthen their organizational life so that they live in a revolutionary way.

The next important task of the LSWY organizations is to train young hard-core members methodically.

The LSWY is the mass organization of young people. Therefore, young, communistic hard-core members are needed to educate the broad sections of young people and unite them closely behind the Party.

In other countries there are young communist leagues which admit only the communistic, hard core of young people. But in our country all the young people are enrolled in the LSWY. If we do as they do in other countries the young men who are not admitted to the youth organization will degenerate and go astray. There are no hooligans amongst our young people because they are all enrolled in organizations and educated there. At present all our young people belong to the LSWY and are trained to be young communistic hard cores, to be dependable workers of the Party and the state.

In order to train a large number of hard-core youths the LSWY organizations should select them for this purpose during their days in the Children's Union and educate them methodically.

To this end, sound people should be appointed Children's Union instructors and their role must be made more important. These instructors should train the pupils with good records in their Children's Union life to be its leaders and recommend them for LSWY membership. The LSWY should admit them and train them to be its hard-core members and then recommend them for Party membership. With the help of LSWY organizations the youth-work departments of Party committees should be kept informed of those who have been hard-core members of the Children's Union and the LSWY. Since all the children and young people in our country are enrolled in organizational life, you can identify which of them has been a hard-core element from his Children's Union days. On the basis of information obtained by the youth-work departments, the Party organizations should recruit the hard-core youths as Party members

and also send them to higher schools for cadre training. If we establish a work system of this kind, we can train a large number of revolutionaries and socio-political workers. Then we can easily solve the problem of LSWY cadres and further strengthen the ranks of our Party as well.

During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we trained many young revolutionaries by recruiting the pick of the Children's Vanguard for the Young Communist League, and admitting model YCL members to the Party and the guerrilla units. At that time we called the Children's Corps, the Young Communist League and the Party the "Alliance of Three Generations", which meant that these generations were carrying on the revolution.

When the pupils who have been given regular training as hard-core elements go to join the army, to work at factories or advance to higher schools after graduation, the LSWY organizations must hand over the list of their names and the records of their organizational life in the Children's Union and the LSWY to the organizations concerned. In this way they will continue to receive training and become the hard core of young people and excellent workers.

The LSWY should guide the youth shock brigade well.

The LSWY must guide it because it is composed of LSWY members. The important thing in this guidance is to educate its members politically and ideologically by all possible means. The provision of materials and the supply services for them should be undertaken by the enterprises concerned and the political work by the LSWY. The LSWY should organize shock brigades by stimulating its members and then set them to work on designated projects in high spirits.

In order to bring about a change in the work of the LSWY, the Party must improve its guidance.

At present Party organizations do not pay attention to the work of the LSWY. They do not build up the ranks of the LSWY cadres properly nor do they receive work reports from the LSWY often enough. Party organizations do not help the LSWY in its work but

overrule it. This deprives the LSWY organizations of their independence and makes them incapable of developing work on their own initiative.

If they are to strengthen Party leadership to the LSWY, the Party organizations must first correct their attitude towards it. They should put the LSWY organizations in the front rank and actively help them to work independently rather than arrogate its functions to themselves. They should receive regular work reports from the LSWY organizations and solve their problems speedily. In this way they will ensure that the LSWY workers themselves activate the LSWY organizations to revolutionize and working-classize young people and do political work amongst them so as to bring about changes in production and construction.

The Party organizations should help the LSWY organizations enthusiastically and the latter should receive guidance willingly from the former. The LSWY organizations should present regular work reports to the Party organizations and ask them what to do when their work is not proceeding well. Only then can the Party organizations help the LSWY in its work and solve problems before it is too late.

I hope that you will bring about a change in the LSWY activities by working well in the direction adopted by this meeting.

ON SOME TASKS TO IMPROVE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF PYONGYANG CITIZENS

**Speech Delivered at an Enlarged Meeting of the Executive
Committee of Pyongyang City Party Committee**

December 3, 1970

Today, the enlarged meeting of the executive committee of the Pyongyang City Party Committee is being attended by the members of the executive committee, the departmental directors of the Party Central Committee, some ministers and officials from the relevant sectors in the city.

At this meeting we are going to discuss how Pyongyang can bring about innovations in the economic sector during the Six-Year Plan, with particular stress on the question of improving the living standards of the people.

The important thing in raising their standard of living is to solve their problems of food, clothing and housing satisfactorily. Therefore, this meeting should discuss, item by item, how to solve these problems for Pyongyang citizens during the Six-Year Plan and improve their standard of living.

1. ON SOLVING THE PEOPLE'S FOOD PROBLEM

The food problem is more important than the clothing and housing

problems. In speaking, we Koreans mention the word “clothing” first, and then “food” and “housing” last. But we regard food as the first, clothing as the second and housing as the third.

Now that the problem of cereals has been basically solved, the question of non-staple foodstuffs is becoming important in dealing with the food problem.

It is important to increase the production of vegetables in solving the problem of non-staple foodstuffs. Pyongyang should set the goal of supplying 700 to 800 grammes of vegetables per capita a day and work hard to attain it.

If it organizes work well, Pyongyang can easily solve the vegetable problem. In recent years, however, the city has been unable to supply vegetables properly. This supply was not satisfactory in August 1968 and in the same month of 1969. Certainly, the situation this year was much better than in previous years, but the supply of vegetables in August was still not up to the mark.

For the regular supply of 800 grammes of vegetables per capita every day the city needs 800 tons of vegetables a day. But it is difficult to meet this need completely at present. So Pyongyang will have to ensure a daily supply of 600 grammes per head on the average during the Six-Year Plan as the first stage. Even this amount is larger than that supplied in other countries. I was told that at present vegetables are scarce in some countries. I think that we are relatively successful in solving this problem, but our situation is not yet satisfactory.

In order to solve this problem satisfactorily we must organize vegetable production according to a plan, develop hothouse cultivation properly and store the produce carefully.

At present, vegetable production is not planned properly in detail. It must be planned in every detail. If we plan it this way and cultivate vegetables by stages, we shall easily be able to solve this problem by cultivating the existing area of vegetable fields.

We must provide the proper conditions for vegetable storage, particularly during the winter. Pyongyang must build several large storehouses and cooperative farms must also take measures for it. The

citizens should be provided with facilities to preserve kimchi for day-to-day consumption.

Kimchi is one of the Koreans' favourite non-staple foodstuffs. Koreans say that they can scarcely live without it. If you have prepared kimchi for the winter, you can say that you have a stock of vegetables preserved for five months from November to next March. That is why the Koreans say that kimchi accounts for half their provisions.

We should make every effort to introduce an industrial method of making kimchi during the Six-Year Plan. This does not necessarily mean that we are going to supply it to every family. We can build a kimchi mill to serve several dong and supply it to the families which do not prepare it themselves and let those families which want to preserve it themselves do as they please. It is by no means easy to supply kimchi to every family.

Since kimchi is still prepared by the consumers themselves, the multi-storeyed apartment houses to be built from next year onwards should be provided with unheated kimchi storage on each floor. One store should be provided for every five of the ten flats on the same floor, for instance, at the estimate of two kimchi jars from each flat to be kept in the storage. The designs for the apartment houses to be built from next year must include these stores.

The existing apartment houses should also be provided with brick-built cellars for the storage of kimchi in their back yards. Then, the people will not have to bury kimchi jars anywhere in an unsightly manner, and the streets will look clean.

Next year, Pyongyang must organize a mass campaign to build kimchi cellars. The city people's committee should standardize the cellars and supply the bricks needed for the project. All the chief secretaries of the district Party committees are present at this meeting, and I call on them to encourage the citizens to construct the cellars next year. When the people have gradually ceased to preserve kimchi for themselves at home at some time in the future, the kimchi storage can be used for other purposes—for instance, to store coal or other things.

You should also develop hothouse cultivation in order to solve the problem of winter vegetables. You need not try to build glass hothouses only. You should also use plastic sheeting for them. Hothouses are suitable for the cultivation of cucumbers, lettuce, tomatoes, and so on.

It is important to solve the problem of vegetables for the month of August.

The high temperature and great humidity pose a problem in the cultivation of August vegetables. At present, we plant strains suitable for cool weather because we do not have those which thrive in a high temperature and humidity, so that vegetables do not grow well in August. Vegetables also thrive only in suitable weather conditions. We must intensify the study of vegetable strains so as to obtain those which do well in a hot and humid climate, and we shall also have to import some of them.

In our country at present, double cropping of maize is not successful, probably because we have no suitable strains. If we are to cultivate maize as a second crop, we must obtain a strain which thrives in hot weather. It seems to me that the biological study of the strains suitable to our specific conditions is not adequate. We should make every effort to obtain the strains of vegetables which thrive in August. It is important to cultivate vegetables by stages as a means of solving the problem of August vegetables, but the main thing is to obtain the strains which thrive in a hot and humid climate.

Aubergines grow best in August in our country. So we have to increase the area of cultivation slightly. If we are to cultivate aubergines on a large scale, we must teach the people how to cook them. The people from South Phyongan Province and Pyongyang like aubergines and they cook them in various ways, for instance, by boiling, stewing or preserving them as kimchi. At present, there are many Pyongyang citizens who came from Hamgyong Provinces. They do not seem to know how to cook them. They must be taught how to do so.

You say that the per-hectare yield of aubergines is 30 tons. This is a fairly large amount. But they can be cultivated only as a single crop,

not as a later or an earlier crop in the fields which are used to produce cereals. So, if you increase the area of aubergine cultivation, you will be reducing the area of grain cultivation. That is why we cannot afford to cultivate too much of it.

We must also take measures to store cucumbers and potatoes, which are produced in large quantities in June and July and then supply them in August when there is a shortage of vegetables.

You say that you can harvest ten tons of cucumbers additionally per hectare by keeping the vines in place until mid-August. If this is really the case, you can even supply some fresh cucumbers in August. But I was told that, if autumn vegetables are cultivated as later crops, they yield only 100 tons per hectare in a field which is capable of producing 200 tons per hectare in ordinary conditions. We cannot afford to give up 100 tons of other vegetables to harvest only ten tons of cucumbers. So the best thing to do is to harvest cucumbers as early as possible and store them for supply at a later date.

The supply of vegetables is also inadequate in September. In September, autumn vegetables are thinned out, and if the thinned-out vegetables are supplied properly, this will contribute in no small measure to supplies during September. But farmers are reluctant to thin them out, and this is because thinned-out vegetables are cheap.

At present, many vegetable prices are absurd. It costs the farmers a great deal of labour to thin out young celery cabbages. A large number of women work all day long to thin them out, but the output is very small. Young celery cabbages are delicious whether stewed in soy sauce or bean paste, whether cooked as a salad or boiled in soup. Since they are delicious and since a great deal of labour is required to thin them out, their price ought to be higher than that of other cabbages. But, in fact, they are cheaper than the others.

Vegetable prices which have been fixed irrationally must be corrected. The vegetables which are produced when they are scarce and which cost a great deal of labour should be more expensive. The price of young celery cabbages should be raised, and so should the prices of those which are stored for supply when the season is over.

The price of cucumbers should be decreased in July and raised in August and the following months. If the price of cucumbers is ten *jon* a kilogramme in July, for instance, it should be raised to 15 *jon* in August, and then to 20 *jon* in September and so on. The price should be low during their season and higher when the season is over. Cucumbers should also be more expensive at the beginning of the season because this will stimulate the producers to try to bring them to market as early as possible.

We must solve the problem of meat.

It would be ideal if we could supply 100 grammes of meat per head to the population every day, but we still cannot do so. We must solve this problem without fail during the Six-Year Plan.

The present output of meat from the poultry plants and of pork from the cooperative farms in Pyongyang amounts to 25,000 tons live weight. But this is not enough, and we need another 30,000 tons. The question is whether to construct three 10,000-ton capacity pig farms in order to produce 30,000 tons of meat or to build more chicken plants which are large enough to produce 10,000 tons of chicken and build pig farms to produce the remaining 20,000 tons. Judging from our field investigations, the former seems preferable. If we construct pig farms, we shall be able to produce not only pork but also a great deal of pigskin which can be supplied to the large leather shoe factory we have constructed in Pyongyang.

If Pyongyang produces another 30,000 tons of pork by building the three pig farms at some time in the future, then it will be producing a total of 55,000 tons live weight annually, including the output from the existing facilities. If we assume that the meat and entrails are all processed and if we estimate the net meat output to be 70 per cent, we shall be able to produce 38,000 tons of meat. Even this amount means a daily supply of 85 grammes per head of the population, excluding the portion for hospitals and hotels. Therefore, we shall have to produce at least another 1,000 tons of beef and other kinds of meat so as to increase the total output to 40,000 tons. If we produce this amount, we shall be able to ensure a daily supply of 100 grammes per head by

tinning or processing it in various other ways.

The Ryongsong Meat-Processing Factory can process all the meat that is produced in Pyongyang for its citizens. If the pigs from the three farms to be constructed in Pyongyang are supplied to the Ryongsong Meat-Processing Factory, and if the factory is operated at full capacity, it will produce not only meat but sausages, buns stuffed with seasoned meat, brawn and various other items. Sausages and buns and similar items can be delivered by van to groceries before daylight so that they can be available to the citizens for breakfast. This will improve the Pyongyang citizens' standard of diet to a considerable extent.

If the Ryongsong Meat-Processing Factory is to be made to serve the Pyongyang citizens exclusively, another meat-processing plant will have to be built to serve the People's Army.

There is nothing particularly difficult in building a meat-processing plant. When we were building the first one, we had many difficulties. But now we can build modern ones by using our present capabilities.

I think it will be a good idea to build another meat-processing plant in Sariwon or in Haeju. At present, the pigs which are bought in the provinces are brought to the Ryongsong Meat-Processing Factory, and they lose weight while in transit. If we have a meat-processing plant in Sariwon or in Haeju, the pigs will be processed without involving such transport and they will not lose weight.

When we have solved the problem of tin plate by constructing a tin plate factory at some time in the future, tinned meat should be produced not only in Pyongyang but also in Sariwon, Haeju and at other provincial food-processing plants. Slaughterhouses in counties should also tin meat after freezing as much as is needed. Meat can be tinned as simply as bottling apples.

The point is that Pyongyang should construct three 10,000-ton capacity pig farms. The chief secretaries of the district Party committees must take the responsibility for building the pig farms.

Of course, it is not simple to build a pig farm, but you need not consider it to be very difficult. Some time ago we inspected a modern pig farm and we found nothing very complicated about it. As much

equipment as we need for pig farms can be produced in our country.

Pyongyang should build one pig farm in a year starting from next year rather than try to construct the three in one year. In this way the farms can obtain a steady supply of farrows. If you build them all at once, their utilization rate will be low because of the difficulty of getting a sufficient supply of farrows.

It is advisable to build the first pig farm in the Sadong District. The other two should be built in other districts at a later date. The designs for the pig farms should be identical, instead of being different from each other. If the pig farms are built in three different districts, the manure which is produced there will be available to the neighbouring cooperative farms. The amount of manure from these three pig farms will be enough to fertilize approximately 10,000 hectares of non-paddy fields, at the rate of 500 grammes applied to each maize plant. Farmers will be pleased to get a supply of chickens' droppings from the chicken plants for vegetable cultivation and manure from the pig farms for maize cultivation. The cooperative farms in the neighbourhood of the pig farms should produce ten tons of cereals per hectare by using the manure from the pig farms.

If we are to raise pigs on a massive scale after building these pig farms, we shall need a large amount of feed. The problem of meat will eventually be solved when the feed problem has been solved. Pyongyang must solve the problem of feed for the pig farms for itself.

To do this, you must increase per-hectare grain yields by introducing sprinkler irrigation in non-paddy fields and by cultivating the crops intensively. At present, Pyongyang has 20,000 hectares of land where sprinkler irrigation can be introduced for the cultivation of maize, excluding the rice fields, vegetable fields and the plots which are not suitable for irrigation. If you cultivate maize on the 20,000 hectares of land, you will be able to produce 160,000 to 200,000 tons, at an estimate of eight to ten tons to be attained as a result of the introduction of the sprinkler system. If we add to this the output of cereals from the fields where it is impossible to use this system, you will be producing a total of at least 200,000 tons from the non-paddy

fields. This will be enough to supply feed for chicken plants and pig farms. Since it has a large population and many agronomists, Pyongyang can introduce intensive farming without great difficulty. You must ensure that the paddy and non-paddy fields in Pyongyang are well cultivated so that the city can solve the problems of vegetables, food and animal feed.

We should thus build up Pyongyang in an exemplary manner so that it will be able to supply adequate vegetables and meat regularly, and then encourage Sariwon, Haeju, Hamhung, Wonsan and other provincial capitals to improve the people's standard of living by following the example of Pyongyang.

We must solve the problem of eggs as well as that of meat.

Pyongyang now has facilities with a total capacity to produce 200 million eggs—100 million eggs from the Mangyongdae Chicken Plant, 50 million from the Sopho Chicken Plant, and 50 million from the Hadang Chicken Plant. But they are not producing so many eggs. An annual output of 200 million eggs means a daily output of 600,000 eggs, but the present daily output is scarcely 300,000. The existing chicken plants should be worked at full capacity so as to raise the daily total output to 600,000 eggs during the next year or two.

If we produce 200 million eggs a year, we shall be able to supply each of the Pyongyang citizens with one egg every other day. If we are to double the amount of daily supply, we shall have to construct more chicken plants. We shall have to construct a chicken plant with an annual capacity of 100 million eggs during the Six-Year Plan, on the basis of a careful estimate of the citizens' purchasing power. Since we are experienced in the construction of chicken plants, we shall be able to build the new one extremely well. I was told that few of the chicken plants in the world are as good as ours.

We can say that we are successful in egg production. If we supply them with feed properly, the chicken plants will produce an enormous number of eggs.

According to available information, the production of duck eggs is now a world trend. Duck egg production is a matter of interest because

duck eggs are larger than hen's eggs and because the ducks' egg productivity is high. We shall have to consider whether we should mass-produce duck eggs or whether we should continue with hen's egg production.

We must solve the milk problem.

Pyongyang has planned to produce 5,200 tons of milk a year. This amount is too small. We shall need 20,000 tons of cow's milk in order to give each of the nursery school children 200 grammes every day, even though the primary school pupils and kindergarteners will have to be supplied with a substitute which is made from powdered beans mixed with sugar or with dried milk. Two hundred grammes of milk means a cupful. Two hundred grammes of milk daily is the minimum requirement for a nursery school baby. But it is impossible for Pyongyang to increase the annual output of milk to 20,000 tons for the present. The city will, therefore, have to strive to produce 10,000 tons.

If Pyongyang tackles this task, it will be able to produce 10,000 tons of milk without difficulty. In order to solve the milk problem, we organized several dairy farms in Pyongyang after the armistice. If only these farms had been managed properly, they would have been able to produce more than 20,000 tons rather than 10,000 tons. Because of their careless management, however, milk output from these farms is small. The chief secretaries of the district Party committees and other senior Party officials must come to grips with the task and tackle the milk problem. In this way you will increase the annual milk output to 10,000 tons by the end of the Six-Year Plan.

If we are to solve the problem of milk for Pyongyang, we must expand the dairy farms in the Ryokpho and Ryongsong Districts, and organize new ones in Sangwon and Junghwa Counties.

We have to modernize the dairy farms, both the farm buildings and the operations for the supply of water and feed, so that they can be run by fewer hands.

In order to expand the dairy farms and build new ones in Pyongyang, it is necessary to bring young dairy cows from other parts

of the country. Pyongyang must keep 5,000 dairy cows and create the necessary sources of feed.

Pyongyang should try hard to ensure a daily supply of 100 grammes of fish per head of its population. To this end, the city will have to increase the capacity of refrigerator plants and cold storages and take measures to transport fish promptly. If the city succeeds in working hard at this, it will be able to supply 100 grammes of fish per head of its population every day.

We must work hard to be able to supply an apple or a pear to each of the Pyongyang citizens every day. An apple or a pear for everyone every day means a fairly high standard of fruit supply. Peaches and plums are consumed in their seasons, so they should not be taken into account. We should think about apples and pears only.

If we are to supply an apple or a pear to each of the Pyongyang citizens every day, we shall need at least 43,000 tons of them a year. Obtaining this amount will be well within the power of Pyongyang, if the city makes an effort. It must try to meet its own requirements for fruit rather than bring it from other parts of the country.

At present, however, orchards in Pyongyang, like the one in the Taesong District, are not managed properly. In consequence, their yields do not rise every year, although they should do so.

Pyongyang has planned to produce 53,100 tons of fruit in all in 1976, including apples, pears, peaches, grapes and similar items, of which apples account for 33,574 tons. This amount is not sufficient to supply one apple per head per day. But it is impossible to increase apple production by planting new orchards at present. So we shall have to bring some apples from other parts of the country until we can increase apple production by creating new orchards in the future.

In order for Pyongyang to satisfy its own requirements for fruit, the existing orchards have to be cultivated well. The city should organize assignments to give effective assistance to the orchards by specifying which district ought to help which orchard. Institutions and enterprises should be given assignments to help the orchards which belong to cooperative farms as well. Institutions and enterprises should transport

fertilizer to the orchards of cooperative farms, give them lectures on pruning and other methods of tending fruit trees, and on Sundays send their office workers to weed the orchards. When the orchards are short of hands in the fruit-picking season, the people's neighbourhood units should also help them. If the orchards are given effective assistance in this way, they will be able to correct the shapes of their fruit trees even now and increase their yields.

Low hills in Pyongyang should not be stripped of trees because the area of orchards has to be increased. Wooded hills add to the city's scenic beauty, attract pheasants and facilitate the breeding of roe deer and deer.

We still have a large area of land which is suitable for reclamation as orchards, for instance, in South Phyongan and North and South Hwanghae Provinces, even if we refrain from reclaiming the low hills around Pyongyang. So we need not denude these hills. If we do so, the city's scenic parkland will be destroyed.

Even when we were reclaiming the first orchards in Pyongyang, we did not strip the hills. I selected the site of the Pyongyang Fruit Farm on my way back from my visit to the sergeant majors short training course of the People's Army during the war because the land seemed suitable for fruit cultivation. The land is as flat as non-paddy fields.

If such a flat stretch of land was in Jagang Province, the people there would regard it as first-grade land. Most of the crop fields in that province are sloping. The people there cultivate crops on sloping land because the province has a small area of arable land. But in Pyongyang the sloping land should be wooded. It would have been better if Mangyongdae had been left wooded rather than being given over to orchards. In future, no more orchards should be established there.

I have looked around nearly all the hills in and around Pyongyang, and found that none of them is suitable for fruit cultivation. Now that the problem of propagating metasequoias has been solved, the hills in Pyongyang should be covered with beautiful woods of these trees. Pyongyang is a revolutionary capital and receives a large number of foreign visitors.

A foreign visitor to our country once said that on arrival in Korea he had experienced a totally different feeling from anything he had known elsewhere and that the sight of green pine forests on this side of the Amnok River was really good. On his way to the city by car from the airport, the President of a certain country, too, exclaimed, “What a beautiful country, indeed! Green trees thriving in the hills, rice fields in the plain, and non-paddy fields in every valley! Can there be another land which is as beautiful as this?” So I told him that there is an old saying in our country that we have rice fields in the lowlands, dry fields in the highlands, and mountains higher still—an old saying which expresses the scenery of our country. Then, he exclaimed again that Pyongyang, Korea, was really beautiful.

When I say that trees on the hillsides on the outskirts of Pyongyang must not be cut, I do not mean that you must not reclaim orchards at all. The low hills near the Pyongyang Fruit Farm, for instance, can be converted to orchards. Low hills without pine groves in other districts can also be reclaimed for fruit cultivation. But, when a suggestion is made for the reclamation of an orchard, the senior officials concerned must make a detailed field investigation before the project is undertaken. Otherwise, hills will be denuded by those who need timber.

New orchards to be reclaimed from now onwards must be planted with a number of pear trees. These trees require less chemicals, are easier to tend and yield more fruit than apple trees. In addition, they reach fruit-bearing age earlier and can be planted in a larger number per unit of land.

We must take effective measures to process and store fruit.

We must build a fruit-processing plant and fruit storage. If we are to process 20,000 tons out of the total amount of fruit which will be produced in Pyongyang and to store another 20,000 tons, we shall need a large processing plant and large storage facilities.

You can easily build the fruit-processing plant, by doing it the way you build a local industry factory, that is, by constructing a few buildings of Songnim-style dwelling houses. The fruit-processing equipment can also be manufactured by the joint efforts of each district and large

factories concerned. In the future, this plant should process peaches and apricots and only rotting and bruised apples. The Ryongsong Meat-Processing Factory should not process fruit, but meat only.

A little study is needed to decide where to build the fruit-processing plant. It is natural to build it near the Pyongyang Fruit Farm. Since the workers of the fruit farm have not much work to do during winter, their labour can be used effectively by the processing plant. But in the Ryokpho District there is no water available for the plant. The water of the Taejung Reservoir in this district has to be used for agriculture, so it is not advisable to build the fruit-processing plant near the reservoir. It would be preferable to build it in East Pyongyang, but there is no water available there, either.

The fruit stores should be built well. You should plan the construction of a Junghwa-style storage for each cooperative farm and include the plan in the resolution to be adopted. The resolution must clearly state the size of the storage for each cooperative farm, the time limit by which the storage should be built, and the organization which will undertake the construction project. It must also specify which district Party committee should take the responsibility to support which cooperative farm, and which institution and which university should support which cooperative farm.

The resolution should also include all the other items which have been discussed at this meeting. I will go over the draft resolution when it is ready, and then we shall have to hold a plenary meeting of the city Party committee with the participation of ministers and adopt the resolution. When they have received assignments, the ministers should also help supply services for the Pyongyang citizens.

It will be a good idea to set up a fruit section in the Pyongyang City Rural Economy Committee in order to develop fruit growing in Pyongyang. The section should be composed of seven or so staff members.

We must work hard to ensure the supply of ten grammes of cooking oil per head of the city population per day.

This means a fairly large amount of cooking oil. Of course, it would

be even better if we could double the amount since our people consume a great deal of vegetables. But it is difficult to do so at present, so we have to supply the ten grammes.

You now have a plan to supply a certain amount of cooking oil to the citizens every day, but, in fact, not much of it goes around to the citizens because the plan includes the amount which is supplied to restaurants and hospitals and so on. The amount of cooking oil which is supplied to the citizens should not be calculated in this manner. Each citizen should actually be supplied with ten grammes of cooking oil a day.

Cooking oil for restaurants and visitors should be imported from other countries, and the oil for the daily supply of ten grammes per head should be produced within Pyongyang. For this purpose, sunflowers should be cultivated in the city as a second crop in the non-paddy fields. If we produce only two tons of sunflower seeds per hectare, it will be better than cultivating beans. If we are to produce 5,000 tons of sunflower seeds at the estimate of two tons per hectare, we shall need 2,500 hectares of non-paddy fields.

Pyongyang should plan to cultivate sunflowers on 2,500 to 3,000 hectares of non-paddy fields. This is the way to solve the problem of cooking oil, and there is no alternative for the present.

Sunflower-seed oil is very good for humans. It can prevent arteriosclerosis. In addition, if you send the oil cake to the mixed feed mill, you can solve the problem of protein feed. You have to cultivate sunflowers to produce protein feed for the chicken plants as well.

We have to import some sunflower seeds because we are not yet good at seed selection. Importing sunflower seeds is more economical than buying foreign cooking oil. At present, sprinkler irrigation is being used on 2,700 hectares of vegetable fields in Pyongyang. In the future the area should be increased by 3,000 to 4,000 hectares, and the vegetables produced here should be exported. We should export tomatoes, cabbages, cucumbers and similar items so as to earn foreign currency with which to import cooking oil, sunflower seeds and the equipment needed for biological research.

We have to increase the production of cereals.

If we are to produce large quantities of meat, milk and eggs, we must sharply increase the production of cereals. At the rate of three kilogrammes of feed unit per kilogramme of meat, 120,000 tons of cereals are required to produce 40,000 tons of meat. The production of milk and eggs also needs a large amount of cereals.

If Pyongyang increases the production of cereals to 400,000 tons, it will set an example for the whole country and can challenge it to a contest. If it introduces intensive farming and modernizes agricultural production it will be able to produce 400,000 tons of cereals without difficulty.

In order to increase the production of cereals, Pyongyang must increase the area under cereal cultivation in every way, instead of increasing the spice-crop area. Red pepper, for instance, should be cultivated to such an extent as to meet the demand for its green product. The demand for its ripe product should be met by purchasing it from other districts, Changsong County in North Phyongan Province, for example, where the crop thrives. This will also contribute to increasing the cash income for the people in this and other mountainous counties where red peppers grow well. At the moment, the red-pepper crop area is being restricted because of the need to increase the production of cereals, but, if its cultivation is encouraged so that it can be supplied to Pyongyang, the people in Changsong and Tongchang Counties in North Phyongan Province will welcome the measure. In Yangdok and Maengsan Counties in South Phyongan Province, too, the farmers' cash income is small. They should also cultivate the flourishing red pepper on a fairly large scale so as to sell a sizable amount to Pyongyang.

Since the rice fields in Pyongyang are well irrigated, they should yield seven tons per hectare. To this end, you must take measures to prevent rice plants from toppling over. Some agronomists say that rice plants with rich ears naturally fall over. This is nonsense. The seeds of fallen rice plants do not ripen well, and the yield drops by from one to two tons per hectare. In order to prevent rice plants from toppling, it is necessary to solve the problem of potash and

phosphatic fertilizers once and for all.

We must produce ten tons of cereals per hectare of non-paddy fields by introducing sprinkler irrigation and highly intensive farming. Two grain crops should be cultivated in a year on 10,000 of the 15,000 hectares of non-paddy fields which will be irrigated by sprinklers. If we cultivate wheat or barley as a first crop and produce four tons per hectare, and then plant maize or sorghum as a second crop and harvest six tons per hectare, the total per-hectare grain yield will be ten tons. It is interesting to cultivate dwarf sorghum as an aftercrop. I was told that in the Mangyongdae District four tons of barley per hectare were harvested as an earlier crop and then six tons of dwarf sorghum as a second crop. It was reported that in the Ryokpho District 8.2 tons of cereals were produced per hectare by introducing double cropping. But this is too small a yield. We must ensure that every effort is made to produce ten tons of cereals per hectare on sprinkler-irrigated non-paddy fields. This is the way we can afford to eat meat.

The remaining 5,000 hectares of the sprinkler-irrigated non-paddy fields should be planted to early-ripening maize so as to produce seven to eight tons per hectare and then to celery cabbages or radishes as a second crop. Radishes which are sown after the harvest of maize will not have enough time to grow before it gets too cold. Therefore, in such cases, celery cabbage seedlings should be grown in humus cakes for transplanting after the maize has been reaped. This method is used even in places like Thaechon County in North Phyongan Province, so why not in Pyongyang? Celery cabbages and radishes thrive when cultivated after maize, but not after wheat or barley. They must be cultivated where maize has been harvested.

Feed crops should also be cultivated where maize has been grown. If you cultivate early-ripening maize and harvest it late in August or early in September, the field will be unused for approximately two months and a half until mid-November. During this period the field should be used effectively.

Meat production is the main matter in Pyongyang, but we cannot afford to feed domestic animals with cereals only. We should cultivate

some sugar beet as a feed crop after maize. Sugar beet can be used raw as a feed for both pigs and dairy cows. Of course, we are not yet sure about the cultivation of sugar beet. But there is no reason why it should not thrive in our country where the sunshine is warm even in autumn. A further study is needed to determine what crops should be cultivated as second crops to follow maize.

We are going to increase the production of cereals by means of double cropping for the purpose of solving the animal feed problem. So we have to increase the total production of cereals.

To this end, it is better to cultivate barley as an early crop in the double cropping system in preference to wheat. The cultivation of wheat as an early crop cannot, in fact, be considered a part of double cropping in a year; it amounts to cultivating one of three crops in two years. This is not very important. Of course, the per-hectare yield of wheat is higher by 500 to 600 kilogrammes than that of barley. There is no great difference between the per-hectare yields of barley and wheat, so we prefer to cultivate barley in the double cropping system rather than to lose one crop by seeking a per-hectare yield of wheat of only 500 to 600 kilogrammes more. If we cultivate another crop by planting barley, we shall be able to produce a much larger amount of cereals than by cultivating wheat.

If we introduce double cropping, we shall be able to produce 100,000 tons of cereals from the 10,000 hectares of sprinkler-irrigated non-paddy fields, and 35,000 tons of maize as an early crop from the remaining 5,000 hectares. If we add to this amount the 203,000 tons of rice which is produced from the paddy fields the total amount will be 338,000 tons. In addition, the output of beans, red-beans, small green peas and buckwheat will be 8,000 tons in all. If it works successfully, Pyongyang will be able to produce 400,000 tons of grain.

If it produces 330,000 tons of cereals, Pyongyang will be able to solve the problem of animal feed satisfactorily and also the food problem with a little help from the provinces. The pig farms will only be managed properly when the problem of animal feed has been solved. If these farms run out of feed, they will be unable to produce

pork. Pyongyang must tackle the problem of animal feed on its own without depending on the state.

Rice bran, which is obtained from the Pyongyang Rice Mill, can also be used for the production of mixed feed. The sources of maize and other ingredients of mixed feed should be well calculated.

Pyongyang must make plans to produce 280,000 tons of cereals and work hard to reach a target of 300,000 to 330,000 tons. It would be better to set the target at 350,000 tons, but this is too high. The city should strive towards a reasonably high target and organize agricultural production efficiently.

In the future, the sideline fields now cultivated by ministries should all be turned over to cooperative farms. In two years' time, Pyongyang must take over these sideline fields from the ministries and distribute them amongst cooperative farms.

We must start a campaign to save cereals.

We must intensify the education of the Pyongyang citizens so that each family will save cereals little by little from each meal so as to build up reserve provisions for one month or two by participating in the campaign. In an emergency, the supply of food rations might be suspended for a month or two. For this reason, not only Pyongyang as a whole but also every family must have provisions in reserve. In addition, fuel, salt and other goods should be kept in reserve for the city.

A suggestion has been made to construct a mill to process food for the children of nurseries and kindergartens. It is not difficult to do this. You can do it by constructing buildings with bricks and manufacturing the equipment for them.

It will be very good if the mill produces powdered chestnut and supplies it for the children. It can serve as a substitute for cow's milk for the babies who have just been weaned. When powdered chestnut is out of stock, they can feed on boiled rice powder or sweet potato starch. If sweet potato starch contains too little protein, you can send cereals to Jagang Province in exchange for kidney beans.

We should produce tinned apples for the babies in nurseries. Apple syrup and tinned apples are good for cooking porridge for children.

There is no need to follow the foreign way of manufacturing minced apple for children dogmatically. We must develop the food-processing industry to suit the tastes of the Korean people, instead of copying foreign things.

2. ON SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF CLOTHING FOR THE PEOPLE

There is no serious problem of clothing for Pyongyang citizens. We intend to provide them with good clothes and shoes on a preferential basis. So we have built a good shoe factory in Pyongyang.

Now that we even produce injection-moulded boots in Pyongyang, we can consider that the problem of footwear has been solved. The point is that we should supply an adequate amount of raw materials to the footwear factories. Different kinds of footwear, that is—winter shoes, summer shoes, and shoes for rainy weather are needed. Of these, the problem of winter shoes should be solved first.

We should produce injection-moulded boots for winter use on an experimental basis. Winter boots should be designed in such a way that their leg coverings will be rather short and that their sizes are large enough to accommodate fur lining. Snow melts even in the winter in our country and may soak through shoes. Boots are waterproof and useful even when the snow melts in the winter and spring. The boots which we produce should be supplied to Pyongyang citizens rather than sold to foreign countries.

The leather shoe factory should also produce many pairs of winter shoes. The resolution should specify the time limit by which a pair of winter shoes should be supplied to each of the Pyongyang citizens.

Fur caps and artificial sealskin caps will do in the winter. We have a mild winter in our country, so artificial sealskin caps will serve the purpose. Women should each be provided with a woolen scarf. You

say that you are going to produce woolen scarves for all the women this winter. This is a very good thing.

It is important to solve the problem of winter clothing. There is no great difficulty in providing summer clothing. At present, you are producing more summer textiles than winter fabrics. You must not do so. You must produce a large quantity of winter cloth even if you have to use less raw materials for summer clothing.

In Pyongyang, all the women should be provided with overcoats, and the men with overcoats or with cotton-padded coats. These coats should be well made from blends, and their collars should be lined with artificial sealskin. A padded coat will last a long time. Underwear for winter use should also be produced in large quantities.

Providing perfect winter clothing is an important item in solving the clothing problem. You have to make every effort to tackle this task in Pyongyang. Preparing winter clothing for the Pyongyang people satisfactorily is very necessary also as a provision against war.

If war breaks out in our country, the enemy will consider Pyongyang the most important target of attack. So the Pyongyang citizens must always be alert, and they must be well prepared to evacuate even in winter. You are not making provision against war, but you cannot tell whether it will break out today or tomorrow. At the time of the incident of the US imperialist armed spy ship *Pueblo* we were on the brink of war. Some time ago, a high altitude reconnaissance plane of the enemy intruded into our territorial air space. If we had captured it, the enemy would have threatened us with "retaliation". War might break out suddenly. We shall not be told when it will happen. So we must prepare ourselves thoroughly to cope with this possibility.

We must calculate accurately what is necessary and prepare ourselves fully in advance lest we should suffer a shortage of winter shoes, fur caps and so on after war happens, having been caught unprepared. We must provide each of the Pyongyang citizens with a full set of winter clothing—a fur cap, a pair of winter shoes, an overcoat and a padded coat—within the next two or three years.

The Party Central Committee departments concerned and the ministries in charge of light industry must come to grips with this problem and solve it. The chief secretaries of the district Party committees and the chairmen of the district people's committees in Pyongyang must, with a high sense of responsibility, ensure that all the inhabitants of their districts prepare their winter clothes completely.

3. ON THE PROBLEM OF CONSTRUCTION

We must build a large number of dwellings.

A preliminary estimate shows that we shall be able to construct housing for 15,000 families in Pyongyang every year. If we are to build all of them in the form of many-storeyed apartment houses, we shall need large amounts of steel bars and cement. Since Pyongyang is the capital city, we must not only build dwellings but also office blocks, hotels, theatres, schools, clubhouses, stadiums and other public buildings. So we cannot afford to build only high-rise apartment houses which require large amounts of steel bars and cement. The main streets in Pyongyang should be lined with high-rise apartments for 7,500 to 8,000 families out of the 15,000 flats to be built, and the remainder should be constructed in Songnim style in the back streets.

Next year we should organize a campaign for the construction of Pipha Street just as we have built Chollima Street this year. In addition, we shall have to organize one or two new construction enterprises which will build dwellings on vacant land which is available. Dwellings must be built on vacant land as far as possible. If we try to build them on the sites of old houses which first have to be demolished, we shall be unable to increase the number of new houses substantially. In the vicinity of the Pyongyang University of Mechanical Engineering and in other parts of East Pyongyang, there is a large space where dwellings can be built. If we lay out streets in empty areas and build

apartments there, we shall be able to solve the housing problem to a considerable extent. Next year we have to build houses for 2,000 families on vacant sites which are available in Pyongyang.

Every year in Pyongyang we should build high-rise apartment houses and Songnim-style houses for 15,000 families, at the rate of two rooms for each flat, and farm houses for 5,000 families—for 20,000 families in all. If we build farm houses for 5,000 families annually for three years, we shall eliminate nearly all the straw-thatched houses which now exist on the outskirts of Pyongyang. Part of the materials for this suburban housing construction should be used for the construction of dwelling houses in county towns in the city area.

In view of the shortage of steel bars and cement, one-storeyed houses will have to be built with bricks or with weathered stone. Weathered stone is available in the Hyongjesan District in Pyongyang but not in large quantities. It is not enough to build all these houses. Pyongyang need not bring weathered stone from other parts of the country for the construction of one-storeyed houses. Bricks should be used where weathered stone is not available.

It is important to manufacture good furniture for the apartments. They should all be furnished with built-in wardrobes of good material at least, though not all of them with beds and ordinary wardrobes. In future, we should mass-produce refrigerators for home use, washing machines, electric cookers, cooking stoves and other kitchen utensils, and increase the production of bathtubs, toilet bowls and other sanitary ceramics.

Satellite towns around Pyongyang should be constructed well.

We can prevent the population of Pyongyang from swelling by building satellite towns. If Pyongyang has too large a population, both the supply services for the inhabitants and their emergency evacuation will be difficult.

The Junghwa County town and the high ground in front of Songmun-dong in Samsok District, for instance, will be suitable for the development of the satellite towns of Pyongyang. The neighbourhoods of the February 8 Film Studio and the Film Copy Plant are hilly and

good to live in. We should construct satellite towns there so that the workers of these establishments can live there.

Large numbers of office buildings and dwelling houses should be built in the satellite towns. The institutions and people who have moved to satellite towns from Pyongyang are returning because there are no office buildings which can accommodate the institutions and no dwelling houses for the people there.

The Sangwon County town is not bad for development as a satellite town. It will be a good idea to build a small satellite town each in the vicinity of Taedong-ri, Sangwon County, and in the neighbourhood of Tokdong-ri, Sadong District. You can also build a small one each in Kangdong County, South Phyongan Province, and in the direction of Maram and another in Sunan County. The people of the Civil Aviation Administration go to work at the Sunan Airport from Pyongyang. If you build a few multi-storeyed apartment houses in the Sunan County town, they can accommodate all of them. Why should these people go to and from work by bus every morning and evening, wasting gasoline? These apartment houses will also improve the appearance of the town.

A satellite town should also be built in the Sungho District at a location across the Nam River opposite to the Sunghori Cement Factory, and beyond the range of its smoke. A bridge should be built over the river so that the people can cross by it.

The population of Pyongyang should be dispersed and its concentration prevented by building many satellite towns in this way.

We must construct many communal amenities.

If Pyongyang is to be the first to implement the decision of the Fifth Party Congress on relieving women from the heavy burden of household chores, it will have to build many laundries, rice-cooking houses and other communal amenities.

You must have seen the feature film, *At a Women's Workplace*, which criticizes men. I think you, too, deserve this criticism. It seems that not many of you help your wives, although you scold them, as in the case of this film. The film shows a scene where a respectable man cooks to help his wife. You should follow this example or else you

should build rice-cooking houses and other amenities well. As this film shows, women go to work as men do, and at home they have to cook, wash and take care of the children. If things go on like this, women may finally fall behind. We must solve this problem without fail.

Pyongyang must not spare money in building communal amenities. It is impossible to relieve women from the heavy burdens of household chores at once; we shall have to do it step by step. Pyongyang must give priority to the construction of laundries, rice-cooking houses, and kimchi mills over other amenities.

Laundries should be built by means of a public campaign. If three laundries can meet the needs of the Central District, it means that one laundry is required per 20,000 people. Taking into account the density of the population, you should build three laundries for each of the densely populated districts in the central part of the city, two for a less populated district, and one for the least populated district. Laundries should be built of brick by the method of finishing one at a time.

Laundries need large washing machines. The October 5 Electric Appliances Factory should be given the task of producing large washing machines for laundries. This factory should also produce washing machines for home use. Drawn pipes and valves and plastic pipes needed for the construction of laundries should be supplied. The laundries should also be provided with heating and, if necessary, high-voltage electricity should be made available to them.

The state should also supply the laundries with starch and soap. Liquid soap is better than solid soap for use at laundries. So it is necessary to produce liquid soap for them.

All laundry operations should be mechanized, semi-automated or automated to such an extent that laundry goes through all processes automatically until it is pressed. The pressed clothes should be packed with paper or wrapped in sheets before they are returned.

I was told that at present it takes a week for laundry to be washed and returned. One week is too long. Laundry should be washed and returned in a day.

We must construct rice-cooking houses. These houses will have to

be built first in places where many artists live. Since artists go home late at night, they will find it convenient if the houses' service is available to them.

Next year, each district has to build one rice-cooking house, and the Party committees of the districts with large populations should discuss the matter and ensure that more of them are constructed. Each district should increase the number of rice-cooking houses by building another in the year after next. In this way, the people of the city will be able to get two meals a day from the rice-cooking houses and will have to cook only one meal at home every day. The state should ensure the manufacture of the internal facilities of these houses.

We must also construct a large number of nurseries and kindergartens, as pointed out in the report to the Fifth Party Congress.

In view of the shortage of steel and cement, the nurseries and kindergartens which will be located in the back yards of high-rise apartment houses will have to be constructed of brick. Two-storeyed buildings will be good for nurseries and kindergartens. If two-storeyed ones are difficult to build, one-storeyed buildings with foundations higher than usual will do.

Weekly nurseries and maternity hospitals should be constructed under the state plan. We can build many weekly nurseries if we can supply them with an adequate amount of necessities. But supply is a problem, so we cannot afford to have too many of them at the moment. We should construct a few of them and run them on an experimental basis and increase their number gradually.

If we build nurseries, kindergartens, laundries, rice-cooking houses and kimchi mills in each block of multi-storeyed apartment houses, women will be relieved of much of the burden of household chores. If they take their children who have been weaned to nurseries and kindergartens on their way to work in the morning and fetch them on their way back from work in the evening, and then call at their rice-cooking houses for hot rice and eat it with tinned foodstuffs, they will be able to save a great deal of time. If tinned foodstuffs are not available, they can cook side dishes simply and eat them with the hot

rice they have obtained from the rice-cooking houses. The chief secretaries of the district Party committees and the chairmen of the district people's committees must pay serious attention to this problem and solve it.

We must also build public buildings.

The master plan for the construction of Pyongyang includes many buildings which are to be constructed. It would be impossible to build them all at once. Next year we should build only those which have been planned by the state. The state plan envisages the construction of housing for 9,000 families next year. We should build housing for only 7,500 of them, and the materials and money for the construction of the remaining 1,500 will have to be used for the construction of additional public buildings which are required.

Pyongyang must draft a list of the public buildings which should be constructed and then discuss it with the State Planning Commission before the city submits the list specifying the public buildings that can be constructed. The list should include only the major ones of those which have been planned by both the state and the city itself.

Cinemas, for instance, should be built by the effort of Pyongyang by making bricks, without being included in the state plan. Pyongyang should construct at least ten cinemas. East Pyongyang alone needs a minimum of three. There should be one at the corner near the Pyongyang University of Education, and another in the vicinity of the Pyongyang Textile Mill and Taedonggang Railway Station. You must not simply expect the state to build clinics and hospitals to meet the shortage, but you have to build them with bricks by your own efforts. When I say that the city should build what it needs by its own effort, I do not mean, of course, that it can undertake construction at will.

Next year you will have to build more schools.

At present, schools are not run on a single shift because of the shortage of classrooms. Part of the materials and money appropriated for the construction of 1,500 flats will have to be used for the construction of school buildings and the remainder for the construction of other public buildings.

Primary and middle school buildings should not be too high; they should be three-storeyed. If these schools are too high, the pupils may find it difficult to go up and down the staircases. As a matter of principle, primary and middle schools should be located at places away from main streets. If they are built on busy streets, there will be a danger of schoolchildren being run over by motor vehicles and, in addition, the streets will look unattractive.

Schools should be built with bricks in Songnim style. There is nothing very difficult in school construction. You can build walls with bricks, lay floors with hollow concrete slabs where these are available, or with small-sized concrete blocks or wooden blocks where they are not. In addition, they should be provided with central heating where it is available, or equipped with boilers where this is impossible. Wooden blocks can be used for the floors of the school buildings which are provided with central heating since there is no need to heat them by means of fire nor is there any danger of fire breaking out.

The Changjon Middle School was built with bricks based on a design which I had obtained. But our officials nowadays ask only for concrete blocks, so that the construction of many of the schools has had to be suspended before completion. The idea of building schools with concrete blocks only, must be abandoned; we should produce bricks through a mass campaign and construct school buildings in Songnim style. We must build a large number of schools in Pyongyang in the coming ten years so that all the schools can be run on a single shift. If they work on a single shift, they can be kept clean, and the pupils' extracurricular activities can be given proper guidance. Because of the shortage of schools at present, pupils have to be sent home after school, and they simply play about at home, without studying properly. By building a large number of schools and running them on a single shift can you solve the problem of the education of schoolchildren.

Pyongyang will have to solve the problem of schools and public buildings and dwelling houses by working hard for approximately three years beginning from next year. It must also strive for the introduction of central heating.

A cable broadcasting system should be established so that this service can be available to every home.

Cable broadcasting plays a very important role not only in educating people but in informing them promptly of an impending natural disaster or something out of the way. If you have a cable broadcasting system, you can use it for educating people and also for giving them a unified command in the event of an emergency.

Each household in the central districts should be provided with a cable broadcast receiver set, and a loudspeaker should be installed at each vantage point in the underground railway. The cable broadcasting system should cover not only the central districts but also Junghwa County, the Mangyongdae District, and so on. In the future, this system should also be established in the provinces.

If we are to carry on construction successfully, we must increase the production of building materials.

The output of major items such as bricks and concrete blocks has now dropped, and the output of other items remains the same as in the past or has risen slightly. That is why we are unable to build large numbers of dwellings and schools. This means that construction in Pyongyang is not proceeding on a large scale and that proper investment is not being made in construction.

We must increase the production of bricks considerably.

You say that Pyongyang produces 60 million bricks a year. What can you do with this amount? The Kangnam Ceramic Factory was built in spite of bombing during the war. If Pyongyang had directed it properly, the factory could have improved its equipment to a considerable extent and could now be producing a large quantity of bricks. Because brickyards are not directed efficiently, the output of bricks is small.

Pyongyang must get the existing brickyards to work at full capacity and produce 220 million bricks in 1971, 250 million in 1972 and 300 million in 1973.

If bricks are available, we shall be able to solve the problem of building dwellings, nurseries, kindergartens, schools, hospitals and

clinics and construct cinemas well. The Taedongmun Cinema was built in brick after the armistice, and even now it looks attractive. Dwelling houses can also be built extremely well with bricks if a little cement is used for their foundations. But now, if somebody is given a task of undertaking a little construction, he begins by asking for concrete blocks or cement. Cement was used liberally during the campaign for housing construction immediately after the armistice. It seems that our officials contracted a bad habit at that time. Our ancestors built houses well even without cement. The Taedong Gate in Pyongyang and the Fort on Mt. Jongbang in North Hwanghae Province are stone structures.

Just as it baked bricks and constructed dwelling houses immediately after the armistice, Pyongyang must produce bricks in large quantities and build dwellings, laundries, rice-cooking houses, kimchi mills, kimchi cellars and other facilities. The county towns and satellite towns around Pyongyang should also develop a campaign to build dwelling houses with bricks. Since anthracite and good-quality clay abound in Pyongyang, the city can produce as many bricks as it needs.

Roofing tiles must also be mass-produced. In former days, large numbers of tiles were made from clay, but now you try to use only cement for the production of tiles. So the output does not increase. A large number of tiles should be produced also from clay for the roofing of the Songnim-style dwelling houses and one-storeyed dwellings now under construction.

Pyongyang has planned to produce 16,000 tons of cast-iron pipes. This amount is too small. You must increase the capacity of the cast-iron pipe factory so as to raise production. It is necessary to construct a new factory to produce valves needed for the waterworks and the heating system.

You should secure limber needed for housing construction by cutting trees yourselves in Jagang Province and also by obtaining part of your requirements from the state. The Ministry of Forestry should supply the timber needed for construction in Pyongyang.

Of all building materials, glass is the most difficult to obtain. If the

glass problem is to be solved, Pyongyang will have to produce glass for the manufacture of bottles by its own effort so that the Nampho Glass Factory can produce more sheet glass instead of bottle glass or else we shall have to increase its capacity to produce sheet glass.

It is important to solve the problem of electric cable.

Pyongyang must not depend totally on the March 26 Factory just because this factory is under its jurisdiction, but will have to get its local industry factories to produce electric cable from copper. At present, the whole country depends on the March 26 Factory. Provinces, too, should construct electric cable factories if they can do so. There is nothing difficult in building such a factory.

If such local industry factories are constructed in all parts of the country, the acute shortage of electric cable can be eased. When we had only one shoe factory in Sinuiju, the whole country had to suffer from the shortage of shoes whenever the factory ran into difficulties. So each province has built a shoe factory and, as a result, the production of shoes has increased and their quality has improved.

Pyongyang must solve the problem of building materials by its own efforts. It should build brickyards for itself, take measures to solve the problem of glass, and solve the problems of pipes, sanitary ceramics and electric cable on its own.

We must undertake the project for sand control in the Taedong River.

Simply dredging the river bed without undertaking the sand control project will get us nowhere. No matter how deep you may dig into the bed of the Taedong River, a spell of rain will fill it up with sand. This is tantamount to pouring water into a bottomless jar.

It is advisable to start the sand control project in the Taedong River next year. You should prepare the data necessary for this project and submit them to the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee for consideration.

For the present, Pyongyang must accelerate construction to improve the Taedong River. In the year following the big flood, this project was speeded up, but nowadays even the lorries and work hands

which had been mobilized for this project are being diverted to other purposes. If the project drags on like this, Pyongyang may suffer further flood damage.

A high-speed motorway must be built between Pyongyang and Nampho.

The existing road between these two cities is narrow, so that it is very congested with traffic. As a result of the mechanization of agriculture, this road is used by many lorries and tractors, in addition to a large number of lorries operating to and from the Kangson Steel Plant and other large factories and enterprises. In order to solve the problem of transport between Pyongyang and Nampho, it is necessary to build a high-speed motorway. If we were to widen the existing road, we should have to encroach on fertile rice fields, with little gain in the width of the road.

The project for the construction of this high-speed motorway must be started next year. At the first stage the road should be built as far as Taean through Mangyongdae and Kangson, and at the next stage as far as Nampho. Next year, we must first undertake the work of dredging the river bed and building embankments along the route from south of Mangil-ri in the Mangyongdae District through the Kangson Steel Plant to the south of Taebo as well as the work of cutting into the cliffs. If you cut into the cliff at the southern border of Mangyongdae, you will spoil the scenery. So a long bridge will have to be built there. Large bridges should be built over the Pothong River and the Sunhwa River.

The road from Pyongyang to Sunchon County, South Phyongan Province, is also very congested. This road must be widened to nine metres and paved, and the bridges must also be widened.

We have to build a ring road linking the areas north and south of Pyongyang without running through the city.

This road should be laid out in such a way that motor vehicles coming from the direction of Sunan County, South Phyongan Province, to the area south of Pyongyang can bypass Pyongyang by taking a route north of Hapjang Bridge and through Mirim. Another bypass is needed for motor vehicles which, coming from the direction of Phyongsong,

South Phyongan Province, will run to Sariwon through Kangdong County and the Sungho District. This road is now under construction, and Pyongyang must give active assistance in this project.

Next year Pyongyang must build a road which will serve as its northern exit. At present, it has only one northern exit which runs past the Chinese Embassy. If there is a traffic jam on this road, motor vehicles are unable to pass through.

Next year we must build Pipha Street and a road leading to Sopho and also construct an avenue in front of Kim Il Sung University. If this is done, motor vehicles will cross Sinso Bridge and then proceed to Sopho passing by the Circus and going through Pipha Street without taking the road in front of the Chinese Embassy.

We must maintain roads properly.

At present, the roads which are managed by Pyongyang are the worst. When my car goes over bumpy roads on my way back to Pyongyang from South Phyongan Province, I ask whether I am in Pyongyang, and the answer is always yes. The road section on this side of the pass which is on the way to Pyongyang from Sunchon County is the worst of all. The road section from the boundary of Taedong County, South Phyongan Province, to Kunggol-dong, Mangyongdae District, is also bad.

The districts should maintain the roads well. The road which leads to Maram is the only one that has been planned for concrete paving. The other roads will have to be paved with stone or with gravel and spread with weathered stone.

Next year's major tasks in Pyongyang construction are housing construction, the building of the high-speed motorway from Pyongyang to Nampho, and the project for sand control in the Taedong River. The city must come to grips with these tasks and press ahead with them forcefully.

We must accelerate the construction of rural communities.

The introduction of irrigation in the non-paddy fields is an important task in rural construction. If Pyongyang is to finish the irrigation of 15,000 hectares of non-paddy fields, it will take three

years at the rate of 5,000 hectares a year.

The rural communities should be provided with running water.

Our women were very happy to hear the report to the Fifth Party Congress. This is because the tasks of relieving them from the heavy burden of household chores are highlighted in the report. We must relieve them from the work of carrying water jars on their heads by providing the rural communities with running water, even if we might not then be able to accomplish other things.

The women of the third workteam of the Jangsuwon Cooperative Farm, Samsok District, had a hard time fetching water from their well which was a long way off. So waterworks have been built for them, and they are very happy about it. Waterworks have also been constructed at the Ripsok Cooperative Farm, Mundok County, South Phyongan Province, and I was told that the women are delighted with this. Why should they not be happy now that they can use the water which runs just outside their doors, instead of carrying water jars on their heads with pains?

Waterworks for rural communities will not only free women from the work of carrying water on their heads, but will also promote people's health because they can drink purified water. At present, each of the women uses her own bucket to draw water from a well, and this practice may pollute the well. Viruses can also penetrate wells because dirty water and rain water leak into them. Worse still, our people do not like to drink boiled water; they like to drink cold water. So they are apt to contract diseases. But waterworks can supply purified water which does no harm even if it is drunk without being boiled.

Construction of waterworks for the rural communities does not cost us a great deal of money. The construction of water tanks and the laying of pipelines will require a little money. It would be a good idea to install a common faucet for several houses, though not for every house. At the third workteam of the Jangsuwon Cooperative Farm, Samsok District, one water tank has been provided for three villages, and every four houses share one communal faucet.

A certain amount of cast-iron pipes will be needed for the

construction of waterworks. But waterworks do not necessarily require cast-iron pipes. Steel pipes are better. You must not try to use cast-iron pipes exclusively or large calibre pipes for the construction of waterworks. Pipes of different specifications should be used according to the volume and pressure of the running water.

If you try to construct waterworks for all the rural communities at once, the supply of pipes will pose a problem. So you will have to begin with the villages which have water sources a long way off and are short of drinking water or where only bad-quality water is available. The project should be undertaken first in Kangnam County, Junghwa County and in places where there are modern dwelling houses.

If you are to facilitate the introduction of waterworks in the rural communities, you will have to relocate the scattered farmhouses so as to form villages of 40 to 200 houses. Rural villages should not be too large, either. Rural villages should, as far as possible, be moved so as to join the ones which now exist at the foot of hills and mountains. But you need not move all the existing villages to the foot of mountains.

The regrouping of rural villages will facilitate not only the introduction of waterworks and electrification but also the education of farmers. It will also create favourable conditions for counter-intelligence efforts. Since farmers' homes are scattered over a wide area at present, they may find it difficult to go to group study or other meetings in the evening. We have talked to farmers on our visits to rural communities, and they all welcome the idea of regrouping.

The project for rural waterworks requires a systematic survey of subterranean water to discover water sources. Subterranean water is best for this project. In places where there is no water source, water can be channelled into their waterworks from other places.

The State Planning Commission should carefully plan the introduction of waterworks in the rural communities. The suburban districts of Pyongyang should finish the construction of waterworks during the Six-Year Plan. The suburban districts which can construct waterworks on their own should all do so.

Bus services should be made available to the rural communities.

You say that at present no bus service is available to several ri in Pyongyang. We have to convert *Sungni 58* lorries into buses for these ri as soon as possible. If *Sungni 58* motor vehicles are not available immediately, buses will have to be produced by modifying other types of motor vehicles.

The city should manufacture buses well and supply them to Sangwon County, Junghwa County and the Sungho District. If it carries out this task, Pyongyang will complete providing its rural communities with bus services. The buses should be managed by the motor vehicle enterprise of the county or district concerned.

In conclusion, I shall mention the production of daily necessities.

The problem of producing daily necessities will be solved if you implement the decision adopted by the National Conference of Workers in Local Industry. Then, the people's standard of living will rise considerably.

Pyongyang should produce washing machines, refrigerators and fans for home use. There is no special problem in producing these items. If the October 5 Electric Appliances Factory organizes a branch factory by building a few more sheds, it will be able to produce as many of these household appliances as are needed.

The manufacture of washing machines and refrigerators for home use requires small electric motors.

These motors are also badly needed in automating production in many other sectors of the national economy.

We shall have to construct a factory to produce small electric motors as soon as possible.

The October 5 Electric Appliances Factory says that it will produce them. We must supply it with the necessary equipment and materials, so that it will produce approximately 100,000 of them. We should make fans which can produce both cool and hot air, now that we are going to manufacture them.

We should produce high-wattage electric bulbs. At present, only low-wattage bulbs are produced, and these do not provide enough light

for us to read books. If you read in a dim light, you will damage your eyesight. Both high- and low-wattage bulbs should be produced so that they can be used according to the need of each household.

Integrating wattmeters should be mass-produced. If we produce and supply large amounts of refrigerators, washing machines, television sets, radio sets, electric irons, electric cookers and other electrical appliances, a great deal of electricity will be used in homes. If each house is provided with an integrating wattmeter and made to pay fees according to the amount of electric power it has used, a great deal of electricity will be saved. If 50,000 integrating wattmeters are produced a year, they will be far from meeting the demand. Since they will be used not only in homes but in institutions and enterprises, more will have to be produced. If the task is too much for the October 5 Electric Appliances Factory to manage, you will have to investigate the matter and take the necessary measures.

The Pyongyang City Party Committee will have to ensure the construction of a factory for the production of automation gauges which are needed for the people.

According to the directions I have given here, Pyongyang must solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people satisfactorily. We must develop Pyongyang in an exemplary manner and let the provinces follow this example in raising the people's standard of living.

It is important to prepare for the plenary meeting of the city Party committee. The report and the draft resolution for the plenary meeting should be prepared in approximately 20 days and submitted to me. I will go over them and send them back. Then, the plenary meeting of the city Party committee should adopt the resolution and implement it.

ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN INCREASING GRAIN PRODUCTION

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of the Chief Secretaries
of Provincial, City and County Party Committees**

December 19, 1970

Today I am going to speak about some problems arising in increasing grain production.

Our population continues to grow every year, and this means that we have to increase grain production in step with its growth, so as to provide food for the increasing population and raise the people's standard of living. Increasing grain production is also important in developing the national economy as a whole. If we produce a large amount of grain there is no need to spend foreign currency on importing food grain; we can use the money for importing various modern industrial plants so as to speed up agricultural mechanization and modernization and the widespread introduction of chemicals in farming.

In recent years, however, grain production has not increased rapidly. Officials in charge of agriculture ascribe it to unfavourable weather conditions. How can they blame only the weather in this age when crops are cultivated by means of science and technology? Grain production is not increasing rapidly because of the inefficient management of agriculture on the part of these officials rather than because of natural conditions.

The investigations which I have made while talking to farmers on

my recent visit to rural communities over several days, show that officials in charge of agriculture still order farmers to plant unproved seeds without caution, disperse rural labour and neglect technical guidance of farming.

In order to increase the production of cereals you must plant good seeds which suit local conditions.

Seeds should be chosen only when, after several years' experimental cultivation, you are certain that they suit the local climate and soil. This is the principle we have established while directing agricultural work.

If they see that any crop grows well in a particular year, some officials in the agricultural sector become obsessed with its possibilities and give rash orders for that strain to be cultivated. They issue orders in favour of one strain this year and in favour of another in another year, recklessly changing their choice of seeds. Senior officials must not direct the nation's agricultural work in such a careless manner.

At some time in the past, the Agricultural Commission ordered its subordinate units to cultivate what it called a standard strain which had been tested on only a few cooperative farms where adequate amounts of nitrogenous, phosphatic and potassic fertilizers were available. In consequence, the strain did not turn out to be highly productive because it did not suit the local conditions in some parts of the country and because the three-element fertilizers were not supplied in sufficient quantities even to the farms where the strain was suitable. People of Unsong-ri, Anju County, South Phyongan Province, say that this year they suffered a loss in grain production by cultivating "Ryongsong No. 6" and "Ryongsong No. 23", strains which require a long period of growth, and by using urea fertilizer as topdressing in July, which retarded their ripening. They added that these strains are not suitable to the Anju area because, even if the seedlings are transplanted by May 20, they come into ear around mid-August when there are heavy rain and strong winds and they are then cross-pollinated.

The maize yield has also dropped because orders were given to

plant unsuitable strains. I was told that this year the farms which cultivated the yellow dent corn, a conventional strain, by raising the seedlings in humus cake, produced 4.5 to 5 tons per hectare, whereas those farms which were compelled by the higher authority to plant another strain produced only 1.2 tons per hectare.

Rural economy executives have also neglected the technical guidance of farming, including the use of fertilizer, and the dissemination of technical information.

They ought to have given lectures, published books, produced and disseminated scientific films on technical subjects such as the qualities of urea and many other fertilizers and the methods of using them. But they have not organized these activities. Managerial workers of cooperative farms say that agricultural techniques are not disseminated widely, although most of their farm members have now acquired the general knowledge of a middle-school graduate so that they can read books on agricultural science and technology and easily understand lectures on agricultural techniques. They say that even when officials in charge of agriculture give technical guidance they do nothing more than meeting managerial workers of cooperative farms to discuss technical problems arising in farming.

Because the Agricultural Commission is so capricious about seeds and so negligent of scientific and technical guidance, farmers are not willing to plant new strains nor do they understand which strain requires more fertilizer or which strain requires less.

In future, seeds of which you are certain should be used exclusively, on the principle of the right crop on the right soil.

As I always say, even in one district in our country the soil and weather may differ from one side of a mountain to the other, from its summit to its base, from valley to valley, and from the sunny to the shady side of the land. Therefore, you must carefully select and plant the strains which suit the topographical and weather conditions. Even these strains need a certain period of experimental cultivation and the approval of the farmers concerned before they are adopted for cultivation.

If you are to increase grain production, you must concentrate labour

on farming, instead of diverting it to other purposes.

You must concentrate all your efforts on the transplanting of seedlings, weeding and other farm work so as to complete these tasks in the right season. This is the way you can increase grain production.

At present, however, the work forces of cooperative farms are widely dispersed, as was the case in 1960 when I was giving on-the-spot guidance at Chongsan-ri. For example, too many hands are working in fruit-growing workteams and repair workteams. Most of the hard-core elements are working in livestock workteams. Certainly, livestock workteams and fruit-growing workteams are important. But these workteams do not need so many hands. Even if they do, they should all be mobilized for transplanting and weeding in these seasons. In the pruning and fruit-picking seasons, the workteams which cultivate grain crops should help the fruit-growing workteams. However, workteams within one cooperative farm, now being self-centred, are reluctant to help each other even in busy seasons.

There is a tendency for some cooperative farms to divert labour to housing construction and various other works after bedding out seedlings, instead of proceeding to weeding.

The Junghung Cooperative Farm in Anju County directed its main force to housing construction after transplanting, and some other farms sent some of their hands to Ryanggang and Jagang Provinces for the purpose of cutting trees during the weeding season. Of course, housing construction is necessary, but it should be undertaken when the busy farming season is over. If they spread out their labour in the busy farming season, they will not be able to raise crops well. Mechanical and chemical methods have not yet been introduced fully in our agriculture. In order to increase grain production in this situation, we have to concentrate all our efforts on farming.

The chairmen of the management boards and other managerial workers of the cooperative farms, and secretaries of the ri Party committees must work in the fields during the transplanting, weeding and harvesting seasons.

At present, a ri has a number of people who do not take a direct part

in farm work, people such as the chairman of the management board and other managerial workers of the cooperative farm, Party workers, officials of working people's organizations, the secretary of the ri people's committee, the radio announcer, the mailman, public health workers and teachers. Of course, the ri, which is the lowest administrative unit, needs its staff if it is to keep everything working properly. Broadcasting requires an announcer; mail delivery, a mailman; nurseries and kindergartens and schools, the necessary personnel. Just as a man can move properly only when he has all his physical organs, so the ri can function properly as the lowest administrative unit only when it has the necessary setup. So you must not abolish any of the jobs in its setup without due consideration. You will not be able to solve the problem by simplifying the administrative structure. The point is that all its staff should actively assist in farm work.

Managerial workers of cooperative farms have now become idlers. They lack the spirit to work. Even when they go out to the fields, they do not work, but just walk about giving instructions. Some managerial workers of cooperative farms do not participate in productive work during the busy transplanting and weeding seasons. They receive work points after moving a few rice sheaves in the autumn.

The chairmen of the management boards of cooperative farms and the secretaries of the ri Party committees are each supposed to participate in productive labour for at least 50 days a year. They must strictly observe the system by which each of them does field work for 20 days in the transplanting season and 30 days in the weeding season every year. Even when they have earned 50 work points by doing other jobs, these must not be calculated in this category.

In the transplanting, weeding and harvesting seasons the chairmen of the management boards of cooperative farms and the secretaries of ri Party committees must take the lead in field work, wearing work clothes and taking other managerial workers with them.

During the former anti-Japanese armed struggle, in the companies where the commanders or political instructors used to set a personal example at an encampment after an arduous march, for instance, by

being the first to take up a saw and cut trees to make a fire and pitch the tents, a cheerful atmosphere prevailed, evening meals were finished in time, shoes were dried quickly, and everything went smoothly. But those companies whose commanders used to sit, behaving bureaucratically, just giving orders, were even unable to build a fire properly.

Success or failure on a cooperative farm also depends largely on how the chairman of its management board or the ri Party secretary sets a personal example. If the chairman goes to bed out seedlings and weed the fields at the head of the farmers during the transplanting and weeding seasons, taking with him all his staff, except the senior bookkeeper or the statistician who has to deal with office work including telephone messages, he will be able to rouse the farmers to greater enthusiasm and acquire a better understanding of the whole farming situation.

County Party officials must also go to work in the fields in the transplanting and weeding seasons.

During these seasons, these officials, including the chief secretaries, should refrain from summoning their subordinates to their offices. Each of them should take charge of a cooperative farm which is lagging behind and should direct it, working with the farm members. This will correct the work attitude of the chairman and other managerial workers of the cooperative farm who are indolent at their work.

We have already given instructions that the central, provincial, city and county-level authorities should not summon their subordinates to meetings or to training courses in the period from May to August. But some county authorities still do so as soon as transplanting is over. It is impossible to raise crops properly without transplanting and weeding in their seasons. The chief secretaries of county Party committees must exercise strict control so as to prevent meetings and training courses from being organized or people from being summoned to higher authorities at random during the period from May to August.

If they have something to organize or communicate during the transplanting and weeding seasons, the officials of central and provincial authorities must visit the subordinate units in person to

perform the task. If they have some urgent work to do with the chairmen of management boards, they should hold a telephone conference at night.

Party organizations must pay attention to training women to be managerial workers of cooperative farms. At present, many robust men on cooperative farms are engaged in jobs such as bookkeeping or statistics compilation which are suitable for women or infirm people.

Senior officials of the county Party committees must discard the feudalistic outlook on women and unhesitatingly promote them to be managerial workers of cooperative farms. Being careful in work, women can be better bookkeepers or statisticians than their male counterparts.

You must give a strong impetus to the campaign for manure production on cooperative farms.

In the past, farmers did whatever they could, collecting human excrement, making liquid manure tanks and piling up compost by the wayside. But such things are not to be seen nowadays. Rural economy officials say that they fertilize their fields with good manure, but this is mere lip service.

I was told that, although there is a large stockpile of human excrement at the Anju County town in South Phyongan Province, no one comes to collect it. Senior county Party officials must organize the work of collecting human excrement from towns and workers' districts and transporting it to farms.

A large quantity of compost should be produced.

The Changsong people produce a great deal. They do not do so because they are especially skilled in this work. They raise a large number of cattle. At the edge of each of their sloping fields, they have built a stable where they put mown grass in summer and get it trampled upon by the cattle. This is how they produce compost. They keep a cow in a stable for approximately two weeks and then move it to another stable at the edge of another field. They produce compost easily in this manner, without having the trouble of carting it to sloping fields. This method can be used easily at Nyongbyon, Kujang, Thaechon and many other mountainous counties.

The agricultural sector must develop the manure production campaign energetically and increase the amount of manure applied to the crop fields. A liberal use of manure can add to the effects of nitrogenous fertilizer. Crop plants can absorb all the nutrients when they are given a proper combination of nitrogenous, phosphatic and potassic fertilizers and manure. We can say that crop plants, being organic, take in fertilizer properties in the same way as human beings absorb nutrients from their food. Different kinds of food eaten by men act on one another and promote digestion and the absorption of nutrients. If a man only eats acidic food, he will suffer from bad digestion and will be unable to take in nutrients. Likewise, crops will not thrive if they are only given nitrogenous fertilizer; they require manure, phosphatic and potassic fertilizers as well.

The state should take measures to supply the agricultural sector with as much phosphatic and potassic fertilizers as it needs.

The agricultural sector must use tractors and other farm machines and lorries properly.

At present, tractors are used mainly for transporting farm supplies and building materials instead of for ploughing and similar farming operations. We have already taken steps to organize lorry stations in counties so as to meet their transport needs. But these lorry stations now concentrate their efforts on hauling raw materials and other necessities for local industry and for county construction, and ignore the transport of chemical fertilizer and other farm supplies. So the agricultural sector is compelled to use tractors to carry farm supplies.

County lorry stations must give priority to the transport of fertilizer for cooperative farms over the carrying of building materials and other goods. If they are to eat and live, they ought to meet the requirement of agriculture on a preferential basis. If you fertilize your crops when the season is over, it will not only be useless but might harm the crops. But a little delay in the transport of suiting and similar goods makes little difference to the users. One can accept a little delay in getting one's clothes tailored.

Senior county officials must supervise and control things so as to

ensure that county lorry stations carry fertilizer and other farming materials to cooperative farms as a matter of priority and that these farms use tractors and other farm machines and means of transport rationally.

The materials needed by the rural economy must be supplied without delay.

Preoccupied with construction work, chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees do not supervise farming properly at the moment, paying little attention to the supply of essential farming materials in particular. How can a county Party chief secretary perform his duty as the master of the county properly if he does not supervise farm work?

When some of the chief secretaries of the county Party committees are told to control one thing, they put everything else aside. This is the way they deal with their work nowadays. If they neglect rural matters, farming will not be successful.

Time is vital in farming. If the industrial sector fails to carry out the production plan for a given month, it can make up for the delay in the following month. But time lost when seasonal farm work is delayed cannot be recovered. At present, some cooperative farms are unable to start threshing; they cannot use their threshing machines because of the shortage of spare bearings and belts.

The chief secretaries of county Party committees must pay proper attention to the seasonable supply of materials needed for agricultural production. Since they are in charge of all county affairs, they will be able to ensure the supply of necessary materials at least by getting large factories in their counties to lend them to cooperative farms if supplies from regular sources are late.

A clear system of supplying materials to the rural economy must be established.

At present, there is no established system of supplying these items. I was told that it is only when the Cabinet insists upon this and takes measures that a small amount of materials is sent to the rural area.

The Cabinet and the State Planning Commission must, in future, plan the materials for agricultural use, supply them according to the

plan, and set up an institution which will take charge of the supply of these materials. An agricultural materials supply bureau or something like that will have to be established in the Materials Supply Commission, so that it will supply bearings, belts and other items needed for agriculture regularly to the materials supply agencies which in turn will deliver them direct to the agricultural sector.

We shall have to discuss the question of agricultural materials supply at the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee at some time in the future and adopt detailed measures.

We must see to it that the cooperative farms implement the socialist principle of distribution thoroughly.

That the cooperative farms should strictly observe the socialist principle of distribution and assess work points correctly is an important matter which we have stressed at every opportunity since we did it at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization in 1960. But some cooperative farms still do not do it properly.

The secretary of a ri Party committee in Anju County says that cooperative farms assess work points properly until they finish the transplanting of seedlings, but not after that. So farm members are not enthusiastic about their work. The cooperative farms must encourage them to be enthusiastic about production by evaluating their work points correctly and at the right time and by strictly keeping the socialist principle of distribution.

Food grain should be procured well. Farmers say that 270 kilogrammes of food grain per head of the population per year are enough and to spare. So this year all the food grain except this amount for their own use should be purchased from them. In addition, we should see that cooperative farms stop the practice of putting aside a great deal of cereals under various names.

You must conduct efficiently the meetings to review the implementation of the instructions I gave at Chongsan-ri.

On return to your posts, you, the chief secretaries of the provincial, city and county Party committees, must give proper guidance to these meetings on the basis of the outlines which have been stressed at this

consultative meeting so that the review can be done correctly.

The meetings to review the implementation of the Chongsan-ri instructions should proceed in an atmosphere of ideological struggle. Intensifying the ideological struggle is the way to solve agricultural problems correctly. If this struggle is not intensified among the agricultural officials and farmers, they may become indolent and slack and neglect their duties.

The meetings should sharply criticize the shortcomings in this year's farming and analyse their cause seriously and take detailed measures to attain the goal of grain production next year. It is particularly important to clarify the cause of shortcomings. You can only correct the shortcomings when you know the cause. The meetings should be directed in such a way as to give maximum hearing to the opinions of farm members and subordinate workers and to criticize and correct the ideas of idlers, such as those in evidence among the chairmen of management boards and other managerial workers. Holding the meetings at cooperative farms from January to March next year will be too late, so they should be finished earlier.

Rural economy personnel should hasten preparations for next year's farming, in addition to holding those meetings. By starting these preparations now and speeding them up, you will be able to farm successfully next year. In particular, you must ensure the production of a large amount of manure and study the manpower situation on the cooperative farms and correct anything which is wrong.

The chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees should mix with their farmers and, by giving priority to political work, encourage them in their work to attain next year's goal of grain production.

You ought to pay particular attention to improving the living standards of the farmers in mountainous areas.

I have visited Nyongbyon County over several years now, and I know that the living standards of the farmers there are still not high. In its endeavour to raise their living level, the Party saw to it that the county was supplied with 100 kilogrammes more of chemical fertilizer

per hectare than other counties last year and with 200 kilogrammes more this year. But this year the county produced three tons of maize per hectare from the fields where the crop situation was relatively good and scarcely 2.5 tons from other fields. The per-hectare rice yield in this county was only 1.5 to two tons on average. The low output of cereals resulted in a low cash income.

The farmers in the plains can increase their cash income by increasing grain production. On my recent visit to Anju County, I gave it a task of increasing grain production to the level where at least five tons of cereals can be distributed to each farm household. This amount of cereals per farm household will bring it a cash income of some 1,500 *won* from the sale of surplus grain, that is, excluding the food grain for its own consumption. This income will equal that of an industrial worker's family. So the main thing in increasing the cash income of the farmers in the lowlands is to increase grain production.

But the farmers in mountainous areas cannot increase their cash income in this way. Cooperative farms in mountainous areas are not successful with the cultivation of maize, the main crop in these areas, so that they distribute only three tons of cereals per farm household. This by itself is not enough for the highland farmers to catch up with the lowlanders in terms of their living standards. They have less productive zeal than the lowlanders because of their lower cash income and lower living standards.

The chief secretaries of county Party committees will have to give a great deal of thought to raising the living standards of both equally.

For the purpose of improving the living standards of highland farmers, I thought of raising the purchasing price of maize and worked it out. But I found that, even if the price is raised, these farmers would benefit little from the measure.

You will have to increase the production of consumer goods and reduce their prices, rather than raise the price of maize, so as to improve their living standards. This will enable the low-income farmers to buy the goods they need.

If you are to reduce commodity prices for the farmers, the counties

must manage the local industries efficiently and increase the production of different kinds of goods. At present, Nyongbyon County, for instance, cannot even produce paper because it has no paper mill. If the chief secretaries of county Party committees organize work well, counties will be able to produce as much window paper as they need from the bark of mulberry trees or paper mulberries on their own. The chief secretaries must ensure that the counties serve the rural communities better in the spirit of the rural theses.

In order to improve the living standards of the farmers in mountainous districts, it is also necessary to organize sideline production efficiently so as to increase their cash income.

Highland cooperative farms can increase their cash income by planting mulberry trees and raising silkworms. They should raise both mulberry and oak silkworms. Silkworms can be raised easily even by old and infirm people.

Chestnut groves should be managed well so as to increase the production of chestnuts.

Since there are many chestnut groves in mountainous districts, the local farmers can increase their cash income considerably by gathering and selling chestnuts.

But the executives of the rural economy do not organize the tending of chestnut trees and the gathering of the fruit well. If they are to increase the production of chestnuts, they have to burn the undergrowth in the chestnut groves and thresh burs off the trees with long sticks, but they cannot do it because of the shortage of hands. The chestnut picking season coincides with the autumn crop harvest season, so they can devote little effort to chestnut picking.

Cooperative farms are probably also not keen on chestnut production because buyers are fastidious. The price of first-grade chestnuts is one *won* a kilogramme. But I was told that buyers get them at a price of 40 or 50 *jon* per kilogramme by underestimating their quality. That is why, farmers say, they are not enthusiastic about chestnut production nor do they care about selling them.

Cooperative farms should organize work hands sensibly so as to take

good care of the chestnut trees and harvest their fruit in season. It seems advisable to organize sub-workteams with old people and women for the management of chestnut trees and for gathering their fruit. In lowland areas, too, where there are chestnut groves, sub-workteams of old people have to be organized to take care of the chestnut trees.

From now onwards, the state should plan chestnut production on cooperative farms, and the Party organizations concerned should guide them to carry out the plan without fail.

In order to increase their cash income, the cooperative farms in the mountainous areas should produce dried radish slices and sell them to procurement agencies.

If they cultivate radishes as a later crop after the maize harvest, they will be able to produce a large quantity of dried radish slices. This year the people in Nyongbyon County have introduced irrigation in their non-paddy fields and cultivated radishes as a second crop to follow maize. The result is reported to be good. Radishes which are cultivated in irrigated fields after maize can yield 30 tons per hectare or three tons of dried slices. The purchasing price of the dried slices is 1.6 *won* a kilogramme. So cooperative farms can each earn a large sum of money by planting only 40 hectares to radishes as a later crop in maize fields.

The highland counties which are suitable for the cultivation of radishes as a second crop after maize should all cultivate them. The counties should provide the cooperative farms with radish cutting machines and drying facilities. Dried radish slices should be produced according to a plan, based on an investigation of the demand.

If they are to increase their cash income, the highland cooperative farms can organize various other kinds of sideline production. They should make every effort to raise their cash income to the level of 1,000 to 1,500 *won* per farm household.

Chicken plants must put their production on a steady basis.

Chicken plants have been constructed in Kaechon, Tokchon and many other counties in South Phyongan Province, but few of them are producing eggs as they should.

Although a few years have passed since its construction, the

Kaechon Chicken Plant still does not produce eggs on a regular basis because of the shortage of cages and decelerators. These things can be manufactured in the required quantities if factories and enterprises in the county are mobilized. There are the January 18 Factory and five large coal mines and a railway bureau in this county, and each of them has a large power supply and maintenance workshop. These industrial establishments request egg supplies, but they do not help the chicken plant to improve its equipment. Some time ago I criticized the senior officials of the county and the senior executives of these factories and enterprises, and I was told that they are now giving assistance to the chicken plant. Once it has been completely built up, the plant will double its present egg output at least.

Provinces, cities and counties must not undertake the construction of any further chicken plants, but put production at the existing ones on a regular basis. New chicken plants and pig farms will have to be constructed after this has been done.

We have constructed large chicken plants in order to provide the people with eggs. If they do not produce eggs on a regular basis, they cannot serve this purpose. The chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees must strive to ensure capacity production by exercising firm control over their chicken plants, even if they have to take their clothes and live there.

Local industry factories must not produce liquor and beer from granulated sugar.

Since granulated sugar is imported, it has to be used in making sweets, biscuits, fruit syrup, cider and so on, not for producing liquor or beer. If drops, biscuits, fruit syrup and cider are produced from granulated sugar, it will be good because we can provide enough of them for children and because shops will keep a good stock of them. The chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees should exercise Party control to prevent the making of liquor and beer from granulated sugar.

ON THE DIRECTION OF WORK IN 1971

Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Directors of the Departments of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea

December 28, 1970

Today I wish to speak about some tasks for next year.

This year we have done a great deal of work and achieved no small success.

We made good preparations for the Fifth Party Congress and conducted it successfully this year.

This year the capital construction industry has continued the construction of the Sodusu Power Station and the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant according to the plan, has finished the extension of the February 8 Cement Factory and the construction of the April 13 Iron Works, the May 14 general workshop of the Hwanghae Iron Works, and the May Textile Mill, and has built more than 1,700 local industry factories. In addition, it has constructed the new Chollima and Sosong Streets in Pyongyang and built the city of Sariwon extremely well.

The fishing industry has reached the goal of a catch of one million tons this year, a success which we can be proud of. The fishing industry has been able to achieve this success because it has developed deep-sea fishing.

This year the defence industry has also registered no small success. It has scored many successes in recent years, particularly since the Party Conference. At present, our country produces excellent weapons

of different kinds by its own efforts.

This proves that our Party's policy of carrying on economic and defence construction simultaneously is absolutely correct.

The situation in our country has been very tense in the past few years. There was the incident of the armed spy ship *Pueblo* in 1968 and the incident of a large spy plane EC-121 last year. But we have been able to overcome all the difficulties and achieve these successes without the slightest hesitation in spite of the adverse situation because we have followed the policy of developing the economy and defence simultaneously.

We have implemented the hardest part of this policy. If we make effective use of the existing foundations so that they will prove their worth, we shall be able to develop the defence industry further and the national economy more rapidly than now.

Next year we must work better while consolidating the success we have already achieved.

1. ON ECONOMIC WORK

Since I have already explained economic affairs in detail at the plenary meeting of the Cabinet, I shall deal with this subject briefly.

The year 1971 is the first year of the Six-Year Plan. The basic direction of the Six-Year Plan is to raise the technical revolution to new heights. During the Six-Year Plan, we must make great efforts to implement the three major tasks of the technical revolution. These are the tasks of narrowing the distinctions between heavy and light labour and between agricultural and industrial work considerably and of relieving women from the heavy burden of household chores.

The slogan of the three major tasks of the technical revolution which we have put forward is a very good one. The most important thing in the revolutionary struggle is that the Party should formulate

correct fighting slogans and correct revolutionary lines. By doing this, the Party can touch the heartstrings of the masses and mobilize them effectively in the revolutionary struggle and construction.

Our Party's line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while at the same time developing light industry and agriculture, its line of carrying on economic and defence construction simultaneously, and its policy of developing the centrally-run and locally-run industries concurrently are all correct. Therefore, our working class and the rest of our people support them enthusiastically and work devotedly to implement them.

The line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while at the same time developing light industry and agriculture is the basic line of our Party on economic construction, a line which we must maintain at all times. Continuing to adhere to this basic line, we must put forward new fighting slogans which suit each period of the development of the revolution.

What slogan must we put forward today when our country has become an industrial state as a result of socialist industrialization? In this situation, we ought to put forward a slogan that the working people should be relieved from difficult work. This task is a matter of vital concern for everyone.

The slogan on the three major tasks of the technical revolution is an absolutely correct, important slogan which is in accord with the desire of the working masses and conforms to the principles of communism.

If we are to build communism, we have to eliminate the distinctions between heavy and light labour, between mental and physical labour, and between towns and rural communities, distinctions which are the legacies of the outdated society.

I think that our Party has defined the slogan of the three major tasks of the technical revolution correctly and put it forward at the right time. It is a good slogan.

Next year we must maintain the slogan and make strenuous efforts to implement it.

You must apply yourselves to organizational and political work to implement the slogan.

If no effort is organized to implement the Party's slogan, the slogan, no matter how good, will not be put into effect, and, therefore, it will become meaningless.

The Party organizations should clearly explain the meaning of the three major tasks of the technical revolution, propagate them, and mobilize the people efficiently in carrying them out. Party policy should be explained and publicized in such a way as to move the hearts of the people. The Party organizations must conduct information work, education and lectures properly for the implementation of the three major tasks of the technical revolution. If they do this, the workers in the coal-mining industry, those of the machine industry, and all the rest of the people will be stimulated to implement these tasks. This morning the radio reported an inspiring interview with some workers of the machine industry to the effect that they are resolved to make automatic lathes and copying lathes to carry out the three major tasks of the technical revolution. This is a very good thing.

Then, which sector should be the first to undertake the technical revolution to reduce the distinctions between heavy and light labour?

I believe that the coal-mining industry will have to get down to this task first. At present, coal miners are doing the heaviest work. It is true that working with blast furnaces is difficult, but mining coal in pits is more difficult.

The technical revolution in the coal-mining industry will emancipate coal miners from arduous labour and ease the shortage of manpower. It will also increase coal production, and if we have a large amount of coal, we shall be able to put industrial production as a whole on a steady basis.

In view of the importance of giving priority to the technical revolution in the coal-mining industry, we raised this task at the Fifth Party Congress, stressed it at the recent plenary meeting of the Cabinet, and included it in the decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. I am going to emphasize again in my New Year

Address the need to concentrate efforts on the mechanization of the coal-mining industry.

We may not be able to complete the technical revolution in this sector next year, but we must, at least, lay the foundation on which to carry out the project.

Coal mines should line their pits with concrete and introduce hydraulic props. Concrete-lined pits will facilitate the mechanization of coal production and ensure safe operations.

In order to give a powerful impetus to the technical revolution in coal mining, it is necessary to work well with the men and technicians in this sector and stir them to activity. In addition, the metallurgical and mechanical engineering industries and all other sectors of the national economy must give full support to the coal-mining industry in its technical revolution. The Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1, for instance, should organize consultative meetings of technicians on the subject of manufacturing machines needed for the mechanization of coal production, and show machine designers films of foreign coal-mining equipment, and thus help them to invent and make new machines by their own efforts for coal mines.

Next year we must make an effort to solve the problem of railway transport.

This problem can be solved more easily than that of the coal-mining industry. The railway sector has foundations which have been already laid, whereas the coal-mining industry needs new types of drills and a large amount of other mining equipment which will have to be manufactured. During the Seven-Year Plan, the railway sector electrified major trunk lines including those between Pyongyang and Sinuiju and between Pyongyang and Chongjin. If this sector takes measures to prove the worth of the lines which have already been electrified, it will be able to solve the transport problem to a considerable extent.

If the electrified railways are to prove their worth, the existing lightweight tracks will first have to be replaced by heavyweight tracks.

An electric locomotive is more powerful than a steam engine. It can

pull a load of as many as 1,500 to 1,600 tons whereas the steam engine can only haul 700 to 800 tons. So the electric locomotive will find it difficult to run with heavy loads on the existing lightweight tracks. This can be likened to a big boy who cannot run with small-size shoes on. That is why the existing lightweight rails will have to be replaced by heavyweight ones.

We should produce heavy-duty rails on our own and also import them so as to replace all the light-duty rails within the next two or three years. Heavy-duty rails require more durable sleepers.

Shunting tracks at the stations should be extended and 60-ton capacity wagons should be manufactured. Since an electric locomotive can pull a heavy load, it needs a long train of wagons. But at present, there are few stations with shunting tracks capable of accommodating such a long train. I was told that at some railway stations their shunting tracks are so short that wagons have to be unloaded on the main line. So the shunting tracks at the stations must be extended as soon as possible.

Weak railway bridges should be reinforced and tunnels, too, strengthened wherever necessary.

These measures should be taken to ensure that electric locomotives are worked to full capacity. The railway sector must also hasten the construction of the Ichon-Sepho line which will link the eastern and the western part of our country.

Next year the metallurgical industry must reinforce the ironworks which have already been constructed.

For the present, it is more important to improve the existing ironworks than build new ones. The metallurgical industry should increase the number of coke ovens and sintering furnaces and develop the necessary facilities. In addition, new mines should be developed and the capacity of the existing ones increased so as to ensure an adequate supply of ore to the ironworks.

Next year we must improve the people's standard of living.

An important task in this regard is to increase the fish catch and solve the problem of non-staple foodstuffs for the people. In solving

this problem it is important to develop livestock farming, but it is even more important to increase our fish catch.

This year the Minister of Fisheries died. His death is a great loss to us. He had worked hard to implement the Party's policy on the fishing industry. Recently the haul of fish has increased a great deal thanks to the strenuous efforts on the part of the fishing workers. One day this year they caught as many as 18,000 tons, an all-time record in the history of our country. Our country has now a very large fishing capacity.

Next year we must concentrate our efforts on the fishing industry and increase the catch. To this end, we must implement the policy we have formulated: we must build up the Ryuktae Shipyard and build many large fishing boats with at least 1,000-hp engines. Such large fishing boats can easily withstand high waves. This year a large quantity of fish has been caught because the number of fishing days has been increased because the fishing industry has been equipped with many large fishing vessels.

We must not only increase the catch of fish, but also process the fish well.

The Ministry of Fisheries must review how it has processed them in the past, and take measures to improve this work. It is not possible to tin them only. Salting, drying and freezing are also necessary. If you use these three processing methods, you will be able to dispose of tens of thousands of tons at a time, and doing this is well within our industrial capabilities. If we solve the problem of fish processing, we shall make great progress in improving the diet of the people.

We must direct our efforts to the development of light industry.

To a considerable extent, the foundations of our light industry have already been laid. An important task in developing this industry is to solve the problem of domestic sources of raw materials.

If we are to supply the textile industry with sufficient raw materials, we must quickly increase the capacity of the vinalon factory. We will also have to take measures to develop the petro-chemical industry.

In the field of local industry, those factories which have already been constructed must be equipped completely so that they will be able to produce at full capacity.

If we tackle these tasks next year, we shall be able to develop industry and raise the people's standard of living markedly.

Next year the capital construction industry should concentrate investments on the construction of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant, the Sodusu Power Station, the Unggi Thermal Power Plant, an oil refinery, the steel and rolling shops of the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the sintering furnace shop and the reduced pellet shop of the Hwanghae Iron Works, a synthetic rubber factory, the Ryangchaek Machine Factory, the May Textile Mill, the September Textile Mill, Sinpho Port, the Ryuktae Shipyard, the fish-salting tank and the refrigerated plant in Sinpho, the February 8 Vinalon Factory, a vinyl chloride factory, and the railway between Ichon and Sepho.

Urban construction also calls for concentrated effort. In Jagang Province, for example, the materials appropriated for the construction of high-rise buildings in cities and county towns next year should be all delivered to Huichon so that construction there can be undertaken by concentrated efforts.

If each province carries on construction in this manner, several modern cities like Sariwon will spring up in our country every year.

Urban construction next year should be concentrated on the ten major projects. We must press ahead boldly with these projects and construct modern cities like Sariwon in the provinces. If war breaks out, cities may, of course, be destroyed. But war may not break out. We must continue with urban construction regardless of a possible war.

The defence industry must equip the existing factories properly so that they will prove their worth.

An important task of the defence industry is to improve the technical skill of the workers and technicians. Next year, the defence industry must give priority to this task and increase the production of weapons and equipment and improve their quality.

2. ON PARTY WORK

With regard to Party work next year, we must pay attention to work among cadres, old cadres in particular.

The old cadres have worked with us for the revolution since immediately after liberation. The departmental directors and their deputies now working in the Party Central Committee are young. So they do not fully know how we rallied them and trained them. They need to know this.

When the country was liberated, many cadres were needed to build the government and the country. But there were not many qualified people. Many of the people who lived in Pyongyang were traders and *kisaeng*. So we had to gather technicians one by one who had been scattered throughout the northern half of the country and had to send messengers to the south for technicians and artists. Comrade Kang Yong Chang and many other technicians and artists came over from the south at that time. Because we gathered the technicians who had been living in different parts of the country one by one and trained them to be cadres in this manner, we have been able to develop our national economy and increase the might of our Republic to what it is today. Party officials must, therefore, work well with them. You comrades must improve your work among them especially because we are unable to see each of them on account of the pressure of work. But our officials neglect their work with them and do not take good care of them.

Only recently I learned that an elderly doctor was sick in hospital and that no one had ever visited him there. Nor was he given proper medical care, although he is famous in our country. So I sent a medical worker to see him. The medical worker told the patient that I was worrying over his health. I was told that he began to recover after the inquiry, although no medicine had been effective for him.

You seem to think that you can do without veteran cadres now. You must not think so. We ought to treasure and take loving care of them.

Admittedly, many of them have involved records. But there is no need to take issue with their family backgrounds today. They have been working with us for more than twenty years. What is the use of relating their family backgrounds to them now? We refer to people's family origin when we deal with them for the first time in order to know how much they were influenced by outdated ideas, and what measures are needed to eliminate vestiges of outdated ideas from their minds. It seems to me that the work with old cadres is neglected because you only think about their family backgrounds.

Party officials must work well amongst old cadres, and those with involved family backgrounds in particular. If Party officials neglect this work, these cadres may become haughty, say things contrary to Party policy or base their actions on how people look, because of their checkered backgrounds. Our officials must look after old cadres at all times, showing them love and respect, taking prompt measures for their medical care when they are ill, providing them with conditions for rest, treating them decently, and seeing that they live in satisfactory conditions. They may commit mistakes in their work. But you should not make a big question of them so long as they do not go against the Party and the revolution. You should, instead, help them to repent sincerely of their mistakes and correct them.

The secretaries and departmental directors of the Party Central Committee will have to do a great deal of work amongst the old cadres.

In the past I worked with many old-line intellectuals, and they liked talking to me more than anything else. When they met me, they said everything that was in their minds. When I went on official journeys to the provinces, I took Comrade Kang Yong Chang with me in my car on several occasions and talked with him at length, hearing many useful suggestions from him. You should take unremitting care of old cadres and work with them to suit their preparedness.

You should also work properly amongst the cadres from the south

and the people who have returned to live in the homeland from overseas.

You should refrain from punishing cadres thoughtlessly.

A shortcoming in personnel administration is revealed in punishing cadres too often. An investigation of the reasons for their punishment during the past year shows that most of them were disciplined for moral depravity.

I always say that man is not infallible since he is not a Buddhist image in a temple. In particular, cadres can make a mistake inadvertently in the course of their work. So you must not punish cadres indiscriminately, as long as they have not made serious political mistakes. If you do so, you may create an atmosphere of fear in the Party. Mistakes committed by cadres in their work should be corrected by means of criticism, and those made inadvertently in their economic and moral lives should be corrected by educating the cadres concerned until they repent of them sincerely. But acts of treason against the Party and habitual moral depravity must be combatted thoroughly.

Party officials must refrain from dealing carelessly with matters which concern people's political integrity. Instructors of the Party Central Committee try to be good at work for the sake of the Party, but they occasionally fail because of their low qualifications. You must see to it that they deal with any problem involving people's political integrity wisely and skilfully.

You must choose cadres properly.

In doing this, it is important to promote a large proportion of people of working-class origin. Since our Party is the vanguard of the working class, the ranks of its cadres must naturally be composed mainly of people who come from the working class.

While going over the recent recommendations on the promotion of cadres before I gave my approval, I found few cadres of working-class origin, but mostly they were people whose records showed that they had received only regular school education. Even those who were recommended as coming from the working class had not been industrial workers for a long time. If you select too many people of

student origin, there will be a danger of making the ranks of cadres too scholarly. If only these people are appointed as factory managers and chief engineers because people with technical knowledge have to be given these jobs, the cadres' ranks may become something like a student corps.

An investigation of the composition of the cadres of the League of Socialist Working Youth shows that they are mostly young intellectuals who have received only formal education; most of them are not of working-class origin.

Most of the LSWY cadres at present come from amongst college or university graduates who had been sent for higher education after several years' military service following their compulsory education. The LSWY is the source of our Party cadres. So, if the cadres of the LSWY come from people of student origin only, the ranks of our Party cadres may become too academic.

If you only promote those who have grown up in the easy circumstances of school life, without any experience of fighting in a war, or participating in a revolution or industrial labour, the ranks of cadres may become unsound. You must, therefore, guard against promoting people of student origin to be cadres by considering only the matter of technical knowledge in implementing the Party's policy on personnel administration.

In future, cadres must be selected mainly from amongst people of working-class origin. Of course, you can select cadres from amongst people of student origin as occasion requires, but this must not be the basic policy for the selection of cadres. The majority of cadres must be promoted from amongst people who participated in the revolutionary struggle in the past, who fought well in the Fatherland Liberation War, who have been trained in labour, and who have served in the People's Army for a long time. The people who have served as rank-and-file soldiers in the People's Army for a long time have been trained in a collective life, so they are as good as the working class.

We should make it a principle to get technicians who have undergone school education for many years to work in their

specialized fields for three or four years so that they can acquire the qualities of the working class before they are selected as cadres. Even the children of revolutionary martyrs or of workers should acquire the working-class qualities themselves before they are selected as cadres.

I always say that a young man does not automatically become a revolutionary simply because his parents are revolutionaries, nor does he automatically become a worker simply because his father is a member of the working class. We cannot consider the sons and daughters of a revolutionary or a worker the same as their fathers unless they have trained themselves by participating in the revolutionary struggle or in labour. If they are to be selected as cadres, the children of revolutionaries or workers or whoever else should be sent for training at factories and other enterprises. We should send sound young people into the working class in a planned way and train them for about three years so that they can acquire working-class qualities before they are selected as cadres. We should also take measures to send people with as many years of industrial service records to university for the purpose of training and promoting them as cadres.

When you select cadres, you must consider not only their personal files but also their assessment by their Party organizations and their fellow members.

You must pursue a determined course to prevent cadres from becoming arrogant.

To this end, you must tighten control of their lives within the Party organization. If cadres do not participate in Party organizational life, they may become arrogant when they are promoted to higher ranks. Therefore, the higher they are promoted, the tighter they must be controlled by the Party to participate in organizational life, whether they are cadres of working-class origin, student origin or whoever else they may be. If they participate in organizational life well, the cadres will not only refrain from behaving arrogantly but also correct their shortcomings before it is too late because they are under the guidance and control of the Party organization and because they can be criticized by their fellow Party members. The higher the rank of a cadre is, the

more actively he must take part in criticism, and the more he must be exposed to criticism by other comrades.

Next, the ministerial Party guidance committee should be run properly.

We have taken a new step by which many hard-core workers from the shop-floor level are elected to the Party committees which give leadership to subordinate units. This is unprecedented in the party rules of other countries. It is a new provision unique to our Party. This is an important measure which facilitates the revolutionization and working-classization of cadres and the training of a large number of cadres of working-class origin.

In running the Party committees on which there are many hard-core worker members, particularly the ministerial Party guidance committees, it is important to provide conditions for these workers to express their opinions freely. If these workers are seated in a corner without being given a chance of free representation, their election to the committee will be meaningless even though many of them are on the committee. So the hard-core workers from the shop-floor level should be given the chance of speaking freely so that they can make many good suggestions. This gives senior officials an opportunity to learn the situation at lower units correctly and take proper measures.

Hard-core workers on the Party committee should also be able to criticize cadres freely at the committee meeting. This is the way cadres place themselves under working-class control and revolutionize and working-classize themselves. When we say that ministerial cadres should be under working-class control, we do not mean anything exceptional. For example, if a ministry issues a decree or ministers issue instructions which are contrary to Party policy, the workers on the committee will take issue with it by saying that they will not implement them. This means that ministerial officials will be kept under control.

The working people's organizations, too, must have many shop-floor workers on their committees and run these committees properly just as the Party does.

Next, we must intensify ideological education.

Intensifying ideological education is an important duty of Party organizations. The Party organization is a political and educational institution which organizes and directs the organizational and ideological lives of its members. The Party organizations must give people ideological training by paying particular attention to their revolutionization and working-classization.

An important aspect of ideological education is to organize study properly.

Party organizations must combine study properly with production.

Combining study with production means conducting study in such a way as to facilitate people's ideological reformation and step up production. At present, however, study is not linked with production properly. That is why study does not help people much in reforming their ideology and in accelerating production, although they study a great deal.

Party organizational and information departments must organize study well so that it will help people to transform their ideas and speed production. Party organizations must prevent a tendency to organize study too much, so that it interferes with production, or a tendency to neglect it by putting too much emphasis on production.

We must establish strict study discipline. No one, whoever he may be, should be allowed to excuse himself from study. If someone is unable to fulfil his share of study because of some urgent work, he should be obliged to make up the time later, as a matter of discipline. If one intends to study after finishing all the work in hand, one will be unable to study. Study is one aspect of revolutionary work. From this point of view, you should do both work and study. Senior officials in particular must not be excused from study.

In addition, we must strengthen the position of rural hard cores.

At present, this position is growing weaker, and this is a very dangerous situation. According to an investigation of several rural communities, discharged soldiers are not being sent to work in the rural communities now but, on the contrary, discharged soldiers who

are working there are being transferred elsewhere.

The rural position is weakening because discharged soldiers are all assigned to factories and enterprises, not to rural communities. Since there are no discharged soldiers in the rural communities, girls are married off to workers and office workers in urban communities. If we are to strengthen the rural position, we must send back the soldiers from rural communities to their home villages when they are discharged.

I am of the opinion that sending cadres to work in rural areas for a certain period of time will be a good way of strengthening the rural position. If they are sent to work there for some years, they will be able to strengthen rural communities by revolutionizing them and will also be able to revolutionize themselves.

In future competent cadres should be sent according to a plan to work in rural communities for several years and then brought back. The cadres of student origin in particular should be selected and sent to work there for several years and then return. It is well within our capability to send one cadre to each cooperative farm a year, although it would be difficult to send many. Whether they take their families with them to the countryside or not should be left to the choice of the cadres who are going to work in the rural areas.

When you send cadres to rural communities, you must give them a short training course. The cadres who go to work there will have to work with farmers, revolutionizing the rural communities and themselves by transplanting seedlings with them, weeding with them, and educating backward people. I think this will assist greatly in strengthening the rural position.

It is important to run county Party schools well.

The period of training at these schools should be fixed properly. At present, a training cycle at the county Party school is fixed at three months because of the shortage of rural manpower. So the school has to receive too many new trainees and send out too many graduates at short intervals, and I was told that this is the cause of difficulty in running the school. In future, it is desirable to extend the training

period at the county Party schools to six or twelve months to suit the specific situation in counties.

In counties where there are many factories, the training period should be six months, so as to train hard-core farmers during the period which includes the winter, and industrial hard-core workers during the other period. The counties with few factories should fix the period of training to suit their situation and educate hard-core farmers.

It is also a good idea to train members of the LSWY at county Party schools for six or twelve months. On our visit to Ryonghung-ri, Anju County, we talked to discharged soldiers who had finished a one-year course and who had gone through a six-month course at the county Party school. The graduates of the one-year course said that they were now familiar with Party policy and efficient in the work of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards. They were good at talking and analysed problems correctly.

We asked them if there was any trouble-maker on their cooperative farm, who behaves like the one in the film *The Flourishing Village*. They answered that, although there were a few, they could easily re-educate them now that they had learnt at the county Party school how to educate and reform people. They added that it would be ideal if the county Party school could not only give training to the discharged soldiers in the rural communities but also all the hard-core farmers. If they are well managed, the county Party schools can provide great assistance in strengthening the rural position.

The Party organizational departments must pay special attention to strengthening the rural position.

You must ensure that the working people's organizations, and the LSWY in particular, increase their role. As was pointed out in the report to the Fifth Party Congress, it is important for the working people's organizations to stand on their own feet and work creatively.

You must organize and develop work next year in the direction which I have given today.

