



Comrade Kim Il Sung as Korea's pre-eminent anti-Japanese revolutionary before World War II.

JUCHE!

The Speeches and Writings of
KIM IL SUNG

Foreword by Eldridge Cleaver
Edited and Introduced by
Li Yuk-Sa

Grossman Publishers
New York · 1972

JUCHE! The Speeches and Writings of Kim Il Sung
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First published in 1972 by Grossman Publishers
625 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022
Published simultaneously in Canada by
Fitzhenry and Whiteside, Ltd.
SBN 670-41011-X
Library of Congress catalogue card number: 75-169853
Printed in U.S.A.

To Marshal Kim Il Sung
On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.
Li Yuk-Sa

Contents

Foreword by Eldridge Cleaver *ix*

Introduction by Li Yuk-sa *1*

- 1 On Socialist Construction and the South Korean Revolution in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. *21*
- 2 Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country. *65*
- 3 On the Questions of the Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. *109*
- 4 On Some Theoretical Problems of the Socialist Economy. *125*
- 5 Let Us Embody More Thoroughly the Revolutionary Spirit of Independence, Self-Sustenance, and Self-Defense in All Fields of State Activity. *149*
- 6 The Great Idea of Lenin on the National Liberation Struggle in Colonies in the East Is Triumphant. *207*
- 7 Answers to the Questions Raised by the Iraqi News Agency. *219*
- 8 Progressive Journalists of the Five Continents, Wield Your Powerful Revolutionary Pen and Sternly Condemn U.S. Imperialism! *227*
- 9 Answers to the Questions Raised by the Delegation of the Democratic Youth League of Finland for the "Kansan Uutiset," the Central Organ of the Communist Party of Finland. *241*
- 10 Let Us Intensify the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-U.S. Struggle. *263*

Foreword

There are too many books published and too little time in which to read them. Because of this, there is the serious question of selection: which of these volumes will truly give us the information needed to deal with the complex problems of the contemporary world?

Reading books—particularly those by political leaders—is potentially dangerous. For this reason, I have always been reluctant to write reviews or introductions for books. But the manuscript before me is one that *must* be read and understood by the American people above all. It is a collection of writings by Comrade Kim Il Sung; it is about Korea and the struggle of the Korean people to survive. It contains their ideas and reflects the heroic struggle that the Korean people have waged to improve the quality of their lives. But the reason that I urgently recommend this book for the two hundred million people inside the geographical limits of the United States of America is that it contains essential information for those people in America.

In 1969, we went to Korea in search of something we have been seeking all over the world, something for which we have dedicated all of our lives, as have all the oppressed peoples of the world.

We found it in Korea. Let me explain. We speak of internationalizing our struggle, particularly against U.S. imperialism. In order to succeed, we must have an international analysis, and an international strategy based on this analysis. This strategy must be implemented internationally, through international tactics. I think that Comrade Kim Il Sung has provided these.

I see the earth as one big piece of land with one big body of water. I see one territory and I see Comrade Kim Il Sung speaking to all the people in this territory. I see them listening to him and understanding what he is saying. He is showing us what is right before our eyes, but what we could not see as clearly as he could because we did not have his perspective. But once he points it out, we too can understand it.

To give us this insight, we needed a man like Comrade Kim Il Sung with his long experience in the fight against imperialism, including the experience of guerrilla warfare. He has taken what he knows and applied it to an international scale. Because of his experience and that of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our consciousness has been heightened to a level that makes us equal to the task of dealing with our number one enemy, U.S. imperialism.

One thing the United States lacks is a unified national will, defined, analyzed, formulated, and articulated by a leader of genius. Such a leader is Comrade Kim Il Sung. This fact may be a threat to Americans. In too many respects, life has always been false in America. The American people have been cut off from reality precisely because the United States of America has never been a united people, never achieved nationhood, never been bound by brotherhood and love as part of their daily life. A nation that is so liberated that its people can know this dimension of human reality is rare and exemplary. That is what the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is. These writings by Comrade Kim Il Sung allow us to understand the reasons. They show us the struggle of the Korean people and the history of this struggle. It helps us understand just how they have survived. Above all, it reveals to us the internal life of the Korean people under siege, surrounded in the north by the Soviet Union, bounded to the west by the People's Republic of China, cut off from the south by the presence of the American troops in South Korea, and cut off from the east by Japan, the monstrous, imperialist force of Asia.

Comrade Kim Il Sung has led his people for over forty years. He personally organized, commanded, and led to victory the fifteen-year armed struggle against the Japanese colonialists. Through his brilliant ideas and superb military strategy, he rallied the Korean people, organized them into a powerful force, and restored to them their national destiny.

The liberation of Korea came simultaneously with the end of the

Second World War and the destruction of the Japanese empire. Like a vulture hovering in the air, the United States of America swooped down upon the ruins of the Japanese empire. They took over the colonial apparatus in South Korea and plunged one-half of Korea back into the nightmare of foreign domination, exploitation, and control. Not satisfied with the control of South Korea, the United States sought to extend the limits of its conquered territory into the Northern half of the country. Again, Comrade Kim Il Sung rallied the Korean people and led them in a defense of their homeland that was epic in its dimensions and heroic in its content.

The defeat of the United States' war of aggression against the Korean people was an important turning point in the history of the world struggle against imperialism. The great example of the Korean people's struggle against the United States is a beacon light of hope to all the peoples of the world who are struggling for liberation and national salvation.

Through his incisive analyses of the historical experiences of the Korean people in struggle, Comrade Kim Il Sung has made original and important contributions to our knowledge, both on the level of the struggle for independence itself and on the level of a general reconstruction of society along the most advanced lines of socialist theory and practice.

Today, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has an advanced social system, a highly developed technology, and a brilliant national culture. Its people are healthy as they move toward even greater achievements. The ideas that have guided this phenomenal development are those of Comrade Kim Il Sung. And these ideas are contained in this book.

I believe that a study of the Korean experience is one of the few possible avenues open to us for an understanding of just what the rulers of America are up to in Asia. Such a study will also shed much light and understanding upon the bloodstained role of the United States throughout Indochina and particularly in Vietnam. An unbroken chain of aggression and war connects America's present adventure in Indochina with the events leading up to the Korean War, the war itself, and the present occupation of South Korea by the troops of the Pentagon.

One of the salient characteristics of the Korean people is that, unlike many other people, they have not forgotten the suffering and

death to which they were subjected by invaders and aggressors, and they have a genuine sympathy for and empathy with the sufferings of those who are still struggling for their freedom and liberation. By sharing the wisdom of their own experience as well as through material aid, the Korean people have won a unique position in the hearts of revolutionaries and oppressed people all over the world. Comrade Kim Il Sung can be credited with leading the Korean people toward this concern for their fellow human beings, and they have followed his ideas with action.

The lying propaganda machine controlled by the rulers of America has kept the American people in ignorance about the true nature of the struggles of the people of Asia to free themselves from the heels of aggressors. This lying propaganda machine has excelled in the case of Korea, so that today a shining truth, bursting to be free, is still obscured and hidden by a flood of mendacious State Department rhetoric and Pentagon double talk. The days of this veil of lies are numbered. This volume of writings and speeches of Comrade Kim Il Sung, which speaks eloquently for itself, will expose forever these lies, enabling us to understand the Korea of today and the hidden history of American aggression against the Korean people.

I am glad that this book is available now to the American people, because it provides us with some badly needed new ideas about the world we live in and the possibilities of human ascendancy to brilliant heights of achievement and peace.

All Power To The People!
Eldridge Cleaver
Algeria, 1971

JUCHE!

Introduction

This book is the fruit of a collective endeavor, on an international scale. In preparing this volume of speeches and writings by Marshal Kim Il Sung for the English-speaking world, I have sought and obtained the active cooperation of leading English-language translators in Pyongyang, whose translations I have edited and in many instances retranslated.

The recurring theme in the Marshal's words is *Juche*. *Juche* is a new, dynamic revolutionary ideology created by Premier Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It advocates, among other things, that all problems relating to the revolution and construction of one's nation should be solved independently by the country concerned, in accordance with its actual conditions. This implies, in other words, creative application of the general truth of Marxism-Leninism in keeping with the historic conditions and national characteristics of one's own country in the spirit of self-reliance. No wonder, then, that *Juche* is now being carefully studied—and in some cases actually considered for practical application—by an increasing number of revolutionary cadres and leaders in the Third World Liberation Movement.

Although Kim Il Sung is a legendary hero in both Korea and the Third World, he still remains an enigma to most people in the West. His foes in South Korea and the United States maintain that he took the name of another famous Korean revolutionary leader, but all the

existing documents prove to the contrary. Who, then, is this Kim Il Sung, who is today successfully carrying out the revolution and reconstruction of his country as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Premier of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea? Why is he hailed at home and abroad as "the respected and beloved leader of the forty million Korean people, peerless patriot, national hero, ever-victorious iron-willed commander, and one of the greatest Marxist-Leninists"? Perhaps the best way to understand Marshal Kim is to know something about Korea—its land and its history—for he is a unique product of the turbulent past of his country, known throughout the world as "the land of morning calm."

The lovely peninsula of Korea is a land of rugged mountains and sparkling waters, bounded by China and Russia on the north, China's mainland across the Yellow Sea, and Japan across the Eastern Sea (which is arbitrarily called the Japan Sea by the Japanese). It is the size of New England and the climate has the same variety. Korea is filled with the beautiful remnants of its ancient civilization, which is quite different from that of other countries of the Far East. One of the reasons for this is that the Koreans are an ancient and homogeneous race, distinct from both the Chinese and Japanese. They are thought to be the descendants of two strains, the nomadic tribes of Mongolia and the émigrés from central Asia.

The recorded history of Korea begins in the twelfth century B.C., when Kija, a Chinese scholar, established at Pyongyang a colony which exerted a cultural influence upon the people settled in the country.

By the middle of the first century B.C., however, three small Korean kingdoms had emerged: Kokuryo in the Yalu River valley, Paekche to the south of the Han River, and Silla in the southeast corner of the peninsula. The Kingdom of Kokuryo (73 B.C.—A.D. 668), which had conquered the Chinese colony at Pyongyang by the fourth century, was mostly mountainous and unsuitable for farming. Thus the people were hunters and fishermen, artists and artisans. It was at this time that the newly invented Chinese official style of writing was introduced to Korea, followed by the classics of Confucius and Lao-tse, and Buddhism.

The Kingdom of Paekche (18 B.C.—A.D. 660) introduced Buddhist scriptures and images to Japan for the first time in the year 552. At the same time astronomy, geography, medicine, agriculture, metallurgy, and music were brought there. The Japanese natives were so fascinated

by the Paekche gifts that they affectionately named Paekche "King Ging Ho-Koku," or Treasure Land of Gold and Silver.

The Kingdom of Silla (57 B.C.—A.D. 935) was, in the beginning, the smallest of the Three Kingdoms, but later united with Paekche and Kokuryo to spread the seeds of a colorful civilization. Historical relics that survive reveal the surpassing qualities of Silla's architecture, sculpture, painting, ceramics, astronomy, medicine, and literature. Kyongju, the capital, is still the site of temples and pagodas, of palaces and tombs, where archaeologists have recently discovered unique specimens of ceramics and jewelry, crowns, murals, and many other treasures.

It is interesting to note here that while a great number of Korean scholars and priests, artists and artisans were sent to Japan to enlighten the backward natives on the island, the sons of the Korean privileged class were sent to China to further their studies of Chinese civilization. Thus Korea served as the bridge of learning between China and Japan.

The birth of the Koryo dynasty (918–1392) marked a turning point in Korean history. So powerful was Wan Kun, the first king of the new dynasty, and so corrupt and weak was Silla, that in 935 the last of the Three Kingdoms surrendered without resistance. Wan Kun was a devout Buddhist and firmly believed that Buddhism was the strongest spiritual force in the world. Under his active patronage, some three hundred temples were built in the capital city of Seoul alone, whose population was one hundred thirty thousand. Following the footsteps of Buddha, princes and nobles entered the priesthood in rapid succession; a hierarchy was established. The hierarch was appointed as the king's most eminent counselor in the state affairs. As the number and power of the priesthood increased, more and more temples grew up throughout the country like mushrooms. Having formed a rich and powerful vassal state of their own, the priests hired soldiers and slaves, practiced usury, and monopolized the marketing of crops and cattle, wine and salt, and other necessities of life. The people suffering from the exploitation of the privileged class turned to the temples for help, gave their possessions, and sought an easier life there. Thus the Buddhist temples became the main cause of politico-economic disaster and of the eventual fall of the dynasty.

In 1380, Japan, taking advantage of Koryo's internal corruption and conflict, sent some five hundred combat vessels to invade the country. Secretly landed on the south coast region of Kosong, the Japanese

troops inflicted savage acts of pillage, rape, and murder upon the civilian population of the area. On hearing this, King Wu ordered a famous military genius, Yi Sung-ke, to go down to Kosong and repel the enemy invaders. The enemy forces were ten times stronger in manpower, but Yi Sung-ke engaged them in tactical combat in the foothills of Mt. Chii, shot to death the youthful enemy commanding general, Akibato, with a single arrow, and finally crushed them. Overnight, Yi Sung-ke was made a national hero.

Soon, however, the prime minister, Chae Yong, jealous and terrified of Yi Sung-ke's sudden fame and popularity, put him in command of a Koryo expeditionary force against the newly founded dynasty of Ming. Yi Sung-ke, however, believed in friendly relations with Ming at all costs, and he was at the same time keenly aware of the country's need to restore its moral and physical strength. Thus, instead of crossing the Yalu River, he marched his troops back to Seoul, sent the prime minister into exile, and installed a new king.

The feeble King Yang, the last of the Koryo kings, had a loyal, scholarly counselor in the person of Chung Mong-ju (1320-1392), archetype of a Confucian subject whose undying loyalty to the king was beautifully expressed in his poem:

Were I to die again and again,
Dying a hundred times more,
Were my bones to become dust,
And my soul depart,
Could the fidelity of my heart,
My single heart, be changed?

With his absolute loyalty to the king and with his strict adherence to the concept of feudalism, Chung Mong-ju was violently opposed to Yi Sung-ke's new domestic and foreign policies. On a night of the fourth moon, at the age of fifty-six, he was assassinated by a Yi follower. Subsequently, King Yang was dethroned.

In July 1392, Yi Sung-ke proclaimed the founding of the Yi dynasty and became its first king. To insure internal unity and recovery, the king confiscated all the vast private possessions owned by the Buddhist hierarchy and aristocracy, disbanded their armies, and enacted a revolutionary system of land reform. Externally, he maintained friendly relations with Ming, while taking a firm stand against any future Jap-

anese intrusion by establishing a naval observation post on the island of Taema. His internal policies were, in the beginning, resisted by the Buddhist-led fanatics, whose superstitious doctrine placed the hierarchy above the state. The people, however, when they saw the wisdom of the royal efforts to better their living standards and thus to restore their civilization, freed themselves of the temple-imposed fanaticism.

King Taejong (r. 1401-1419), grandson of the founding king, installed a royal petition box in front of the palace to hear personally the people's requests and complaints, built dispensaries and nursing homes for the old and poor, and encouraged experimental education and agriculture. A government printing office, which improved the metal printing machine invented in the reign of the Koryo King Kojong (r. 1214-1260), started to publish books for the general public. (The first Korean printing machine was invented in 1234, some 220 years ahead of the German invention.)

Owing to the active royal patronage of cultural and scientific scholarship, and to the ingenuity of the scholars concerned, the fifteenth century produced some important scientific inventions, as well as books on history, law, ethics, and medicine. An observatory, with its own automatic time and weather indicator, was built; a copper rainfall measure, the first apparatus of its kind in history and two centuries ahead of the West, was invented in 1442. A medical encyclopedia of 266 volumes was published. Pak Yun, the musicologist, having revised the classical Chinese harmony and counterpoint, put out a twelve-volume *Rules of Classical Music*, which is now regarded as indispensable for the study of the ancient music of the Orient.

Of all the kings in Korean history, King Sejong (r. 1419-1450) was the most scholarly. At the turn of the fifteenth century, he started a revolutionary change in writing. The king gathered together scholars and writers and founded the Jibhyunjon, or Hall of the Learned Assembly, for the purpose of creating a new Korean alphabet into which all foreign and vernacular sounds could be transcribed. No neighboring countries had alphabets at the time; China had ideographic characters, which Japan had adopted for her own use. After four years of scientific research, King Sejong made public a complete chart of the new Korean alphabet of twenty-eight letters and, much to the delight of the common people, announced the use of the new language by all classes. It is interesting to note here that the Korean language belongs

to the agglutinative Ural-Altaic family. The language has neither strong accent (like Japanese) nor deep nasal tongue (like Chinese); the sounds are mild and musical.

In the early sixteenth century, darkness loomed over the political horizon, owing to internal strife and disorder. In 1568, King Sunjo appointed two eminent Taoist-Confucian scholars, Yi Tae-ke and Yi Yul-kok, as his counselors and tried to revolutionize the state, but the conflict between the two most powerful Kim and Sim families continued. The king's counselors had not the executive power exercised by Kim or Sim in the state, and his majesty soon lost interest in the affairs of the state as he plunged deeper and deeper into a Bacchic life of wine and women.

In Japan, meanwhile, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, having unified the strife-torn country, decided to invade China by way of Korea. His two attempts, however, were frustrated by the Korean navy under the command of Admiral Yi Sun-sin, inventor of the first iron ships in the world. Finally, in 1607, a peace treaty was signed between Korea and Japan.

King Yongjo (r. 1725-1777) and King Sejo (r. 1777-1801) strove to better the duties and living conditions of the whole citizenry, as well as to encourage ideological discourses among the learned. But the continual power struggle in the state came to an end only when, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Prince Taewon, in the absence of an eligible heir to the throne, took drastic measures to bring harmony and equality to the governmental service. Prince Taewon decreased the personal power long enjoyed by the Kim clan, and increased the prestige of the rival Sim clan by giving some important posts to the latter's followers, thus equalizing the power of the two traditional foes. He abolished geographical and class discriminations in both public and private life; forced the aristocracy to pay part of the military taxes long paid only by the common people; and chose as the wife of the future King Kojong (r. 1864-1896) a certain Miss Min, a commoner. However, as the power of the Min clan increased in the palace with the accession of Prince Kojong to the throne, Prince Taewon disappeared from the political scene altogether, and this, in turn, led to the rapid decline of the Yi dynasty.

In 1904, at the Russo-Japanese peace conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, President Theodore Roosevelt assured the Japanese that the United States would approve of Japan's colonization of Korea

in return for the latter's promise not to meddle in the eventual U.S. rule of the Philippines. Thus, six years later, Japan's forceful annexation of Korea took place. And, overnight, Korea was turned into a fascist police state. The "Japanese Thought Police" tried to control the thoughts and feelings of every Korean; many Koreans joined the newly organized underground independence movements in Korea, Manchuria, and China; those arrested were executed without trial, or sent to prison to be tortured. Even the use of the Korean language was prohibited by the Japanese authorities. There were, however, a small number of Koreans—the landed class and their lackeys—who collaborated with the Japanese.

Ironically enough, among them was Park Chung-hee, currently the president of the pro-U.S. South Korean regime, who, upon graduation from the Japanese Military Academy, took over the command of one of the Japanese army garrisons whose sole mission was the brutal elimination of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in Manchuria, led by the then General Kim Il Sung.

Kim Il Sung (or Kim Sung Ju, his name at birth) was born into a poor peasant family in Mangyondae, near Pyongyang, on April 15, 1912. Many of his ancestors were patriots and revolutionaries. His father, Kim Hyong Ik, was a leader of the Korean national liberation movement, and had a tremendous influence on his son. In March 1917, Kim Hyong Ik formed the Korean National Association, an anti-Japanese underground revolutionary organization. That autumn he was arrested by the Japanese police. When he was released from prison, he organized working people in northern Korea and northeast China for national liberation. Kim Il Sung's mother, Kang Ban Sok, was also a revolutionary. She formed a women's organization and fought for women's emancipation as well as for national liberation. She also helped Kim Il Sung to found the anti-Japanese guerrilla army.

His uncle, Kim Hyong Gwon, joined the Korean Revolutionary Army and commanded one of its details in northern Korea in the summer of 1930. He was arrested by the Japanese police and sentenced to fifteen years in prison, where he died. Kim Il Sung's two younger brothers were also Communists. One brother, Kim Chol Ju, was the leader of a local branch of the Young Communist League and died fighting the Japanese in 1935. The other brother, Kim Yong Ju, is now a high-ranking functionary of the Party. Kim Won Ju, Kim Il Sung's cousin, formed underground revolutionary organizations of factory

workers, youths, and students. Kim's maternal grandfather and uncle, Kang Don Uk and Kang Jin Sok, were also anti-Japanese fighters.

Kim Il Sung was inspired not only by his family but also by the March First Uprising, a nationwide anti-Japanese revolt. He had a revolutionary class consciousness from childhood, and read biographies of famous patriotic Korean generals and other great men. He also read newspapers, even as a child.

When he was fourteen, Kim Il Sung went to northeast China to help his father. Of that time Kim says:

I crossed the River Amnok-gang when fourteen, firmly resolved not to return before Korea won independence. Young as I was at the time, I could not repress my sorrow as I, singing the "Song of the River Amnok-gang" composed by someone, wondered when I should be able to tread on this soil again and when I should return to this land where I had grown up and our ancestors lay in their graves.

His father died in 1926 and Kim then resolved to continue his father's struggle for Korean independence.

That summer Kim Il Sung entered the Hwasong Uisuk School in Huatien county; it was an institution set up by the nationalists to train cadres for the Independence Army. Kim found the nationalistic ideas expounded there unsatisfactory and incomplete, and secretly began to read books about socialism and communism. In the autumn he formed an illegal revolutionary organization, the Down-With-Imperialism-Union, which was intended to defeat Japanese imperialism and build communism in Korea.

He left school and formed the Saenal (New Day) Juvenile Union and published a newspaper by the same name. In the spring of 1927, Kim went to the Kirin Yuwen Middle School. He secretly organized reading circles and expounded on Marxism-Leninism, for he believed in the necessity of explaining it to masses of people and convincing them of its correctness, thereby uniting them against the Japanese and eventually for a communist revolution.

In the summer of 1927, Kim Il Sung changed the name of the Down-With-Imperialism Union to the Anti-Imperialist Youth League in order to gather support from youth and students; it was an illegal organization, and those who formed its nucleus created the Young Communist League of Korea, also under Kim's leadership. At the

same time, he organized a legal organization for children, the Association of Korean Juveniles, and educated its members about nationalism and communism. The members of the Anti-Imperialist Youth League organized all over the country.

Kim Il Sung mobilized a successful school strike in the summer of 1928 and, encouraged by this victory, organized both an anti-Japanese demonstration of youths and students to protest the construction of the Kirin-Hoeryong railroad, and a boycott of Japanese goods. He also fought against factionalism and nationalism and thus helped to unite the revolutionary movement. Kim's success can be measured in part by the fact that he was arrested three times between the autumn of 1929 and the spring of 1930.

On May 30, some leftists rioted, caused further splits in the revolutionary movement, and facilitated repression by the Japanese. Many revolutionaries were arrested and their organizations destroyed. It was at this time that Kim was released from prison. He called a meeting of the leading members of the Young Communist League and the Anti-Imperialist Youth League, and explained that the revolution that they were working toward was anti-imperialist and antifeudal, and was to be made by the working class and the peasantry in alliance with the petty bourgeoisie and even the national bourgeoisie. In other words, the revolutionaries were fighting the Japanese imperialists and their allies (the capitalists and pro-Japanese). The purpose of the revolution was to overthrow Japanese imperialism and build communism in Korea. Kim also explained the concept of *Juche*, that the Korean revolution must be made by Koreans independent of outside help. He said, "It is absolutely impossible to achieve independence with foreign aid. . . . The only way is for us Koreans to fight and defeat the Japanese imperialists by our own strength. To do so, an armed struggle must be waged. . . ."

Kim then explained that a Korean Communist Party should be founded, and that, with workers and peasants as its base, it should work to overcome factionalism, and to unify the Korean left.

In the summer of 1930, Kim Il Sung formed the Korean Revolutionary Army from members of the Young Communist League and the Anti-Imperialist Youth League. These youths were then sent to urban and rural areas to organize anti-Japanese political activity. Kim himself set up schools in many villages in order to educate people about the forthcoming revolution. He worked with the peasants while

he spoke to them about revolution. It was at this time that he was given the name Kim Il Sung (*Il* for Sun, *Sung* for Attainment) by his comrades.

In September 1931, the Japanese invaded Manchuria and murdered many Koreans. In November a conference was held at Myongwolgu and Kim Il Sung said that guerrilla warfare must be used as a basis for fighting the Japanese. He suggested that the Korean people form an anti-imperialist front with China. To these ends he founded a standing guerrilla army and began to secure weapons, a tremendously difficult task because the Japanese controlled the country. Weapons were either stolen from the Japanese or manufactured by the Koreans.

Just as difficult was forming an alliance with the Chinese, for they were anti-Communist, and even murdered the Koreans in Manchuria who had been organized by Kim. Kim negotiated with Chinese leaders of the anti-Japanese movement and persuaded them of the necessity of uniting with the Koreans.

On April 25, 1932, Kim Il Sung founded the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. Composed of workers, peasants, and youths, it was based on the principle of Marxism-Leninism, and was the first army of its kind to be formed in a colonial country. Following the formation of the guerrilla army, Kim directed the setting up of guerrilla bases, which were to be both military strategy bases and operational bases for the Korean revolution.

Kim's forces met opposition not only from the Japanese but also from various left-wing factionalists, including other Koreans who insisted that the Soviet form of government be set up in the guerrilla bases. A revolutionary government was formed within the bases, and certain reforms were effected: land was confiscated from the landlords and distributed to the peasants, an eight-hour day and minimum wage were established, certain taxes were abolished, the law on the equality of the sexes was enforced, and a system of compulsory free education set up. Those Koreans who lived in the guerrilla bases were organized by the Communist Party, and political workers were sent to areas controlled by the Japanese as well. Kim emphasized the importance of continuous organizing: ". . . victory can be won only when broad sections of the youth are aroused in an organized way to continually strengthen the revolutionary forces and reserve forces. . . ."

Kim's forces also encountered opposition from Korean anti-Communists who opposed the Japanese and often murdered Korean guer-

rillas. In June 1933, Kim held negotiations with the command of those units; the result was a united anti-Japanese front. The guerrilla army also received support from soldiers of the Manchurian Army who either came over to the side of the Koreans or refused to fight them. In March 1934, Kim Il Sung reorganized the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army into the People's Revolutionary Army.

In the spring of 1935, Kim dissolved the fixed guerrilla base-liberated areas and sent soldiers all over Korea and to northern and southern Manchuria in order to switch over to an active offensive against the Japanese. He himself went to northern Manchuria and commanded the main force of the army.

In May 1936, Kim founded the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, a permanent anti-Japanese revolutionary united front organization, and was elected its chairman. The ARF developed a ten-point program which included the formation of a revolutionary government in Korea, an alliance between the Koreans and the Chinese, disarmament of the Japanese army, confiscation of all Japanese-owned enterprises and property in Korea, abolition of taxes imposed by the Japanese, freedom of speech, the press, assembly, and association, freedom for all political prisoners, compulsory free education, the eight-hour day, and the improvement of working conditions. The ARF united workers, peasants, youths, students, intellectuals, nationalists, national capitalists, and patriotic religious people. Kim and other Communists were continually organizing during the anti-Japanese struggle in order to lay the foundations of a nationwide Communist Party.

In July 1937, the Japanese began the Sino-Japanese War. Kim responded by further extending the activities of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in Korea. Kim himself helped his men by carrying their weapons, giving them his share of food, and caring for them. At the same time the workers sabotaged the Japanese war effort by means of large-scale strikes, and the peasants did so by fighting the Japanese policy of forcible expropriation of land. These activities continued until August 1945, when Kim issued an order for the general mobilization of the army which, alongside the Soviet troops, fought the final battle that defeated the Japanese reign of terror.

The Allied victory in 1945 did not bring to Korea the "liberty and independence" promised at Yalta; instead, it brought the tragic division of the small peninsula, the U.S.S.R. occupying the country north and the U.S. south of the 38th parallel.

In South Korea, the U.S. military government was from the beginning handicapped by a lack of American advisers possessing either political knowledge or broad understanding of Korean psychology; nor did they trust the Koreans. As a result, the first "democratic regime" of Syngman Rhee, which the U.S. helped set up in 1948 (in what Washington called "a showcase of democracy in Asia"), turned to be corrupt and inept, and was followed by the two similar successive governments of Chang Myun and of Park Chung Hee.

In Pyongyang, meanwhile, Kim Il Sung said that the unification of Korea could be achieved only when a revolutionary base was built in the northern half of the country. He said that the first step was to build a Marxist-Leninist party.

First he formed the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea in October 1945, and explained the functions of the Party: it was to form a united democratic national front that would contain all patriotic and democratic political parties and groups, liquidate whatever remained of Japanese imperialism, and lay the groundwork for an independent democratic state that would eventually be a unified Korean government. It would do so by carrying out democratic reforms, restoring the factories, enterprises, and the national economy in general, and raising the material and cultural standards of the people. Furthermore, the Committee would expand and strengthen the Party. Kim explained that this was to be achieved "through the practical struggle for revolution and construction, awaken the masses, and win them over to the side of the revolution. . . ."

Kim Il Sung said that in order to build a democratic republic, a united front must be formed, but that it must be based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class, and that unity and struggle must be combined if an alliance were to be formed with the national capitalists.

In January 1946, he reorganized the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League in order to attract youths who might otherwise be attracted to other political parties. In February he established the North Korean Provisional People's Committee and was elected its chairman. The government's function was to continue to create a revolutionary democratic base in North Korea. The Party's duties were, in addition to those already mapped out by the Central Organizing Committee, to assure democratic liberties to all, build up the government through democratic elections, carry out land reform

and nationalization of industry, and give state support to the development of science, the arts, health services, and so on.

On March 5, 1946, the Law of Land Reform was passed. Party members and workers were sent to the countryside where they organized rural committees in order to help the peasants carry out land reform themselves. The next important reform was the Nationalization of Industries on August 10, 1946. All those industries which had belonged to the Japanese and their allies were nationalized. Other reforms included the Labor Law and the Law on the Equality of the Sexes. Kim Il Sung said that national cadres must be trained in the arts, science, and technology. Schools and colleges were established, including eight thousand adult schools that were to wipe out illiteracy. Factories were rehabilitated, the fields were tilled, and irrigation projects begun.

Kim Il Sung felt that there was the danger of a split in the Communist Party; therefore, in August 1946, he merged it with the New Democratic Party, another workers' party, and called it the Workers' Party.

The first democratic election in North Korea was then held, and the North Korean People's Committee was set up in February 1947. Kim said that peoples' greatest efforts should go into the economization of state property, the strengthening of labor discipline, raising labor productivity, lowering production costs, and the acquisition of techniques.

Kim Il Sung said that in order

. . . to build an independent democratic state, the basis of an independent economy of one's own nation should be laid firmly without fail, and to lay the firm basis of an independent economy, the national economy should be developed rapidly. Without the basis of an independent economy, we can neither achieve independence nor can we build the state nor can we maintain our existence.

Economic plans were developed, and production increased. The plans for 1947 and 1948 were finished ahead of time, and the national economic plan for 1949-50 was completed by the first half of 1950. The national economy was restored and its level surpassed what it had been at the end of the war.

The state sector accounted for over 90 per cent of industry and the country was agriculturally self-sufficient. The armed forces continued to be built up and military training schools were established.

Now that North Korea was becoming self-sufficient, Kim concentrated on the unification of North and South. He said that the people in the South should struggle against the U.S. and the ruling class and strengthen a united front. In 1946 there was a general strike in September and an October Popular Resistance in South Korea.

In 1948 Kim drafted the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the progressive and patriotic political parties of South Korea agreed to accept Kim Il Sung as their leader. In August of that year, elections for the deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly were held in North and South Korea, and Kim Il Sung was elected a deputy to it. The Assembly adopted the constitution proposed by Kim and appointed him premier of the cabinet.

In June 1949, Kim Il Sung merged the North and South Korean Workers' parties as well as the United Democratic National Fronts of each. The latter became the Democratic Front for the Unification of the Fatherland and contained over seventy political parties.

On June 26, 1950, according to the North Koreans, the U.S. and the Syngman Rhee government attacked North Korea. Kim Il Sung was appointed Chairman of the Military Commission and Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army by the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In a month and a half, North Korea's Fatherland Liberation Army "liberated" more than 90 per cent of the territory and over 92 per cent of the population of the South. About eight hundred fifty thousand youths and students in the North volunteered for the front within a few weeks of the beginning of the war. Workers' regiments were formed to go to the front, and other workers prolonged working hours, organized a front shock brigade movement and a youth work team movement in order to increase production. The peasants increased food production, and the transport workers insured transportation.

Those areas of the South that were liberated saw land reform carried out, and Party and government organizations were created. Within a few weeks of liberation by the North, over four hundred thousand youths and students in the South joined the Volunteers' Corps.

In September 1950, the U.S. conducted a landing operation on the Inchon area by mobilizing over three hundred warships, one thousand planes, and fifty thousand troops. By the end of December 1950, the

North Korean army had liberated those areas held by the U.S. in the North. On July 10, 1951, armistice negotiations were begun. They were ineffectual, however, and the war continued.

During the war, officers' schools and training centers were either set up or expanded, and new commanding officers and political cadres were trained. Party organization continued as well, and the Communist Party had one million members, many of whom had fought in the war.

At the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held in December 1952, Kim Il Sung explained the importance of Party spirit, which meant that a member should "regard the interests of the revolution and the Party as his life and soul and subordinate his personal interests to them. . . ." Kim also said that it was essential that the Party be consolidated, and that meant "that iron discipline should be established in the Party, the unity of its ranks defended, the slightest factionalist tendency not tolerated, and the Party should be firmly protected from infiltration of bourgeois ideas. . . ."

While these ideological battles were going on, Kim was also making sure that those who suffered from the war were being helped: he provided medical care for war victims, exempted the peasants from returning loaned grain and paying taxes, set up schools and orphanages for the children of dead soldiers and educational institutions for wounded soldiers.

On July 27, 1953, the war ended and North Korea was again free to use its energies for its own development. On February 7 of that year, Kim Il Sung had been awarded the title of Marshal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and on July 28 he was given the title Hero of the D.P.R.K.

Kim Il Sung explained that priority must now be given to the development of heavy industry, and then to light industry and agriculture. He said that for this plan to be successful, the postwar rehabilitation of the national economy must be achieved in three stages, the first to take six months to a year, the second, three years (at which point the economy would have regained its prewar level), and the third, five years. This last stage would lay the foundations of socialist industrialization.

Most important in transforming the methods of production was the cooperativization of agriculture. Kim rejected the idea that this could not take place until the country was more industrialized, for he said

that “. . . socialist transformation cannot be retarded when life itself demands an immediate reorganization of the outdated relations of production. . . .”

While agriculture was undergoing cooperativization, so were urban handicrafts, businesses, and industry. The handicraftsmen organized producers' cooperatives. Socialist reconstruction was also considered imperative by Kim Il Sung because he felt that it would accelerate the reunification of Korea.

Another point that Kim considered essential to the success of the revolution was the need for class education in combination with active revolutionary work. He said that in order to establish *Juche* among Party members, they must be educated in Party policies. In other words, while socialist reconstruction was taking place, the Party continued to become stronger.

During the Five-Year Plan, industrial output increased 44 per cent in one year and there was also a big increase in agricultural production. Basically, Kim Il Sung felt that

The essence of this line [the Chollima movement—a movement for increased production] is to unite the entire working people more closely around the Party by educating and remolding them in communist ideology and bring their revolutionary zeal and creative talent into full play, so that socialism can be built faster and better.

He stressed the need to build up the ranks of cadres and educate them. He also said that revolutionary traditions must be taught in order to revolutionize the entire society.

By August 1958, all of North Korea was socialized, both in industry and agriculture. In September the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. gave Kim Il Sung the title of Labor Hero of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Now that industry was socialized, Kim said that efforts must be concentrated on building a strong base of heavy industry, particularly in machine-building and metallurgy. At the same time, priority was given to irrigation, while mechanization, electrification, and chemicalization were developed in agriculture. Fishing techniques and fish processing were improved.

Universal compulsory primary education was introduced in 1956, secondary education, also compulsory, in 1958, free education at all

levels in 1959, and, in 1967, universal compulsory nine-year technical education. Medical care was free. Kim Il Sung established a policy for literature and the arts, whose function was to serve and reflect the people of Korea.

In February 1960, Kim Il Sung gave help to the village of Chongsan-ri for fifteen days. He developed a new method, the Chongsan-ri method, which he explained as follows: “The essentials of the Chongsan-ri method are that the higher organ helps the lower, the superior assists his inferiors . . . gives priority to political work, or work with people. . . .”

In 1960 North Korea's industrial output was 1.3 times higher than that envisaged by the Five-Year Plan, and its total value 3.5 times that in 1956, and 7.6 times that in 1944. Grain output rose 32 per cent.

The Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea was held in September 1961. Kim Il Sung set forth as its goals “to carry out all-round technical reconstruction and cultural revolution and to radically improve the people's livelihood . . .” and stressed the importance of developing an independent economy. Furthermore, he said that the Party must give support to Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans. He was re-elected chairman of the Party Central Committee.

In 1964 Kim organized the Union of Agricultural Working People. Thus all people working in rural areas were united in one organization. Kim said that one of the ultimate goals of Korean socialism was to obliterate the distinctions between town and country. This was to be achieved in several ways: first, by assuring the success of the technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions in rural areas. Second, the working class was to lead the peasantry, industry to assist agriculture, and towns to assist villages. Finally, the management of the rural economy was to reach the level of that in industry. In 1964 a law was passed abolishing the agricultural tax from 1964 to 1966, and giving state funds for construction and the buying of agricultural equipment.

Speaking of North Korea's transition from socialism to communism, Kim said that the first step was to win over the former middle class to the side of the revolution and to eliminate the distinctions between the working and peasant classes, thus building a classless society.

Kim Il Sung's success in reorganizing and leading his country has been attributed to *Juche*, the quintessence of his revolutionary ideology, the ability of a nation to solve its own problems, politically, economically, militarily, and culturally. Specifically, Kim Il Sung was referring

to the necessity of Korea establishing its own power and policy, without depending on China or the Soviet Union.

In the whole course of the hard struggles of the North Korean people, it is important and significant that Kim Il Sung has always been very much among the people. He has shared joys and sorrows with them, consulted with them about state affairs, and enlisted their inexhaustible strength and wisdom in tiding North Korea over the difficulties, and leading the revolution and construction to victory. It was thus that he has become one of the strongest, most durable, and best loved leaders of the Third World.

It is a miracle that less than twenty years after the total devastation inflicted on the country by the United States (in the name of the United Nations), the Democratic People's Republic of Korea today is a highly developed agroindustrial state. Unlike South Korea, the North has not had crop failures in recent years; it is, in fact, self-sufficient in food—a remarkable achievement, since 75 per cent of its area is hilly or mountainous. North Korea's industry has moved ahead so fast that the country is now able to export trucks, tractors, machine tools, and other equipment to various fraternal countries in Asia, Europe, and Africa; and this is quite a switch from the pre-Second World War days when Korea's only exports were raw materials such as iron ore, coal, and fishery products.

What is more remarkable about the North is that for the first time in Korean history there exists a unified national will among the masses. The people are awake, intelligent, and industrious; they are fed, clothed, sheltered, and educated. The naked mountains of North Korea have been reforested. Unlike the South Koreans who totally rely on U.S. aid, the North Korean people are solving their own problems by selfless cooperation and self-reliance.

What is still more amazing is the fact that in such a short period of time, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has become a unique model socialist state, and that an increasing number of revolutionary cadres and countries in Africa, Latin America, Asia, and Europe are following North Korea's example.

JUCHE!

1

On Socialist Construction and the South Korean Revolution in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

(Lecture delivered at the Ali Archam Academy of Social Sciences,
Jakarta, Indonesia, on April 14, 1965)

In the past our country was a backward, colonial, and semifeudal society ruled by Japanese imperialism. After her liberation from Japanese imperialist colonial rule, Korea was divided into the North and the South, owing to the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists.

Since liberation, North and South Korea have traversed diametrically opposed roads. North Korea, where the people took power into their own hands, has vigorously advanced along the road of national independence and progress, while South Korea, under the domination of U.S. imperialists, has once again fallen into the road of colonial slavery and reaction. We have freed one-half of the country, where we are building a new life. But the other half is still occupied by foreign imperialist aggressive forces, and the national-liberation revolution remains unaccomplished on a nationwide scale.

So, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people are today faced with two revolutionary tasks.

One is to build socialism in the Northern half of the country and the other is to liberate South Korea from U.S. imperialist colonial rule and realize the country's unification.

These two revolutionary tasks are closely interrelated and the struggle for their fulfillment is one to expedite the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution as a whole. The aim of the Korean Communists is to unify their fatherland, carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction on a nationwide scale, and then build communism. Our Party, leading the entire Korean people, strives to achieve this aim.

At present, however, different situations prevail in North and South Korea and their revolutions are in different stages of development. The

revolutionary tasks in North and South Korea at the present stage, therefore, must naturally differ from each other, although the Korean revolution is an integral whole. Namely, the immediate revolutionary task in North Korea is to build socialism, whereas the immediate task in South Korea is to carry out the anti-imperialist, antifeudal democratic revolution.

We have energetically pushed ahead with the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the Northern half of the Republic, rejecting the erroneous view that because South Korea is under U.S. imperialist occupation and our fatherland is not unified, North Korea should wait until South Korea is liberated and should not advance the revolution further. Meanwhile, we are firmly opposed to all tendencies to think only of socialist construction in the Northern half, and to be content with its achievements and to forget the revolution in South Korea and the task of the unification of the fatherland. We have invariably adhered to the principled stand of steadily strengthening North Korea politically, economically, and militarily, regarding it as the base of the Korean revolution, and, at the same time, of helping the South Korean people in their revolutionary struggle to accomplish the South Korean revolution and of fighting for the realization of the country's unification and the carrying through of the revolution in the whole country.

1. On the Course of Progress of Socialist Construction in the Northern Half of the Republic

Since the first days of the seizure of power, our Party has waged a struggle to convert the Northern half into a reliable base of the Korean revolution by accelerating the revolution and construction in the liberated, Northern half of the country to the utmost. We have done this in conformity with the lawful demands of social development and, at the same time, by building up powerful internal revolutionary forces there. All the revolutionary struggle and construction work we have carried on in the Northern half have been geared to the implementation of this consistent policy of our Party.

In the Northern half of our country, the anti-imperialist, antifeudal democratic revolution was successfully completed in one to two years after liberation. As a result, the Northern half, on the basis of the victory of the democratic revolution, entered the period of gradual

transition to socialism. The socialist revolution and socialist construction in the Northern half of the Republic got into full stride in the post-war days, as subjective and objective conditions further matured.

Our Party and people had to start building a new society under the circumstances of a backward economy and culture inherited from the old society, of the country having been divided into the North and the South, and of being confronted directly with the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces. Moreover, we had gone through a grim three-year long war against the armed aggression of U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. All this created untold difficulties and complications in our revolutionary struggle and construction work.

After the Korean armistice we were faced with the difficult task of rapidly rehabilitating the ruined national economy and stabilizing the deteriorated people's livelihood in a short space of time, while actively pushing ahead with the socialist revolution.

The war damage in our country was devastating beyond description. The U.S. imperialists had showered North Korea with bombs, an average of eighteen per square kilometer, and reduced our towns and villages to heaps of ashes. Industry, agriculture, railway transport, and all other branches of the national economy were completely destroyed, and so were educational, cultural, and public health establishments. The people had lost practically all their homes, furniture, and household belongings, and there was an acute shortage of food and clothing.

In fact, we were in such a bad state and so many complicated problems cropped up before us simultaneously, that we found it difficult to decide what to do first.

Under the circumstances, the most important thing was clearly to define the orientation for, and the order of priority in, the rehabilitation and construction, and to grasp the main link precisely and concentrate our efforts on it.

Regarding heavy industry as the main link in the successful solution of all problems of postwar rehabilitation and construction, our Party put forward the line of insuring priority for the growth of heavy industry, with simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture. Also, in developing industry, heavy industry in particular, the Party insured that priority was given to the rehabilitation of those branches which were essential to the national economy and people's livelihood in our country at the time, and those which could produce quick economic results. In agriculture, the Party saw that the main

efforts were directed to the production of grain in order to speedily solve the food problem, one of the most pressing problems in the postwar period, while carrying the socialist cooperativization of the individual peasant economy.

It was according to this line and policy that the Three-Year Plan for Postwar Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy (1954-56) was mapped out and the whole Party and the entire people set themselves to its implementation.

The anti-Party elements lurking within the Party, and the revisionists and dogmatists both at home and abroad, were very critical of insuring the priority growth of heavy industry with simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture. They cast slurs at the line of our Party, alleging that "Too much stress is put on the building of heavy industry while the people are leading a hard life," "Machines do not give food," and the like. Their argument was that everything should have been directed to the immediate need of consumption, not taking the future into account. It was, in the final analysis, aimed at preventing our country from building its own economic foundations.

Our Party categorically rejected such argument and firmly adhered to the line it had adopted. In this, the Party's intention was to create, in a short time and by every possible means, an economic basis which would enable us to stand on our own feet, while rapidly getting the people out of their deteriorated life.

Needless to say, it was an extremely difficult task to solve at once, in addition to the questions of laying the economic foundations and of the people's livelihood when all had been destroyed and we were short of everything. But we could not turn away from the demands of the revolution, whatever the difficulties, nor could we sacrifice the vital interests of the country and the people for momentary ease.

The Party trusted in our people, who had been tempered in the flames of war and rallied firmly around the Party. The Party considered that it was fully possible to carry out the task if the power of the masses of the people and all the domestic resources were enlisted fully, and an effective use was made of the aid from fraternal countries. Under the leadership of the Party, our working people overfulfilled the postwar Three-Year Plan before the set time by tightening their belts, making strenuous efforts, and surmounting manifold difficulties.

As a result, the people's standard of living improved considerably, and industry and agriculture not only gained the prewar level of pro-

duction but far exceeded it. Big strides were also made in the socialist transformation of the old relations of production, particularly in the cooperativization of agriculture.

Our success in those days was admittedly an initial one and our economic situation was still difficult. But having finished the postwar rehabilitation, we were able to live on our own assets and carry on socialist construction more energetically.

Having completed the Three-Year Plan, we set out on the Five-Year Plan in 1957. The aim of the Five-Year Plan was to complete the building of the foundations of socialism in our country.

On the basis of the successes and experiences gained in the socialist transformation, our Party put forward the task of completing the cooperativization of agriculture and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry in the Five-Year plan period.

The central task of the Five-Year Plan in socialist construction was to lay the foundation for socialist industrialization and solve in the main the problems of food, clothing, and housing for the people. As a result of the successful fulfillment of the postwar Three-Year Plan, our country went over from the period of rehabilitating the national economy to that of its technical reconstruction. Setting the Five-Year Plan as the first stage of technical reconstruction, the Party decided to lay the basis of socialist industrialization in this period, thereby further consolidating the foundations of an independent national economy and preparing the material and technical conditions for equipping all branches of the national economy with modern technology in the future. At the same time, we saw to it that enormous efforts were directed to grain production, the textile industry, and housing construction, in order to solve the problems of food, clothing, and housing—the basic requirements of the people's life.

At the outset of the Five-Year Plan, we were faced with new difficulties and trials.

As is known to all, during the years 1956-57 modern revisionism emerged on a wide scale in the international communist movement, and the world imperialists and international reactionaries, availing themselves of it, unfolded an extensive "anticommunist" campaign. In our country at that time, the U.S. imperialists entrenched in South Korea and their lackeys, keeping pace with the international "anti-communist" campaign, stepped up their reactionary offensive against the Northern half of the Republic on an unprecedented scale. Also,

the anti-Party revisionist elements within the Party came out to attack the Party, taking advantage of the complicated situation and with the backing of outside forces. The anti-Party elements within the Party and their supporters abroad, revisionists and big-power chauvinists, joined forces in opposition to our Party and carried on conspiratorial activities to overthrow the leadership of our Party and government.

On top of this, there were great difficulties in our economic construction, too. We were short of materials and funds to carry out the enormous Five-Year Plan, and the people's life was also still hard then.

With what, and how, should we tide over the complex situation, was the most serious problem confronting us.

We had no alternative but to rely on our Party members and people. Our Party decided to surmount the difficulties and trials by placing confidence in the Party members and the masses of the people and mobilizing their efforts.

Thus, the Party, while knitting its ranks more closely and uniting the entire people more firmly around it and thereby dealing a decisive counterblow to the offensive of the enemies of all kinds both within and without, directed its main effort to the construction of socialist economy. Under the circumstances, our Party's intention was to rouse the whole Party and the entire people into activity to consolidate the positions of our revolution as firmly as a rock, bring about a great upsurge in socialist construction, and, in so doing, shatter completely all the offensives of internal and external enemies and open up an even wider vista for the revolution and construction in our country.

According to this line of the Party, the December 1956 Plenum of the Party Central Committee, known as an historic plenum in our country, discussed and made decisions on the first year's tasks of the Five-Year Plan and ways and means of their implementation. After the plenum, members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and all other cadres went to factories and villages, acquainting the working people fully with the difficult situation facing us, and roused them to a heroic struggle to surmount the difficulties and trials.

Our Party members and the working people came out in resolute support and defense of the Central Committee of the Party and, by unfolding a vigorous struggle in response to the Party's call, brought about great changes on all fronts of socialist construction. Everywhere they explored immense reserves and potentialities, performed great

feats of labor that had been unimagined in the past, and worked miracles. Industrial output rose 40-50 per cent in a year and in agriculture bumper harvests were reaped year after year. Our towns and villages changed in appearance every day and the people's living standards improved rapidly.

Such being the situation, all the "anticommunist" offensives of the enemy and the attacks of the anti-Party elements went by the board altogether, and those who had been vilifying us were silenced. Meanwhile, the prestige of our Party among the masses was enhanced as never before, our internal unity was further strengthened, and socialist construction within our country began to progress at a tremendous rate. In other words, we turned misfortune into a blessing through our struggle.

This is how the great upsurge in socialist construction and the Chollima movement started in our country.*

By constantly pushing forward the upsurge of socialist construction and the Chollima movement we fulfilled the enormous tasks of the Five-Year Plan far ahead of the scheduled time. Agricultural co-operativization and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry were already completed in 1958, almost simultaneously and without a hitch. As regards production, in terms of the total value of industrial output, the Five-Year Plan was fulfilled in two and a half years and on indices of products it was fulfilled or overfulfilled in four years.

With the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan, our country was turned into a socialist industrial-agricultural state based on the firm foundations of an independent national economy. Socialist relations of production came to hold undivided sway in the towns and countryside, and the base of heavy industry, with the machine-building industry as its core, and the base of light industry were laid. Agriculture too was put on a firm foundation of production. The people's livelihood improved and all the people were freed from worries and cares about food, clothing, and housing. In this way, the historic task of laying the foundation of socialism in the Northern half of our country was accomplished triumphantly.

The Fourth Congress of our Party summed up the achievements

* The Chollima movement is a mass drive which organically links collective innovation in economic and cultural construction with the work of educating the working people.

of the Five-Year Plan and put forward the Seven-Year Plan (1961-67), a magnificent program of socialist construction. The Seven-Year Plan, it may be said, marks the decisive stage in socialist construction in the Northern half of our country.

The fundamental tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are to carry out the all-round technical and cultural revolutions on the basis of the triumphant socialist system, thereby laying the solid material and technical foundations of socialism and greatly improving the material and cultural life of the people.

In a country like ours, where there were no industrial revolution and normal stages of capitalist development in the past, the technical revolution poses itself as a task of special importance during the socialist construction. In conformity with the urgent demands of social development, we have completed the socialist transformation of production relations before the technical reconstruction of the national economy, thereby opening up a broad avenue for the development of the productive forces, particularly for the carrying out of the technical revolution. By laying the basis of socialist industrialization during the Five-Year Plan, we also laid the material and technical foundations for the all-round technical reconstruction of the national economy. Thus the central problem of the Seven-Year Plan is the thorough carrying out of socialist industrialization and the equipping of all branches of the national economy with modern technology.

With the fulfillment of the Seven-Year Plan, our country will become a socialist industrial state and will have established the system of an independent national economy developed in a many-sided way. As regards the people's living standards, the problems of food, clothing, and housing will be solved more satisfactorily.

In carrying out the Seven-Year Plan, our working people have achieved great successes during the past four years, and they continue to wage a vigorous struggle for its fulfillment.

Needless to say, it is by no means an easy task to fulfill our Seven-Year Plan, for this is a very enormous plan, and, moreover, we are building the economy under complex internal and external circumstances. Particularly, because of the fact that we had to direct great efforts to the further strengthening of the defense capabilities to cope with the prevailing situation in the last two or three years, the economic development of our country fell somewhat behind the schedule.

But our people under the leadership of the Party will fulfill the Seven-Year Plan without fail by waging a more vigorous struggle.

2. *On the Establishment of the Socialist System*

The abolition or reorganization of the old production relations based on private ownership and the establishment of the undivided sway of the socialist relations of production constitute the basic content of the socialist revolution. In our country the establishment of socialist production relations was realized through a number of revolutionary reforms—expropriating the property of the imperialists and their stooges and abolishing the relations of feudal land ownership and, on this basis, cooperativizing individual peasant farming and transforming private trade and industry on social lines.

In formerly backward, colonial agrarian countries like ours, where the peasants made up the absolute majority of the population, the transformation of the socio-economic relations in the countryside is of particular importance in building a new society.

The most pressing revolutionary task that confronted us immediately after liberation was to do away with the feudal relations predominant in the countryside.

We freed the productive forces in agriculture from their feudal shackles and emancipated the peasants from exploitation and enslavement by the landlords by a thorough land reform on the principle of confiscating the landlords' land without compensation and distributing it gratis among the peasants. This was a revolutionary change of great significance not only in the speedy development of agriculture and improvement in the livelihood of the peasants but also in strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and democratizing the political, economic, and cultural life of the country as a whole.

The abolition of the feudal relations, however, is but the first step in solving the rural question. As a result of the land reform, private peasant farming, which comes under the category of small commodity production, became predominant in our countryside. As is generally known, as long as small peasant farming predominates in the countryside, the productive forces are bound to run up against certain limits to their development, and exploitation and poverty cannot be stamped out completely. In order to free completely the productive forces in

agriculture from the fetters of the old production relations and emancipate the peasants once and for all from exploitation and oppression of every description, it is necessary to effect socialist cooperativization in agriculture.

In our country the cooperativization of agriculture became a most urgent requirement in the postwar period. Owing to the war, agriculture was severely devastated and there was a great shortage of labor and draft animals. If, under such conditions, individual peasant farming had been maintained, it would have been impossible for us to restore the agricultural productive forces speedily, to improve the peasants' livelihood, and, especially, to solve the problem of the poor peasants whose number had further increased during the war. Most of the peasants were then at the end of their tether, finding it absolutely impossible to do farming without joining forces in one way or another. Meanwhile, the socialist state-owned economy, which occupies the leading position in our national economy, was exerting a great influence on individual peasant farming; and the fast developing socialist industry in particular offered us the possibility of giving material assistance to the peasants' cooperative movement. As for the balance of class forces in the rural areas, the influence of the rich farmers whose economic foundation had been destroyed in the war was very weak; in contrast, our laboring peasants, through protracted revolutionary struggles and the severe war, were politically awakened and rallied even more firmly around the Party.

Taking all this into account, our Party presented agricultural cooperativization as an immediate task right after the armistice and actively pushed forward the cooperative movement as the peasants' enthusiasm grew.

The cooperativization of agriculture in our country was successfully completed in the short period of only four to five years after the war, strictly in accordance with the principle of object lessons and the voluntary principle, and thanks to the powerful leadership and assistance of the Party and the state.

We first began with the work of forming, on an experimental basis, a few cooperatives in each county with poor peasants and core members of the Party in the countryside who were most active in supporting agricultural cooperativization, and of consolidating them. This was the experimental stage in the agricultural cooperative movement in our country. It is of course necessary to study and assimilate the ex-

periences of other countries in any revolutionary struggle or in any construction work, but what is most important of all is one's own experience. Moreover, one cannot extensively undertake from the beginning such a serious and complex, far-reaching socio-economic transformation as agricultural cooperativization only by drawing on others' experience without accumulating a certain amount of experience oneself, or being prompted merely by a subjective desire.

Through the experimental stage we were able to determine the proper forms, methods, and speed of cooperativization suitable to the actual conditions of our country, and to help our cadres to accumulate experience and gain confidence in leading the cooperative movement. And on the strength of our own experience we were able to demonstrate the advantages of cooperative farming to the peasants, thereby inducing them to join the cooperatives voluntarily and on a mass scale.

The leadership and assistance given by the Party and the state of the working class are essential for the emergence, consolidation, and development of the socialist system in our countryside. We conducted tireless political work among the peasants to lead them along the road of socialist collectivization and did everything in our power to consolidate the organized cooperatives politically and economically. Our Party's energetic leadership and the state's powerful material assistance to the cooperative movement played a decisive part in overcoming all the difficulties of the postwar period and insuring definite victory for the system of socialist cooperative farming.

Foreign revisionists, big-power chauvinists and their followers, the anti-Party factionalists in our country were very critical of our Party's policy on agricultural cooperativization, too. They alleged that agricultural cooperativization was impossible when socialists industrialization had not been realized and modern farm machines were not available. They also alleged that the cooperativization of agriculture in our country was proceeding too quickly. They were both ignorant of the actual situation in our country and did not bother to understand it.

It is obvious that, had we missed the best opportunity when all conditions were ripe for the cooperativization of agriculture, and had we not carried it out in good time, waiting for the day when our industry was developed enough to mass-produce modern farm machines, we might have failed to restore our agriculture quickly, and this in the long run would have much more retarded the development of the industry itself and the national economy as a whole.

Our experience has shown that agricultural cooperativization is fully possible when life urgently calls for the transformation of the outdated production relations and when enough revolutionary forces have been prepared to undertake it, even though modern farm machines may be nearly nonexistent, and the cooperative farming thus organized is decisively superior to individual farming.

The establishment of socialist production relations in the towns proceeded in a way different from that in the countryside.

In our country's economy in the past, industry and other major branches were monopolized by Japanese imperialist capital, the development of national capital being very much restricted. Hence, right after liberation, the nationalization of industries, along with the land reform, presented itself before us as an important task of the anti-imperialist, antifeudal democratic revolution. We nationalized the industries, transport facilities, communications, and banks which were owned by Japanese imperialists or traitors to the nation, and thereby brought the country's basic means of production under ownership by the whole people. This was an historic change that enabled us to eradicate the economic footholds of foreign imperialism and create the socialist state-owned economy for the first time in our country.

As a result of the nationalization of industries, the socialist state-owned economy came to hold the leading position in our national economy, while capitalist trade and industry, insignificant from the beginning, came to play a still more secondary role. In these conditions, our Party followed the policy of drawing the capitalist traders and industrialists into socialist construction and of gradually reorganizing their economy on the basis of the speedy expansion and development of the socialist state-owned economy.

After the war, the socialist transformation of capitalist trade and industry became a more urgent requirement. The war damage rendered capitalist trade and industry nearly nonexistent, and even the remaining part was mostly reduced to a fragmented economy with little to distinguish it from handicraft and small trade. Right after the armistice, the entrepreneurs and traders of our country found themselves in a position where they could neither restore their economy nor improve their livelihood without relying on the socialist economy and pooling their efforts and funds.

In the prevailing situation, our Party put forward the policy of transforming capitalist traders and industrialists, along with handicrafts-

men and small traders, into the socialist economy through cooperative economy of various types. This conformed not only to the demands of socialist construction but also to the interests of the entrepreneurs and traders themselves. Almost all the entrepreneurs and traders, therefore, accepted our Party's policy on cooperativization, and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry was completed in a short period after the war.

With the completion of the cooperativization of agriculture and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry, a socialist system free from exploitation and oppression was firmly established in the Northern half of the country. This opened a wide avenue for the rapid development of the country's productive forces and the radical improvement of the people's material and cultural life. The victory of the socialist system also created the socio-economic conditions for the political and moral unity of the entire people based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class.

3. *On Socialist Economic Construction*

Economic construction is a very important task for the Marxist-Leninist Party, which has assumed power.

Once in power, the Marxist-Leninist Party undertakes the responsibilities for the life of the people and is duty-bound to systematically improve their material and cultural well-being. The question of the people's livelihood can be solved only when economic construction is done well. Also, economic construction creates material conditions for strengthening the might of the country and for consolidating the victories already gained in the revolution and further expanding and developing them. The economic construction in the Northern half of our country, in particular, is of decisive significance not only in the happy life of the people in the Northern half, but also for the strengthening of our revolutionary base, the guarantee of the country's unification, and the assistance for the people of South Korea in their revolutionary struggle. Our Party, therefore, ever since the early days of liberation, has made every effort to consolidate the economic foundations of the country and steadily improve the people's living standard.

In our country, which was formerly under the colonial yoke of imperialism, the most important question in socialist economic construction was to create and develop a modern industry.

During Japanese imperialist rule, our country's industry was insignificant. Owing to the exclusive sway of Japanese imperialist capital, the development of national industry was restricted to the last degree, and even the traditional handicrafts were totally ruined. With the sole aim of plundering Korea of her resources and bleeding her people white, the Japanese imperialists built in our country only a few industries producing raw materials and semifinished goods. The manufacturing industries were quite negligible, and the machine-building industry in particular was practically nonexistent. The technical equipment of industry was extremely backward.

It was this colonial industry which we inherited from the old society, and even that was utterly destroyed owing to the war.

In these circumstances, a modern industry could not be built merely by rehabilitating and developing the industry which had already existed. We had to put an end to the colonial lopsidedness of our industry and radically improve its technical equipment, while insuring a high rate of growth in industrial output.

On the basis of the nationalization of the key industries which was effected immediately after the liberation, our Party vigorously pushed ahead with industrial construction and, in the postwar period especially, carried out this work on a large scale. In this way, we have achieved great success in the creation of a modern industry.

The annual rate of growth of industrial production in the ten postwar years from 1954 to 1963 averaged 34.8 per cent. Our country's industrial output in 1964 was about eleven times that of the prewar year of 1949 and more than thirteen times that of the preliberation year of 1944.

As a result of this rapid growth of industrial production, the proportion of industry in the total value of industrial and agricultural output jumped from 28 per cent in 1946 to 75 per cent in 1964.

Heavy industry is the basis for the development of the national economy. Unless heavy industry is developed, light industry and agriculture cannot be developed, nor can any branches of the national economy be equipped with modern technology. Moreover, heavy industry is the material basis for the country's political and economic independence, without which we can neither talk about an independent national economy nor strengthen national defense capabilities.

Our Party's line in regard to the building of heavy industry was to create our own basis of heavy industry equipped with modern technol-

ogy, which relies mainly on domestic natural resources and the sources of raw materials for its development and can meet the demands of our national economy for materials, raw materials, fuel, power, machinery, and equipment mainly with home products. This is precisely the line of creating an independent, modern heavy industry.

It was of paramount importance in implementing this line of our Party to combine the rehabilitation, reconstruction, and new building of heavy industry plants in a rational way, and correctly link the development of heavy industry with that of light industry and agriculture.

What we had in the way of heavy industry was backward in technical equipment and was deformed and severely damaged. But, for all that, we could not abandon it. Our Party has followed the line of rehabilitating the existing foundation of heavy industry, reconstructing and expanding it on the basis of modern technology so as to make the most of it, while at the same time building such new industrial branches and enterprises as our country did not possess.

While steadfastly insuring the priority growth of heavy industry, the Party has also endeavored not to build a heavy industry just for heavy industry's sake, but to build one capable of most effectively serving the development of light industry and agriculture and the improvement of the people's standard of living.

In this way we were able to build up a powerful heavy industrial basis with comparatively small investment in an historically short space of time and, on this basis, rapidly develop light industry and agriculture too.

Our heavy industry now possesses all its key branches, is equipped with new techniques, and has its own solid raw material bases. In 1964 our country's heavy industry produced 12,500 million kwh of electricity; 14,400,000 tons of coal; 1,340,000 tons of pig and granulated iron; 1,130,000 tons of steel; more than 750,000 tons of chemical fertilizers; 2,600,000 tons of cement; and large quantities of machinery, equipment, and various other means of production.

One of our biggest achievements in the building of heavy industry is the creation of our own machine-building industry.

The revisionists, talking about "international division of labor," opposed our Party's line on the building of heavy industry and maintained, among other things, that our country did not need to develop a machine-building industry but would do well to produce only minerals and other raw materials. Of course, we could not follow their view.

Our Party had already started building underground machine factories during the war and has rapidly expanded the machine industry in the postwar period.

Entering the period of the Five-Year Plan, we set about developing the machine-building industry extensively so as to produce by ourselves as far as possible not only medium and small machines, equipment, and accessories, but also heavy machines and equipment required by our national economy.

This was a very difficult task for us, as we had no experience and were lacking in technology. It goes without saying that those who frowned upon the development of the machine-building industry in our country would not help us. When producing tractors, motor cars, and other modern machinery and equipment for the first time, we had to do everything by ourselves, from designing to assembling. Our workers and technicians met with many a setback, but they gritted their teeth and buckled down until at last they succeeded in turning out such machines and equipment, and were able to mass produce them. We also launched a let-machine tools-make-machine tools movement on a mass scale to make machine tools in all places where there were machine tools, thereby rapidly extending the foundations of the machine-building industry and, at the same time, convincing our working people that they were capable of making machines of any type.

The machine-building industry of our country was created after such a tough struggle. But in this process our working people accumulated invaluable experiences, gained a deeper faith in their own strength and talents, and showed a still greater appreciation of the machines and equipment they themselves had made with their own hands under all sorts of difficulties.

Thus, though our country did not have a machine-building industry in the past, we are now producing nationally most of the machinery and equipment, including generating, chemical, and metallurgical equipment, motor cars, tractors, excavators, and other heavy machines and equipment necessary to our national economy. In 1964 the proportion of the machine-building industry in industrial output was 25.8 per cent and the rate of domestic self-supply in machinery and equipment was 94.3 per cent.

Today our heavy industry, with the machine-building industry as its backbone, constitutes a reliable material foundation for equipping all branches of the national economy with modern technology and for

firmly guaranteeing the political and economic independence of our country.

Light industry was one of the most backward sections of our country. We have made great efforts to build up our own basis of a light industry which is capable of meeting the needs of the people.

Our Party's policy in the production of consumer goods for the people is to develop medium- and small-scale local industry side by side with large-scale central industry.

We have built quite a few large-scale central industry plants, which constitute the backbone of light industry, and have constantly strengthened the technical equipment, thereby actively increasing the production of various consumer goods.

But in view of the economic conditions of the country, we could not build many large-scale light industry factories at once. If we had relied on the large-scale light industry factories alone, we would not have been able to abolish rapidly the backwardness in light industry, nor would we have been able to meet the rapidly growing needs of the people in any way. A decisive measure was needed to bring about an innovation in the production of consumer goods for the people.

Our Party, therefore, decided to develop the production of consumer goods in an all-people movement, and put forward the policy of building more than one local industry factory in each city or county. The working people in all parts of the country rose as one to implement the Party's policy and built more than 1,000 local industry factories in only a few months, without spending much state funds, by mobilizing the idle local materials and manpower, with the result that a variety of consumer goods were turned out in large quantities. Our country now has more than 2,000 local industry factories, the technical equipment of which has been improved considerably. Our local industry accounts for more than half the whole country's output of consumer goods.

Our experience shows that in view of the economic and technical peculiarities of light industry, it is, in general, rational to develop medium- and small-scale factories side by side with large ones; it also shows that an effective way of increasing consumer goods production and rapidly developing industry as a whole in the underdeveloped countries is to build many local factories which are comparatively simple in technique and small in scale. The construction of local industry is also of great importance to the even development of all the localities in the country, and especially to the bringing of industry closer to

agriculture and the gradual elimination of the distinctions between town and country.

We have built our own basis of light industry, which consists of central industry and local industry, and thus have come to be able to insure our people's livelihood with consumer goods produced at home. Let us take only the textile industry, for example. The output of fabrics increased 195 times that before liberation, with twenty-five meters of various fabrics per person. The food industry and the production of daily necessities have also grown rapidly.

Our consumer goods are not yet of high quality and their variety is also not so great as is required. But our working people are proud that all the consumer goods they use are made by their own hands, and they use them with pleasure. In the near future we will solve the question of making the variety of consumer goods richer and raising their quality as a whole to the world level.

The rural question occupies a very important place in socialist construction.

The rural question consists of the problem of the socio-economic position of the peasantry as an ally of the working class, and is also the problem of the development of the productive forces in agriculture, one of the two major branches of the national economy. The completion of the socialist agricultural cooperativization marks a historic milestone in the solution of this question. But it still does not mean the final solution for the rural question.

Following the establishment of the socialist system in the countryside, it became necessary, on the basis of steadily consolidating this system, to develop the productive forces in agriculture to a high level, create a bountiful life for the peasants, liquidate the backwardness of the countryside, left over by the exploiter society, and gradually eliminate the distinctions between town and country.

In socialist society, too, the material and technical foundations of agriculture are weaker than those of industry; the cultural level of the rural population is lower than that of the urban population, and the peasants fall behind the workers in ideological consciousness. And it is because of this backwardness of the countryside in comparison with the towns that cooperative ownership remains the dominant form in agriculture, unlike in industry, where ownership by the whole people predominates. Hence the class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry remain too. The rural question will be solved finally

only when the distinctions between town and country and the class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry are eliminated.

For the successful solution of the rural question in socialist society, it is necessary to carry out the technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions thoroughly in the rural areas; to strengthen in every way the support to the countryside; to steadily improve the guidance and management of agriculture; and to bring continuously cooperative ownership closer to ownership by the whole people. We have carried on rural work on these principles since the cooperativization of agriculture.

In the past our country's agriculture was based on backward medieval technique. And in our country cooperativization was realized with practically no technical reconstruction of agriculture. Thus the technical revolution in the countryside posed itself as the most urgent problem for the development of socialist cooperative agriculture.

As the cooperativization of agriculture was nearing completion and as industry developed, our Party lost no time in setting about the technical revolution in the countryside.

The Party laid down irrigation, electrification, and chemicalization as the basic tasks of the technical revolution in the countryside and started with irrigation.

Agriculture, unlike industry, depends largely on natural geographic conditions, and climatic conditions in particular; therefore irrigation is the basic guarantee of high and stable harvests in agriculture. We have in the postwar period conducted an all-people movement to remake nature on a large scale for irrigation, spending enormous state funds. As a result, we are in the main able to free agriculture from drought and flood, and have laid the solid foundation for production free from crop failure.

No little successes have been attained in mechanization, electrification, and chemicalization. Our countryside now has 20,000 tractors (in terms of 15 hp units). This is equal to one tractor per 100 *jongbo* (or hectares) of crop area. And about 300 kilograms of chemical fertilizers are applied to each *jongbo*.

In the preliberation days our countryside had no electricity, but now electricity is supplied to 95.5 per cent of all the rural *ri* (village units) and 81 per cent of all the farmhouses.

While energetically pushing forward irrigation, mechanization, electrification, and chemicalization, we have exerted untiring efforts to

introduce extensively the achievements of agricultural science and advanced farming technology, and in particular to develop intensive methods of farming.

Thanks to all these measures, agricultural production has continued to grow rapidly in our country. Grain output has doubled in comparison with the preliberation period. Stockbreeding and other branches of the rural economy have also made great progress. The food problem—one of the most difficult problems in the history of our country—has been solved in the main, and for some years now we have been self-sufficient in food supply.

As a result of the growth of the productive forces in agriculture and the vigorous advance of the cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside, the appearance of our rural areas has changed, the livelihood of the peasants has improved, and their political awakening and the level of their consciousness has been further enhanced. Our socialist system of cooperative farming has been further consolidated and developed, and a rational system of guidance and management of agriculture has also been established.

Needless to say, in view of the tremendous tasks of socialist rural construction, the achievements we have made in rural work are still in their initial stages. Nevertheless, we have laid a solid foundation for the construction of the socialist countryside. We have also found the right orientation for the solution of the socialist rural question through our own achievements and experiences, and we know clearly what we should do in the future in respect to rural work. Our Party and people will continue to solve the rural question competently on the basis of the achievements already made and in conformity with the orientation and tasks already fixed.

One of the most important questions in socialist construction in backward countries is the training of national cadres.

In the early years following liberation we were very short of national cadres, above all in technology, and this was one of the biggest obstacles to our state administration and economic and cultural construction. The question of national cadres, therefore, was an acute problem for us.

The question of old intellectuals is of great importance in building up the ranks of national technical cadres. Whether or not old intellectuals are drawn into the construction of a new society greatly

affects the economic and cultural development of the country, and this is particularly true during the early stage of revolution.

It is true that the old intellectuals of our country come mostly from the propertied classes, and they had served the imperialists and exploiting classes in the past. However, as intellectuals of a colonial country, they were subjected to oppression and national discrimination by foreign imperialists, and, as a result, they already had a revolutionary mettle.

Taking into full account the important role played by the intellectuals in the construction of a new society and the characteristics of our intellectuals, since the early days of liberation our Party has pursued the policy of accepting them and remolding them into intellectuals serving the working people. Inspired by the Party's policy, the absolute majority of the old intellectuals came over to the side of the people after liberation, and took an active part in the revolutionary struggle and construction work. Thus they have made a valuable contribution, and continue to make a great contribution, to the economic and cultural construction in the country.

Through the persistent education by the Party and the ordeals of the revolutionary struggle, especially through the trials of the Fatherland Liberation War against the armed invasion by the U.S. imperialists, our old intellectuals have now been transformed into excellent socialist intellectuals and have developed into important national cadres.

While remolding the old intellectuals, our Party has paid the greatest attention to training new national cadres from among the working people. With a view to rapidly expanding the ranks of national cadres, the Party has adopted the policy of keeping the work of training cadres and educational work ahead of all other work.

Though we lacked experience and all the necessary conditions, we set up no small number of institutions of higher learning, including a university, and expanded the network of schooling at all levels on a large scale immediately after liberation. We continued to foster national cadres even during the grim years, and after the war directed still greater efforts to this work.

Our country introduced a compulsory primary education system as early as 1956 and enforced compulsory secondary education in 1958. We will enforce compulsory nine-year technical education in the coming few years.

Pupils and students equal to about one-quarter of the total popula-

tion are now studying in more than 9,000 schools at all levels in our country, college students alone numbering 156,000.

Another important policy consistently pursued by our Party in education work and the work of training cadres is the close combination of general education with technical education and of education with productive labor.

We have reorganized the former secondary education system to establish a technical education system, and further improved the contents of education so that all the younger generation may acquire a certain amount of technical knowledge along with a general knowledge of the fundamentals of sciences. Our country has also set up a widespread study-and-work system of education—networks of evening schools and correspondence courses, factory colleges, and communist colleges where large numbers of working people are receiving secondary and higher technical education without being divorced from production.

Despite the country's hard economic conditions, we have thus directed enormous effort to the work of training cadres and to educational work, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, in order to rid ourselves of backwardness quickly and to accelerate further the rate of our advance. As a result, we have been able to build up the ranks of our own national cadres in a comparatively short time, and we have attained the possibility of bringing up even larger numbers of new cadres in the future. As of October 1964, the technicians and experts working in all fields of the national economy numbered more than 290,000. In our country all factories and enterprises, including large modern plants, are operated and managed entirely by our own national technical cadres.

Thus we have not only established an advanced socialist system in the Northern half of the Republic but have also laid the economic and cultural foundations which enable us to manage the economic life of our country by our own efforts. This constitutes the asset for the happy life of our people and the future prosperity of our society. This also signifies that we have firmly built up our revolutionary base politically, economically, and culturally, and constitutes a reliable guarantee for the unification of our fatherland and the final victory of the Korean revolution.

4. *On the Question of Firmly Establishing Juche and Implementing the Mass Line*

All our victories and successes in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism are attributable to the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party and to the heroic struggle of our people for the implementation of the Party's lines and policies.

What was most important for our Party in giving correct leadership to the Korean people in their revolutionary struggle and construction work was to establish *Juche* firmly.

The establishment of *Juche* means holding fast to the principle of solving for oneself all the problems of the revolution and construction in conformity with the actual conditions of one's country, mainly by one's own efforts. This is the realistic and creative stand, opposing dogmatism and applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of the international revolutionary movement to one's country in conformity with its historical conditions and national peculiarities. This is an independent stand of discarding the spirit of dependence on others, displaying the spirit of self-reliance, and solving one's own affairs on one's own responsibility under all circumstances.

The Korean Communists are making a revolution in Korea. The Korean revolution is the basic duty of the Korean Communists. It is obvious that we cannot make the Korean revolution if we are ignorant of or removed from the realities of Korea. Also, Marxism-Leninism can be a powerful weapon of our revolution only when it is linked with the realities of our country.

Masters of the Korean revolution are our Party and our people; the decisive factor in the victory of the Korean revolution is also our own strength. It is self-evident that we cannot make a revolution by relying on others, and that others cannot make the Korean revolution in our stead. International support and encouragement is also important in a revolution, but most important of all in advancing the revolution and bringing it to a victorious conclusion are the endeavors and struggle of ourselves, the masters.

In the world, there are countries big or small and parties with long or short histories of struggle. Nevertheless, all parties are fully independent and equal and, on this basis, cooperate closely with each other. Each party carries on its revolutionary struggle in the specific circumstances and conditions of its own country; by so doing it enriches

the experience of the international revolutionary movement and contributes to its further development. The idea of *Juche* conforms to this principle of the communist movement, and stems directly from it.

The problem of establishing *Juche* has acquired special importance for the Korean Communists, owing to the circumstances and conditions of our country and the complexity and arduousness of our revolution.

While resolutely fighting in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism, our Party has made every effort to establish *Juche* in opposition to dogmatism and flunkyism towards great powers. *Juche* in ideology, independence in politics, self-sustenance in the economy, and self-defense in national defense—this is the stand our Party has consistently adhered to.

Our Party, holding fast to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, studies and analyzes the realities of Korea and, on this basis, determines its policies independently. Unrestrained by any existing formulas or propositions, we boldly carry out whatever conforms to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the realities of our country.

We respect the experiences of other countries, but always take a critical attitude toward them. So, we accept experiences beneficial to us but reject those which are unnecessary or harmful. When introducing the good experience of another country, we remodel and modify it to suit the actual conditions of our own.

Our Party has always maintained the independent stand in its approach to the international communist movement, especially in the struggle against modern revisionism. We are resolutely fighting against modern revisionism, and this fight is conducted invariably on the basis of our own judgment and conviction in conformity with our actual conditions. We consider that only by keeping firmly such a stand can we correctly wage the struggle against revisionism and make substantial contributions to the defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement.

If one fails to establish *Juche* in the ideological and political spheres, he will be unable to display any initiative because his faculty of independent thinking is paralyzed, and in the end he will even be unable to tell right from wrong and will blindly follow what others do. One who has lost his identity and independence in this way may fall into revisionism, dogmatism, and every description of Right and "Left"

opportunism, and may eventually bring the revolution and construction work to naught.

In our country, too, at one time there were some cadres who had been infected with dogmatism and flunkyism towards great powers, and they did no small harm to our work. The dogmatists did not study our realities and, disregarding them, sought to swallow undigested the experience of others and copy it mechanically. Persons of this sort, looking up only to others and accustomed only to imitating what they were doing, slid down in the end to national nihilism, from which viewpoint all that is their own is disparaged and everything foreign is praised. Such a tendency was most seriously revealed on the ideological front. The dogmatists, instead of studying, explaining, and giving publicity to our Party's policies, merely echoed other people like parrots. They even went to the length of denying our people's history of struggle and revolutionary traditions, and attempted to paralyze the creativity of our scholars in scientific research work, teach the students what they had copied from others in education too, discarding all that is national and disseminating only foreign tendencies in literature and the arts.

In our country the harmfulness of dogmatism was most strikingly revealed during wartime, and became all the more intolerable in the postwar period when the socialist revolution and the building of socialism proceeded apace. Moreover, in that period we came to realize gradually that the revisionist trend infiltrates through the medium of dogmatism.

In view of this, in 1955 our Party set forth the definite policy of establishing *Juche*, and ever since then it has conducted a vigorous ideological struggle to carry it through. The year 1955 marked a turning point in our Party's consistent struggle against dogmatism. In fact, our struggle against modern revisionism that had emerged within the socialist camp began at that time. Our struggle against dogmatism was thus linked up with the struggle against modern revisionism.

It was most important in establishing *Juche* to strengthen the study of Marxism-Leninism among the cadres and Party members and, at the same time, to equip them firmly with the ideas, lines, and policies of their own Party. We have energetically conducted ideological work among the cadres and Party members so that all of them may think in terms of the Party's intentions, make a deep study of the Party's policies, work in accordance with these policies and devotedly strive

for their implementation. Our experience shows that when the Party's ranks are firmly united ideologically and organizationally, dogmatism can be overcome, the infiltration of revisionism can be prevented, and all work can be executed successfully in line with the Party's intentions.

At the same time, we decisively intensified, among the entire Party membership and working people, the study of our country's past and present and our people's revolutionary and cultural traditions. We saw to it that in all sectors of the ideological front, including science, education, literature and the arts, the things of our own country are given priority, the national traditions are honored, the national heritages are carried forward, and the advanced culture of other countries is assimilated not by swallowing it whole but after thorough digestion.

These measures have greatly boosted the national pride of our people and their spirit of independence, and have led them to reject the tendency toward mechanically imitating things of others and, on the other hand, to endeavor to do everything in conformity to the actual conditions of the country. As a result of the establishment of *Juche*, science and technology have been advanced with great rapidity, qualitative changes have taken place in education and in the work of training cadres, and a new, socialist national culture, congenial to the life and sentiments of our people, has come into bloom and developed.

While establishing *Juche* in the ideological and political spheres, in the economic sphere our Party has held fast to the principles of self-reliance and the line of building an independent national economy.

Absence of the spirit of self-reliance leads one to the loss of faith in one's own strength, to making little effort to mobilize national resources, and accordingly to failure to carry out the revolutionary cause. We are carrying on the revolutionary struggle and construction work with a determination to make the Korean revolution by our own efforts, and to build socialism and communism in our country by our own labor and with our national resources.

Needless to say, we fully recognize the importance of international support and encouragement and consider foreign aid a necessity. But we reject the erroneous ideological points of view and attitude of slackening our own revolutionary struggle, merely hoping for a good international chance to offer itself, or making no effort ourselves, merely turning to other countries for aid. Both in the revolutionary struggle and in construction work, self-reliance should be given primary importance and support and encouragement from outside should be re-

garded as secondary. Only when one struggles in this spirit can one expedite the revolution and construction of one's own country to the greatest possible degree and also contribute to the development of the international revolutionary movement.

During the period of postwar rehabilitation, our country received from fraternal countries economic and technical aid amounting to some 500 million rubles (550 million dollars), and this, of course, was a great help to our revolution and construction. But in those days, too, we put the main emphasis on enlisting the efforts of our people and our national resources to the fullest; and, at the same time, we endeavored to make effective use of assistance given to us by the fraternal countries too. In actual fact, it was our own efforts that played the decisive role in the postwar rehabilitation and construction. There is no need to make further note of our country's achievements in economic construction in the subsequent years.

We have thus, on the principle of self-reliance, laid the solid foundations of an independent national economy.

— Economic independence is an indispensable requisite for the building of an independent state, rich, strong, and enlightened. Without building an independent national economy, it is impossible to insure the firm political independence of the country, develop its productive forces, and improve the people's standard of living.

Socialism means the complete abolition of national inequality along with class exploitation; it also requires the all-round development of economy, science, and technology. It is therefore natural that a socialist economy be an independent economy developed in a comprehensive way.

We by no means oppose economic cooperation between states nor do we advocate building socialism in isolation. What we do reject is the big-power chauvinistic tendency to restrain the independent and comprehensive development of the economy of other countries and, furthermore, to place their own economy under one's own control, by using the pretext of "economic cooperation" and "international division of labor." We consider that mutual cooperation should be based on the building of an independent national economy by each country, and that this alone makes possible the steady expansion and development of economic cooperation between states on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

Today our country is developing its economy by relying mainly on

its own technology, its own resources, and the efforts of its own cadres and people; it is supplying the domestic needs for heavy and light industrial goods and agricultural produce mainly with its national products.

As for our country's economic relations with foreign countries, they are those of filling each other's needs and cooperating with each other on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit; and these relations are realized through foreign trade and in various other ways.

Having laid the solid foundations of an independent national economy, we have come to possess our own economic basis for increasing the wealth and power of the country and radically enhancing the people's standard of living, and we have developed the capacity to expand further and promote economic cooperation with other countries. Our economic independence also constitutes the reliable material base for guaranteeing the country's political independence and strengthening its defense capabilities.

Along with the establishment of *Juche*, the implementation of the mass line has been one of the most important questions in our Party's leadership in the revolution and construction work.

Considering that the decisive guarantee for the acceleration of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism consists in enlisting all the creative energies of the masses of the people and offering full scope for their enthusiasm, initiative, and talents, our Party has consistently held to the revolutionary mass line in all its activities.

Our Party has been able to achieve tremendous successes in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism by relying on the high revolutionary zeal and inexhaustible creative power of our people who, grasping their destinies in their own hands, are able to build a new life. Whenever it encountered difficulties and ordeals, the Party, placing faith in the masses of the people, consulted with them and enlisted their efforts and wisdom in overcoming these difficulties and ordeals.

We have also successfully carried out many huge and difficult construction projects by unfolding a mass campaign. The let-machine tools-make-machine tools movement, the building of local industry factories, large-scale nature-remaking projects for irrigation, and the rehabilitation and construction of towns and villages which had been reduced to ashes—all these were carried out through mass campaigns, through all-people drives.

In our country, science and technology are also developing rapidly as a mass movement, through the creative cooperation of scientists and technicians on the one hand and workers and peasants on the other; literature and the arts are also flowering resplendently with every passing day, through the activities of professional writers and artists, with the literary and art activities of the broad masses.

The method of relying on the masses and rousing them widely to activity is a revolutionary and positive one; and it is a method that makes it possible to mobilize all the potentialities and possibilities to the full in the revolution and construction.

The Marxist-Leninist Party must at all times implement the mass line, both before and after seizing power, both in the revolutionary struggle and in construction work. And the danger of going back on the mass line increases after the Party has seized power. Upon its founding after liberation, our Party assumed the leadership of the government, and many of our functionaries had little experience in the revolutionary struggle and mass work in the past. For this reason it was particularly important for us to improve the method and style of work of the functionaries so as to implement the mass line.

Our Party has waged a vigorous ideological struggle to eliminate bureaucracy and establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint among the functionaries. The Party has made tireless efforts to get all the functionaries to acquire the revolutionary method of work, of going deep among the masses, consulting with them, deriving strength and wisdom from them, and mobilizing them to solve the tasks set before them.

This method of work, called the Chongsan-ri method in our country, is an embodiment and development of our Party's mass line in conformity with the new realities of socialist construction. The essence of the Chongsan-ri method lies in the fact that the upper organs help the lower ones, superiors help their inferiors, priority is given to political work, and the masses are roused to carry out the revolutionary tasks.

Through the popularization of the Chongsan-ri method, we have decisively improved the functionaries' method and style of work and brought about a big improvement in the work of the Party, state, and economic organs.

To give priority to political work is most important in bringing into full play the revolutionary zeal and creative energy of the masses of the people.

The Communists always fight in defense of the interests of the people and for their happiness. To this end, the broad masses of the people must be awakened and mobilized. One of the inherent advantages of socialism is that under this system the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, display voluntary enthusiasm and creative initiative in their work for the state and society and for their own welfare.

To carry out political work well among the masses in order to induce them voluntarily to perform the revolutionary tasks is, therefore, an effective method of work stemming from the inherent character of the Communists and from the very nature of the socialist system.

It is fundamentally wrong to be immersed only in economic and technical work while neglecting political work, to lay stress on material interest only, without raising the political and ideological consciousness of the working people.

Our Party has firmly adhered to the principle of giving priority to political work in all matters.

When we undertook any revolutionary task, we began by thoroughly explaining and bringing home to all the Party members and the masses the Party's policy with regard to the task and made sure that they held mass discussions about the ways and means of executing its policy, and strove to carry it through with a high degree of political consciousness and enthusiasm. In order to enhance the class awakening and the level of political and ideological consciousness of the working people, we have also energetically carried out communist education among them in combination with education in the Party's policies and our revolutionary traditions.

Political work is none other than work with people, and it is basic to Party work. Lacking the Party's leadership, the masses cannot be mobilized, nor can socialism and communism be built. Only on the basis of enhancing the leading role of the Party and constantly strengthening Party work in all spheres have we been able to carry out successfully the principle of giving priority to political work.

Thus, by energetically carrying on political work—work with people—which is the basis of Party work, we have been able to bring into full play the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative power of our working people and inspire them to mass heroism and to a mass labor upsurge.

The basic method our Party employs in mobilizing the masses in

socialist construction is to raise the Party's leading role and invariably give priority to political work, combining this properly with economic and technical work, to steadily enhance the political awakening and the level of consciousness of the working people and to properly combine this with the material interest.

One of the very important problems in the carrying out of our Party's mass line was that of educating and remolding the masses of all strata and uniting them solidly around the Party.

The political unity and solidarity of the people in the Northern half of the Republic is not only the decisive guarantee for building a new life in the Northern half, but it is also one of the basic factors in unifying the country and achieving the victory of the Korean revolution.

Our Party has consistently and tirelessly worked for rallying the people of all walks of life in the Northern half closely around itself and for turning our revolutionary base into a stronger political force.

The protracted colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, the partition of the country, and especially the sowing of discord among our people by the enemy during the war, have rendered the social and political composition of the population of our country very complex. We, however, cannot make a revolution with spotless people alone, rejecting all those whose social origin and whose records of social and political life are complex.

Therefore, our Party, closely combining the class line and the mass line, has adopted the policy of winning over to the side of the revolution all people, with the exception of the handful of malicious elements. Under the circumstances in which the socialist system already triumphed, the Party's strength decisively grew and the Party's authority and prestige became unshakable among the masses; therefore, we considered that we were able to educate and remold all the people, except the conscious reactionaries of hostile class origin.

Thus, we boldly trusted and embraced even those whose social origin and whose records of social and political life were complex, and insured them conditions for working in peace, provided they now supported our Party and displayed enthusiasm in their work.

Life has fully confirmed the correctness of this policy of our Party. By carrying out the policy we have been able, and are successfully continuing, to educate and remold the broad masses of people of various strata. Although the composition of our population is complex and we are standing face to face tensely with the enemy, our Party has

today firmly united the masses of the people around it and a cheerful, uplifted atmosphere prevails in our society.

The all-people Chollima movement, which has been unfolded with untiring vigor, in our country is the most brilliant embodiment of the mass line of our Party.

The Chollima movement is a mass drive which organically links collective innovation in economic and cultural construction with the work of educating and remolding the working people. Through the Chollima movement, all the wisdom, enthusiasm, and creative energy of our people is brought into full play, innovations are effected in all spheres of economy, culture, ideology, and morality, and the building of socialism is greatly accelerated.

The Chollima movement is the general line of our Party in socialist construction. The essence of this line is to unite the entire working people more firmly around the Party by remolding them through education in communist ideas, and to give full scope to their revolutionary zeal and creative talents so as to build socialism better and faster.

We will continue to expand the Chollima movement and develop it in depth, and thus further expedite the building of socialism in the Northern half of our country.

5. *On the South Korean Revolution*

The revolution for liberating one-half of our country's territory and the two-thirds of the population still held under the control of foreign imperialism—the revolution in South Korea—is an important component part of the Korean revolution as a whole. For the unification of our country and the victory of the Korean revolution, it is necessary to consolidate the revolutionary forces in South Korea, while strengthening the socialist forces in the Northern half, and to carry out the revolution in South Korea, while promoting socialist construction in the Northern half.

Since the first days of their occupation of South Korea, the U.S. imperialists have pursued the policies of military aggression and colonial enslavement. As a result, South Korea has been entirely turned into a colony, a military base of the U.S. imperialists.

The South Korean "regime" is a puppet regime rigged up with the bayonet support of the U.S. imperialists; it is nothing but a tool faithfully executing the instructions of its U.S. overlords.

Through this puppet regime and by the use of so-called "aid" as a bait, the U.S. imperialists have placed all the political, economic, cultural, and military affairs of South Korea under their control.

Under the signboard of "joint defense" they have directly thrown their aggressive troops, nearly 60,000 strong, into South Korea. Moreover, in the name of so-called "Commander of the U.N. Forces" the U.S. army commander has the absolute prerogative of supreme command over the South Korean troops.

Having occupied South Korea, the U.S. troops have barbarously insulted and massacred innocent people in South Korea. They have introduced nuclear and rocket weapons in South Korea, thus turning it into their military base for aggression, and constantly jeopardizing peace in Korea.

The U.S. imperialists' "aid" to South Korea is a major means of aggression and plunder.

The U.S. imperialists gave some 12,000 million dollars of "aid" to South Korea between 1945 and 1964; of this, 3,600 million dollars was economic "aid," and all the remainder military "aid."

The U.S. imperialists' military "aid" goes to meet part of the military expenditure for the upkeep of the puppet army of South Korea, more than 600,000 strong. The South Korean army is a mercenary army entirely serving the U.S. policy of aggression. And the support of one division of the South Korean puppet army costs the U.S. imperialists as little as only one twenty-fifth of the expenditure necessary for the maintenance of a U.S. army division. Thus, by forcibly dragging out the young and middle-aged people of South Korea and using them for their aggressive purposes, the U.S. imperialists are "saving" themselves enormous military expenditure while imposing heavy military burdens on the South Korean people. Also by employing this huge puppet army in their service in place of their own troops, they give the South Korean army the air of serving some sort of national interests and thereby camouflage themselves as some kind of "helpers."

The economic "aid" of the U.S. imperialists is also nothing but a means for subordinating the economy of South Korea to the ends of military aggression and colonial plunder. By incorporating "aid funds" into the budgetary system of the puppet government, the U.S. imperialists have obtained a tight grip on its budget and, through the accommodation of these funds, control the banking organizations and enterprises in South Korea. In this way they control 43 to 50 per cent

of South Korea's financial budget and 30 per cent of its banking funds and monopolize 70 to 80 per cent of the supply of raw materials and 80 per cent of the imports. Today the South Korean economy is entirely dependent on the United States; financial and economic organizations and enterprises in South Korea are in a situation where they will have to stop operations the moment "aid" from U.S. imperialism is suspended.

All this convincingly shows that U.S. imperialism is the real ruler in South Korea.

In order to secure a more favorable foothold for their colonial domination following their occupation of South Korea, the U.S. imperialists reorganized part of the socio-economic relations in South Korea.

In their aggression against South Korea, the U.S. imperialists attached prime importance to the fostering of the comprador capitalist, who was to play the role of middleman in the disposal of their surplus goods, act as guide for the infiltration of U.S. private capital, as agent in their plunder of the country's resources, and as local purveyor of certain war material.

They bolstered up the position of comprador capital by handing over to private capitalists and speculators, for a mere token payment, the properties formerly owned by Japanese imperialists, and by enabling them to rake in exorbitant profits by monopolizing the rights to purchase and sell the "aid" goods dumped by the U.S. imperialists in South Korea. The share of South Korea's comprador capital in its key industries under the rule of the Japanese imperialists was barely 6 per cent, but today some 500 comprador capitalists have seized about 40 per cent of South Korea's manufacturing industry, around 80 per cent of its mining industry, and more than 50 per cent of its foreign trade.

The U.S. imperialists have preserved intact the feudal exploiting system in the South Korean countryside, which is favorable to their colonial domination and pillage. They enforced the so-called "agrarian reform" in South Korea, but this was only a piece of trickery designed to quell the demand for land by the South Korean peasants who had been inspired by the land reform in North Korea. Even after the enforcement of the "agrarian reform," the feudal relations of exploitation continue to hold sway in the South Korean villages and the peasant economy has become even more fragmented than before.

Today, about 100,000 landlords hold 40 per cent of the total area

under cultivation and exploit 1,400,000 peasant households in South Korea. The peasants in South Korea have to pay farm rent amounting to 50 to 60 per cent of their harvest, and most of them are shackled by debts to the landlords and rich farmers through usury.

U.S. imperialism has thus set up a system of colonial rule following its occupation of South Korea and, on this basis, has been enforcing an unprecedented military dictatorship over the South Korean people.

In South Korea, policemen and bureaucrats alone number more than 155,000. At present, 370,000 special political agents are rampant against the people in South Korea.

This colonial-type social, political, and economic system has become fetters which curb the development of the economy and the democratization of social life in South Korea.

Today the national economy of South Korea is totally bankrupt, and the level of its industrial output stands at no more than 85 per cent of what it was at the time of liberation.

South Korea's agriculture is likewise in an acute crisis. Agricultural output has dropped to two-thirds of what it was at the time of liberation. South Korea, once known as the granary of our country, has been turned into an area of chronic famine which now has to import 800,000 to one million tons of cereals every year.

Today there are roughly seven million unemployed and semiunemployed in South Korea, and each year more than one million peasant households suffer from lack of food during the lean spring months.

The national culture and the beautiful manners and good customs peculiar to the Korean people are trampled underfoot, and the decadent and degenerate American way of life is corroding all that was sound in social life.

The people are entirely denied political rights and are living exposed to terrorism and tyranny.

The economic catastrophe in South Korea and the wretched social position of its people have produced sharp social, class, and national contradictions.

The basic contradiction in South Korean society at the present stage is that between U.S. imperialism and its accomplices—landlords, comprador capitalists, and reactionary bureaucrats—on the one hand, and workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeois, and national capitalists on the other.

Therefore, to attain freedom and liberation, the South Korean people

must drive out the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and overthrow their accomplices—landlords, comprador capitalists, and reactionary bureaucrats. U.S. imperialism, above all, is target number one of the struggle for the South Korean people.

There can be neither freedom and liberation for the people in South Korea, nor progress in South Korean society, nor the unification of our country, unless the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces are driven out and U.S. imperialist colonial rule is abolished in South Korea.

Thus the revolution in South Korea is a national-liberation revolution against the foreign imperialist forces of aggression, as well as a democratic revolution against feudal forces.

The motivating force of this revolution in South Korea is the working class and its most reliable ally, the peasantry, together with the students, intellectuals, and petty bourgeois who are opposed to the imperialist and feudal forces. The national capitalists, too, may have a share in the anti-imperialist, antifeudal struggle.

Our Party, with the support of the socialist forces of North Korea, has all along been waging a stubborn struggle to carry out the anti-imperialist, antifeudal democratic revolution in South Korea by mobilizing all its patriotic, democratic forces.

The course of the South Korean revolution is beset with numerous difficulties and obstacles.

The occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialist aggression forces and the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression are the underlying factors of the complex, arduous, and protracted nature of both the revolution in South Korea and the Korean revolution as a whole.

The U.S. imperialists need South Korea not merely as a market for their surplus goods or as a supply base of strategic resources. They also need South Korea as the logistic base for the occupation of the whole of Korea, as a bridgehead for hostile activities against the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic and aggression on the Asian continent, and, further, as an important strategic point for world domination.

That is why the U.S. imperialists have stationed in South Korea more than half of their Pacific ground forces, although they are floundering in a tight corner in all parts of the world today.

Thus, the revolution in South Korea has as its target of struggle a powerful enemy—U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious and treacherous of all imperialists.

South Korea is the assembly ground and the den of the domestic reactionaries.

In contrast to what happened in North Korea, the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism were not liquidated in South Korea after liberation. In order to establish a foothold for their colonial domination, the U.S. imperialists actively protected and rallied the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism. The former pro-Japanese forces have now turned pro-American and have grown further.

Moreover, as the revolutionary struggle was intensified in North Korea and the counterrevolutionary elements there sustained heavy blows, some landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese lackeys, traitors to the nation, vicious bureaucrats, and fascist elements fled from North Korea to South Korea to join up with the reactionary forces.

In addition, no small reactionary forces that had been scattered in foreign lands crawled their way into South Korea.

The domestic reactionary forces thus brought together formed counterrevolutionary forces in collusion with outside forces and turned against the revolutionary forces.

“Anticommunist” ideas are also deeply rooted in South Korea. For thirty-six years Japanese imperialism malignantly infused “anticommunist” ideas, and after the liberation U.S. imperialism and its lackeys further stepped up the “anticommunist” propaganda, and this was in addition to the fact that the petty bourgeoisie made up the overwhelming majority of the population and the cultural level of the masses was very low.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, the People's Army advanced and ideologically enlightened the people in the liberated areas to a certain extent, but their influence was not great because their stay in those areas was short.

As a result, a considerable proportion of the people in South Korea are still taken in by the “anticommunist” propaganda, and this is a serious obstacle to the development of the revolution in South Korea.

All this has created very difficult circumstances for the revolution in South Korea, which has to go through many turns and twists.

This notwithstanding, the South Korean people have been waging a stubborn struggle ever since liberation up to the present, against the colonial fascist rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, in defense of their right to live, for democracy and the unification of the country.

Immediately after the August 15th liberation, the working class

movement surged forward rapidly in South Korea, and under its impact the struggle of people of all walks of life also gained momentum.

Inspired by the successes of the revolution in the Northern half, the people of South Korea fought unyieldingly against the U.S. imperialist policy of colonial enslavement, for the sovereignty and independence of their country, and for the introduction of democratic reforms of the kind that had been carried out in the Northern half.

In September 1946, the general strike waged by the South Korean workers—who demanded food, higher wages, an immediate halt to the cruel suppression of every sort by the U.S. military government, and enforcement of a democratic labor law—developed into an all-people anti-U.S. resistance in October, involving about 2,300,000 patriotic people.

In the years that followed, the anti-U.S. national-salvation struggle of the people in South Korea (such as the February 7, 1948, national-salvation struggle against the entry of the “U.N. Commission on Korea,” which was cooked up by U.S. imperialism) and the struggle against the ruinous May 10th separate elections went on vigorously.

Struggles were waged by the soldiers of the puppet army, too. For example, in October 1948 there was a mutiny in Ryosu in protest against the barbarous suppression and slaughter of the people by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, in which even the local people joined; and they smashed up the puppet offices of administration, and for a time they were in complete occupation of the city of Ryosu.

These struggles showed that the people in South Korea were resolutely opposed to the U.S. imperialist policy of colonial enslavement and the traitorous acts of the domestic reactionaries, and were firmly demanding the freedom and independence of their country and the establishment of a democratic system; they abundantly demonstrated the revolutionary spirit and great strength of the masses of the people.

But the struggle of the people in South Korea entered a temporary ebb, owing to the rigging up of a separate puppet regime in South Korea in May 1948 and to the policy of fascistization pursued thereafter by the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique.

The U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique mobilized U.S. army units equipped with up-to-date arms to put down the mass movement, and they perpetrated barbarous acts, arresting patriotic people at random, imprisoning and murdering them.

The U.S. imperialists also resorted to a crafty scheme designed to split and break up the revolutionary forces from within, by using the factionalists and spies who had sneaked into the leadership of the Workers' Party of South Korea. As a result, at that time the Party organizations were totally destroyed and the revolutionary forces were split in South Korea.

During the postwar years, the people's struggle in South Korea gradually embarked on the road of a new advancement.

Inspired by the successful socialist construction in the Northern half, the people in South Korea have in the postwar period been persistently fighting against U.S. imperialism and its stooges and for democratic freedom and rights.

The massive Popular Uprising in April 1960, in which student youth of South Korea played the central role, overthrew the puppet government of Syngman Rhee, the old minion of U.S. imperialism. This was the initial victory of the South Korean people's struggle, and it dealt a heavy blow to the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism.

The collapse of the puppet Syngman Rhee government signified, above all, the bankruptcy of all its antipopular policies and the notorious “march North” clamor.

In this heroic struggle, the people in South Korea demonstrated the revolutionary mettle of the Korean people, gained valuable experience, learned valuable lessons, and were greatly enlightened politically.

After the April Popular Uprising, the situation in South Korea rapidly developed in favor of the revolution; and the fighting spirit of the masses, fighting against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for the independent peaceful unification of the country, ran high.

Thus, the struggle of the people in South Korea, under the slogan “Unification is the only way to life,” began to develop into a struggle for tearing down the barrier between the North and the South.

The U.S. imperialists, greatly alarmed by the developments in South Korea after the April Popular Uprising, engineered a military coup by aiding and abetting the fascist elements within the military, and subsequently stage-managed an insidious plot for the replacement of the Chang Myon regime, the second puppet regime, with the Park Chung Hee military fascist regime.

This, however, has only resulted in the further aggravation of the crisis of the U.S. imperialist machinery of colonial rule.

Last year witnessed another large-scale anti-imperialist, antifascist struggle of the student youth in South Korea.

The struggle started in opposition to the reaggession of Japanese militarism and for the purpose of shattering the "South Korea-Japan talks." Gradually it assumed an anti-"government" nature and developed into a struggle for toppling the Park Chung Hee regime.

This patriotic progressive struggle of the student youth, which lasted over seventy days, from March 24 to June 5, dealt another heavy blow to the Park Chung Hee clique and the U.S. imperialists.

While internally intensifying the policy of fascist repression and terror against the people in order to crush the advance of the students and the masses of the people, today the U.S. imperialists and the Park Chung Hee regime are externally hastening to team up with the Japanese militarists; and further, they are trying to establish an "anti-communist" northeast Asia joint defense force.

With none of these maneuvers, however, can the U.S. imperialists and the Park Chung Hee regime cope with the ever worsening crisis of their colonial rule, nor can they break the patriotic spirit of the people of South Korea who oppose the U.S. imperialist colonial rule and are striving to achieve the freedom and independence of their country.

In South Korea today, the conflict between democracy and reaction, between the patriotic revolutionary forces and the imperialist forces of aggression is growing more acute, and the imperialist and reactionary forces are being isolated and weakened with each passing day.

The national and class awakening of the people is rising gradually, their anti-U.S. sentiments are rapidly mounting, and their trend toward independent peaceful unification is growing daily. The people in South Korea are being steeled constantly in the struggle, are accumulating rich political experience, and becoming united in a more organized way.

At the present stage, the basic line of the revolution in South Korea is to protect the revolutionary forces from suppression by the enemy and, meanwhile, to accumulate and reinforce constantly these forces in preparation for the forthcoming great revolutionary event.

Most important of all in this connection is to build up firmly a revolutionary party and prepare the main force of the revolution in South Korea. To build up the main force of the revolution means unit-

ing around the party the basic classes that can be mobilized for the revolution, namely, the workers and peasants.

In South Korea at present, ranks of the revolutionary core armed with Marxism-Leninism are growing, the class consciousness of the workers and peasants is being heightened, and the revolutionary strength is continually expanding among them.

It is important to form a united front embracing all social circles and strata on the basis of building up a revolutionary party and closely uniting the workers, peasants, and other sections of the working people.

The South Korean revolutionaries are directing special attention to combining the struggle of the workers and peasants with that of the youth, students, and intellectuals, and at the same time, they are endeavoring to form a broad anti-U.S., national-salvation united front embracing all classes and strata.

The growth and strengthening of the revolutionary forces and the formation and consolidation of the anti-U.S., national-salvation united front can be realized successfully only under the condition of the extensive struggle of the masses. Our Party actively supports, encourages, and inspires all forms of the progressive, patriotic mass movements waged in South Korea.

In the final analysis, the revolution in South Korea can triumph only through the growth of the revolutionary forces of the people in South Korea and by their decisive struggle. Through the struggle, the people in South Korea will be further awakened and schooled, and eventually will grow into an invincible revolutionary force. In this way, when the time comes, they will surely drive out the U.S. imperialists and crush their lackeys, thereby winning victory in the revolution.

The revolution in South Korea, no matter what method is employed, can be victorious only when the revolutionary forces are strengthened. Needless to say, once U.S. imperialism is driven out and the revolution triumphs in South Korea, the unification of our country will be achieved peacefully.

It is the duty of our Party to do everything in its power to expedite the growth of the revolutionary forces in South Korea and to assist the South Korean people in their revolutionary struggle.

It can be said that the unification of our country and the countrywide victory of the Korean revolution depend, after all, on the preparation of three major forces.

First, to further strengthen our revolutionary base politically, economically, and militarily by successfully building socialism in the Northern half of the Republic.

Second, to strengthen the revolutionary forces in South Korea by politically awakening and closely uniting the people of South Korea.

Third, to strengthen the solidarity of the Korean people with the international revolutionary forces.

Our Party is striving unremittingly to strengthen these three revolutionary forces.

It is of great importance for the victory of our revolution that the Korean people strengthen their solidarity with the international revolutionary forces and isolate and weaken the U.S. imperialist aggressors internationally.

Our Party is steadfastly adhering to the line of firmly uniting with the peoples of the socialist countries, and of actively supporting and strengthening our solidarity with the peoples of the newly independent countries fighting against imperialist aggression and the peoples of all countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are fighting to throw off the yoke of imperialism. We are endeavoring to strengthen our solidarity with the progressive peoples of the whole world.

In this connection, it is of great importance to strengthen unity with the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples and, in particular, to fight in unity with the entire Asian people in order to drive the U.S. imperialists out of Asia.

The anti-imperialist, anticolonialist struggle of the Communists and people of Indonesia is conducive to the common struggle of the Asian people.

The Korean people put great value on their ties and unity with the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian people, and actively support their revolutionary struggle.

Holding high the banner of revolution, the Communists and the peoples of our two countries will at all times fight in firm unity for national independence, socialism, and peace, against the imperialist forces of aggression led by U.S. imperialism.

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Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country

(Adopted at the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, on February 25, 1964)

The founders of Marxism-Leninism attached tremendous importance to the peasant and agricultural questions and directed profound attention to their solution. In particular, Lenin raised the peasant question as a basic strategic problem in the revolution, and regarded the rural question as a major factor in the building of socialism and communism. Lenin taught that the correct solution of the peasant question and the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance are the decisive guarantee of victory in the revolution. He outlined a clear-cut solution to the rural question in the stage of socialist revolution and pointed out the path of socialist construction in the countryside.

The rural question acquires an especially important meaning in many countries, formerly or at present under the imperialist and colonial yoke. In these countries the successful solution of the peasant and agricultural questions is the key to the victory of the revolution and to social progress.

The triumph of the socialist revolution in town and country marks a historical turn in the solution of the peasant and agricultural questions.

After the triumph of the socialist revolution, the rural question continues to hold a very important place in the building of socialism and communism.

The peasantry is a reliable ally of the working class and a mighty force in socialist construction. Only when the worker-peasant alliance is steadily consolidated under the leadership of the working class can the building of socialism and communism be vigorously pushed ahead.

Agriculture, like industry, is one of the two major branches of the people's economy. It provides food for the population and supplies light industry with raw materials. While developing industry and constantly

enhancing its leading role, we must insure that agriculture advances in step with industry. This alone will make it possible rapidly to develop the people's economy as a whole and systematically to improve the people's livelihood.

The peasant and agricultural questions can be finally solved only when the distinctions between town and country and the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry are obliterated.

It is a lofty mission of the Communists and the working class to achieve the final solution of the rural question and lead the peasantry to the communist society.

After the triumph of the socialist system, the Marxist-Leninist Party should concentrate its efforts on the solution of the rural question in order to carry the revolution forward to completion, in order fully to protect the interests of the entire working people.

1. The Basic Principles of the Solution of the Rural Question under Socialism

The rural question presents itself in different lights at different stages of the development of the revolution.

In the stage of the anti-imperialist, antifeudal democratic revolution, the peasant and agricultural questions consisted in emancipating the peasantry from exploitation and enslavement by the landlords, and in freeing the productive forces of agriculture from the fetters of the feudal relations of production through the abolition of feudal land-ownership in the countryside. We solved these questions successfully by carrying out land reform in a thoroughgoing way, on the principle of confiscating the landlords' land and distributing it to the peasants without compensation.

In the stage of the socialist revolution, the peasant and agricultural questions consisted in emancipating the peasantry once and for all from every kind of exploitation and oppression, and in completely freeing the productive forces of agriculture from the fetters of the old production relations based on private ownership, by liquidating the capitalist elements in the countryside and reorganizing the private peasant economy into a socialist collective economy. We have solved these questions with credit by carrying out the socialist cooperativization of agriculture through object lessons and on the voluntary principle, under the strong leadership and with the active assistance of the Party and the state.

The socialist system of agriculture enjoys decisive superiority over the private peasant economy and the capitalist system of agriculture. It opens up a broad avenue for the development of the productive forces in agriculture and offers possibilities for the rapid improvement of the material and cultural life of the peasantry.

The question is how to conduct rural work and how to develop the rural economy under the socialist system.

After the triumph of the socialist system in town and country, the rural question presents itself in a fundamentally different light from that in the preceding periods.

Under socialism the peasant and agricultural questions become a matter of developing the productive forces of agriculture to a high level, making the life of the peasants a bountiful one, abolishing the backwardness of the countryside left over by the exploiter society, and gradually obliterating the distinctions between town and country, on the basis of the continuous strengthening of the socialist system established in the countryside.

One of the most fundamental tasks in building socialism and preparing for the transition to communism is gradually to eliminate the distinctions between town and country, while consolidating and developing the socialist system of agriculture. This is a complicated and difficult task that can be completely solved only by protracted and unremitting struggles and efforts.

With the completion of socialist transformation, this task has already been placed on the order of the day in our country. Our work in the rural areas should proceed in the direction of solving this task.

For the successful solution of the peasant and agricultural questions under socialism, it is imperative to adhere firmly to three basic principles in rural work.

First, the technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions should be thoroughly carried out in the rural areas;

Second, the leadership of the working class over the peasantry, the assistance of industry to agriculture, and the support of the towns to the countryside should be strengthened in every way;

Third, the guidance and management of the rural economy should steadily be brought closer to the advanced level of management of industrial enterprises, the links between ownership by the whole people and cooperative ownership should be strengthened, and cooperative ownership should be steadily brought closer to ownership by the whole people.

I. THE TECHNICAL, CULTURAL, AND IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The revolution must be continued to achieve the full-scale construction of socialism and to prepare for the gradual transition to communism.

The very fact that the distinctions between town and country and the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry remain even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the completion of socialist transformation shows that the revolution should be carried forward and that the revolution in the rural areas, in particular, should be carried out more thoroughly. Should the revolution be halted because socialist cooperativization has been achieved, the enthusiasm of the peasants, heightened through the democratic and socialist revolutions, cannot be maintained and further increased. Without continuing the revolution in the countryside, the socialist system in agriculture cannot be consolidated and developed, nor can its advantages be displayed, nor can the distinctions between town and country be eliminated.

The technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions are the central revolutionary tasks that must be accomplished in the rural areas following the completion of socialist cooperativization.

The lag of the farm villages behind the towns finds its expression, first of all, in the fact that agriculture has a weaker material and technical foundation than industry, that the cultural level of the rural population is lower than that of the city dwellers, and that the peasants lag behind the workers in thoughts and consciousness. Needless to say, this backwardness is a legacy of the old society, and the fact that such backwardness still remains under socialism is likewise connected, in a large measure, with the level of development of industry and of the towns. Precisely due to this backwardness, in contrast with an industry where ownership by the whole people prevails, cooperative ownership remains the dominant form in agriculture, and the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry remains as a result.

Therefore, in order to consolidate and develop the socialist system of agriculture, to eliminate the distinctions between town and country, and to eliminate the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry, the three revolutions—technical, cultural, and ideological—must first of all be carried out in the countryside on the basis of the rapid development of socialist industry and of the towns, and the back-

wardness of the countryside in these three spheres must be eliminated.

The tasks of the technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions in the countryside are closely interlinked, and they must be carried out as a unified process.

Among them, the ideological revolution is the most important and most difficult revolutionary task that must go ahead of all other work. It would be a grave error to put the accent on the technical and cultural revolutions alone and neglect the ideological revolution.

The class struggle continues also under socialism. The class struggle in the socialist countryside finds expression in the struggle against the subversive machinations of the hostile elements infiltrating from the outside and of the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes, and also in the ideological struggle against the survival of obsolete ideas in the minds of the peasants. Unless the class consciousness of the peasants is raised and the ideological struggle is intensified among them, the socialist system cannot be consolidated in the countryside, nor can it be safeguarded from the encroachment of enemies.

The advantages of socialism and its vitality lie, above all, in the fact that under this system the working people who have been freed from exploitation and oppression are solidly united, cooperate closely with each other in a comradesly way, and do their work voluntarily and enthusiastically for the common goal and interest. Without raising the peasants' level of thoughts and consciousness, these intrinsic advantages of socialism cannot be demonstrated in the countryside, nor, in consequence, can agricultural production, agricultural technique, and rural culture be rapidly advanced.

The remolding of the peasants' thoughts and consciousness does not come of itself with the establishment of the socialist system and improvement of the livelihood. It goes without saying that with the triumph of the socialist system, the economic foundation generating obsolete ideas disappears and the social and material conditions for equipping the peasants with a new ideology are created. But, under socialism, too, the residue of the obsolete ideas, and particularly petty-proprietor inclinations, persist for a long time in the minds of the peasants, and may revive and even grow when the ideological work is slackened. The thoughts and consciousness of the peasants can be completely remolded only through prolonged, tireless education and constant struggle.

Attaching primary importance to the ideological revolution does not

in any way mean that we may neglect the technical and cultural revolutions.

Socialism and communism require a high level of development of the productive forces as well as a high cultural level among the working people. The aim of building socialism and communism is, in the final analysis, to insure a happy life for the entire people and to satisfy more fully their steadily growing material and cultural needs.

There can be neither development of the agricultural productive forces, nor improvement in the material and cultural standards of the peasants, nor emancipation of the peasants from their laborious toil, unless the technical and cultural revolutions are carried out in the countryside. The reinforcement of the material and technical basis of agriculture and the elevation of the peasants' cultural level are also important requisites for remolding the thoughts and consciousness of the peasants. Hence, to stress only the importance of the ideological revolution, while neglecting the technical and cultural revolutions, is likewise an error.

While giving decisive priority to the ideological revolution, we must energetically promote the technical and cultural revolutions along with it. In this way we must recast the ideology of the peasants, reinforce the material and technical basis of agriculture, and raise the cultural level of the rural population.

2. WORKING-CLASS LEADERSHIP OVER THE PEASANTRY, ASSISTANCE OF INDUSTRY TO AGRICULTURE, AND SUPPORT OF THE TOWN FOR THE COUNTRYSIDE

Leadership and assistance by the Party and the state of the working class are indispensable conditions for the emergence, consolidation, and development of the socialist system in the countryside. The peasantry can take the socialist path and then go over to communism only under the leadership and with the assistance of the working class.

The workers and peasants are allies fighting together for the common goal and ideal; they are all socialist working people. Ownership by the whole people and cooperative ownership are the two forms of socialist ownership that develop in close linkage with each other, and they constitute the economic foundations of the socialist state. The socialist state assumes responsibility for the livelihood not only of the factory and office workers but also of the peasants; it assumes respon-

sibility for the development not only of ownership by the whole people but also of cooperative ownership. In the days of the private peasant economy, each peasant was chiefly responsible for his own husbandry and livelihood. But after the completion of the cooperativization, the Party and the state should bear responsibility for and look after the development of the cooperative farms and the peasants' livelihood.

Industry is the leading department of the people's economy, and the towns are ahead of the countryside in all spheres of politics, economy, and culture. Agriculture can become as well equipped with modern techniques as industry only when industry, the leading department, gives it assistance, and the lagging countryside can attain the level of the towns only when the latter, which are ahead, give it support.

From this it follows that in order to promote vigorously the technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions in the countryside and gradually eliminate the distinctions between town and country after the completion of socialist cooperativization, the Party and the state should strengthen in every way their leadership over and assistance to the countryside, and the towns should give active support to the countryside.

Needless to say, in a formerly backward agrarian country like ours, the rural areas have to provide a certain amount of funds for socialist industrialization for a certain period following the victory of the revolution. The supplying of funds by the peasants for the creation of a modern industry in such a socialist state is intended for the benefit of the whole of society, and it is also indispensable for the future development of agriculture and the improvement of the livelihood of the peasants themselves.

But once the foundation of socialist industry has been laid, the emphasis should be switched so that industry may come to the aid of agriculture. From that time on, agriculture should be given ever more powerful and all-round assistance.

The working class must not only lead the peasantry politically and ideologically, but must also give it material, technical, cultural, and financial assistance. The socialist state must make every effort to lighten the burdens of the peasants and increase their income, and must see to it that the living standards of the workers and peasants rise evenly in relation to each other.

Should rural work be neglected, should the rural areas be left without aid or, worse still, should there be industrial development alone at

the expense of agriculture, and urban construction alone at the sacrifice of the countryside, then the discrepancy between town and country, far from disappearing, will grow ever greater. This will make it impossible to give full play to the activeness of the peasants, develop agriculture, or improve the peasants' living standards. It will, in the long run, hinder the development of industry itself, as well as that of the whole people's economy, and cause severe damage to the building of socialism and communism.

It is a capitalist idea to neglect the countryside. Under capitalism it is the rule that the towns exploit the countryside and the latter lags behind the former.

Communists decisively reject the idea of neglecting the countryside, and from the first day of their coming to power they should strive to rid the countryside of the backwardness, a legacy of capitalism. Under socialism it is lawful that the towns assist the countryside and the once backward countryside approaches ever closer the level of the towns in all spheres.

While increasing the strength of the working class and further developing industry and the towns, we must constantly strengthen working-class leadership over the peasantry, and increase assistance by industry to agriculture, and support by the towns for the countryside, thereby diminishing step by step the distinctions between town and country. Only in this way can we continue to give full play to the activeness of the peasants, rapidly develop the rural economy, and better the peasants' livelihood. This will eventually lend a greater impetus to the development of industry itself, and to that of the whole people's economy, and accelerate the building of socialism and communism.

3. GUIDANCE AND MANAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OWNERSHIP BY THE WHOLE PEOPLE AND COOPERATIVE OWNERSHIP

Under socialism the countryside lags behind the towns not only in the technical, cultural, and ideological spheres, but also, and as a result, in its form of ownership and level of economic management. The difference between industry and agriculture in respect of ownership is an essential one that determines the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry. The difference between industry and agriculture in their level of economic management is also a major one.

Therefore, in order to eliminate the distinctions between town and country, and the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry, it is necessary to rid the countryside of backwardness in technology, culture, and ideology, and also in ownership and the level of economic management. Only by so doing can all the lag of the rural areas behind the towns be overcome, all the distinctions between town and country connected with the lag be eliminated, and the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry be eradicated.

For the elimination of the distinctions between industry and agriculture in their level of economic management and ownership, it is necessary to promote energetically the technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions in the countryside, and strengthen in every way the support of the towns for the rural areas, and, on this basis, improve the guidance and management of the rural economy and gradually bring cooperative ownership up to the level of ownership by the whole people. Meanwhile, the improvement of guidance and management of the rural economy, development of cooperative ownership, and maintenance of a correct correlation between ownership by the whole people and cooperative ownership constitute important requisites for the acceleration of the technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions in the countryside, for effective assistance by the towns to the countryside and for the successful solution of all problems involved in building the socialist countryside.

The basic direction in improving the guidance and management of socialist agriculture consists in steadily bringing the method of management in the agricultural cooperative economy closer to the more advanced method of management of industrial enterprises.

The agricultural cooperative economy is a large-scale socialist economy and one that is being rapidly equipped with modern technology. Inasmuch as the scale of management in agriculture is expanding and agriculture is gradually approaching the level of industry in its technical equipment, the method of guidance and management of agriculture should also be brought closer to the method of management of industrial enterprises. This means, above all, that the industrial method of management must be employed in guiding and managing the agricultural cooperative economy.

Management by the industrial method means the strengthening of technical guidance in production and the planning and systematization of all management work in an enterprise. Agriculture lags behind in-

dustry in technical equipment and still more in technical guidance. Planning and systematization have been introduced in the management of agriculture since the cooperativization of the private peasant economy. But in this respect, too, agriculture lags far behind industry.

Intensified technical guidance and increased planning and systematization of all management work—this is the basic direction in improving the management of the agricultural cooperative economy and in eliminating the lag of agriculture behind industry in the management of economy.

Employment of the industrial method of management in guiding and managing the agricultural cooperative economy will render it possible to accelerate the technical revolution in the countryside; overcome desultoriness and lack of organization in the management of agriculture; make rational use of land, farm machines, and other means of production, as well as of labor power; and improve cultivating practices in farm production. It will give a strong impetus to the increase of agricultural production, the consolidation of the cooperative economy, and the improvement of the peasants' livelihood.

The problem of the development of cooperative ownership and of the correlation between ownership by the whole people (in industry) and cooperative ownership (in agriculture) is one of the basic problems in building the socialist countryside and in socialist construction as a whole. This is an issue of principle, having a direct bearing on the social and economic position of the peasants and on the relationship between the working class and the peasantry.

The system of cooperative economy, which is dominant in agriculture, conforms to the nature and level of the productive forces and the level of development of the peasants' consciousness under socialism. The system of cooperative economy in agriculture, displaying its immense superiority, gives a powerful stimulus to the development of the productive forces. For the speedy development of socialist agriculture, it is necessary to mobilize and turn to account the potentialities and possibilities of the system of cooperative economy to the maximum.

This, however, does not at all mean that under socialism the system of cooperative economy in agriculture will remain immutable. Cooperative ownership develops and changes, too. It is necessary that cooperative ownership be developed and perfected in keeping with the strengthening of the material and technical basis of the rural economy and the rise in the peasants' level of culture, thought, and consciousness.

At the same time, the questions of the correlation between ownership by the whole people and cooperative ownership, and of the ties between industry and agriculture must be solved correctly. What is of prime importance in this connection is to link organically the two types of ownership in such a way as to strengthen the direct ties between industry and agriculture in production and constantly enhance the leading role of ownership by the whole people over cooperative ownership.

For this purpose, it is necessary to reinforce the state enterprises which serve the rural economy directly—the farm-machine stations, irrigation control offices, seed farms and seed-treatment centers, experimental farms, breed-animal farms, and epizootic prevention centers—and to enlist the active participation of these enterprises in agricultural production at the cooperative farms. These state enterprises must be placed on solid material and technical foundations and be managed in an exemplary way, and their role in the development of cooperative farming be constantly enhanced. As industry develops, they must be expanded and steadily reinforced so that the modern material and technical means owned by the whole people will gradually account for an overwhelming proportion of agricultural production.

Only by closely linking up ownership by the whole people with cooperative ownership is it possible for the working class to increase its political and ideological influence on the peasantry; for industry to introduce more successfully into agriculture its machine technology, advanced methods of industrial management, and cultivating practices in production; and for the town to give effective assistance to the countryside. Only by so doing can we consolidate and develop cooperative ownership and bring it closer to ownership by the whole people, and only then can we facilitate and accelerate the process of gradual transition from cooperative ownership to ownership by the whole people. This is the way to elevate the leading role of the working class and further strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, and the way to speed up the building of socialism and communism.

If we were to take the course of weakening the leading role of ownership by the whole people over cooperative ownership and of separating the two, it would weaken the political and ideological influence of the working class on the peasantry, render it impossible for industry to introduce successfully into agriculture its machine technology, advanced methods of industrial management, and cultivating practices in production, and hinder the town from giving support to the countryside. If things were to go that way, the system of socialist agriculture could

not be consolidated and developed, nor could the gradual transition from cooperative ownership to ownership by the whole people be successfully effected. Such a course would, in the long run, lower the leading role of the working class and weaken the worker-peasant alliance, and would place difficulties in the way of socialist and communist construction.

It is also wrong hurriedly to convert cooperative ownership into ownership by the whole people in disregard of the actual conditions and possibilities. Should cooperative ownership be converted into ownership by the whole people at a time when the material and technical foundations of agriculture are still weak, when big differences still exist between industrial and agricultural labor, and when the peasantry lags behind the working class in the level of thought, consciousness, and culture, that would only result in retarding the development of the socialist countryside and socialist construction as a whole.

While constantly enhancing the leading role of ownership by the whole people over cooperative ownership, we should organically link the two types of ownership, and thereby consolidate and develop our system of socialist agriculture and bring cooperative ownership closer to ownership by the whole people. By creating the actual conditions and possibilities in this way, we must convert cooperative ownership gradually into ownership by the whole people.

2. *Basic Tasks in the Construction of a Socialist Countryside*

In solving the rural question, our Party has consistently and firmly adhered to Marxist-Leninist principles and applied them creatively to the actual conditions of our country. Alongside the progress of the cooperativization of agriculture, we have vigorously pushed forward the technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions, stepped up assistance to the rural areas, and improved the guidance and management of agriculture. As a result, great successes have already been achieved in the construction of a socialist countryside.

Agricultural production has kept on growing rapidly in our country. Our cooperative farms have been further consolidated politically and economically. The material and cultural standards of the peasants have risen speedily, and their political and labor enthusiasm is reaching new heights. Our countryside has changed in its appearance, and the distinctions between town and country are gradually diminishing.

Life itself bears eloquent testimony to the superiority of our system of socialist agriculture and the correctness of our Party's rural policy.

Today we face the immense tasks of developing agriculture to a higher level and building our socialist countryside more splendidly.

We must continue consistently to implement the Party's rural policy, and thereby consolidate and develop the successes already attained in the countryside, bring the superiority of our system of socialist agriculture into full play, and further speed up the construction of our socialist countryside and our socialist construction as a whole.

1. TECHNICAL REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The technical revolution in the rural areas constitutes an important revolutionary task; it is directed at developing the agricultural productive forces to a high level, making the life of peasants abundant and freeing them from arduous labor, by equipping agriculture with modern machinery and technology and by extensively introducing the achievements of agricultural science.

While carrying out the cooperativization, our Party lost no time in embarking upon the technical revolution in the countryside. We set irrigation, mechanization, electrification, and chemicalization as the chief tasks of the technical revolution in the rural areas, and directed tremendous efforts to these ends.

Irrigation occupies a very important place in the technical revolution in the rural areas. Unlike industry, agriculture is largely influenced by natural and geographical factors, and particularly by climate. It is the duty of the Communist to lay the solid foundations for a situation in which production will be unaffected by climatic changes or other chance factors by conquering and remaking nature, and to provide the people with stable conditions of life. The construction of an irrigation system is a basic guarantee for avoiding damage from flood and drought and for insuring large, stable harvests and steadily increasing agricultural production.

Irrigation is of particular importance to the agriculture of our country, which consists largely of paddy farming and which suffers from severe droughts and floods almost every year.

Our Party has directed its efforts to irrigation since the immediate postliberation period. Particularly, in the course of the cooperativization of agriculture, irrigation works and forest and water conservation proj-

ects were vigorously carried on in a movement involving the whole state and the entire people. We have already accomplished the main tasks in irrigation, and the solid foundations have been laid for an agriculture that knows no crop failures.

Our task ahead is to consolidate and further expand the successes already achieved in irrigation so that bumper crops may always be reaped in spite of drought and flood, even when they are severe. The primary question here is to increase the area of paddy fields to seven hundred thousand *jongbo* (or hectares) within two or three years so that we may boost rice production and the gross output of grains.

The large-scale irrigation projects now under way should be completed as soon as possible and more projects undertaken. Existing irrigation facilities should be readjusted and reinforced for more effective use. Forest and water conservation work, particularly the readjustment of medium and small rivers, should be carried on briskly.

In order to increase the productivity of farm labor and lighten the work of the peasants, it is imperative to introduce mechanization.

For thousands of years, the peasants have had to do all manner of back-breaking toil with their backward farm implements. To free them from heavy labor is an honorable historic task that has fallen upon us Communists. By energetically advancing agricultural mechanization, we must achieve a sharp rise in the productivity of labor in agriculture and relieve the peasants of their onerous toil, thus affording them enough time for rest, study, and the enjoyment of a cultured life.

Today, our country is at the stage of full-scale mechanization of agriculture. The task before us is to mechanize all farm work, from plowing to harvesting and threshing, and to accomplish the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture. Efforts should be concentrated first of all on mechanizing the most arduous and labor-consuming jobs such as plowing, weeding, and haulage. This problem must be solved in the next few years.

For the mechanization of agriculture, the number of tractors must be increased to seventy to eighty thousand (in terms of 15 hp units) and that of trucks to thirty to thirty-five thousand, and the number of other farm machines must also be decisively increased.

The agriculture of our country has a number of specific features connected with the natural and geographical conditions, the crop structure, and the system of land cultivation. Farm machines of new types suited to the specific conditions of our agriculture should be devised and

manufactured extensively. At the same time, fields should be readjusted and the land cultivation system improved to create favorable conditions for mechanization.

Electrification plays an important role in the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside. Without the electrification of the rural areas, irrigation and mechanization cannot be successfully accomplished and modern farm villages cannot be built.

Electricity now reaches 93.3 per cent of all the rural *ri* (or village units), and 71 per cent of all the farmhouses in our country.

The Party's policy for the electrification of the country consists in building large hydropower stations side by side with thermal power plants and, simultaneously, constructing medium and small power stations extensively in various parts of the country.

The Party's policy for electrification must be carried out consistently so that all the villages and farmhouses may have electricity within the next few years. It is necessary to make effective use of electric power in farming and electrify all the stationary work such as threshing, the lifting of water, and the cutting and crushing of fodder. We must see to it that all the peasants can listen to the radio or cable broadcasting and make wide use of various electrical appliances in their own homes.

Chemicalization is an important means of increasing per-unit-area yields of crops. The application of chemistry in agriculture will make it possible to ameliorate the soil, increase land fertility, promote the growth and fruition of the crops, and eliminate blights, insect pests, and weeds.

As a result of the rapid development of the chemical industry in our country, the amount of chemical fertilizer applied to each *jongbo* of land reached three hundred kilograms in 1963, and the varieties of fertilizers increased. The supply of agricultural chemicals to the countryside has also grown markedly.

Our task in chemicalization is to supply a sufficient amount of various chemical fertilizers suitable to the soil and crops of our country, and radically increase the supply of various insecticides and weed killers.

The amount of chemical fertilizer applied per *jongbo* should be raised to five hundred kilograms within the next few years, and to more than one ton later on. A scientific system of using fertilizers should be established so that chemical fertilizers may have the maximum effect.

Irrigation, mechanization, electrification, and chemicalization are the

four fundamental components of the technical revolution in the countryside. The steady increase of crop yields is impossible if irrigation and chemicalization are neglected while mechanization and electrification are one-sidedly emphasized. If, on the contrary, efforts are concentrated only on irrigation and chemicalization while mechanization and electrification are neglected, labor efficiency cannot be raised, nor can the peasants be relieved of their onerous toil.

The order of priority may be decided in accordance with the level of industrial development and the specific conditions of the countryside, but the carrying out of the four fundamental tasks of the technical revolution in the countryside—irrigation, mechanization, electrification, and chemicalization—is essential to the building of a really solid material and technical foundation for socialist agriculture.

Simultaneously with the development of irrigation, mechanization, electrification, and chemicalization, we must introduce the achievements of agricultural science and advanced farming techniques on a broad scale and further develop the intensive methods of farming.

Intensive agriculture constitutes the basic line of our Party in farming. Intensive farming methods based on modern science and technology are the most advanced, and are basic to attaining high yields in agriculture.

We must radically increase the per-unit-area output of farm produce by drawing on and further developing our rich experience in the application of intensive farming methods. Fields should be readjusted, soil ameliorated, two crops introduced wherever possible, and inter- and mixed cropping applied on a broader scale. Seed must be improved by strengthening the work of developing seed strains, more compost must be applied, and all farm work done well and in good time; paddy and dry fields must be worked with meticulous care.

Agricultural production must be increased steadily on the basis of carrying out the technical revolution in the countryside.

Grain production is of paramount importance in agricultural production. Solution of the grain problem is the prerequisite for supplying abundant food to the population, and for swiftly developing the other branches of agriculture.

By concentrating on grain production, we have already attained self-sufficiency in food.

The immediate tasks in grain production are to increase rice output and markedly raise total grain output so as to enable all the people to

eat rice, and to lay solid foundations for the further development of all other branches of agriculture, including stockbreeding.

We must rapidly develop all branches of agriculture, including industrial crop cultivation, livestock breeding, fruit growing, and silk raising, while laying the main stress on grain production.

Through the technical revolution in the countryside, we should achieve a great development of the productive forces in agriculture, convert our socialist countryside into a solid base of food and raw materials, and enable our peasants to lead an abundant life. Through vigorous promotion of the technical revolution in the countryside, we should lighten the work of the peasants, basically introduce an eight-hour working day in the countryside, and gradually eliminate the distinctions between industrial and agricultural labor.

2. CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The cultural revolution in the countryside constitutes an important revolutionary task in elevating the cultural and technical standards of the peasantry, training technical cadres for the countryside, changing the old appearance of the rural areas, liquidating all backward ways of living and customs, and building a hygienic and cultured way of life.

The main content of the cultural revolution in the countryside is the elevation of the general and the technical knowledge of the peasants. Without this, the technical revolution in the countryside would be impossible, and the ideological education of the peasants could not be successfully conducted.

In our country a compulsory primary education system was established in 1956, and a compulsory secondary education system in 1958. As a result, we have been able to give general knowledge through seven-year schooling to our entire younger generation, not only in the urban but also in the rural areas. Thanks to the extensive establishment of technical schools in the countryside, many farm youths are also receiving technical education.

Now the question is to make technical education universal for our younger generation. This question must be completely solved in the near future by enforcing a system of a nine- to ten-year compulsory technical education.

Adult education should be developed continuously and energetically

in the countryside so that all the peasants may acquire general knowledge above that of the junior middle school graduate, plus necessary technical knowledge of farming.

The rapid development of agriculture based on modern machine technology makes it necessary to increase constantly the number of technical cadres in the countryside.

We must see that within the next few years five or more engineers are allocated to each cooperative farm and two engineers or assistant engineers to each work team. To this end, a great many rural youths should be trained at colleges and higher technical schools as technicians and specialists who will work in various branches indispensable to agriculture. The ranks of our agricultural technical cadres should be rapidly expanded and, at the same time, their qualitative composition should be steadily improved.

It is one of the important tasks in the cultural revolution to improve the public health service and sanitary work in the countryside and further improve the conditions of cultural life for the peasants.

A notable change has taken place in the cultural life of our peasantry since the realization of agricultural cooperativization. Clinics have been set up in every rural *ri* and the peasants, like the factory and office workers, are given free medical treatment. Various endemic and epidemic diseases have already been wiped out in our countryside. All the rural *ri* have nurseries and kindergartens run with common funds. Numerous modern dwellings and cultural and welfare establishments have been built in the rural areas. Publications of various kinds reach the countryside in large numbers, and great numbers of peasants are taking part in mass literary and art activities. Our villages, once stagnant and unsanitary, have been rebuilt into a new countryside, full of life, neat and comfortable.

In order to build a modern socialist countryside, we must struggle still more perseveringly.

Rural clinics should be expanded and equipped fully, and medical service for the peasants improved.

Working conditions for women in the countryside should be bettered and all possibilities provided for them to participate in the work of society. Women should be fully insured paid maternity leave. The existing nurseries and kindergartens should be better equipped and more efficiently managed so that women can engage in production without any worry that their children receive good care.

Rural housing should continue to be built extensively so that all the peasants may live in attractive, cozy, and convenient modern homes. Farming villages should have a full assortment of cultural and welfare facilities for better service to the peasants.

More newspapers, magazines, and books should be supplied to the countryside, clubhouses should be built in every rural *ri*, and mass cultural work among the peasants should be further developed.

We must put an end to all outdated ways of life and customs in the countryside, and see to it that the rural people live in a tidy and cultured manner.

We must gradually eliminate the distinctions between the technical and cultural standards of the workers and peasants by carrying out the cultural revolution thoroughly in the countryside, and by steadily elevating the technical and cultural level of all the working people to that of engineers or assistant engineers. We should further reduce the differences between town and country in education, public health service, housing, cultural, and welfare facilities, and in all other prerequisites for a cultured life, and eradicate these differences step by step.

3. IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Carrying out the ideological revolution in the countryside means eliminating the survivals of outworn ideas among the peasants and equipping them with the progressive ideas of the working class, and with communist ideas.

Since the outset of agricultural cooperativization, our Party has energetically conducted communist education, with class education as its main content, among the peasants. As a result, their political consciousness has been raised to a remarkable degree, and a great change has taken place in their thoughts and consciousness.

Today our peasants are very closely rallied around the Workers' Party. They are striving with all their energies and abilities to put the Party's policies into practice. They hold their socialist gains infinitely dear and are firmly determined to defend, consolidate, and develop them. The fine communist moral traits of helping and drawing each other forward, loving the collective, and serving the common interests are being manifested more and more markedly among the peasants. They are showing a high degree of labor enthusiasm and creativeness.

The Chollima work-team movement, a great school of communism, is rapidly expanding and developing in the countryside.

All these facts show that in our countryside the ideological revolution is developing in depth among the peasant masses and that, through it, the peasants are being educated and remolded into people of a new type. Herein lies an important guarantee for all our victories and achievements in the countryside.

The principle of giving priority to the ideological revolution should be invariably adhered to in rural work, and communist education should be conducted more energetically among the peasants.

Class education is the keystone of communist education. The peasants should be imbued with the ideas of hatred for imperialism and for the landlord and capitalist classes; they should be educated to oppose the exploiting system and to fight for the defense and development of the socialist system. The peasants should be firmly armed with the staunch revolutionary spirit of the working class, with ardent patriotism—love for their native places and their socialist fatherland, and with the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

One of the most important problems in the communist education of the peasantry is to root out egoism and the petty-proprietor inclinations which persist in their minds, and to equip them with the collectivist outlook. The egoism still found in the minds of peasants is a deep-rooted idea that has come down from generation to generation through the ages. We should continue to strive untiringly to foster among the peasants the spirit of opposing egoism, of cherishing common property, and of loving the collective and organizations. All our peasants should be guided by the communist idea of collectivism—"One for all and all for one"—in their work, study, and life.

It is important to arm the peasants more firmly with the spirit of love for labor. The peasants should be taught to enjoy labor, to regard labor as the most honorable thing, and to consider it shameful to live an idle life, hating and rejecting this as an idea of the exploiting classes. The entire peasantry should be urged to display voluntary enthusiasm and devotion in labor, and to take part more earnestly in communal labor in the interests of the collective and of society.

The spirit of opposing the old and aspiring after the new, and the spirit of loving the future, should be cultivated among the peasants, who should be armed with revolutionary optimism. A struggle should be waged against clannishness and nepotism, which are still in evi-

dence among the peasants, and against passivism and conservatism, which tend to manifest themselves among them. Our peasants should be led to make continued advances and uninterrupted innovations with hope and an ardent aspiration for a more resplendent tomorrow, and with a firm conviction of victory.

Communist education among the peasantry should unfailingly be closely linked with education in the Party's policies and in revolutionary traditions.

The principal method of mass education under socialism is to influence people by the force of positive examples. Our experience has proved that this is the most effective way of educating the masses. The peasants should be educated and remolded into people of a new type by the method of spreading positive examples, of helping people wholeheartedly, and of patiently persuading and influencing them.

Communist education of the working people should be conducted chiefly through practical activities and collective labor, with the production site as base. By further expanding and deepening the Chollima work-team movement in the countryside, we should further develop the collective movement of the peasants for innovations in production, and educate and remold them with communist ideas more successfully.

We should steadily enhance the political awakening and level of consciousness of the peasants and, on this basis, bring the advantages of the socialist system of agriculture into full play and accelerate the development of agricultural production and technology as well as of culture in the countryside. We should vigorously carry on the ideological revolution in the rural areas so as to equip the peasants with working-class ideas and eliminate gradually the differences in the level of thought and consciousness between the workers and the peasants.

4. SUPPORT FOR THE COUNTRYSIDE

Working-class leadership of and assistance to the peasantry, and the support of the towns for the countryside—this is one of the basic conditions for strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, insuring the proportionate development of industry and agriculture, firmly building up the socialist countryside alongside the socialist cities and workers' districts, and gradually eliminating the distinctions between town and country.

Our Party has rendered active support to the countryside since the period shortly after the liberation when the land reform was carried out. Particularly since the beginning of the cooperativization of agriculture, the support has been decisively increased in all spheres.

The socialist cooperativization of the private peasant economy has been carried out successfully in our country under the leadership of the Party and the working class and with the powerful support of the socialist state industry. Our cooperative farms have been rapidly consolidated politically and economically under the correct leadership of the Party, with the enormous material and technical aid of the state and the support of the entire people, and thanks to the devoted struggle of the cooperative farmers who have drawn immense strength from this leadership and support.

While constantly strengthening its political leadership in the countryside, our Party has done everything in its power to give material, technical, and financial assistance to the rural areas.

The state has rendered tremendous material and technical assistance to the countryside. Appropriations for the development of the rural economy and the cultural construction of the countryside accounted for 15.8 per cent of the state's total capital investments in the people's economy during the five years from 1959 to 1963. Moreover, the state has given the cooperative farms huge sums of money in loans, the greater part of which has been written off. By virtue of such capital investments and financial aid from the state, irrigation works and forest and water conservation projects have been carried out on a vast scale; the mechanization, electrification, and chemicalization of agriculture have been accelerated; and the cultural construction of the countryside has been extensively executed.

Every year our industry has supplied the rural areas with increasing quantities of farm machines, chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, building materials, and various consumer goods. We have also assisted the countryside enormously with labor.

The state has taken a wide range of measures for increasing the incomes of the peasants and improving their livelihood, including the reduction or cancellation of their agricultural tax in kind, the raising of state purchasing prices for industrial crops, reductions in payment for work done by farm-machine stations and in irrigation fees and the prices of farm implements, supply of clothing free of charge to children in the rural areas, etc.

Such support for the countryside has played a decisive role in the rapid development of agriculture, in the consolidation of the cooperative farms, and in the continual elevation of the material and cultural standards of the peasants.

Today the huge tasks facing the rural economy and the interests of socialist construction as a whole call for increased support for the countryside. Under conditions in which a solid foundation of socialist industry has already been laid, it has become fully possible to give greater assistance to the countryside. And this we ought to do.

State investments in the rural areas must be increased and greater material and technical assistance given. The industrial branches serving agriculture should be developed at a faster rate so that an increasing quantity of modern farm machines, chemical fertilizers, building materials, etc., may be supplied to the countryside. More technicians and specialists in different branches should be trained at state expense and dispatched to the rural areas.

Farming in our country has become highly intensive, and the mechanization of the rural economy takes a long time. Old people and women still form a large proportion of our rural labor force. The rural areas should be replenished with more young and middle-aged people, and public labor assistance should be given to the rural areas in a more planned and effective way.

All necessary measures should be taken for the betterment of the life of the peasants. Their burdens should be systematically lessened and their incomes increased. A wide variety of manufactured goods must be supplied to the peasants in large quantities, and there should be active assistance to the development of education, culture, and public health services in the countryside.

The positions in the countryside should be further consolidated politically, ideologically, and also in the class sense, by sending more workers and demobilized soldiers to the rural areas, by helping bereaved families of revolutionaries and of people killed by the enemy there, and by continuously expanding the ranks of the core elements.

All the Party organizations, state organs, and public organizations and their functionaries should concern themselves deeply with the rural affairs and give greater assistance to the countryside.

By helping the rural areas more energetically in all fields of politics, economy, and culture, we shall enhance the leading role of the working class and further strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, insure the

proportionate development of industry and agriculture, and accelerate the development of the people's economy as a whole, build up both the socialist cities and the socialist countryside firmly and make them more prosperous. By steadily intensifying support for the countryside, we should systematically lighten the burdens of the cooperative farms and peasants, and should in the future see to it that the peasants, like the workers, have all their conditions of production and livelihood guaranteed by the state and by the whole of society.

5. STATE LEADERSHIP OF COOPERATIVE FARMS

The system and methods of state leadership of the agricultural cooperative economy are of decisive importance in improving the management of the cooperative economy and in strengthening the ties between ownership by the whole people and cooperative ownership.

From the very outset of agricultural cooperativization, our Party has paid deep attention to improving and strengthening the state leadership of the cooperative farms and has made prompt reforms in the system and methods of leadership to fit in with the changing circumstances and conditions.

The dissemination of the Chongsan-ri spirit and method of work—which are embodiments of the traditional revolutionary work method and mass line of our Party as applied to the practice of socialist construction—brought a change in the work of all our Party and state organs, and led to the reorganization of the work of leadership in the rural areas in keeping with the new circumstances in the cooperativized countryside. In particular, in the course of disseminating the Chongsan-ri method of work, the Party induced the workers of the county people's committees (which at that time had the function of directly leading the cooperative farms) to go down to the production sites to strengthen their work with people, directly organize all work for the farms, and give them concrete assistance. This contributed tremendously to the strengthening of state leadership of the cooperative farms.

However, the rapidly changing realities in the countryside gave rise to a demand for a new and higher level of leadership of the rural economy. The scale of the cooperative farms was extended, agricultural technology advanced further, and there was a sharp increase in material and technical assistance by the state to the countryside. The technical and cultural level of the peasants and their level of thought

and consciousness rose higher. The work in the rural areas expanded in scale and became much more complex, and the rural economy was confronted with greater tasks. The county people's committees, being administrative organs, found themselves no longer capable of giving proper leadership to agriculture.

It was under these conditions that our Party organized the cooperative farm management committees of the counties and the rural economy committees of the provinces early in 1962, while the Ministry of Agriculture was reorganized into the Agricultural Commission. The establishment of the county cooperative farm management committees and the provincial rural economy committees was an epochal step toward the radical reorganization of the system of leading agriculture in conformity with the changed situation in the rural areas, and it was a most appropriate measure for meeting the urgent demands of agricultural development. It was a measure that creatively applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of our country.

The county cooperative farm management committee plays the most important role in the new system of leading agriculture in our country.

The county cooperative farm management committee exercises a unified control over the agrotechnicians, and over such state enterprises in the service of agriculture as the farm-machine stations, farm implement factories, and irrigation control offices; and it directly organizes and leads the management work of the cooperative farms on the spot. It is a specialized organ of leadership in agriculture which combines the function of directly leading the cooperative farms with that of directly bringing the material and technical assistance of the state to the cooperative economy.

The county cooperative farm management committee embodies enormous advantages.

The management committee is capable of giving more effective leadership to agriculture and, particularly, of giving more intensive technical guidance to agricultural production, not by administrative methods as before but by the industrial method of management. The organization of the management committees has led not only to improvement in the management of each cooperative farm but also created closer ties between the cooperative farms in each county.

The management committee organically links ownership by the whole people with cooperative ownership, and strengthens the production ties between industry and agriculture. With the organization

of the management committees, ownership by the whole people has permeated cooperative ownership more widely and deeply, and the influence of the working class on the peasantry has increased in all spheres of technology, culture, and ideology.

The establishment of the management committees has made it possible for our socialist state industry to step up its material and technical assistance to the agricultural cooperative economy, and for the cooperative farms to make more effective use of this assistance. All this enhances the leading role of the working class and further strengthens the worker-peasant alliance, raises the leading role of ownership by the whole people, and is steadily bringing cooperative ownership closer to ownership by the whole people.

Our task is to guide agriculture proficiently and render more effective assistance to the cooperative farms, by drawing on the advantages inherent in the management committee.

It is of primary importance to improve decisively the work methods of the functionaries of the management committees. Management committee functionaries should do away completely with the old administrative methods of work and should invariably guide the cooperative farms by the industrial method of management in accordance with the intrinsic duty of the management committee. They should directly organize, and give concrete help in, all the management work of the cooperative farms—the drafting of plans, to begin with, and the organization of production, the utilization of land, farm machines, and irrigation facilities, the development of technology, the supply of materials, allocation and organization of the labor force, distribution of produce, the financing, and so forth.

What is most important in the industrial management method of guidance is the technical guidance of production. Agricultural production, like industrial production, is a technical process. The role of technology in the rural economy is expanding constantly, and the production process is becoming more complex technically. Today, farming is impossible apart from technology, and no one who is ignorant of the latter can give leadership in farm affairs. The management committees should raise the level of technical knowledge among their functionaries and mobilize the technicians properly, and thereby decisively strengthen technical guidance of the rural economy and further promote the technical revolution in the countryside.

Work with people is of primary importance in all activities. Produc-

tion is man's struggle for the conquest of nature, and the master in this struggle is man. In agriculture, the master is the peasantry. Agriculture cannot be advanced without enlisting the creativeness and talents of the peasants. Without doing work among the peasants, one can hardly gain a good understanding of rural realities or give correct leadership in agriculture. Strictly following the Chongsan-ri method of work, management committee functionaries should always go out to the production sites, give priority to work with people, and acquaint themselves profoundly with actual conditions, and on this basis they should effectively lead the cooperative farms by the industrial method of management.

Management committees should pay deep attention to the channeling of effective material and technical assistance by the state to agriculture. All the material and technical means and supplies which the state places at the service of agricultural production are either under the direct control of the management committees or are made available to the countryside with them as the channel. Whether or not the material and technical assistance of the state to agriculture is put to effective use depends decisively on the activities of the management committees.

Each management committee should have a concrete and comprehensive knowledge of the actual situation of agriculture in its county, and employ irrigation facilities, farm machines, chemical fertilizers, and other equipment and materials in a most rational way in conformity with the situation. The management committee should exercise unified control over the state enterprises and the state-owned technical equipment and materials in its charge, manage them properly, make them serve agriculture better, and give greater help to the cooperative farms.

Thus, the management committee should turn all the cooperative farms in its county into socialist units with a diversified and profitable economy and with solid material and technical foundations.

Together with the county cooperative farm management committees, the provincial rural economy committees and the Agricultural Commission at the center should enhance their role and functions.

Each provincial rural economy committee should give leadership in the development of the rural economy in its province as a whole, while directly leading and helping the county cooperative farm management committees and the state agrostock farms. In particular, it should insure a sufficient supply of farm machines, fertilizers, agricultural chemicals,

and other farming materials to the counties, and should pay deep attention to giving technical guidance as regards the distribution of crop area, seed selection, the system of fertilization, and so on.

The Agricultural Commission at the center, while guiding agriculture as a whole, should focus its attention primarily on studying the directions in which farming technology should be developed, and on questions of the long-range development of agriculture. The Agricultural Commission at the center should directly organize and lead both the scientific research and training of cadres for agriculture, and the large-scale projects for the remaking of nature, and see to it that greater success is achieved in this work.

Our system of state guidance of agriculture is a superior system which brings the management of agriculture closer to the level of advanced industrial management, organically links ownership by the whole people with cooperative ownership, and correctly combines the solution of immediate problems with that of long-range problems in the development of agriculture.

The development of socialist agriculture in our country will be greatly accelerated when all our organs for guiding agriculture, particularly the county cooperative farm management committees, discharge their functions to the full.

3. *The Role and Tasks of the County in the Construction of a Socialist Countryside*

In socialist construction, rural work is one of the most complex and difficult tasks. Its complexity and difficulty derive from the technical, cultural, and ideological backwardness of the countryside, the complex composition of the peasantry, the natural and seasonal limitations of agriculture, etc., and primarily from the dispersed character of the rural areas.

Work in the rural areas has as its objects the farm villages scattered all over the country, work sites dispersed over wide areas, and farmers who work and live scattered in small groups. Although the dispersed character of the rural areas has decreased markedly as a result of agricultural cooperativization, it still remains, and will remain in the future, a main feature of the countryside distinguishing the villages from the towns and workers' districts, and a feature of agriculture distinguishing it from industry. All work in the countryside must always be

organized and executed with due regard to this feature and in conformity with it.

An important question in giving leadership to geographically dispersed objects of work like those in the countryside is to designate an area of a certain size as the unit for unified leadership and, with the unit as a base, to give direct leadership to all the objects of work within that area. Its size must be moderate and within it there must be no wide variation of natural, geographical, or other conditions. This unit should be a base that, in the main, possesses the cadres, guiding organs, material, technical, and cultural means which make it fully possible for it to give unified and comprehensive leadership in all the work of that unit.

In our country the county serves as the regional unit and as the base for giving direct, unified, and comprehensive leadership in the rural work and in all local affairs. The county is most suitable for such a unit in respect of its size, and because it possesses, in the main, sufficient cadres, guiding organs, and material, technical, and cultural means for this role.

In the socialist construction of our country, the county occupies a truly important place, and plays a tremendous role.

The county is the lowest unit of Party and administrative leadership, which directly leads the farm villages and workers' districts. All the policies of the Party and the Government are introduced to the farm villages and the workers' districts directly through the medium of the county. The county organs and their functionaries go down to the farm villages and workers' districts, make direct contact with the working people, and directly organize and carry out all their work on the spot.

The county is the all-embracing unit of local economic and cultural development. It serves as the unit in the development of local industry, and also directly leads the development of agriculture. In construction work in the county seat, and in the farm villages, the county likewise serves as the unit; supply work, education, and the cultural and public health services in the localities also develop with the county as the center.

In all spheres of politics, economy, and culture, the county is the base for linking the towns with the countryside. Through the county, the peasants are kept acquainted with the Party's policies, establish production and economic ties with the working class, and learn urban culture and customs.

The tremendous role of the county in socialist construction as a whole points to the fact that it has an extremely important part to play in the development of the socialist countryside.

The county is the base for accelerating the technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions in the countryside, for connecting the towns and the countryside, and for bringing the political, economic, and cultural support of the towns to the countryside.

Proceeding from the concrete conditions of our country, our Party has given this definition of the position and role of the county, and has constantly improved and strengthened the work of the counties along this line.

The Party has given day-to-day leadership and assistance aimed at reinforcing the county Party committees and other county organs with competent cadres and at enhancing their role and functions. In each county, the cooperative farm management committee and the local industry management committee have been organized, local industry factories have been set up, and many cultural and welfare establishments such as schools, hospitals, libraries, and movie theaters have been built.

In particular, the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Functionaries in 1962 summed up the achievements and experience in the work of Changsong County and set clear-cut tasks before the counties, thus paving the way for the attainment of a new and higher level of county work.

The policy of our Party for building up the counties firmly and enhancing their role is bearing splendid fruit in all spheres of socialist construction.

The task before us is to improve and strengthen county work still further so as to promote the development of the socialist countryside and the all-round political, economic, and cultural development of the rural areas.

We must strengthen the leadership of agriculture by the county cooperative farm management committees, and, at the same time, further raise the role of the county in all spheres in building a socialist countryside.

1. THE ROLE OF LOCAL INDUSTRY IN THE COUNTY

As a result of the successful implementation of the Party's policy of developing medium- and small-scale local industry parallel with the

large-scale industry under the central authorities in the production of consumer goods, local industry has grown rapidly in our country. On the average, more than ten local industry factories, such as textile and knitted goods mills, bean paste and soy factories, and furniture factories, have been built in each city and county, and they are producing various kinds of articles of daily use.

To build factories extensively in the rural areas means bringing industry closer to agriculture. This is of tremendous importance for the strengthening of the ties between industry and agriculture, the acceleration of the construction of a socialist countryside, and the elimination of the distinctions between town and country.

The basic purpose of the local industry factories built in the counties of our country is to produce consumer goods with raw materials that are mainly of local origin. These local industry factories supply various consumer goods to the villages in their respective counties, and also to the cities, thereby making an important contribution toward meeting the demands of the working people. These local industry factories make timely purchases of various agricultural produce and sideline products for processing. This results in an increase in the peasants' income and further stimulates the development of agricultural and sideline production in the countryside. Local industry factories also play an important part in popularizing in the countryside the advanced management methods, cultivated production practices, and technology of the industrial enterprises, and in spreading the political and ideological influence of the working class among the peasantry.

Relying on the foundations already laid, all counties must develop local industry to a higher level.

Local industry factories must make extensive exploration and use of the raw material resources of the localities and, in particular, step up their efforts in processing the agricultural and sideline products of the peasants. All local industry factories must serve the rural economy and other branches of economy in their own counties by acting as bases for the introduction of new technology, and as a model of highly cultivated practices in production and advanced industrial management. They must turn out a wide variety of high-quality goods in greater quantities and supply them to the villages and other localities.

Hence, the role of local industry must be further enhanced for the improvement of the livelihood of the peasants, for the accelerated development of agricultural production and sidelines in the countryside, and for the strengthening of the ties between industry and agriculture.

In our country large-scale industrial enterprises under the central authorities are also widely distributed in the rural areas. There are one or two or more of them in almost every county. This not only contributes greatly to the development of the countryside but in many ways favors the development of industry itself.

These industrial enterprises under the central authorities, located in the rural areas, must render active assistance, material, technical, political, and ideological, to the cooperative farms around them. The cooperative farms must insure a satisfactory supply of vegetables, animal products, and other foodstuffs for the workers and technicians of these enterprises. The county must direct work in such a way as to establish close ties between the industrial enterprises under the central authorities and cooperative farms in the county and strengthen mutual assistance between them.

2. THE COUNTY AS THE CENTER OF SUPPLY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

One of the important questions in developing the socialist countryside and promoting socialist construction is to strengthen the economic and commercial ties between town and country. Only when the economic ties between town and country are strengthened can manufactured goods be smoothly supplied to the countryside for the improvement of the life of the peasants, can the rural demand for manufactured goods be increased, and the realization of commodities be accelerated to stimulate further the development of industry. Also, only when these ties are strengthened can farm produce be purchased promptly to satisfy the demands of the urban population and of industry for footstuffs and raw materials, can the income of the peasants be increased, and the development of the rural economy be further stepped up.

The county is the base for establishing the economic ties between town and country, and the supply center in the countryside. The products turned out in the countryside are supplied to the towns through the channel of the county, and the manufactured goods turned out in the towns are supplied to the countryside through the county. If the county fails to fulfill its role of supply center satisfactorily, close economic ties between town and country can hardly be maintained, which in the long run will prove greatly detrimental to the improvement of the livelihood of the workers and peasants, and to the development of industry and agriculture.

The further socialist construction advances, the closer become the economic ties between town and country. It is therefore necessary further to enhance the role and functions of the county as the base for maintaining these ties.

As the rural economy develops and the income of the peasants rises, their demands for a wide variety of high-quality manufactured goods also increase. It is necessary that each county consolidate its own supply bases, distribute the rural trade network rationally, and allocate commodities properly, thereby insuring a smooth and timely supply of manufactured goods to the peasants. The trading organizations in the county must exert a positive influence upon production so that industrial enterprises may turn out more and better products in keeping with the rural demand.

Meanwhile, along with the increase in agricultural production and the diversified development of the rural economy, the output of marketable products is increasing rapidly in the countryside. Each county must strengthen its own procurement center, organize the work of procurement in a rational way, and purchase the marketable products in the countryside in good time so that the income of the peasants may rise, their enthusiasm for production may be enhanced and, at the same time, the supply of food and agricultural raw materials to the urban population and industry may be satisfactorily insured.

Trade under socialism is in essence supplying the people. Trade in the rural areas is supplying the peasants. The workers of the trading and procurement organizations in each county must, in conducting their activity, consistently take the standpoint of serving the peasants.

The county must give special attention to the improvement of various services for the peasants, as well as of the supply of commodities to the countryside. Public utilities and service establishments—stores, barber shops, bathhouses, laundries, clothing and furniture repair shops, hostels, etc.—should be set up in every rural *ri*, and they should be run properly to satisfy in full the needs of the peasants in their everyday life.

In this way, our rural *ri* must be turned not only into solid cells of agricultural production but also into excellent cells of supply and service to the peasants.

3. THE COUNTY AS THE BASE OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The county also exerts a powerful influence on the development of the socialist countryside by serving as the base of the cultural revolution there.

The county seat has various cultural and welfare facilities such as schools, hospitals, movies, bookshops, and libraries which serve both the inhabitants of the county seat and the county's rural population. The county is in direct charge of the schools and clinics and gives direct guidance to all the cultural and hygienic work of the villages in its rural districts. Party cadres, management workers, and technical personnel for the rural districts are mostly trained in the educational establishments of the county. The construction of houses and of cultural and welfare facilities in the rural districts is done by the rural construction corps which is under the control of the county.

The role of the county as the base of the cultural revolution in the countryside must be enhanced in every way in order to accelerate the construction of a modern socialist countryside.

The counties must build up schools in the villages and improve the quality of education in order to rear the rural children and youth into able socialist-communist builders equipped with knowledge, a good moral character, and good health. In particular, the counties must make energetic preparations for the introduction of the system of compulsory technical education in order to give technical schooling to all the rural children and youth. Each county must train more rural cadres in higher technical schools and other educational institutions of its own.

Each county must adequately staff and equip the county hospital and village clinics and expand the network of public health services in its rural areas in order to improve further the public health and hygienic work there. It must more actively lead and assist all the cultural work in the countryside.

The county seat is the base for popularizing in the rural areas the advanced culture and customs of the cities. It must be built in a beautiful, neat, cultured, and hygienic way so that the villages may follow its example. In every sphere, the county seat must be an example for the farm villages and a model of the new, socialist way of life.

It is necessary for each county vigorously to build up its county seat

and its villages by mobilizing the forces of the rural construction corps. The rural construction corps must responsibly undertake and carry out the construction of farmhouses and cultural and welfare establishments in the county.

When the counties carry out all these tasks with credit, the cultural revolution in our countryside will make further headway.

4. GUIDANCE OF WORK IN THE RURAL AREAS BY THE COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEE

The county Party committee is the lowest leading organ of our Party and the general staff for county work. It directly leads all the Party organizations in the county, and exercises unified control and direction over all county affairs.

Leadership of work in the rural areas holds the most important place in the work of the county Party committee. The chief object of work for the county Party committee is farm villages. The committee directly leads the rural Party organizations in the county and exercises Party leadership over all the economic and cultural work in the rural areas. All the work in other fields under the leadership of the county Party committee is likewise directly related to rural work.

Unless the county Party committees strengthen their leadership of work in the rural areas, the role of the county in the construction of the socialist countryside cannot be enhanced and, accordingly, the rapid development of the countryside cannot be insured. One of the most important tasks confronting us is to continue to improve and strengthen the leadership of rural work by the county Party committees in order that socialist construction in the countryside may be accelerated.

First, the county Party committee must proficiently play the role of helmsman in the development of the rural economy and of cultural construction in the countryside.

The county cooperative farm management committee, the county people's committee, and other administrative and economic organs in the county directly organize and execute all work connected with agricultural production and farming technology, construction, and cultural work in the rural communities. The county Party committee does not directly execute economic and cultural affairs but exercises Party leadership and supervision over them.

The county Party committee must give the orientation for the work of the administrative and economic organs in the county and explain methods of work to them so that they can correctly carry out the economic and cultural tasks in the countryside strictly according to the Party's policies. At the same time, the county Party committee must frequently check up on and control the fulfillment of work by the administrative and economic organs, and help them correct mistakes, if any, in good time.

It is of particular importance in the county Party committee's leadership over the economic and cultural affairs in the rural areas to determine proper order of priority for work and to concentrate efforts on the principal work at the given moment, while directing all the work in a general and comprehensive manner. Work in the countryside is more complicated and diverse than elsewhere. The county Party committee must control and lead all the economic and cultural activities in the countryside in a unified manner, while concentrating on the solution of major, high-priority tasks one by one.

Second, the county Party committee must directly organize and carry out Party work and political-ideological work in the countryside.

The county Party committee must work with the rural Party organizations, with the cadres and Party members in the countryside, and with the peasant masses. It must build up strong rural Party cells and *ri* Party committees and give them day-to-day leadership and assistance in their work in order that all the Party organizations in the countryside may fully perform their proper functions. It should build up strong ranks of rural cadres, give them day-to-day education, and help and teach them so that they can all perform their duties correctly in conformity with the Party's policies. It must strengthen the Party life of the rural Party members and steadily enhance their Party spirit so that all of them can play a vanguard role among the peasant masses. It is necessary to continue to intensify communist education and class education among the peasants so that the entire peasantry, upholding the Party's rural policy, may devotedly strive for its implementation.

By thoroughly implementing the mass line in Party work, the county Party committee must see to it that all the rural Party organizations are activated, and that all the cadres, Party members, and peasants are active and do their work voluntarily, displaying enthusiasm and initiative.

The county Party committee should give special attention to the

ideological education of the peasants. It is the direct organizer and leader of the ideological revolution in the countryside. And the county Party committee must see to it that the communist education of the peasants is conducted in a mass movement by activating the Party organizations, Party members, Chollima riders, and mobilizing peasant activists in the countryside.

All our county Party committees must strengthen the Party's leadership over economic and cultural affairs in the countryside, intensify the Party's political work in the rural areas, and thereby fully perform their duties as the general staffs for all rural affairs in the counties.

4. *Immediate Measures for Strengthening the Economic Basis of the Cooperative Farms and Improving the Livelihood of the Peasants*

Thanks to the superiority of the system of socialist cooperative economy and the correct policy of the Party, the rural economy in our country is making steady progress.

With the rapid growth of agricultural production, the economic basis of the cooperative farms has been strengthened and the livelihood of the peasants improved.

Our cooperative farms, which were formed on the ruins of war, in extremely difficult conditions because of the absence of farm machines and shortages of labor power and draft animals, have now grown into solid socialist economic units which are capable of continuously expanding production and further improving the livelihood of their members. Our peasants, who lost practically all their houses and furniture and suffered from a shortage of food and clothing owing to the war, have now generally reached the standard of living of the middle or well-to-do middle peasants. This is a great change in the development of the rural economy of our country and in the life of our peasants.

Our task is to place the cooperative farms on a firmer economic basis and raise the living standard of the peasants to a higher level.

Although the economic foundations of our cooperative farms have been consolidated rapidly, they are not yet rich because the initial foundation on which they were organized was too weak. Although the livelihood of our peasants has been rapidly improved, it is not yet sufficiently bountiful, for they were formerly too poor. Since the libera-

tion, and especially since the cooperativization of agriculture, the distinctions between town and country have been greatly narrowed. But the countryside still lags considerably behind the towns, and the living standard of the peasants is lower than that of the factory and office workers, as our countryside was in too backward a state to start with.

We must see that all the cooperative farms in our country become rich and all our peasants lead a plentiful life. We should further reduce the distinctions between town and country, steadily raise the living standard of the factory and office workers, and bring the living standard of the peasants closer to it.

To this end, we must considerably increase agricultural production and, at the same time, systematically lighten the burdens of the cooperative farms and the peasants.

Now that the might of industry has grown and the foundations of an independent economy have been laid more firmly in the country, we can undertake a series of important measures for alleviating the burdens of the cooperative farms and the peasants and for providing them with greater benefits at state expense.

These measures are:

First, to abolish completely the system of agricultural tax in kind;

Second, to undertake with state funds those rural capital construction projects which have hitherto been financed by the cooperative farms;

Third, to build modern houses for the peasants at state expense.

1. ABOLITION OF THE SYSTEM OF THE AGRICULTURAL TAX IN KIND

The system of agricultural tax in kind was introduced in our country in the wake of the land reform in 1946, the year immediately following the liberation.

Before the liberation, our peasants were robbed of the bulk of their harvest by the landlords and Japanese imperialists by means of farm rent, forced deliveries, and miscellaneous taxes. The enforcement of the land reform and the introduction of the system of a single tax in kind emancipated the peasants from such exploitation and plunder, and enabled them freely to dispose of their harvest after delivering only 25 per cent of it to the state. This was a revolutionary change in the development of our agricultural productive forces and in raising the living standard of the peasantry at that time.

The tax in kind paid by the peasants to the state played a big role

in supplying provisions for the factory and office workers and in raising the funds needed for the development of industry.

As the socialist state industry made progress and the foundations of an independent national economy were laid, the state gradually reduced the tax in kind levied upon the peasants. Its rate was lowered from 25 per cent to an average of 20.1 per cent of the harvest after the war, and further lowered to 8.4 per cent in 1959. Moreover, many of the cooperative farms had their tax in kind reduced and some were completely exempted from it. By the end of 1963, out of more than thirty-seven hundred cooperative farms, 1,331 had been completely exempted.

The Fourth Congress of our Party decided that the system of agricultural tax in kind should be completely abolished during the period of the Seven-Year Plan. Now it is high time for us to carry out this decision.

We should completely abolish the system of agricultural tax in kind during the three years from 1964 to 1966.

Now some twenty-four hundred cooperative farms in our country are paying the tax in kind, the rest being already exempted. Of these, we should relieve over eight hundred of the tax in kind this year, another eight hundred or so in 1965 and the rest in 1966, the last year, thus abrogating this system once and for all.

The exemption of the cooperative farms from the tax in kind should be effected in the order of priority, starting from the backward ones and taking fully into consideration the economic conditions of each farm. In the first year the farms with relatively weak economic foundations should be exempted, next year the farms of medium level, and in the last year the comparatively well-to-do ones.

The abolition of the system of agricultural tax in kind will not only be an important step in strengthening the economic foundations of the cooperative farms and increasing the income of the peasants; it will be a historic event in which our peasants are completely emancipated from all tax burdens of whatever kind.

2. ALL RURAL CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION AT STATE EXPENSE

Capital construction on a vast scale is undertaken in our country every year to strengthen the material and technical foundations of the rural economy.

Thus far, all large-scale rural capital construction projects have

been financed by the state, while those on a medium and small scale have been undertaken mainly by the cooperative farms with their own funds. In the last five years, the state has taken upon itself 60 per cent or more of the total capital investment in the countryside, with the cooperative farms providing the remaining 40 per cent or so.

From this year on we should undertake with state funds the capital construction which was formerly done by the cooperative farms with their own funds. The state should finance medium and small irrigation projects, river improvements, the construction of water-pumping facilities, threshing grounds, animal sheds, warehouses, and rural power stations, the laying of power lines, and other capital construction, while seeing that the cooperative farms continue to purchase farm implements, medium and small farm machines, draft animals, etc., with their own funds. This means that the state will shoulder enormous additional burdens for the benefit of the peasants.

This measure, by greatly lightening the burdens borne by the cooperative farms, will enable them greatly to increase the dividends to their members, and at the same time to allocate more funds for farming. It will also accelerate the strengthening of the material and technical foundations of the rural economy by increasing the total capital investment in agriculture and making it possible to carry out capital construction in the countryside that is more planned, more rational, and of higher quality.

3. CONSTRUCTION OF MODERN RURAL HOUSING AT STATE EXPENSE

Our country's peasants lived in ramshackle huts for thousands of years. After the liberation, rural housing presented itself as one of the most acute problems in the peasants' life. The severe ravages of the war aggravated the housing situation in the countryside as well as in the towns.

With their living standard rising, our peasants have built large numbers of new houses with the active assistance of the state. Particularly after the formation of the rural construction corps, housing construction in the rural areas was carried on more extensively. The housing situation in the rural areas has already been decisively improved.

For the more successful solution of the housing problem in the countryside, we should from now on erect modern houses for the peasants entirely at state expense. Housing construction in the countryside

should be continued on a large scale in the future, if good modern houses are to be provided to all the peasants. Not only should the state assume the responsibility for supplying the needed materials, funds, and labor, but it should also pay the construction costs of the modern houses already built by the rural construction corps.

This means that the state is to provide housing for the peasants just as it does for the factory and office workers. Such a measure in the people's interests can be taken only by the Party and state of the working class, which consistently serve the entire people, and only in a socialist society where it is possible for all the people to enjoy a happy life.

By pressing forward more vigorously the construction of modern farm-houses at state expense, we will completely change the appearance of the countryside in the near future.

Besides introducing the three measures described above, we must leave no stone unturned to lighten the burdens of the cooperative farms and peasants and boost their income in other ways.

Our working class should struggle with redoubled efforts to accomplish successfully the vast measures undertaken by the state in the interests of the peasants. Only when socialist industry makes further advances can the countryside receive greater help and catch up with the towns. The workers should uninterruptedly introduce innovations in industry, transportation, construction, and all other fields so as to fortify the economic foundations of the country and render more active assistance to the countryside.

It is a sacred duty of the working class to help the peasants and insure them a bountiful life, and it accords with the interests of the whole state and the whole of society. The richer the crops the peasants gather in as a result of the all-round assistance rendered them, the stronger will be the food and raw material bases for the urban population and for industry, and the faster the pace of socialist construction.

Our peasants should fulfill their duties and their role in socialist construction by carrying out successfully the tasks set before the rural economy. In response to the active support and assistance given them by the working class, the peasants should further intensify their struggle for increased farm production. They should provide sufficient food, animal products, vegetables, and fruit for the workers and the urban population, and supply greater quantities of raw materials for light industry. The more agricultural production grows, the faster industry will de-

velop, the further the economic foundations of the country will be strengthened, and the more the state will be able to do for the peasants.

With the working class as the leader, the workers and peasants should closely unite and cooperate with each other, and the entire people should firmly unite and wage the struggle, so that they may build socialism better and faster.

It is our lofty and glorious duty to solve the rural question steadily and successfully.

The struggle for the construction of a socialist countryside is a struggle for converting our countryside, which was backward and impoverished in the past, into a prosperous and cultured socialist countryside equipped with modern technology, a struggle for expediting the all-round construction of socialism. It is a struggle to consolidate our revolutionary base to impregnable strength, to give more powerful encouragement and support to the peasants and the rest of the people in South Korea, and to hasten the accomplishment of the great cause of the unification of the fatherland. It is also a struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and demonstrate its great vitality in the sphere of the rural question, a struggle to demonstrate the genuine advantages of the socialist system of rural economy.

Provided the workers and peasants and the entire people continue to march ahead, rallied firmly around the Party, we are sure to win victory in this struggle, since we have the seasoned Marxist-Leninist Party and the mighty state power of the working class, the advanced socialist system, and the powerful foundations of an independent economy. Our Party and people will win new, great victories on the rural front as on all other fronts of socialist construction.

3

On the Questions of the Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

(Speech delivered before the workers in the field of the Party's ideological work, on May 25, 1967)

In the course of studying the documents of the Party Conference some scholars and functionaries in charge of ideological work have recently formed diverse opinions about the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Particularly following the publication of an essay on these questions, opinion was all the more divided. So I studied the data on the subject, exchanged views with the scholars, and offered a brief conclusion. But those comrades who had heard it interpreted and conveyed it to others in their own way, which gave rise to distortions of many points. Since the subject is a very important question relating to the documents of the Party Conference, it can in no way be neglected. So I will go into some detail about it today.

Like all other scientific and theoretical problems, the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat must also be solved from the viewpoint of our Party's *Juche*. You should neither cling to the propositions of the classics and try to settle the questions dogmatically, nor be enthralled by the ideas of flunkyism and try to construe them as others do. Judging from written opinions of several scholars or from the essays of some comrades, however, almost all comrades either interpret the propositions of the classics dogmatically, or get enmeshed in tendencies to flunkyism towards great powers and try to construe them as people of other countries think. Consequently, they advance the questions in a direction which is entirely different from what our Party is thinking of. You can never study and solve the questions correctly in such a way. You can arrive at a correct conclusion only when you use your own brains to solve the problems, free of flunkyism and dogmatism.

Let us see the problem of the transition period first.

To elucidate the question of the transition period correctly, it is necessary first to consider what historical circumstances and on what premises the classics, particularly Marx, advanced this question.

Firstly, in our opinion, Marx obviously had in mind the developed capitalist countries when he defined socialism and formulated the question of the transition period from capitalism to communism or from capitalism to socialism. I think we must be fully aware of this fact before anything else if we want to find a correct solution to the question of the transition period.

What, then, are the developed capitalist countries we have referred to? They involve such capitalist countries where not only towns but also the countryside have become completely capitalistic, and the capitalist relations exist in the whole society. The result is that there exists no more peasant in the countryside but rather the agricultural laborer side by side with the industrial laborer. The developed capitalist countries which Marx had in mind when he put forward his theory were such capitalist countries. A country like England, which he had seen and where he had lived and worked, was precisely such a country. In formulating the question of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, therefore, Marx assumed first of all a condition in which there existed no class distinction between the working class and the peasantry, and he proceeded from it.

Now, to cite the instance of the most developed capitalist countries of modern times, their productive forces have so highly developed as to turn even the countryside fully capitalistic. As a result, the working class is the only toiling class both in towns and in the country. In a certain capitalist country there are tens of thousands of farms, all of which are very highly mechanized. Not only that, but the electrification, chemicalization, and irrigation of the countryside are also on a very high level. Thus, it is said, one agricultural laborer takes care of thirty *jongbo* (or hectares) of land in that country. What does this mean? It means not only that there actually exists no class distinction between the working class and the peasantry, but also that the agricultural productive forces are almost on the same level as the industrial. The only difference, if any, lies in the different working conditions in the factory and the farm.

That is why Marx thought that the stage of transition to socialism

following the seizure of power by the proletariat in those developed countries would cover a comparatively short period. In other words, he believed that because there were only two classes in society, the class of capitalists and the working class, the tasks of the transition period could be carried out in a rather brief period of time. It would then be possible to go over quickly to the higher phase of communism. Only the capitalist class had to be crushed and expropriated and its property turned over to the ownership of the entire people in the course of the socialist revolution. Yet Marx never said it would be possible to go to communism immediately from capitalism without going through the stage of socialism. No matter how highly the productive forces may have developed, and how completely the class distinction between the workers and the peasantry may have disappeared, it is essential to solve the tasks of the transition period before advancing further. Namely, these are the tasks of liquidating the remnant forces of the exploiter classes and eliminating the survivals of the old ideologies in the minds of people. We must first of all take into account this point.

The second point is the Marxian view of the uninterrupted revolution, which we must take into consideration in studying the theory of Marx on the transition period and in elucidating this question correctly.

As you all know, Marx lived in the era of premonopoly capitalism, so that he could not clearly see the uneven political and economic development of capitalism. Therefore, he believed that the proletarian revolution would break out almost simultaneously and successively in the major capitalist countries of Europe, and that the world revolution would triumph relatively soon. Marx proceeded from such premises when he thought that the period of transition from capitalism to socialism would be a comparatively short historical epoch. He further provided that the dictatorship of the proletariat would correspond to the transition period in terms of time, i.e., that the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat would be inseparable. We must also take into account this point.

We may say that Lenin, too, followed in the main the Marxian standpoint when he raised the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Unlike England or Germany, where Marx had lived and worked, Russia, where Lenin lived and worked, was not an advanced but a backward capitalist country, though

capitalist all the same. Consequently, Lenin considered the stage of socialism, the transitional stage, to be not so short as Marx had thought, but relatively long.

But Lenin, too, following the Marxian view, said that a society where the working class had seized power after overthrowing the capitalist system but where the class distinction still remained between the workers and the peasants, was a transitional society. This was, he said, of course not communist and not fully socialist either. He further said that in order to carry out socialism to the hilt, it would not be enough merely to smash the capitalists as a class. The distinction between the workers and the peasants would have to be eliminated. As you see, Lenin considered, in the final analysis, the period from the overthrow of the capitalist class by the working class up to the materialization of a classless society—where there would be no distinction between the working class and the peasantry—to be the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, or the period of transition to communism. I think such a definition of the transition period is fundamentally correct.

But the trouble is that our comrades interpret the propositions of Marx and Lenin dogmatically, without taking into consideration the times and historical circumstances in which they were formulated. And, above all, they think the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat coincide with each other, and that the two are inseparable from each other.

It is true that the period of transition from capitalism to socialism or communism will be over only when a classless society with no distinction between the working class and the peasantry is realized after the overthrow of the capitalist class. It can also be taken for granted that should the socialist revolution take place consecutively in all countries and the revolution emerge victorious on a worldwide scale, the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat would coincide with each other. And, with the termination of the transition period, the dictatorship of the proletariat would also cease to exist and there would come the fall of the state.

And yet, if socialism has been built and a classless society materialized in one country or in some regions, the transition period should be regarded as terminated there, even though the revolution has not won the victory on a worldwide scale. As long as capitalism remains in the world, however, the dictatorship of the proletariat shall not vanish, and

we cannot even talk about the withering away of the state. Therefore, in order to find a correct solution to the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should not dogmatically cling to the propositions of Marx or Lenin. Rather, we should proceed from the practical experiences in socialist construction in our country to construe the questions.

At present, certain people hold the conception of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, but do not hold, in any sense, the conception of the period of transition from capitalism to communism—that is to say, the period of transition to the higher phase of communism. They use, however, the expression: gradual transition from socialism to communism.

It is the Right opportunist deviation to regard the transition period as the period from the seizure of power by the working class to the victory of the socialist system. This view supposes that the historical mission of the proletarian dictatorship will end with the termination of the transition period, conforming the transition period and the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat to each other. People with such a viewpoint say that with the attainment of the complete and final victory of socialism (which is the first phase of communism), and with the transition to the all-out construction of communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historical mission and is no longer necessary. This is a Right opportunist view and is entirely contradictory to Marxism-Leninism.

What, then, is the “Left” opportunist view? Those who have the “Left” view used to regard the question of the transition period in exactly the same light as those with the Right opportunist view. But now, proceeding from their standpoint that communism can be realized some generations later, they contend that the transition period should be regarded as the period of transition from capitalism to the higher phase of communism. By so doing they apparently mean to criticize Right opportunism. It is all very well to criticize the Right deviations; yet we cannot consider such views on the question of the transition period to be correct.

As mentioned above, it is clear that these people have all fallen into deviations in viewing the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We think the transition period can either be called the period of transition from capitalism to socialism or the period of transition from

capitalism to communism, because socialism is the first phase of communism. But some of our comrades, in thrall to flunkyism, either regard the transition period as the period from capitalism to the higher form of communism (in the wake of the "Left" opportunist view), or they regard it as the period up to the victory of socialism (in the wake of the Right opportunist view).

Therefore, the point at issue concerning the transition period is not a terminological matter of whether it is the transition to socialism or to communism. Rather, it resolves itself into the question of where to draw the demarcation line of the transition period. Quite a few people, having made a bungle of drawing this demarcation line, are in a muddle now, and have given rise to various problems. Both of the demarcation lines, drawn by those with the Right view and those with the "Left" view, are problematical.

By the higher phase of communism we do not only mean a classless society where there is no distinction between the workers and the peasants; we also mean a highly advanced society where there is no distinction between mental and physical labor, and each person works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. So it is, in fact, tantamount to drawing no demarcation line at all to regard the transition period as the period up to such a higher phase of communism. Some people not only take the transition period for a period up to the higher phase of communism, but also say that it is impossible to materialize communism in one country. They say, we will enter communism only when the world revolution is consummated. According to this view, the transition period cannot end before the world revolution is completed. These people interpret the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat as corresponding to each other, regarding the former as the period up to the higher phase of communism. People from the Rightist standpoint consider the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat as coinciding with each other, regarding the former as the period up to the victory of socialism. In our opinion, they are going too far with such a view.

It is also a question that people with the Rightist views regard the transition period as the period up to the victory of the socialist revolution. This view stems from the ideology of giving up at home the class struggle against the surviving elements of the overthrown exploiter classes and internationally desisting from the world revolution, living at peace with imperialism. Moreover, they allege that the dictatorship

of the proletariat will disappear when the transition period comes to an end. But how can this be so? This is categorically wrong.

It will not do, therefore, to mechanically follow what is set by those who hold the Rightist views, or to model on what is said by people who hold the "Leftist" views.

We must thoroughly establish *Juche* in all circumstances and settle problems on the basis of the practical experiences we have gained in the revolution and construction of our country.

As mentioned above, the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as defined by the classics, were perfectly correct under the historical circumstances of their times and the premises they had started from.

Our present reality, however, demands us to develop them creatively and not apply them perfunctorily. We carried out the socialist revolution under the conditions where we had taken over very backward productive forces of a colonial agrarian country. And we are building socialism under the circumstances where capitalism still exists as a considerable force in the world.

We must take into account such specific realities of ours in order to give correct solutions to the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Bearing this point in mind, I consider it excessive to regard the transition period in our country as the period up to the higher phase of communism. I deem it right to regard it as the period up to socialism. But it is wrong to believe that the transition period will come to a close as soon as the socialist revolution is victorious and the socialist system is established. Considering the issue on the basis of what the founders of Marxism-Leninism said, or considering it in the light of the experiences we have gained in our actual struggle, we cannot say that a complete socialist society is already built just because the capitalist class has been overthrown and the socialist revolution carried through after the seizure of power by the working class. We, therefore, have never said that the establishment of the socialist system means the complete victory of socialism.

Then, when will the complete socialist society come into being? Complete victory of socialism will come only when the class distinction between the workers and the peasantry has disappeared and the middle classes (particularly the peasant masses) actively support us. As long as the peasants are not *working-classized*, the support they may give us cannot be firm and is bound to be rather unstable.

The seizure of power by the working class is but the beginning of the socialist revolution. To build a complete socialist society, the revolution must be steadily advanced and a firm material basis of socialism must be laid. I have already emphasized this time and again in my reports and speeches. Nevertheless, some of our comrades, because of their ideas of flunkyism, have not properly studied the documents of our Party, but have shown much interest in what others have said. They are very wrong.

We must stand firm on our realities and take a correct view of all the questions from there. Since our country did not go through a capitalist revolution, its productive forces are very backward, and the distinction between the working class and the peasantry will have to remain for a very long time, even after the socialist revolution. In fact, there are only a few highly developed capitalist countries in the world today. Most countries are backward, being former colonies or semicolonies like our country and similar countries, or are countries still dependent on others. In such countries, construction of a classless society and consolidation of socialism are possible only by developing the productive forces for a comparatively long period, even after the socialist revolution.

As we did not go through the normal course of capitalist development, we have to do the task of developing the productive forces in our socialist era today—a task which we should have tackled under capitalism. There is no need to make society capitalistic and go to the trouble of fostering the capitalists just to smash them and build socialism, on the plea that we could not discharge the task which we should have done in the capitalist stage. The working class in power should not revive capitalist society but, in order to build a classless society, should carry out under the socialist system this task which remained unsolved in the stage of capitalist revolution.

We must keep consolidating the material basis of socialism and boost the productive forces to the level of developed capitalist countries at least, and completely get rid of the distinction between the working class and the peasantry. To this end, the technological revolution should be carried out to such an extent as the advanced capitalist countries have turned their countryside capitalistic, so that farming may be mechanized, chemicalization and irrigation be introduced, and the eight-hour day be adopted.

It was precisely for this purpose that we published the Theses on

the Socialist Rural Question. Yet, our comrades do not properly study even the Theses. We must always think of solving problems with our own brains, drawing on our Party documents. What is the central idea of the "Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country"? The basic idea is to carry out the technical revolution in the countryside and develop the agricultural productive forces to a high level. And, at the same time, we must promote the ideological and cultural revolution. We must gradually abolish the distinction between the working class and the peasantry in the spheres of technology, ideology, and culture, and bring cooperative ownership up to the level of ownership of the entire people.

And these tasks cannot be solved unless the working class gives guidance and assistance to the peasantry. It is our Party's line to give material and technical assistance to the peasants and carry out the technical revolution in the rural areas by relying on the solid basis of industry. To this end, large numbers of tractors should be supplied to the countryside, fertilizers and agricultural chemicals should be furnished in quantities for chemicalization, and irrigation should also be carried on. Along with this, the working class must help the peasantry in their ideological remodeling, and also exert a cultural influence on them. Only in this way can the peasantry be completely working-classified.

It is in fact one of the most important questions in building socialism and communism to turn the peasantry into the working class. Our idea is to working-classize the peasants and abolish the distinction between the working class and the peasantry precisely in this way.

We should not take to flunkyism towards great powers but should hold fast to our Party's *Juche*-oriented position in solving the question of working-classizing the peasantry, too. We must raise the productive forces to a higher plane, get rid of the disparity between town and country, and make the people's life affluent by thoroughly carrying out the spirit of the Theses and laying a firm material basis of socialism.

Only by so doing can we completely win over the former middle classes. We cannot say socialism has been consolidated or consider it to have won complete victory before the middle classes stop wavering and fully support us. Only when they actively support us can we say socialism has been completely realized. When we advance socialist construction and thoroughly win over the middle classes to our side, when we eliminate the distinction between the working class and the

peasantry and build a classless society, we shall be able to say that the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism have been accomplished.

I deem it right to draw the demarcation line for the transition period to border on the classless society, unlike those who are biased to the Right or to the "Left."

What, then, shall we say is the society that will exist after the triumph of the socialist revolution and accomplishment of socialist transformation, until the disappearance of the class distinction between the workers and the peasants? It cannot be called otherwise than a socialist society, since it is a society free from exploitation, even though it undoubtedly belongs to the transition period.

Needless to say, the transition period will not immediately be followed by the higher phase of communism, even when it is over. Even after the close of the transition period, the revolution and construction must be continued and the productive forces be developed to such a level that each works according to his ability and each receives according to his needs, in order to enter the higher phase of communism.

In my opinion, this approach to the question of the transition period accords with the definitions laid down by Marx and Lenin, and it proceeds from the new historical conditions as well as the practical experiences of the revolution and construction in our country. This is not the final but a preliminary conclusion reached by us. It is desirable that you make further studies in this direction.

This being the definition of the period of transition, how should we view the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat? The classics, as mentioned above, understood that the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat would coincide with each other. Then, if a classless society is materialized and the complete victory of socialism is achieved in our country, i.e., if the tasks of the transition period are accomplished, will the dictatorship of the proletariat become no longer necessary? We never can say so. Even when the transition period is over, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be continued up to the higher phase of communism, to say nothing of the necessity of having it during the whole period of transition.

Even when we will have carried out the technical revolution in the rural areas, elevated cooperative property to the property of the entire people, working-classed the peasantry and done away with the class distinctions by solidifying the material and technical basis of socialism

and carrying into effect the Theses on the Socialist Rural Question, the level of the productive forces will not yet be so high as to apply the principle of communism that each works according to his ability and each receives according to his needs. Therefore, it will still be necessary to continue to build socialism and strive to realize communism. It is quite clear that these tasks cannot be fulfilled without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, even when the transition period is over, the dictatorship of the proletariat should continue to exist until the higher phase of communism.

But here is another question. It is the question of what will become of the dictatorship of the proletariat when communism is realized in one country or in some areas, with capitalism still remaining in the world. Even if communism is materialized in one country or in some areas, such a society will not be free of the menace of imperialism nor of the resistance of the enemies at home who conspire with external foes so far as the world revolution has not yet been accomplished and capitalism and imperialism remain in existence. Under such circumstances, the state cannot wither away and the dictatorship of the proletariat will have to remain in existence, even in the higher phase of communism. Should the revolution take place in succession in all countries of the world and capitalism fall and the socialist revolution emerge victorious on a worldwide scale, the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat would correspond to each other. With the end of the former, the latter would no longer be necessary, and the function of the state would wither away. But inasmuch as we accept the theory that it is possible to build communism in one country or in some areas, it is fully correct to view the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat separately.

It is by no means a revision on our part of Marxism-Leninism to consider the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat in this way. It is our standpoint to creatively apply the propositions of Marx and Lenin to the new historical circumstances and the specific practices of our country. I think this is the way of safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism against dogmatism and flunkyism.

I am going to say a few words about the question of class struggle in connection with the dictatorship of the proletariat. As long as there is the class struggle, there will be the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is needed to carry on the class struggle. The class struggle has, however, various forms. The class struggle at

the stage of overthrowing capitalism differs in form from that after its overthrow. This has already been expressly set forth in the documents of our Party. Not a few people, however, commit Right or "Left" errors, because they have no clear idea of it.

The class struggle at the stage of the socialist revolution is a struggle for liquidating the capitalists as a class. The class struggle in socialist society is a struggle aimed at achieving unity and solidarity, and is by no means a class struggle waged by the members of society with each other. In socialist society the class struggle is conducted, to be sure, but it is done by way of cooperation for the purpose of achieving unity and solidarity. It goes without saying that the ideological revolution we are carrying on now is a class struggle; it is also a form of class struggle to render assistance to the countryside to working-classize the peasantry. For the state of the working class aims, after all, at eliminating the peasants as a class and working-classizing them completely when it produces machines for the peasants, supplies them with chemical fertilizers, and undertakes irrigation works for them. Our class struggle is designed not only to working-classize the peasantry and terminate its existence as a class but also to revolutionize previous middle classes (including the intelligentsia and urban petty bourgeoisie) and remold them on the pattern of the working class. This is the principal form of the class struggle we are waging now.

Further, under our social system, subversive influence of the counter-revolutionary forces infiltrates from without and the remnant elements of the overthrown exploiter classes wriggle within. So there has to be the class struggle in order to suppress their counterrevolutionary activities.

In this way, there is in socialist society a form of class struggle exercising dictatorship over the enemies within and without, along with the basic form of class struggle for revolutionizing and remolding the workers, peasants, and working intellectuals, by means of cooperation with the aim of achieving their unity and solidarity.

In socialist society, therefore, the class struggle does not disappear but goes on as ever, only in different forms. It is perfectly right to consider the question of the class struggle in socialist society in this way.

In connection with the question of the class struggle, I should like to say a few more words about revolutionizing the intellectuals. We cannot as yet say we have fully worked out the ways of revolutionizing the intellectuals. We once sent intellectuals to factories to work among

the workers, with a view to revolutionizing them. But it is still doubtful if that is really a good way. We have cultivated the intellectuals because we wanted to let them write, study science and technology, or serve as teachers. If they are to be sent to factories for doing labor, we should have made them workers from the outset; why should we train them despite all the expenses? So, this way, too, is not quite appropriate.

Of course, it is a good thing to bring the intellectuals close to the workers, so that they learn from the latter their organization and fortitude, as well as their devotion to the people whom they serve with their physical labor. But this is far from being a sufficient answer to the question of revolutionizing the intellectuals. Our writers have not infrequently been sent to the factories. Yet, some of them have made little progress in spite of all their work at the factories. So, we cannot revolutionize the intellectuals merely by sending them to the factories to work.

The thing is to make them strengthen their various sorts of organizational life, including their Party life. At present, some of our intellectuals do not like the strengthening of various kinds of organizational life, including Party life, and do not properly take part in organizational life. They think they will have no freedom, should their Party life be strengthened and should they take part in organizational life.

Those cadres who are not active in their Party life and who neglect the Party study also go against the Party's policies. Even the Central Party School does not strengthen the Party life of its students now, so that after graduation they cannot make the most of what they have learned and fail to work and live in a revolutionary way.

It is therefore of paramount importance for revolutionizing the intellectuals to make them take an active part in the revolutionary organizational life. Above all, it is necessary for them to strengthen the Party-cell life, refrain from making a show of their knowledge, and conduct the Party study well to arm themselves with revolutionary ideas. Further, they should neither be afraid of being criticized nor be unwilling to criticize others. They should intensify self-criticism and criticism and observe organizational discipline to the letter. This alone will help them revolutionize themselves. People should cultivate collectivist ideas in the course of their organizational life of the Party, or any public organizations, and acquire the revolutionary spirit of receiving definite assignments of revolutionary tasks from their organizations and carrying them out without fail. The members of the Party

and public organizations should equip themselves firmly with the Party's policies and propagandize them. They should become such revolutionaries as to carry out their revolutionary tasks with scrupulous exactness, in accordance with the Party's policies. A revolutionary is a genuine Communist. The Communist has nothing to do with selfishness, which means seeking one's own interests alone. Revolutionaries must have the communist traits of working and living under the motto "One for all and all for one" and temper themselves with the Party spirit, class spirit, and popular spirit of serving the working class and the entire people.

The intellectuals will get spoiled in the end if they do not take an active part in all organizational life, including the Party's organizational life. There are many such instances. I should like to emphasize once again that both the old and new intellectuals should all strengthen the organizational life of the Party and various other organizations, in order to do away with their liberalistic and petty bourgeois mentalities and train themselves into revolutionaries.

Today I have dwelt upon the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat rather in detail. I think this will be enough to give you a general idea of the questions discussed in the course of studying the documents of the Party Conference.

4

On Some Theoretical Problems of the Socialist Economy

(Answers to the questions raised by scientific and educational workers
on March 1, 1969)

In April 1968 I received some questions from scholars through the Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee, concerning some problems of socialist economic theory. But, as the situation in the country was tense and we had the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic last year, I had little time to spare for a prompt answer to the questions. I was told that even of late some leading economic functionaries and scholars have no clear idea of these problems and are arguing about them. I am now going to give my opinions about them.

1. Problem of the Correlation Between the Scale of the Economy and the Rate of Development of Production in Socialist Society

A theory is in vogue lately among certain economists who say that though the economy grows without interruption in socialist society, its rate of growth cannot exceed 4-5 or 6-7 per cent a year when the economy reaches a certain stage of development. I was told there are people also among the leading workers of our state economic bodies who argue that should our industrial production increase even only by 6-7 per cent a year, that would be high enough, inasmuch as in capitalist countries production goes up barely by 2-3 per cent a year.

They base such an argument on the assumption that the reserves for production growth diminish in the period of reconstruction as compared with the period of rehabilitation, and that, accordingly, the more the economy develops and its scale grows, the less becomes the possibility of increasing production. In other words, they contend that the further industry advances, the more the reserves reduce and the slower

becomes the rate of production growth. In our country, too, they say, there were plenty of reserves in the postwar rehabilitation period, but today, when the basis of socialist industrialization has been laid and we are in the period of an all-out technical reconstruction of the national economy, production cannot continue to multiply at a high rate, for no more reserves exist.

People who think in this way are those who are either not aware of the true advantages of the socialist economic system or are not willing to see them.

Socialist society has unlimited potentialities to incessantly develop the economy at such a high rate as is inconceivable in capitalist society. And, the further socialist construction advances and the stronger the economic basis grows, the greater become these potentialities.

In capitalist society production cannot steadily grow, the process of reproduction being periodically interrupted and much social labor wasted owing to the overproduction crisis. In socialist society, however, all the labor resources and natural wealth of the country can be most reasonably made use of, and production can be incessantly raised according to plan.

This possibility of production growth will ever increase accordingly, as the equilibrium among the branches of the national economy is rationally preserved and the country's economy is kept in better shape with the strengthening of the economy-organizing functions of the state of the proletarian dictatorship and the rise of the level of economic management of the functionaries. Since the socialist state controls co-ordinately and realizes production and distribution, accumulation and consumption according to plan, it can allocate a large amount of funds to accumulation and carry on socialist extended reproduction steadily on a big scale by using the funds most reasonably.

And the production relations of socialism open a wide scope for an unrestricted development of the productive forces. The socialist state, by making use of this possibility, can rapidly develop technology according to plan. It is a law-governed process of building socialism and communism that the outmoded technique be replaced by a new technique and the new one by a yet newer one, that manual labor be mechanized, mechanization developed to semiautomation, and semiautomation on to automation. It is a palpable truth that in socialist society with the rapid development of technology, labor productivity increases constantly and production develops at a high rate.

In socialist society, high revolutionary zeal of the people is the decisive factor which energetically eggs the productive forces on to pullulate. The essential excellence of the socialist system lies in the fact that the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, work with conscious enthusiasm and creative initiative for the country and the people, for society and the collective, as well as their own welfare. In capitalist society, the working people are not interested in the development of production and technology at all, for they work of necessity under the menace of unemployment and hunger. But in socialist society the working people zealously work for the development of production, because they are deeply aware that the fruits of their labor belong to themselves, to their people, and to their country. The more the Party and the state of the proletariat, in conformity to their proper functions, strengthen the ideological revolution among the working people and gradually eliminate the survivals of old ideologies from their minds, the more the working people will devote their talents and stamina to the development of socialist production. In this way, continuous improvements and innovations will be brought about in all fields of economic management, organization of production and labor, and development of technology.

All this testifies to the sheer fallacy of the theory that in socialist society the reserves for increased production diminish gradually and production cannot be kept rising at a high rate as the economy develops and its scale expands.

Practical experiences in building socialism in our country also irrefutably prove that such a theory is wrong.

To begin with, let me tell you what happened when we were tackling the Five-Year Plan. The economic life of our country at that time was very hard in general, although our Party members and working people had rehabilitated the ravaged economy in the main and made the living of the people stable by successfully carrying out the Three-Year National Economic Plan. Moreover, the enemies at home and abroad were running amuck to encroach upon the gains of our revolution and ruin the constructive work of our people. Under such circumstances, we were confronted with the urgent task of quickly laying the foundation of industrialization to advance the economy of the country and improve the people's livelihood, and this required large quantities of rolled steel.

But at that time our country had only one single mill, and its rated

capacity was no more than 60,000 tons. Sixty thousand tons of rolled steel were, however, far from enough, for we had to build in town and country, erect factories, and turn out more machines.

In all the previous arduous revolutionary struggles, our Party had trusted the working class and, leaning upon their strength, had broken through bottlenecks and difficulties. And this time, too, our Party decided to go to the working class, consult them, and pull through the existing difficulties.

Entrusted by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, we went to the Kangson Steelworks. When we asked the leading personnel of the steelworks if they could not increase the output of rolled steel to 90,000 tons, some of them, shaking their heads, said it would be difficult. So, we called the workers together and told them: We have barely managed to rehabilitate the ravaged economy, and now the factionalists have reared their heads against the Party. The great-power chauvinists have put pressure on us, and the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee puppet clique are getting frantic with "march North" clamors. But can all that be any excuse for us to get disheartened and yield to the grave difficulties lying in the way of the cause of the revolution and construction? No, that will not do. We only trust you, the working class, the main force of our revolution, and we have no one but you to rely on. Then, to tide over the grave difficulties facing our Party, you must be in high spirits and work hard to produce plenty and construct well, and thus drive the economic construction more vigorously. Isn't that so?

We conducted our political work in this way, and the workers of Kangson came out with a resolution to produce 90,000 tons of rolled steel. Roused to activity, they strove hard, improving the existing machines and equipment and undoing tangled knots. The result was that 120,000 tons of rolled steel were turned out instead of 90,000 tons that year. This steelworks could raise the capacity of the mill to the present capacity of 450,000 tons—nearly eight times the rated capacity.

Not only in the Kangson Steelworks, but in all fields of the national economy and all factories and enterprises, the old rated capacities were scrapped and great innovations were made. Miracles were wrought day after day to startle the world, and the economy of our country developed at a very high rate. Thus, the Five-Year Plan envisaging a 2.6-fold increase in total industrial output value was carried out in two and a

half years. The production plan for major manufactured goods was also fulfilled or overfulfilled on all indices of products in four years.

During the last seven–eight years since the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan, the tasks of the overall technical revolution have been vigorously carried forward in our country. The result is that a number of new fields of industry have been opened, the technical equipment of industry has been radically improved, and the scale of production has expanded many times. If the "theory" of some people were right, that with the expansion of the scale of production the rate of its growth decreases, it would have been impossible for our country to keep up the high tempo of production growth any longer in the period that followed the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan. But in the Seven-Year Plan period, too, the economy has developed continually at a high speed, though our country appropriated a large part of accumulation additionally for the defense upbuilding, in view of the more pronounced aggressive maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists. Above all, the National Economic Plan for 1967, the plan for the first year in implementing the decision of the Party Conference to build the economy and defense in parallel, was a tight plan envisaging a 12.8 per cent increase in total industrial output value over the previous year. But in 1967 we actually overfulfilled that plan and raised industrial output as much as 17 per cent in a year. Had it not been for the rare flood damage that year, industrial output would have risen more than 20 per cent. This is to be ascribed to the fact that our Party intensified the ideological revolution among the working people, thereby arousing their conscious enthusiasm and waging a resolute struggle against passivism, conservatism, and all other sorts of old ideas that hampered our forward movement.

Take the Songhung Mine for example.

In 1967, when the managing workers of the Songhung Mine came up with a plan of very low target, the Cabinet persuaded them to raise it a little higher. Yet, even this was too low to meet the demand of the Party. So the Party Central Committee, with a view to conducting political work among the workers of the Songhung Mine, summoned the cadres of the mine—section leaders and above—and held a meeting. There we told them: In order to carry out successfully the line of building the economy and defense in parallel set forth by the Party Conference, the Songhung Mine will have to extract more nonferrous

metal. Thereupon, they pledged themselves to mine more nonferrous metal than the target set by the Cabinet. In the end, they produced nearly twice as much as they had promised at first.

Let us take another example.

Functionaries in the field of the engineering industry said that they had no reserve, so we went to the Ryongsong Machine Plant in 1967 and kindled the flames of innovation. The workers there all rose and fulfilled the keyed-up plan of the year, including the plan for extra production by October 10, two months and twenty days ahead of schedule.

Great reserves were also found in the course of the struggle to carry out last year's national economic plan.

Under the circumstances of frantic war clamors by the U.S. imperialists following the *Pueblo* incident, the Party Central Committee called upon the factories and enterprises in all fields of the national economy last year to fulfill ahead of schedule all their assignments of production and construction and produce more with the spared labor power, materials, and equipment.

This revolutionary call of the Party found a response in all factories and enterprises. Many of them, out of a burning desire to drive out the U.S. imperialists from our soil and unify the country at the earliest possible date, asked for more assignments and excellently carried out their resolve.

All this shows that we can develop the economy as fast as we want, no matter how big its scale is, by conducting political work well in accordance with the line set forth by our Party, enhancing the political consciousness of the masses, arousing their revolutionary zeal, and constantly improving techniques.

The theory that should industry reach a certain stage of development, the reserves would diminish and a high rate of growth could not be insured in industrial production, has nothing to do with the Marxist-Leninist theory of economy. The "theory" that large-scale economy could not develop rapidly is but a sophistry brought forward by some people to justify the fact that their technical progress is slow and their economy stagnant, because they did not educate their working people while talking about "liberalization" and "democratic development" and, as a result, the latter are ideologically so slackened that they fiddle about and loaf on the job.

Referring to the immediate tasks of Soviet power after the victory

of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin put forward the famous proposition: Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country. This proposition of Lenin's, though simple, has a profound meaning. I think it is of great importance for building socialism and communism that we have a correct understanding of this proposition and translate it into practice. What is meant by the Soviet power mentioned by Lenin? It means no less than the dictatorship of the proletariat. It, therefore, means that the state of the working class should continue the class struggle and carry out the ideological and cultural revolutions to remold the consciousness of the people and enhance their technical and cultural level, and accomplish the task of working-classing and revolutionizing the whole society. By electrification it is meant that technology should be developed to such a high level as to be able to make all the production processes automatic and the material production basis of society greatly consolidated. To sum up, this proposition of Lenin's teaches that communism will be realized only when the dictatorship of the proletariat is strengthened to accomplish the ideological and cultural revolutions and to revolutionize and working-classize the whole society, and, at the same time, when the technical revolution is accomplished to lay a solid material and technical basis for a very high level of productive forces.

If we neglect any one of the two, the dictatorship of the proletariat or the technical revolution alluded to by Lenin, we can neither steadily develop the socialist economy at a high tempo nor build a communist society. We should therefore strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and drive the technical revolution dynamically in order to build a communist society. As Lenin passed away before he himself could build communism, we must give a correct interpretation to his proposition and carry it into effect. Some people, however, refuse to understand correctly and put into effect this proposition of Lenin's. We must categorically oppose Right opportunism in the field of economic theory in order to accelerate socialist construction at a higher rate. If we do not take issue with the Right deviation in the economic field, weaken the proletarian dictatorship, do not conduct political work, foster individual selfishness among the people, or try to make the people move merely with money, we cannot call forth their collective heroism and heuristic initiative and, accordingly, we cannot successfully carry out the tasks either of technical revolution or of economic construction. If we tail after the Right opportunist theory and fail to develop the economy

rapidly, we may find it difficult even to provide everybody with a job and feed him. Then, how can we, who have taken over very backward productive forces from the old society, catch up with the advanced countries and build a communist society where each works according to his ability and each receives according to his needs? We must reject the Right opportunist theory, definitely defend and carry through to the end the revolutionary ideas of our Party, the theory of economic construction of our Party, and thus keep on the grand march of Chollima in building socialism.

2. *Problems of the Means of Production in the Form of Commodity and the Use of the Law of Value in Socialist Society*

I have heard that some economists are arguing about the questions of whether or not the means of production are a commodity in socialist society and whether or not the law of value operates in the domain of its production and circulation.

I think these questions should not be handled in the same breath. In socialist society the means of production can sometimes be a commodity and sometimes not, as the case may be. So, the law of value will operate when they are a commodity, and will not when they are not. The law of value is a law of commodity production.

Then, when are the means of production a commodity and when not? To find the right solution to this question, I deem it necessary, first of all, to have a clear idea of the properties of commodity and the origin of commodity production.

A commodity is a thing produced not for one's own consumption but for sale. In other words, not all products are commodities, but things produced for the purpose of exchange are commodities. As is clear from this, for a product to be a commodity, firstly, there must be the social division of labor through which different kinds of goods are produced; secondly, there must be the seller and the buyer—the man who gives up the right to possess a thing by selling it and the man who buys and acquires the right to possess it. That is to say, commodity production presupposes the social division of labor and the differentiation of ownership of produce. Therefore, where there is no social division of labor and ownership is not differentiated but remains in a single form, there can be no commodity production.

The reason why the commodity-money relation exists in a socialist

society should also be explained by the fact that there exist the social division of labor and different forms of ownership of produce. As everybody knows, in socialist society the division of labor not only exists but develops every day. As for the ownership, too, there exist the state and the cooperative ownership of the means of production and of consumer goods as well, though in the course of the socialist revolution private ownership is abolished and different forms of economy that existed in the early part of the transition period are gradually fused into a single, socialist form of economy. Besides, the socialist states must carry on foreign trade under the circumstances that communism has not yet triumphed on a worldwide scale and there exist frontiers.

All these things are conditions that give rise to commodity production in socialist society. It goes without saying that in socialist society commodity production is a production of goods without the capitalist. Therefore, the law of value operates not blindly as in capitalist society but within a limited sweep, and the state uses it in a planned way as an economic lever for effective management of the economy. Later, when the transition period is over and cooperative property is turned into property of the entire people so that a unitary form of ownership is established, the produce of society, if foreign trade is not taken into consideration, will be called not by the name of commodity but simply called means of production and consumer goods or by some other names. Then, the law of value will also cease to operate. Needless to say, even then the social division of labor will continue to develop, but there will be no more commodity production.

Scholars, leading economic functionaries, and many other people now commit Right or "Left" errors in both the theoretical domain and the economic management, because they have not fully understood whether the means of production are a commodity or not in socialist society. As a result, some fall into the Right tendency to manage the economy in a capitalist way, overrating the importance of commodity production and the law of value in the wake of revisionist theory. Others commit the "ultra-Left" error of failing to streamline the enterprise management and causing a large wastage of means of production and labor power by totally ignoring commodity production and the role of the law of value, in disregard of the traditional character of our society. A correct understanding of and dealing with this question is of great importance in socialist economic construction. After all, the question of utilizing the commodity-money relation is an important one

which the state of the working class must properly settle in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Right or "Left" error in this question can bring forth a serious harm.

The data as to in what case the means of production are a commodity and in what case not in socialist society, should also be found in the differentiation of ownership. In socialist society the means of production, even when shifted to other places, are not a commodity as long as they do not change hands, and they are a commodity when they change hands. From this derives the following obvious conclusion:

Firstly, when a means of production turned out in the state sector of ownership is transferred to cooperative ownership or vice versa, it is a commodity in either case and, therefore, the law of value operates here. Secondly, a means of production which is exchanged within the bounds of cooperative ownership, between cooperative farms, between producers' cooperatives or between the former and the latter, is equally a commodity, and here, too, the law of value operates. Thirdly, in the case of export the means of production are a commodity and they are sold at the world market price or at the socialist market price. For instance, when countries like Indonesia and Cambodia ask our country for machine tools, the machine tools sold to these countries are commodities for which we should receive due prices. And when a Confederation of the North and South, though not yet realized at the moment, is established in our country in accordance with our Party's proposal for national unification, and businessmen in South Korea ask us for machines and equipment, we will have to sell them. In that case the machines and equipment we shall sell them will be commodities, and here the law of value will be bound to come into consideration.

What, then, are the equipment, raw and other materials that are transferred between the state enterprises? They are not commodities. Because the means of production such as these are turned out on the basis of socialist cooperation in production, and even when they are turned over from one enterprise to another, they remain under the ownership of the socialist state, and such means of production are supplied not through free trade but in a planned way by the state according to the plan of equipment and material supply. When the state finds it necessary, it provides the enterprises with the means of production, even if the enterprises do not ask for them, just as it provides the army with weapons. The machines, equipment, raw and other materials trans-

ferred among the state enterprises, therefore, cannot be called commodities realized through the operation of the law of value.

Then, what shall we call these means of production transferred among the state enterprises, if not commodities, and what shall we say is being made use of, if not the operation of the law of value, in assessing the prices of the means of production when they are turned over, or in accounting their costs when produced? It would be right to say that the means of production which are transferred among the state enterprises according to the plans of equipment and material supply and of cooperative production are not commodities, but they assume the form of commodity. Accordingly, in this case the law of value does not operate in substance, as in the case of commodity production, but in form.

Namely, such means of production are not commodities in the proper sense of the word, but merely assume the form of commodity, and, accordingly, what is made use of here is not the operation of the law of value in the proper sense of the word, but the law of value in form. And, in the case of the production and exchange of the means of production, the form of value is made use of simply as an instrument of economic accounting, and not the value itself.

Then, how is it going to be explained that the means of production which are transferred among the state enterprises are not commodities but merely assume the form of commodity? It is so because the state enterprises are relatively independent in using and managing the means of production and in running the economy, as if they were under different ownership, though they are all under one and the same ownership of the state. Though all the business-accounting enterprises in the state sector are owned by the state, they separately use the means of production received from other enterprises according to the unitary plan of the state and must net a certain profit for the state after they recover the costs spent on their products.

Although such business-accounting state enterprises are under the same ownership, independence in management of each of them gives the impression that the means of production transferred among them were commodities like those handed over to different ownership. Thus, when one enterprise delivers means of production to another, it does not give them free or dirt-cheap at random, but hands them over at prices fixed by the state. These prices are fixed uniformly according

to the expenditure of socially necessary labor on the principle of equivalent compensation, though they are all business-accounting enterprises in the state sector. Though equally state-owned, the enterprises have to be particular about things of their own and of others, and transactions in the means of production have to be conducted on a strict accounting basis.

Why, then, should the enterprises within the state sector be granted independence in management, and why should the means of production be delivered and received by them with strict accounting on the principle of equivalence when they are not a commodity? That has something to do with the specific feature of socialist society, which is a transitional one. In socialist society, the productive forces have not yet developed to such an extent that each works according to his ability and each receives according to his needs. And not all people possess so high a degree of collectivist spirit as to hold dear and take responsible care of state properties like their own. In not a few cases, even those who are educated enough do not care so much about the business of other state bodies or enterprises as about their own business, nor do they devote themselves to it, not to mention those who harbor such old ideological debris as boring into the interests of the state or other organs and enterprises, placing the narrow interests of their own organs and localities before anything else, being stodgily departmentalized and parochialized. Further, under socialism, labor has become, of course, an honorable and worthwhile thing, but not yet life's prime requirement as in communist society. Precisely all these things require that under socialism equivalent values be strictly accounted in transactions among the enterprises, though they are all state-owned. If our society had a great affluence of goods and if the managing staffs and working people of all enterprises were free from selfishness, were concerned about all the state properties as about their own, and conducted all the state affairs as devotedly as their own, then there would be no need of casting accounts on an equivalent basis.

A proper use of the commodity form and the commercial form in the production and circulation of the means of production is of definite significance in methodically increasing the profits of enterprises and the accumulations of the state by eliminating the wastage of social labor and strengthening the save-and-spare regime. It is therefore necessary to make a proper use of them in all branches of the national economy and at all enterprises.

Above all, efforts should be made to use properly the form of value in the field of manufacturing the means of production to strengthen both the strict accounting system and the control by *won* (Korean monetary unit; worth \$2.65) of the supply of raw and other materials as well as labor power in order to systematically lower the level of material consumption per unit.

In the domain of circulation, too, the commercial form should be fully utilized, while good plans of equipment and material supply are mapped out, so as to do away with the wastage of machines, equipment, raw and other materials and use them in a rational way. When we set up the material supply agencies and saw to it that raw and other materials were bought and sold through the medium of the agencies, we aimed at insuring their smooth supply.

Our economic functionaries, however, fail to do this properly. The textbook of political economy, too, simply says that the means of production are excluded from the sphere of commodity circulation and are supplied to enterprises according to plan, but it makes no mention whatever of how and in what form the supply is realized. The question of supply of means of production is all but left out of the textbook of political economy and, particularly, the question of purchase and sale of raw and other materials among the state enterprises is not even touched upon.

Such being the case, there have appeared many shortcomings in the supply of materials. When securing raw and other materials, the enterprises take them without caring much about their prices, high or low. Moreover, it is not infrequent that valuable materials lie idle in heaps at some enterprises, while at other enterprises production is interrupted for want of the same materials.

True, this is partly owing to the defective plans of material supply mapped out by the State Planning Commission. But the issue rather lies in the ignorance of the fact that the supply of raw and other materials is also realized in the form of trade. That is to say, the supply of raw and other materials is realized in the form of commodity circulation, inasmuch as the form of selling and buying is adapted among the state enterprises, too. But this has been ignored. As a result, in case the planning organs map out erroneous plans for the supply of materials, nobody is to answer for the materials being kept idle or wasted, and the defect is detected nowhere.

To straighten out this question, it is necessary, first of all, to enhance

the role of the material supply agencies. When the material supply agencies do their work well, they will not be besieged by crowds of people coming to procure materials. They will be able to supply them properly, even if small in quantity, to the enterprises in need of them for effective use; and the enterprises, for their part, will stop receiving materials at random with no consideration whatever of whether they are necessary or not, only to keep them idle or waste them.

We must know that when means of production such as machines, equipment, raw and other materials produced in factories and enterprises, while remaining under state ownership, are transferred among the enterprises, they assume the role of commodity circulation. Here their prices will become an issue and so, if there sometimes happen to be defects in the plans, it will be possible to straighten them out in the course of actual supply.

Of course, in our society, everything is produced, supplied, and consumed according to plan. Moreover, under the ownership of the entire people, production, supply, and consumption are completely planned. It is by no means an easy thing, however, to have everything planned correctly. We have been carrying on a planned economy for over twenty years and we have kept on emphasizing that the plans must be objective. But planning is still not quite in order.

The same is true of the plans for the supply of raw and other materials. Some kinds of materials are left out of the plan and some unnecessary things are included in the plan for supply. Then, where should the defects be detected? They should be detected at the supply agencies. That is, they must be complemented and corrected in the course of selling and buying raw and other materials through the agencies.

Besides, even if a material supply plan has been correctly drawn up, it cannot be executed when the supply work is not actually carried on properly. If the form of trade, that is, the form of selling and buying, is ignored in the supply of raw and other materials and if they are supplied simply according to plan, materials may be used at random and squandered at the enterprises. Such practices can take place quite often so long as our functionaries and working people are not all communist.

It is therefore necessary to raise the role of the supply agencies and make the most of the form of commodity circulation in the supply of raw and other materials. Thus, things must be so arranged so that if

an enterprise purchases too much of some kinds of materials, it would not be able to buy other kinds, and if materials should be wasted, the business activities of the enterprise would be greatly affected. Only when such conditions are arranged in the supply of raw and other materials will the functionaries of the enterprises come to check up closely on the prices of materials and transport costs, value and take better care of materials, and make efforts to lower the standard of consumption per unit in the use of materials.

Now I should like to present my views on the question of making proper use of the law of value in the production and circulation of commodities.

Most important of all in the use of the law of value is to fix the prices of commodities properly. Prices should be assessed on the basis of correctly reckoning the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism and the law of value.

First of all, the assessment of prices should be based correctly on the socially necessary labor contained in goods. If the fixing of prices is not based on the outlays of socially necessary labor, equilibrium of the prices cannot be maintained, nor can the socialist distribution be properly done, and the development of social production can be unfavorably affected.

Let us take an example. Once I walked into a shop in Changsong county of North Pyongan Province, and I found there a meter of twisted yarn fabric woven with 200 grams of yarn priced at 3 *won*, and a ball of thread weighing 50 grams was 5.4 *won*. It meant that a ball of thread was priced twice as high as a piece of cloth made with twisted yarn equivalent to four balls of thread, which was woven into fabrics and dyed. Indeed, it seems to me that much labor and fairly large production costs were needed to reel thread at a local industry factory, because it was poorly mechanized. But since thread is not reeled by the hand-spinning wheel, its costs cannot be higher than the cost of fabrics. And even if the production costs were so high, the price cannot be fixed without taking into account the expenditure of socially necessary labor, and it goes against reason to fix the price so preposterously.

Further, low prices should be assigned to the mass consumption goods when the prices are fixed. It is a matter of course, as I mentioned above, that the values of commodities should be taken into account in assessing their prices. But this by no means signifies that the price

of a commodity cannot be deviated from its value. The Party and the state of the working class should assign low prices to the mass consumption goods by actively deviating the prices of commodities from their values. That is to say, rice, clothes, footwear, mosquito nets, thread, matches, school things and other goods indispensable for the people's material and cultural life should be cheap. This means a proper use of the law of value, and this accords with the essential requirement of the socialist system to feed and dress all the working people evenly and to make them equally well off.

Otherwise, if we make the mass consumption goods expensive, we cannot fully reveal the excellence of the socialist system and can possibly cause inconveniences to the people's life. If, for example, the prices of fabrics such as vinalon mixtures much demanded by our people were set high, it would not be possible to make all the people dress decently. And if the prices of such school supplies such as textbooks, pencils, notebooks and satchels were set high, children would not be duly educated despite the carrying out of compulsory education.

Nevertheless, there is a tendency among our functionaries to increase the state budgetary revenue by unwarrantably raising the prices of fabrics and other mass consumption goods. As a result, though we turn out such large quantities of fabrics as twenty meters per head of the population, the working people cannot afford to buy enough to clothe their children decently, as the prices are so high. No doubt, the major reason why not much fabrics go around to the people is that our country still fails to turn out various fabrics at low costs. But it should be clearly borne in mind that the improper stance of the functionaries toward securing the state budgetary revenue by means of raising the prices of cloth is also largely accountable for the small cloth supply to the people. Owing to the erroneous act of the functionaries, the prices of fabrics have kept rising unreasonably over the past few years.

Unless our functionaries rectify such wrong ideas and attitudes of work, the livelihood of the people cannot be improved rapidly. In fact, it often happens that cloth does not sell because of its excessive price and lies so long on the counter that, at last, it has to be sold off at reduced prices. This, in the end, will not only be harmful to the people's livelihood but render it impossible to secure the state budgetary revenue.

Our Party and government therefore fix definite rates of turnover levies and assign low prices to the mass consumption goods at least and,

particularly, see to it that the goods for children are priced so low that their production costs can be barely recovered, even if the state budgetary revenue cannot be lifted. This principle should be further observed.

On the contrary, however, tobacco and drink, luxury goods, high-quality suit material, and other things which are in limited supply as yet, should be priced higher than the mass consumption goods in order to adjust the demands for them. The charges for welfare facilities, including the dwelling houses, should also be fixed on the same principle as the prices of commodities. The rents on ordinary furnished one- or two-room flats, for example, should be cheap, but those in well-appointed dwellings with three or more rooms should be high because we do not have them in numbers. Of course, when our productive forces are developed high enough to insure fully all the goods and facilities needed by the people, it will become unnecessary to go to the trouble of taking such measures.

To fix the prices of commodities correctly, we must make them uniform. The unfair prices found so far in some cases are due to the fact that the leading functionaries of the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, and some other economic organs have not exercised control over the assessment of prices on the goods produced by the local industry enterprises, but left it at the disposal of the chairmen of the provincial people's committees on the plea that these goods were supposed to be of local significance. Therefore, just as the regional planning commissions have been set up to unify planning, regional price commissions should be established to unify the assessment of prices on goods, including those turned out by the local industry enterprises, and the economic organs such as the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, and the Price Assessment Commission should strengthen their control over the assessment of prices.

3. *Problems of the Peasant Market in Socialist Society and of the Way of Abolishing It*

The peasant market represents a form of trade whereby the peasants sell directly to the population at definite places part of the farm produce, as well as animal products of the joint economy of cooperative farms and of the sideline of individual cooperative farmers. Though a form of trade in socialist society, the peasant market retains many of the

remains of capitalism. What exactly are the capitalist remains of the peasant market? In the peasant market, prices are determined spontaneously according to demand and supply and, therefore, the law of value operates somewhat blindly. The state does not plan demand and supply or prices for the peasant market. Of course, the spontaneous character of the peasant market undergoes certain restrictions as the state trade develops and the coordinating function of the state over the peasant market grows. Yet, at the stage of socialism, the peasant market cannot be completely done away with.

The word *Jang* (market) was engendered neither under the socialist system nor under the capitalist; it is a term left over from feudal society. *Jang* came into being as handicrafts developed in the feudal age. From olden times the Koreans have called a merchant *Jang-sa-gun*, which means "a person who does business at *Jang*." Thus, *Jang* is a backward form of trade that was engendered in feudal society. It is therefore preferable in principle that there be no peasant market, a backward form of trade, under the advanced socialist system.

But, since there are the cooperative economy and individual sideline production under socialism, it is inevitable that the peasant market exists, and it is not half bad that it does. Some comrades even seem to consider that the state should purchase all the sideline products and supply them in a planned way, but they are wrong, and it is not practicable either. As for the individual sideline products, the producers should be allowed to consume them and take the surplus to the market to sell or barter for other goods, according to their wish. As for the animal products and industrial crops turned out by the joint economy of cooperative farms, the greater part should be purchased by the state, but part of them should be divided among the peasants. They may consume them, or sell them to the purchasing agents, or take them to the peasant market for sale. The peasants should not be forced to sell them exclusively to the purchasing agents, but should be allowed to sell them to anybody they like. That is the way to afford more facilities to the people's life.

The textbook of political economy does not give a good account of the peasant market. It only says that the peasant market produces unfavorable effects on the development of the joint economy and fosters the petty bourgeois ideas and selfishness of the peasants. But no clear account is provided in it as to why the peasant market is necessary in socialist society, what role it plays, and when it can disappear.

It is rather good than bad that the sideline production and the peasant market still exist in socialist society. We are not yet in a position to sufficiently supply, through the channels of the state, all that is necessary for the people's life, above all, sundry goods for daily use such as brooms and gourd-ladles and subsidiary provisions like meat, eggs, ginger, and wild sesame. And under the circumstances, what is wrong if individuals produce these things on the side and sell them in the market? A backward way as it is, it should still be made use of when the advanced ways are not enough to cover everything.

Some functionaries fear that the sideline production or the peasant market might revive capitalism right away. But they do not have to. If too large kitchen gardens were given to cooperative farmers, they might be engrossed in their individual farming and neglect collective labor, and this might foster capitalist elements. But the kitchen gardens of our peasants are no bigger than a few dozen *pyong* (each *pyong* comprises 6 sq. ft.) each, and their individual sideline stockbreeding amounts to no more than raising a couple of pigs or a dozen or so chickens per household. And even if a peasant grows a few stalks of tobacco on his garden plot, it will not turn into capitalist management, and even if he takes a few chickens to the peasant market and sells them at a rather high price, he will not become a capitalist.

But what would happen if the peasant market were abolished by law on the supposed ground that the sideline production as well as the peasant market had a harmful effect on the joint economy and fostered selfishness? The market place would disappear, of course, but the black market would remain. Peasants would knock at the kitchen doors of the others or hang about the back streets to sell chickens or eggs they raised on the side. Then they might be caught in this act and fined or punished otherwise by law. So, forcible abolition of the peasant market would help you to no solution but might rather cause inconveniences to the people's life and incriminate many people senselessly.

Therefore, as long as the state cannot sufficiently produce and supply all the goods necessary for the people's life, we must strictly guard against the "Left" tendency to abolish the peasant market so hastily.

Then, when will the individual sideline production and the peasant market disappear? Firstly, they will disappear only when the country is industrialized, technology highly developed, and there are plenty of all consumer goods required by the people. Nobody will trouble himself to go to the peasant market, when he can buy anything he wants

from state-owned shops, and it will not be sold in the peasant market either. Suppose cheap and good quality chemical fibers gush forth in plenty from the factories. Then, people will not take the trouble to go to the market place to buy the expensive cotton. And even if some peasants want to sell it at a high price, it will not sell. Even under the present circumstances, goods which meet the demands of the people are not sold in the peasant market, and they are sold at uniform prices in all parts of our country, in big cities like Hamhung, as well as in remote mountain villages like Potae-ri at the foot of Mt. Baekdu. When goods are plentiful and are sold at uniform prices in this way, it is nothing short of a supply system.

It must be borne in mind, however, that goods which are not abundant enough to meet the demands of the people are sold underhand or resold at the peasant market, even when uniform prices are fixed on them by the state. It happens that some people buy goods from the shops and hoard them and sell them at higher prices when they are badly needed by others. Let me take the sale of eggs for example. At present we produce eggs at the chicken farms built at Pyongyang and many other places. But we do not yet produce them to such an extent as to supply enough of them to the people. So, there, too, exists a discrepancy between the state and the peasant market prices of eggs. Taking advantage of this, there has appeared the practice of reselling eggs.

Yet, we cannot, of course, send those who have resold some eggs to prison as criminals. As for other methods of control, there is no other way than taking some technical measure, such as regulating the volume of sale per buyer. Of course, such measures should also be taken, but all we can do with them is no more than composing somewhat the concentration of goods in the hands of a few people. Such measures can by no means completely do away with the reselling in the peasant market or the black marketeering.

To solve this problem, large quantities of goods should be produced. If more egg farms are built and enough eggs are turned out to meet fully the needs of the people, the black marketeering of eggs will disappear, and buying and selling in the peasant market, too, will naturally come to an end. If the state meets the demands of the people in this way and eliminates from the peasant market goods sold there one by one, then the peasant market will no longer be needed in the end.

Secondly, the individual sideline production and peasant market

will cease to exist only when cooperative ownership is turned into ownership of the entire people.

As was pointed out in the Theses on the Socialist Rural Question, too, there will be no more buying and selling in the peasant market when we have converted cooperative property into property of the entire people by organically welding the two forms of ownership while steadily enhancing the leading role of property of the entire people over cooperative property.

One of the major reasons why there exists the peasant market at present is that there are the cooperative and the individual sideline economy side by side with the state economy.

Therefore, when the two sorts of ownership are welded into the single ownership of the entire people, the individual sideline economy will vanish, due to the developed productive forces, and consequently, the peasant market will disappear and the circulation of commodities as a whole will become unnecessary. Then, products will be distributed under a supply system. At present we distribute rice and some other indispensable goods to the workers and office employees under a supply system. Needless to say, this supply system was introduced not because the goods were abundant, nor was it introduced under the circumstances of the single ownership of the entire people. We have the system with a view to exercising control so as to make people eat and live equally under the circumstances where goods are not plentiful. The system of supply of produce we intend to introduce when the productive forces will be very highly developed and the two forms of property will be welded into a single property of the entire people, will be different from the one we have now for control; it means a supply system aimed at providing the people more effectively with consumer goods turned out in large quantities, according to their diverse needs.

To conclude, the peasant market as well as the underhand dealings will disappear and trade will go over finally to the supply system only when the productive forces have developed to such an extent that the state can sufficiently turn out and supply all kinds of goods required by the people and cooperative ownership has grown into ownership of the entire people.

5

Let Us Embody More Thoroughly
the Revolutionary Spirit of
Independence, Self-Sustenance,
and Self-Defense in All
Fields of State Activity

(Political program of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea announced at the First Session of the Fourth Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K., December 16, 1967)

Comrade Deputies:

The election of deputies to the Fourth Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was held successfully under the circumstances in which a new, great revolutionary upsurge was being made and the political and labor enthusiasm of the entire people was running exceptionally high in all fields of socialist economic construction and defense upbuilding to carry through the decisions of the historic Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea.

All the citizens of our country took part in the elections as one with great patriotic zeal and thereby manifested their firm determination to defend resolutely and further consolidate and develop the people's power and the revolutionary gains, to carry out successfully the building of socialism in the Northern half of the Republic and accomplish the revolutionary cause of unification of the fatherland at all costs.

The results of the election clearly testified to our people's absolute support for and deep trust in our Party and the Government of the Republic, and they again demonstrated to the world the monolithic political and ideological unity of the entire people.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I would like to express warm thanks to you deputies elected to this Supreme People's Assembly and the entire people of our country for trusting and empowering us once again to form the Cabinet of the Republic.

Comrades:

The election of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly has been held on four occasions in our country in the last nineteen years since

the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a genuine people's state, was founded in accordance with the unanimous will of the entire Korean people, and the Cabinet of the Republic has been formed for the fourth time today.

A great stride forward along the road of social progress and civilization has since been made in our country thanks to the correct policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and the invincible vitality of the people's power, and thanks to the heroic struggle of our people who, as masters of the country, have taken their destinies into their own hands. In this land, where harsh exploitation and oppression, centuries-old backwardness and penury once prevailed, an advanced, socialist system has now been established, under which all help each other, work together, and lead a happy life; and our fatherland has turned into a socialist state which has a firm independent national economy and brilliant national culture.

Since the election of deputies to the Third Supreme People's Assembly held in 1962, the Cabinet of the Republic has exerted all its efforts to carry through the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea and concentrated its efforts particularly on the implementation of our Party's new revolutionary line of carrying out economic construction in parallel with defense upbuilding, which was set forth at the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea held in October 1966. As a result, tremendous successes have been made in all the political, economic, cultural, and military fields, and the might of the country has grown and strengthened further.

On a socialist basis, the alliance of the workers and peasants has been further cemented, and the political and ideological unity of the entire people has become unshakable as never before. Our people have been tempered still more amid the arduous struggle for the revolution and construction, and through their practical experience, they repose boundless confidence in the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, and are rallied around them steel-strong. Our people accept the policies and lines of our Party and the Government of the Republic as their vital cause, and devote all their talents and energies to the struggle for the cause of the revolution and for the prosperity and progress of the Republic. It is this rock-firm unity and cohesion of our people that constitute the solid foundation of our state and social system and the source of our invincible might.

Our people are now in a position to enter the international arena

under the glorious banner of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, with equal rights with the peoples of big and small countries of the world, and the international position of the Republic is constantly rising.

The correct economic policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic has brought about giant strides forward in all domains of the people's economy.

In 1966, industrial production was 1.4 times greater than in 1962 and 41 times as much as in 1946, the year immediately after liberation.

The foundations of the independent national economy of the country have been more solidified as a result of the vigorous struggle organized and unfolded by the Government of the Republic to carry out the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea on the realization of socialist industrialization and all-round promotion of technical revolution in every field of the people's economy.

The foundations of our heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core have been further readjusted and reinforced, and the production of diverse heavy industry goods has grown conspicuously. Our heavy industry now displays still greater might and serves more effectively for the advancement of light industry and agriculture as the solid base for strengthening the economic independence of the country and for accelerating the technical reconstruction of the people's economy.

A big stride has also been made in the field of light industry. In our country the demands of the people are met with homemade goods, though not in abundance, and the firm foundations of light industry have been laid to turn out diverse, high-quality consumer goods in larger quantities in the future.

Our socialist agriculture, too, has made big headway. The technical, cultural, and ideological revolutions were pushed forward successfully in the countryside; the direction and management of cooperative farms improved; assistance to the countryside further intensified; and the political zeal and labor enthusiasm of the farmers have increased greatly. Our country was visited repeatedly by severe natural calamities in recent years, but they were surmounted completely in all sectors of agricultural production.

With the successful acceleration of socialist economic construction and the rapid growth of production, the people's material and cultural standards of living have risen markedly.

Per capita national income was 500 *won* in 1966, a 1.2-fold increase as against 1962, and it is expected to rise to 580 *won* this year.

The Government of the Republic augmented markedly the real incomes of the workers, office employees, and farmers, while continually increasing accumulation for extended production and allocating a large part of the national income to defense upbuilding to meet the present situation. Moreover, the Government of the Republic, in keeping with the line set forth in the "Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country," took a series of radical measures for increasing the farmers' income—the complete abolishment of agricultural tax in kind, capital construction in the rural areas with state investments, construction of dwelling houses for farmers at state expense, etc.

The housing conditions of the working people improved considerably as a result of extensive housing construction. During the period from 1963 to 1966, dwelling houses with a total floor space of 10,210,000 square meters were newly built in towns and the countryside and allotted to the working people.

Not only the basic problems of food, clothing, and housing were solved, but the supply of commodities to the working people improved as a whole. In our country today the working people can buy necessary goods as they please at uniform prices everywhere, not merely in towns but even in remote mountain areas where they could hardly even see such commodities before.

Further progress has also been made in education, culture, and public health.

Thanks to the correct educational policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic, 2,600,000 pupils and students, or one-fourth of the population of our country, are now studying free of charge at more than 9,260 schools at all levels, ninety-eight institutions of higher education included. In particular, universal compulsory nine-year technical education, combining general education with polytechnic education, was enforced as of this year, which makes it possible to bring up the rising generation into reserves of versatile builders of socialism and communism, into reliable successors to our revolutionary cause, and further enhances the technical and cultural levels of all the working people. This will contribute greatly to developing people's education in our country to a high stage and accelerating the technical and cultural revolutions.

In 1966 the number of university and college graduates grew 1.2

times as compared with 1962, and that of the graduates of higher technical schools and specialized secondary schools 3.2 times. At present, over 425,700 engineers, assistant engineers, and specialists—2.3 times as many as in 1962—are working in all fields of the people's economy. Thanks to the wisdom and strength of our own technicians and specialists, all branches of the people's economy are managed and operated efficiently, and new, up-to-date factories and other enterprises are built continually in our country today. This is one of the biggest successes made by our Party and the Government of the Republic in the building of a new country.

The correct policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic with regard to public health has enabled the working people of our country to enjoy more benefits of universal free medical care. In the field of public health, the number of medical workers has increased considerably and medical facilities have been expanded over the past four years, and medical care for the working people improved still further. As a result of the improved public health services and the enhancement of the people's living standards as a whole, the mortality of the population was lowered by half in 1966 as against the preliberation years, and the average life span of people has lengthened by twenty years. This is possible only under the socialist system where the masses of people have become genuine masters of the country.

Large numbers of nurseries and kindergartens run at state and public expense have been set up in our country, so that children are reared and educated finely and women are insured adequate conditions for taking part in social labor.

All this is an unequivocal manifestation of the popular policies pursued by our Party and the Government of the Republic which regard it as the supreme principle of their activities to promote the well-being of the working people.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have in recent years directed special attention to strengthening the country's defense capabilities to counter the intensified aggressive maneuverings of the imperialists. The U.S. imperialists created the Caribbean crisis against the Republic of Cuba in 1962, and later provoked the Gulf of Bac Bo incident against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and embarked upon the course of intensifying the war of aggression in South Vietnam on a large scale. Under this situation the Party and the Government put forward the line of carrying out economic construction and defense up-

building in parallel and took a number of important measures for further increasing our defense capabilities, while reorganizing the people's economy. We are thus in a position to repulse armed invasion by any enemy and defend the security of the fatherland still more firmly.

All these successes scored in the past in the revolutionary struggle and construction work signify the shining victory of the lines and policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic, which have creatively applied and developed the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to suit the actual conditions in our country; and this is a vivid manifestation of the invincible vitality and tremendous superiority of the state and social system of our Republic and the great fruition of the patriotic struggle and creative labor of our people closely united around the Party and the Government.

We are not allowed to rest content with the successes already achieved; our revolutionary cause has not yet been completed. In order to advance the revolution and construction of the country further, we still have many more things to do and must continue to go through many hardships and obstacles.

Basing itself strictly on the lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea—the General Staff of our revolution and organizer of all victories for the Korean people—the newly formed Cabinet will, in the future as in the past, organize and execute all its work in the interests of the entire Korean people; and it will fight persistently to step up further socialist construction in the Northern half of the Republic and hasten the accomplishment of the sacred cause of liberating the South Korean people and attaining the unification of the fatherland.

The Government of the Republic, proceeding from the general task of our revolution, will concentrate all its efforts on the carrying out of the following immediate political, economic, cultural, and military tasks: First. The Government of the Republic will implement with all consistency the line of independence, self-sustenance, and self-defense to consolidate the political independence of the country, build up more solidly the foundations of an independent national economy capable of insuring the complete unification, independence, and prosperity of our nation and increasing the country's defense capabilities, so as to safeguard the security of the fatherland reliably by our own force, by splendidly embodying our Party's idea of *Juche* in all fields.

Our Party's idea of *Juche* is the most correct Marxist-Leninist idea of leadership for the successful carrying out of our revolution and construction, and is the invariable guiding principle of the Government of the Republic in all its policies and activities.

Only by firmly establishing *Juche* can each country repudiate flunkeyism and dogmatism and creatively apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries to suit its historical conditions and national peculiarities, and solve its own questions entirely for itself on its own responsibility by discarding the spirit of relying on others and displaying the spirit of self-reliance and, accordingly, carrying on its revolutionary cause and construction work with success.

To establish *Juche* is a question of special importance for us in the light of our country's geographical situation and environments, of the peculiarities of its historical development, and the complex and arduous nature of our revolution. Whether or not *Juche* is established is a question of key importance on which depends the victory of our revolution, a vital question which decides the destinies of our nation.

The Government of the Republic has been able to score great victories and successes in the revolutionary struggle and construction work because it has endeavored consistently to solve all problems in an independent manner, in conformity with the specific realities of our country, and mainly by its own efforts, inevitably guided by the idea of *Juche* of the Workers' Party of Korea in its activities and adhering strictly to the Marxist-Leninist principles.

As a result of our efforts to establish *Juche* in the ideological domain, the national pride of our workers and their consciousness of independence have grown to a great extent, and they have come to acquire the traits of a revolutionary who does not follow others blindly but approaches things critically, instead of mechanically imitating or swallowing them whole; and strives to solve all matters in conformity with the actual conditions of his country and with his own wisdom and strength.

Our Party's spirit of independence, self-sustenance, and self-defense finds its full embodiment in all fields of national construction; and the political independence of the Republic has been consolidated and the economic independence and military power of the country have grown further still.

As a full-fledged independent state, our country now determines on its lines and policies independently and exercises complete equality and sovereignty in its foreign relations.

Under the leadership of our Party and the Government of the Republic, our people have laid the firm foundations of an independent national economy in accordance with the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, and thereby eliminated centuries-old backwardness and poverty, further increased the economic might of the Republic, and improved their livelihood radically. The establishment of *Juche* in the fields of science and culture accelerated the progress of science and technology and brought about a great qualitative change in education and in the work of training cadres and the efflorescence and advancement of a new, socialist national culture congenial to the life and sentiments of our people.

In the field of defense upbuilding, too, we strengthened our defense capabilities, so that we are in a position to defend firmly the security of our fatherland and the socialist gains by our own force, even under the complex situation as today.

The great victories and successes we have attained in the socialist revolution and socialist construction over the past years are, indeed, the brilliant fruition of the great vitality of our Party's idea of *Juche* and of the line of independence, self-sustenance, and self-defense—the embodiment of the idea in all fields. We formulated our policies independently by creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist principles to the specific realities of Korea and enlisted the inexhaustible creative potentials of our industrious and talented people and the rich domestic natural resources in the carrying out of the policies. That is why we have been able to build a socialist state independent in politics, self-sustaining in economy, and self-defensive in national defense in a short period of time.

Our Party's line of strengthening the political, economic, and military might of the country in every way by doing everything in our power, is the most correct way of expediting the victory of the Korean revolution.

The Government of the Republic will in the future, too, adhere steadfastly to the principle of settling all problems in the revolution and construction independently on the basis of studying and analyzing the realities of Korea in strict accordance with the idea of *Juche* of the Workers' Party of Korea.

All nations are equal and have the sacred right of national self-determination to decide their own destinies themselves. A nation can secure independence and freedom and enjoy happiness and prosperity

only if it achieves complete political self-determination and exercises its rights, taking them into its hands firmly.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Government of the Republic will use its own brains for formulating in conformity to our realities and carrying out for itself all policies for socialist construction—policies of industry, agriculture, education, literature and art, judicial administration, etc. We must not act on orders and instructions from others but, proceeding from the interests of our revolution and construction, settle all problems from the standpoint of *Juche* in accordance with our own judgment and decision. It is true that we should unite with friends who are fighting for a common aim and learn from their experience if it accords with the Marxist-Leninist principles and is worth learning. But even in that case, we must always approach such experience critically, resolutely repudiate the tendency to swallow things of others undigested or imitate them mechanically, and must not blindly copy what does not fit our own conditions.

In the struggle for the unification of the fatherland, too, the Government of the Republic will continue to hold fast to its independent position. We regard whatever attempt to realize the country's unification by relying on foreign forces as a treachery to the country and the nation: to place the whole of Korea in the hands of foreign aggressors. The question of Korean unification is an internal affair of the Korean people, which cannot be settled by any foreign forces. Our people are a wise and civilized nation who are fully capable of settling their national issue for themselves. We hold invariably that the question of unifying our fatherland must be settled by our people themselves without interference from any outside forces after the aggressive army of the U.S. imperialists is withdrawn from South Korea.

In the sphere of foreign policy, too, we should continue to work for establishing our political and economic relations with foreign countries on the principles of complete equality and mutual respect. Likewise, we have to wage the struggle against imperialism or Right and Left opportunism strictly in accordance with our own judgment and conviction to conform to our actual conditions; and we will allow no one to violate and insult the rights and dignity of our nation.

The Government of the Republic will continue to execute faithfully our Party's line of building an independent national economy by carrying through the principle of self-reliance in the economic sphere, while consolidating independence in politics.

We are today confronted with the weighty tasks of building the economy and defenses in parallel in order to lay a firm material basis for the prosperity of generations to come and to establish reliable economic foundations which will enable us to meet the great revolutionary event of the unification of the fatherland actively. All these tasks can be performed successfully only if the principle of self-reliance, the line of building an independent national economy, is firmly maintained and carried on more consistently.

Self-reliance is a thoroughly revolutionary stand for a people to accomplish the revolution in their country basically by relying on their own internal forces; it is an independent stand to construct their country by their own labor and with their domestic natural resources.

Only by firmly maintaining such a revolutionary stand and revolutionary principle can we continue our struggle without abandoning our revolutionary constancy under whatever complex and arduous situation; and we can attain victory in the revolutionary struggle and success in construction work by braving difficulties and hardships in the course of our onward movement. If one lacks the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, one will lose faith in one's own strength, fail to try to tap the inner resources of one's country, grow indolent and loose, and fall into passivism and conservatism.

Only when a nation builds an independent national economy can it secure political independence, make the country rich, strong, and advanced, and achieve national prosperity.

Economic independence is the material basis for political independence. A country which is dependent on foreign forces economically becomes a satellite of other countries politically, and an economically subjugated nation cannot get out of colonial slavery politically.

Without building an independent national economy, it is impossible to establish material and technical foundations for socialism and build socialism and communism successfully.

To build socialism it is essential to create a powerful base of heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core, and on this basis, equip light industry, agriculture, transport, and all other branches of the people's economy with up-to-date techniques and thus lay the material and technical foundations of socialism powerful enough to improve the welfare of the working people on the whole in accordance with the laws of socialism. As long as national distinctions remain and states exist, such material and technical foundations of socialism must be

built by each national state as a unit. Therefore, it can be said that the firm material and technical foundations of socialism have been laid in each country only when it has built a comprehensive, independent national economy developed in a many-sided way and equipped with the latest techniques; it can be run by its own national cadres with its own natural resources, raw materials, and other supplies so as to meet in full, with home products, the varied and ever-growing requirements of economic construction, defense upbuilding, and heavy and light industry goods, and farm produce.

Only if the material and technical foundations of socialism are established in this way within the bounds of each national state as a comprehensive, independent unit of economy can the country's natural resources be tapped and utilized to the fullest extent, and a high rate of growth in production be maintained while proper balances are kept actively among all branches of the people's economy. Also, only in this way is it possible to develop rapidly science, technology, and culture, enhance steadily the technical and cultural standards of the working people, and bring them up into men of a new type developed in an all-round way.

The building of an independent national economy is also the basic guarantee for enabling nations to do away with the economic backwardness which practically constitutes the basis of inequality among them, to achieve national prosperity and build socialist and communist society with success.

The building of socialism and communism, as you know, requires eradication of national inequality together with class distinctions.

Yet, this inequality does not disappear as soon as the socialist revolution triumphs in each country, nor does it vanish through amalgamation of nations in any way.

The era of capitalism is an era when national oppression prevails side by side with class exploitation, an era when the free development of a great majority of nations is held back by only a few nations and there exists national inequality. It is therefore necessary for the nations liberated from capitalist exploitation and oppression not only to convert themselves into laboring socialist nations but also to build a highly developed independent national economy to achieve the greatest possible degree of free development and all-round efflorescence. Only by so doing can all inequalities between nations be obliterated and all nations successfully build socialism and gradually go over to communism.

All this testifies that the line of building an independent national economy consistently followed by our Party and the Government of the Republic is a thoroughly revolutionary line of economic construction, which conforms with the lawful requirements of the building of socialism and communism.

We will carry through the revolutionary principle of self-reliance in the upbuilding of national defense, too, and thus further increase the country's self-defense capacities.

Needless to say, the international unity of the proletariat of all countries and the friendly alliance of the socialist countries in the revolutionary struggle against imperialist aggression and against the pressures by the international capitalists are an important security for safeguarding the revolutionary gains and winning fresh victory. It is a sacred internationalist duty of the Communists to do all they can to help and give support and encouragement to each other in the battle against imperialism, the common enemy; and each country should strive to cement this international solidarity in the struggle against the imperialist forces of aggression from without.

The decisive factor in victory in the struggle against imperialist reaction, however, is the internal forces of the country concerned. Although foreign support is important in the war against alien aggressors, it plays, to all intents and purposes, no more than a secondary role. When the internal forces are not prepared in each country, its revolutionary struggle cannot emerge victorious, no matter how great the foreign support may be. If the Communists only pin their hopes on foreign support and aid, without building up their own revolutionary forces, they cannot defend the security of their fatherland and the revolutionary gains against imperialist aggression.

The Government of the Republic will embody our Party's spirit of self-defense and thereby thoroughly prepare our people and army politically and ideologically to cope with war, will make full material preparations to defend the country by relying on the solid foundations of the independent national economy already established, and will, at the same time, further increase the military might of the country.

Particularly, by fully executing the decisions of the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea, we will concentrate our efforts on reorganizing the whole work of building the socialist economy to fit in with the requirements of the present situation and on reinforcing our defense capabilities in view of the undisguised aggressive maneuvers by the

enemy. Thus, we will convert our economy into an ever more solid and vital independent economy to meet fully the material needs of the front and the rear in case of emergency, and we will build up the country's military power steel-strong to repel the enemy for ourselves, no matter when he attacks us by surprise.

Embodying the idea of *Juche* of the Workers' Party of Korea splendidly in all fields, we will build an ever richer, stronger, and mightier socialist state, independent in politics, self-sustaining in the economy, and self-defensive in national defense.

Second. In order to put an end as early as possible to the present misfortunes of our people caused by the artificial partition of the territory and split of the nation, liberate the people in South Korea, and realize the unification of the fatherland, the Government of the Republic will firmly prepare the people in the Northern half of the Republic morally and materially so that they can always support the South Korean people in their sacred anti-U.S., national-salvation struggle and meet the great revolutionary event actively.

Owing to the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists, our country still remains divided into the North and South; and the unification of the fatherland, the cherished desire of the nation, has not as yet been achieved till now when a new generation has grown up and our people have been suffering from the split of the nation for more than twenty years. As the days go by, the gulf between North and South Korea is growing wider in all the political, economic, and cultural spheres and the national community of our people formed through a long history is fading away gradually. The partition of the territory and the split of the nation render it impossible to enlist and utilize the country's wealth and the people's wisdom and talents for the prosperity of the fatherland and the happiness of the people in a coordinated way.

The division of Korea into the North and South has caused immeasurable misfortunes and calamities, particularly to the South Korean people. South Korea today has been turned into a complete colony of the U.S. imperialists, into their military base of aggression. The national industry of South Korea has been reduced to an economy dependent on foreign capital and its agriculture, too, is undergoing a serious crisis. The national culture and the beautiful manners and customs peculiar

to the Korean people are utterly trampled underfoot, and all descriptions of immorality and depravity prevail over the whole land of South Korea. The South Korean people are in rags and suffering from hunger due to double and triple exploitation and oppression, many of them roaming about the streets in quest of jobs and living in constant suspense with no hopes for the future. The South Korean people are subjected to unbearable national insult and contempt, and even their right to existence is constantly menaced by the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Where there are exploitation and oppression, there always breaks out the revolutionary struggle of the people. Since the first days of the occupation of the Southern half of the country by the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the South Korean people have waged a staunch struggle against their policies of colonial enslavement and military aggression. The October Popular Resistance Struggle in 1946, the April Uprising in 1960, which toppled the puppet Syngman Rhee regime, and many instances of the South Korean people's struggle which took place one after another against the "South Korea-Japan talks" and for smashing the "South Korea-Japan agreements," dealt telling blows to the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism.

Each time the American imperialists and their lackeys answered the righteous patriotic struggles of the people with harsh repression by force of arms. The policy of military fascist dictatorship pursued in South Korea today has assumed unprecedented ferocity and barbarity and has become a model of vicious fascist rule of the imperialists over colonies. The U.S. imperialist aggressors and their stooges, while manufacturing various wicked fascist laws, have increased their repressive apparatus on an extensive scale and covered the whole land of South Korea with military, police, intelligence, and special agent networks, thereby turning it into a living hell where terrorism and murder prevail.

In South Korea today the U.S. imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique are intensifying clamorous fascist repression to the extreme. Everywhere they are doing all they can in their frenzied attempt to oppress the South Korean people, who are fighting more actively for the right to live, for democratic freedoms and unification of the fatherland. According to South Korean press reports, this year alone as many as ten divisions or more of U.S. imperialist troops, South Korean puppet army and police forces, including a reserve division, were mobilized to stamp out the activities of armed groups of the South Korean revolu-

tionaries and the mass revolutionary struggles breaking out in succession all over South Korea; and a total of more than six million U.S. imperialist troops, South Korean puppet troops and police directly took part in the so-called "mopping up operations." The U.S. imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique cruelly suppressed the revolutionary organization with Dr. Kim Dae Su, professor of the Kyongbuk University, as the central figure, arresting and imprisoning ten and more patriotic intellectuals; and last autumn they arrested many young people in and around Pusan on the charge of involvement in the so-called case of the People's Revolutionary Party. Again, of late, the U.S. imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique framed up in Seoul what they call the "case of the Operative Group for Communizing South Korea" on the one hand and, on the other, arrested and imprisoned many university professors, intellectuals, and patriotic personages, branding the Society for Comparative Study of Nationalism, an academic organization, as a "seditious organization," and staged a "trial" farce. They have thus committed a towering crime of "demanding" death penalty or life imprisonment for many innocent persons.

They are making "anticommunist" clamors still more noisily, under the nonsensical allegation that all the fierce revolutionary struggles of the patriotic people flaring up in all parts of South Korea today are activities by "spies" sent down from North Korea; and they are trying hard to divert the attention of the South Korean people and hoodwink the world's people.

With no amount of brutal suppression and "anticommunist" clamor, however, can the U.S. imperialists and the Park Chung Hee puppet clique ever dampen the indomitable revolutionary fighting spirit of the South Korean fighting people or block their sweeping revolutionary advance. Today broad sections of the South Korean people are waging a vigorous struggle in all fields, holding still higher the banner of anti-U.S., national-salvation struggle of resistance. A people can win freedom and liberation only through their own struggle. When the broad masses of people rise as one in a struggle against the oppressors, they can destroy any bulwark of the imperialists. If the workers and peasants, and youths, students, intellectuals, and other sections of the broad masses of the people in South Korea firmly unite and courageously come out in the revolutionary struggle, they will be able to smite the U.S. imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique and accomplish the cause of the South Korean revolution.

On behalf of the entire people in the Northern half of the Republic, I send warm revolutionary greetings to the revolutionaries and democratic personages, to all patriotic people in South Korea who are putting up a valorous fight in various parts of South Korea, underground, in mountains, or even in prison.

The entire people in the Northern half of the Republic bear the heavy responsibility for carrying the South Korean revolution to completion, rendering active support to the struggle of the South Korean people in keeping pace with their exalted fighting spirit.

As long as the U.S. imperialists keep occupying South Korea and our country remains partitioned, the Korean people cannot live in peace even for a moment, and the people of South Korea cannot extricate themselves from the present, miserable, hard plight. The occupation of South Korea by U.S. imperialism and its policy of aggression are the source of all the misfortunes of our nation and the main obstacle to the unification of our country.

We cannot merely look with folded arms at the miserable plight of the South Korean compatriots and can never hand down a divided fatherland to our posterity. As long as there remains the wretched situation in which the country and the nation are divided and our compatriots, brothers and sisters of one and the same blood, are subjected to all sorts of national insult and maltreatment by foreign aggressors, neither Korean Communist nor conscientious Korean nationalist can say that he has discharged his duty.

We must accomplish the South Korean revolution and unify the fatherland in our generation and hand down a unified fatherland to the coming generations. We must quickly ripen all conditions for the realization of the unification of the fatherland.

The accomplishment of the great cause of the liberation of South Korea and the unification of the fatherland at the earliest possible date depends not only on how the revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries in South Korea expand and strengthen the revolutionary forces and how they fight the enemy but also, in a large measure, on how the people in the Northern half of the Republic prepare themselves to greet the great revolutionary event.

What is most important in accomplishing the South Korean revolution and hastening the advent of the unification of the fatherland is to firmly prepare the entire people politically and ideologically and, at the same time, to create all necessary material conditions in full.

We should always give active material and moral support and encouragement to the South Korean people in their anti-U.S., national-salvation struggle and consider the task of the South Korean revolution and the unification of the fatherland our first and foremost revolutionary task. We can never allow ourselves to be self-complacent with the achievements made in the Northern half of the Republic and become indolent and slackened. How can we sit idle at a time when the South Korean people are languishing in hunger and waging a struggle at the cost of their blood? It is our lofty national duty and the supreme task of the nation to force the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of our territory, liberate South Korea and unify the fatherland by pooling strengths with the South Korean people.

The people in the Northern half of the Republic should always remember their brothers in the South and have a revolutionary determination to liberate them at all costs. They should be firmly prepared ideologically so that they may be mobilized for a decisive struggle to accomplish the cause of the unification of the fatherland by joining forces with the South Korean people whenever called upon to come to their aid, as the struggle of the people surges forward and the revolutionary situation ripens in South Korea.

Meanwhile, the socialist economic construction, the essential guarantee for the strengthening of the material forces of our revolutionary base, should be carried on well to consolidate further the economic foundations of the country so that adequate material preparations can be made to aid the revolutionary struggle of the South Korean people and to meet actively the great revolutionary event of realizing the unification of the fatherland.

The present situation demands us to conduct all our work in a more active, more revolutionary manner and subordinate everything to the struggle to accomplish the South Korean revolution by giving support to the South Korean people in their struggle and unify the fatherland.

The Northern half of the Republic is the revolutionary base for accomplishing the cause of national liberation on a nationwide scale, and the revolutionary forces in the Northern half of the Republic are the most important motivating power for the Korean revolution as a whole. All the working people should deeply realize that unless the revolutionary base of the Northern half of the Republic is fortified and the revolutionary forces are strengthened still more, it is impossible to render positive support to the South Korean revolution and achieve unification

of the fatherland, and they should continue to wage a tense struggle on all fronts of socialist economic construction and produce and build more, better, and cheaper with the existing manpower, equipment, and materials by exploring and enlisting reserves and potentialities to the maximum. All functionaries and working people should assiduously manage all affairs of economic life, state or individual, and make every effort to spare even a single grain of rice, a gram of iron, or a drop of gasoline like masters of the country.

Only if the country's economic foundations are more solidified and all necessary material conditions are created is it possible to meet the great event with full preparations, bring the superiority of the socialist system home to the fighting people of South Korea, and aid their revolutionary struggle forcefully. Only then will it also be possible to create enough assets to rehabilitate the devastated South Korean economy and improve rapidly the deteriorated livelihood of the people in South Korea after the unification of the country.

All our functionaries and working people should work in a way worthy of masters and live a frugal life with a high degree of revolutionary zeal, in the lofty spirit of supporting the South Korean people more actively in their anti-U.S., national-salvation struggle and expediting the accomplishment of the revolutionary cause of unification of the fatherland. No self-complaisance and inertia, nor the least indolence, degradation, or luxury is permissible to us. As we are people making a revolution, we should work and live in a revolutionary way, maintaining a tense and mobilized posture at all times.

The entire people in this way should be made to greet the great revolutionary event of the unification of the fatherland with full preparations. We should all be fully prepared to come out to the revolutionary struggle whenever called upon by the Party.

Third. The Government of the Republic, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, will wage a vigorous struggle to revolutionize and working-classize all members of society, including the peasants and intellectuals, by further stepping up the ideological and cultural revolutions and enhancing the leading role of the working class.

We should steadily strengthen the functions of the proletarian dictatorship of the state so as not only to crush the hostile elements worming

in from without to disorganize our revolutionary base and suppress the resistance of the remnants of the overthrown exploiter classes, but also to revolutionize and working-classize all members of society by pushing ahead vigorously with the ideological and cultural revolutions.

To educate and remold the entire people and thereby revolutionize and working-classize the whole society is an important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our society, where the exploiter classes have been liquidated and the socialist system has triumphed. The process of building socialism and communism is a process of revolutionizing all members of society, including the workers, peasants, and intellectuals, a process of obliterating all class distinctions by transforming the whole society on the pattern of the working class.

In order to build socialism and communism, the productive forces should be developed to obliterate the distinctions between the working conditions of the working class and the peasantry and between the forms of ownership of the means of production, and the disparity among all members of society in the ideological, moral, cultural, and technical standards should likewise be eliminated step by step. To this end, the ideological revolution should be intensified so as to root up all the survivals of the outmoded bourgeois ideology in the minds of people and arm all the working people firmly with the revolutionary ideas of the working class, with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, to fight devotedly in the interests of the collective and the whole society and for the sake of the fatherland and the people, going through fire and water; and, at the same time, the cultural revolution should be carried out so they will attain high cultural and technical levels.

We are confronted today with the task—more urgent than ever before—of further revolutionizing and working-classizing all members of society, including the workers, peasants, and intellectuals. We should further accelerate socialist construction by our own efforts under the difficult conditions in which the country is divided into North and South and should force the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the chieftain of world reaction, out of our territory, liberate South Korea, and achieve the revolutionary cause of unification of the fatherland. This is a revolutionary task which requires a very arduous and hard, protracted and tense struggle. Only when all the working people are revolutionized and working-classized through the promotion of the ideological and cultural revolutions is it possible to bring their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative into full play and raise their technical and cultural

levels to overcome bravely difficulties cropping up in the course of progress, and successfully solve economic and technical problems, and, further, to expedite successfully the building of socialism in the Northern half of the Republic, complete the revolution in South Korea, and accomplish the revolutionary cause of unification of the fatherland.

We should wage a powerful struggle to revolutionize and working-classize all members of society by further elevating the leading role of the working class.

Our working class is young and it needs much revolutionary training. The ranks of the working class swelled sharply in our country as industry developed at a fast speed in a short period after liberation. Our working class includes many people who have never experienced themselves the exploitation and oppression by the capitalists, as well as no small number of former small traders and handicraftsmen who became workers after the socialist transformation of production relations.

We should further enhance the ideology, organization, and culture of the working class to turn it into a still more revolutionary, advanced, and cultured class and to enable it to perform better its historical mission of transforming the whole society and educating and remolding all the working people.

It is an important guarantee of victory for our revolution to revolutionize and working-classize the peasantry, the most reliable ally of the working class in the building of socialism and communism. The Government of the Republic, in keeping with the line set forth in the "Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country," should energetically carry forward the ideological and cultural revolutions in the countryside and continue to strengthen the working class' political leadership of and cultural influence on the peasantry. In this way the peasantry should be equipped thoroughly with the revolutionary ideas of the working class and its cultural level be brought up to that of the latter.

What holds the most important place in the working-classization of the whole society is the revolutionization of the intellectuals. We should eradicate all the remnants of obsolete ideologies in the minds of the intellectuals, arm them with communist ideas, and thus rear them into revolutionaries loyal to the Party, the working class, the fatherland, and the people.

The most important thing in revolutionizing and working-classizing all members of society through the ideological revolution is to arm the working people firmly with the policies of the Workers' Party of Korea

and thoroughly establish the Party's unitary ideological system among them. We should fully explain and bring the Party's lines and policies home to the working people to make them clearly understand the quintessence and correctness of those lines and policies. In this way, we would see that they fight vehemently against all unsound, counter-revolutionary ideological elements such as revisionism, Left opportunism, flunkyism, bourgeois ideas, feudalistic Confucian ideas, factionalism, parochialism, and nepotism; think and act according to the ideas of the Workers' Party of Korea at any place and at any time; and confidently advance with all consistency along the path indicated by the Party, without the slightest vacillation in any storm or stress.

We should strengthen political and ideological work among the masses to raise further the class awakening of the working people and lead them to fight uncompromisingly against the class enemy.

The primary targets of the struggle in the revolutionization of the people are individualism and egoism left over by the exploiter classes. We should strive tirelessly to cultivate among the working people the collectivist spirit of placing the interests of the organization and the collective above personal interests and of helping and pulling each other along, and the lofty revolutionary spirit of valuing political life, and should educate all people to acquire the communist tone of life, and to live and work in a revolutionary way.

The great vitality of the socialist system lies, above all, in the fact that the working people freed from exploitation and oppression display conscious enthusiasm and creative initiative and work devotedly for the fatherland and the people, for their own happiness, as masters of the country and their destinies. In order to bring this superiority into play and demonstrate the might of the socialist system to the full, the education in socialist patriotism should be intensified decisively among the working people.

We should acquaint the working people clearly with the quintessence and superiority of the socialist system and induce them to fight resolutely in defense of this system and to struggle actively for the prosperity and development of the fatherland and for the thriving of our people. In particular, serious attention should be directed to educating the working people to value and love everything we have already created and to make more effective use of the valuable assets we have already obtained. The entire working people should know clearly that all our wealth is for the grandeur and progress of the country, for the happiness of our

people, and for their own good, and should take an attitude befitting masters toward the economic life of the country, carry out their revolutionary tasks in an efficient, responsible way, and work hard to bring even more benefits to the country and the people. Everyone should sincerely take part in public labor to increase the wealth of the country and the people and manage it methodically. System and order should be established and the revolutionary discipline observed in work voluntarily in all branches and at all units.

The education in the revolutionary traditions is one of the most powerful means in revolutionizing people. Experience shows that the education in the revolutionary traditions has an incomparably great influence in revolutionizing those who have never undergone the ordeals of revolutionary struggle and the younger generation who have never experienced the exploitation and oppression by the landlords and capitalists. We should intensify the education in the revolutionary traditions among the working people so that everyone may model himself after the lofty, indomitable revolutionary spirit of the forerunners of the revolution and their noble traits as revolutionaries.

Parallel with the ideological revolution, the cultural revolution should be carried forward actively.

Without carrying out the cultural revolution, the cultural and technical levels of the working people cannot be enhanced, nor can the ideological revolution be carried out successfully.

The habit of studying should be firmly established among the working people, so that everyone may make his utmost efforts to raise his level of general knowledge, and all people should master more than one technique. And an active struggle should be waged to bring up a large contingent of steadfast and competent working-class intellectuals capable of proficiently solving problems arising in all fields of our revolution and construction.

We should step up the ideological and cultural revolutions and thus further revolutionize and working-classize people so as to build up the whole country into one big Red family, make the whole society seethe with revolutionary ardor and see that all the working people make continuous innovations and continuous advances at the speed of Chollima, in a mobilized and tense posture at all times, to work new miracles and effect a great upsurge in the revolutionary struggle and construction work.

Fourth. The Government of the Republic will see to it that the functionaries of the state and economic organs eliminate bureaucracy and establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint, in order to enhance the functions and role of the people's power and actively organize and mobilize the broad masses of people for the revolution and construction.

For the successful implementation of the huge tasks confronting us at present, we should further elevate the functions and role of the people's power as the executor of the lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and a powerful weapon for socialist construction, and should improve the guidance of the revolution and construction work still further. This demands that the functionaries of state and economic organs maintain closer ties with the masses of people, rid themselves of the bureaucratic style of work, and acquire the revolutionary mass viewpoint.

When the Party's lines and policies are correct and proper measures and ways are adopted for their execution, success in the carrying out of the revolutionary task depends entirely upon the method and style of work of the functionaries who directly organize and execute it, and upon how they organize and mobilize the broad masses for the work.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have consistently shown deep concern for reorganizing the system of work in the state and economic organs and for improving the method and style of work of their functionaries to suit new circumstances and conditions, with the result that no small success has been made in this respect. Particularly, a great change took place in the activities of the state and economic organs in the course of generalizing the experience of the guidance given to Chongsan-ri in February 1960.

Our functionaries, however, still fall short of such levels as required by our Party in their method and style of work, and fail to organize and mobilize skillfully the broad masses of people to give full play to their surging revolutionary spirit in the fulfillment of the revolutionary task.

For our people's power to defend the interests of people of all walks of life firmly, unite the broad masses of people around itself, and bring their enthusiasm and activity into full play, the functionaries of the state and economic organs should rectify their method and style of work decisively.

All the functionaries in the state and economic organs are workers selected by the people—they are servants of the people. The functionaries of the state and economic organs should always remember that they are workers who protect the interests of the workers, farmers, and other working people, and who serve them, and should work heart and soul for the Party, the working class, and the people.

To be faithful to the Party and the revolution and become true servants of the people, our functionaries must possess the Party spirit, working-class spirit, and popular spirit. The Party spirit, working-class spirit, and popular spirit of the functionaries should be manifested in their practical struggle to implement our Party's lines and policies and in their practical activities for the working people, including workers and farmers. Only those who carry the Party's policies through to the end are the revolutionaries faithful to the Party and the revolution, faithful to the working class and the people. All our functionaries must become the ardent defenders, active propagandists, and staunch executors of the Party's policies. They should make profound studies of the Party's policies to grasp their quintessence, adhere strictly to them in their work, weigh all problems by the Party's policies, and wage an uncompromising struggle in good time against practices which run counter to the Party's intentions. Our functionaries should be active in explaining and propagating the Party's policies among the masses and strive with persistence to carry them through correctly. The functionaries of the state and economic organs should do any work devotedly through thick and thin, if it is in the interests of the people.

In order to eliminate bureaucracy and establish the revolutionary mass viewpoint, all the functionaries should acquire the revolutionary work method of going deep among the masses, holding consultations with them, and enlisting them in the fulfillment of assigned tasks. The functionaries of the state and economic organs should thoroughly follow the Chongsan-ri method, our Party's traditional revolutionary method of work, in their activities.

First of all, political work should be given priority in all matters in order to raise constantly the political and ideological preparedness of the masses and make them take part consciously in the implementation of the revolutionary task. When they undertake any revolutionary task, leading functionaries should, above all, correctly explain and bring home to the masses the Party's intentions with regard to it and see that they discuss ways and means collectively for the implementation

of the Party's policies and persist in their struggle to carry them out with a high degree of revolutionary zeal.

Parallel with this, guidance should be brought closer to the lower units and the method of guidance improved decisively. The principal aim of guiding the lower units is to help their workers rectify their shortcomings in good time and register great results in work. The functionaries of the state and economic organs should not just issue commands and directives to the lower units but should give substantial assistance to their inferiors, teaching them kindly, working together with them to solve knotty problems, and helping them do their work well.

The functionaries of the state and economic organs should not only equip themselves with our Party's method of work but also always be the first to execute the laws, decisions, and directives of the state, set examples in all work, and acquire the popular traits of being humble, simple, and polite, thereby becoming a model for the masses in actual deeds. Only then will people trust and take to our functionaries from the bottom of their hearts, and the bonds of kinship will be further strengthened between the people's power and the masses of people.

Style of work is not a question of the business ability of the functionaries or their character, but it is a manifestation of their ideology in the course of work. We should intensify ideological education for the functionaries of the state and economic organs so that they may get rid of the bureaucratic style of work, an expression of the survival of obsolete ideologies, acquire a genuinely popular style of work, and possess the lofty traits of being boundlessly true to the Party and revolution, and of resolutely fighting for the interests of the fatherland and the people.

While equipping the functionaries of the state and economic organs with the class and mass viewpoints, their technical and business qualifications should be elevated constantly. Unless they enhance their technical and business qualifications, they cannot do away with the bureaucratic style of work, nor can they fully perform their heavy responsibilities to the Party, the state, and the people. All the functionaries of the state and economic organs must establish the revolutionary habit of studying to gain a profound mastery of economic theory and technical know-how and become fully versed in their work.

Thus, all our functionaries of the state and economic organs should become revolutionaries who firmly defend and carry through the Party's

lines and policies and devote themselves to the struggle for the interests of the people, and should become truly faithful servants of the people, deeply loved and respected by the masses of the people.

Fifth. The Government of the Republic will consolidate the foundations of the independent national economy of the country, further improve the people's livelihood, and fulfill the sacred task of freeing the working people from arduous labor by continually holding to the policy of the Workers' Party of Korea for socialist industrialization and struggling to carry out the technical revolution in all fields of the people's economy.

With the main emphasis on making an effective use of the already laid economic foundations through their proper readjustment and reinforcement, and on normalizing production in all spheres along the basic direction of economic development in our country at the present stage set by the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea, we should undertake new capital construction in a big way for further expanding the economic foundations of the country. In this way the productive forces of our country as a whole will be further developed and industrial production more than doubled in a few years.

1. Industry

To give precedence to the power and mining industries is the basic condition for placing production on a normal basis in all branches of industry and for further advancing the people's economy. We will speedily develop the power and mining industries to fully satisfy the demands of the people's economy for raw materials, fuel, and power.

In developing the power industry, we will keep holding fast to the policy of correctly combining the building of hydropower stations with thermal power stations and of building large-scale power plants and medium- and small-scale power stations in parallel. Reckoning on the rich hydraulic resources and coal in our country, we should accelerate the construction of large-scale hydropower and thermal power plants and build many medium- and small-scale hydropower stations and factory thermal power stations everywhere, and thus further solidify the power bases of the country. In this way seasonal fluctuations in power production caused by the natural conditions should be completely done

away with, and it should be made possible to increase steadily production in all domains of the people's economy without being restricted by power supply.

What is important in developing the mining industry is to adhere to these three principles: conducting geological prospecting work preferentially, carrying out the technical revolution, and actively pushing ahead with scientific research work.

The ranks of prospecting workers should be expanded and technical equipment reinforced to develop preliminary prospecting and, particularly, detailed and service prospecting radically, and the tempo and efficiency of prospecting work should be heightened through the comprehensive introduction of advanced prospecting methods.

It is a very urgent question to promote energetically the technical revolution in the field of the mining industry where there is a great deal of more difficult and arduous work than in any other branch of the people's economy. In the coal and ore mines, hewing, carrying, and all other arduous and labor-consuming operations should be actively mechanized and automated, advanced hewing methods introduced extensively, and, particularly, open cast mining undertaken on a large scale.

Meanwhile, scientific research work should be pushed forward actively in all lines of the mining industry—survey of underground resources and research on their rational exploitation, research on the reinforcement of the technical equipment of the mining industry and the improvement of extraction methods, research on the comprehensive processing of ores, etc.

We should keep the mining industry definitely ahead of the development of the processing industries and further consolidate the raw material and fuel bases of the country by carrying through the Party's line.

The development of the metal industry and, particularly, the steel industry, is a major index showing the level of industrialization of a country and its economic might. In our country, with its inexhaustible resources of iron ores, the steel industry is one of the industrial branches which have wide prospects. We should capture the height of steel production envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan without fail by concentrating our efforts on developing foreign metallurgy.

The capacities of processing raw materials and products will be augmented, auxiliary facilities be readjusted, and advanced technical processes including oxygen-blowing be extensively introduced in the

existing iron- and steelworks to raise the production capacity of metallurgical installations to the fullest possible extent. At the same time, the projects of reconstruction and expansion of the metallurgical plants, including the building of new steel and rolling shops in the Kim Chaek Ironworks, will be carried out to expand further and consolidate the bases of the ferrous metallurgical industry of our country.

With the development of technology, the demands are steadily rising for higher quality and larger assortments of steel. We should increase the varieties of steel in a big way and further develop the production of alloy steel. Deep attention will be paid to increasing the assortment and standards of rolled steel and, particularly, to developing the production of thin plate and cold-rolled products and raising the output of products of the second-stage processing.

An especially important task for ferrous metallurgy at the present stage is to introduce domestic fuel on a large scale so as to consolidate further the independence of this branch. In order to develop the iron industry by the use of anthracite abundant in our country, we should, while building necessary material foundations for it, carry on the scientific research work for perfecting the reduced ball ore process, the process of continuous steel-making from granulated iron, and so forth.

Nonferrous metallurgy should be developed further to put out various nonferrous metals and rare metals in greater quantities. The proportion of finished goods should be raised in the production of nonferrous metals through extensive nonferrous metal rolling, and work should be carried out actively for building up our own bases of light metal production.

The engineering industry is the nucleus of heavy industry and the basis for the development of all branches of the people's economy and for technical progress. Without advancing the engineering industry, we cannot hope for the development of heavy and light industries and agriculture, nor can we satisfactorily perform the tasks of alleviating the strain on transport and increasing the defense capacities. It can be said that everything depends, in the final analysis, on the development of the engineering industry in carrying out the task of building the economy and defenses in parallel set forth at the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea and in fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan as a whole.

Our country abounds in ferrous and nonferrous metal resources needed for the development of the engineering industry, and has solid

metallurgical bases, too. We should turn to account these favorable conditions and develop the engineering industry more speedily, thus effecting the industrialization of the country and the overall technical innovation in the people's economy with our own efforts.

Efficient and economic machinery and equipment needed in the mining, metal, chemical, light, and fishing industries, agriculture, transport, and all other domains of the people's economy should be turned out in larger quantities by reinforcing and perfectly equipping the existing machine plants as early as possible, building up many medium- and small-sized machine factories, and by actively promoting specialization and cooperation in production.

In view of the prospective demands of the development of the people's economy in our country, large-sized equipment production centers for turning out large excavators, heavy-duty trucks, large tractors, large vessels, large machine tools, etc., should be further expanded and strengthened, and solid production centers for turning out high-speed precision machines should be built up, thereby raising our engineering industry to a higher level.

Extensive application of chemistry in all fields of the people's economy is a major trend of the development of science and technology in modern times and a powerful factor in accelerating the development of productive forces. By continuously directing great efforts to the development of the chemical industry, we should further expand and reinforce the raw material bases for light industry and promote the chemicalization of agriculture for increasing agricultural production, thereby relieving the peasants from arduous labor.

A solid foundation has been laid in our country for developing the chemical industry with domestic raw materials. Drawing on this, we should further develop the inorganic and organic chemical industries and create such new branches of the chemical industry as the oil processing and synthetic rubber industries, to develop the chemical industry of our country in a more diverse way.

In the field of chemical industry, the output and quality of chemical fibers should be raised, new kinds of chemical fibers put out, and the production of various synthetic resins, including vinyl chloride, should be augmented. Along with nitrogen fertilizer, phosphorus and kali fertilizers should be produced with domestic raw materials, and various agricultural chemicals, including weed killers, be put out and supplied in great quantities. Parallel with this, the struggle should be inten-

sified to produce raw materials and other supplies necessary for the building materials industry—synthetic chemicals and various other new chemical products which are needed for the economic development of the country and the improvement of the people's livelihood.

The huge task of capital construction facing us in the parallel building of the economy and defenses and in the fulfillment of the Seven-Year Plan cannot be carried out successfully without raising the production of building materials to the level commensurate with it.

The production of cement and of metal and chemical building materials should be developed on a large scale in the field of the building materials industry. In developing the building materials industry, we will implement the Party's line of readjusting and expanding the existing building materials factories, and of correctly combining with this the construction of new building materials factories and simultaneously developing the large-scale central building materials industry and the medium- and small-scale local building materials industry.

In the field of forestry, the cyclic felling method should be introduced to increase timber production and, at the same time, the rate of sawmill lumber output should be raised; a comprehensive and effective use should be made of timber by increasing the production of wood shavings and wood fiberboards, so as to ease the country's lumber strain.

We should pay deep attention to the development of light industry to bring about a radical progress in the production of consumer goods in a few years.

The central task in the field of light industry is to enhance the quality of consumer goods, expand their variety, and lower their production cost. We should raise the quality of consumer goods to the world level at the earliest possible date by heightening the sense of responsibility of the workers in the field of light industry, by perfecting the production processes, strictly following the technical processes, observing standard regulations of operation, and enhancing the technical qualifications of the producers. The quality of fabrics should be raised and their variety increased, and the production of daily necessities and foodstuffs should be developed still. At the same time, various kinds of cheap consumer goods should be produced in greater quantities, by waging an active struggle to reduce the production cost in the field of light industry.

In our country, sea-bound on three sides, the active development and

exploitation of marine resources are of great significance in promoting the well-being of the people.

We should increase the fish catch by further cementing the material-technical foundations of the fishing industry, extensively introducing advanced fishing methods and developing pelagic fishing as well as inshore fishing in a big way. While making a good catch of fish, we should decisively improve fish processing. We should unfold an active struggle to process all the caught fish without the slightest wastage and raise the quality of processed fish by abolishing backward methods and introducing refrigeration, canning, and other up-to-date methods widely in fish processing.

To ease the strain in transport is a prerequisite to normalization of production and rapid advancement of the people's economy.

We should continue to direct great efforts to developing communication and transport, railway transport in particular. The electrification of railways should be completed in the main in a few years by pushing ahead with it energetically, and Diesel engines should be introduced in some sections, thus decisively augmenting the haulage of railways. The production of electric locomotives, freight cars, and passenger coaches should be expanded still more; the utilization of the existing railway lines should be raised to the maximum; and, at the same time, new railway lines should be built with a view to satisfying the fast growing demands for transport.

Parallel with this, marine transport should be developed and motor transport also expanded and developed further still.

2. Agriculture

In the domain of agriculture, all efforts should be concentrated on carrying into effect the "Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country."

First of all, the technical revolution should be carried out in the countryside to ease the labor of the farmers and further increase agricultural production.

To expand and consolidate the successes already scored in irrigation, we should readjust and make a more effective use of the existing irrigation facilities and, at the same time, continue to undertake new irrigation works and afforestation and water conservation projects on

a wide scale. Afforestation and water conservation projects should be carried out in a qualitative way after adequate surveys are made and detailed designs are worked out.

For accelerated mechanization of agriculture, various trailer farm implements and accessory parts should be turned out and supplied sufficiently, and the repairs and maintenance of farm machines should be improved.

We should introduce chemicalization in an all-round way, while continuously pushing ahead with irrigation and mechanization in the countryside. A scientific manuring system suited to the soil conditions and the peculiarities of crops should be established to raise the efficacy of chemical fertilizers, and crops thoroughly protected from all damage by blights and insect pests through effective application of various agricultural chemicals. Especially, the tendency to lay emphasis on nitrogen fertilizer alone should be discarded; phosphorus, kali, and microelement fertilizers should be produced on our own and supplied in large quantities to raise decisively the per unit area yields and, at the same time, weed killers and other highly effective agricultural chemicals should be produced and applied in quantities.

Without electrification in the countryside it is impossible to carry out successfully irrigation and mechanization and build the farm villages in a modern way. In accordance with the line of our Party and the Government of the Republic for electrification, electricity has already been supplied in 98.2 per cent of all the rural *ri* (village units) and 86.1 per cent of the entire farmhouses in our country. Only those houses scattered widely in the mountain areas still have no electricity. While bringing together the scattered farmhouses as far as possible, we should keep promoting electrification in order to supply electricity to all the villages and farmhouses in a few years.

For successfully carrying out the huge task of the technical revolution in the countryside, productive construction should be undertaken on a large scale.

In carrying on productive construction, the scale and direction of capital investments should be fixed correctly in accordance with the specific conditions of each farm village; and in construction, designing should be kept ahead of other work, its quantity raised, and the building work done in a meticulous way.

Simultaneously with productive construction, many modern houses should be newly built and the old houses rebuilt on modern lines in

the countryside. In this way, the straw-thatched houses, the traces of backwardness and poverty handed down through the ages in the countryside, should be completely removed in the coming few years.

We should take all these economic and technical measures for a speedy development of all sectors of agricultural production—grain growing, cultivation of industrial crops and vegetables, etc.

While decisively boosting grain output before anything else, deep attention should be paid to developing stockbreeding. An energetic struggle should be further waged to consolidate the already laid foundations of stockbreeding and put it on a modern basis, so that the backwardness in this field, which is an historic leftover, may be eliminated and the output of animal products decisively increased. The most important task in developing stockbreeding is to create stable fodder bases. In order to solve this question, two-crop agriculture should be extensively introduced in paddy and nonpaddy fields and, along with this, high-yielding fodder crops should be cultivated in wide areas and assorted feed factories should be built in many places. Measures should be taken for establishing a system of breeding superior pedigree stock, and the care of animals should be improved, so that the productivity of livestock may be increased and the production cost of animal products lowered systematically.

In our country, nearly 80 per cent of whose land area is covered by mountains, it is of great significance in the development of the people's economy and the betterment of the people's livelihood to develop fruit growing in a big way by making use of the mountains.

We should set great value on the already created 133,000-odd *jongbo* (hectares) of orchards and 100,000 *jongbo* of chestnut tree groves, take good care of them, and make them all yield fruit, thereby markedly increasing the output of fruit and chestnuts. Also, in accordance with the decision of the Bukchong Enlarged Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the work of creating orchards should be carried on and the total area under fruit trees should be brought to 200,000 *jongbo* in the next few years, in order to supply the people with delicious fruit in a greater quantity. Active measures should also be taken for storing and processing fruit whose output is increasing from year to year.

3. *People's Livelihood*

Solicitude for the betterment of the well-being of the people is the supreme principle governing the activities of the Government of the Republic. Our struggle for the building of socialism and communism is aimed, in the final analysis, at fully satisfying the material and cultural demands of the entire people and providing them with an affluent, cultured life.

The source of the constant promotion of the well-being of the working people lies in the systematic growth of the national income.

The Government of the Republic will endeavor in every way to increase the national income substantially by quickly developing industry, agriculture, and all other branches of the people's economy. At the same time, deep attention will be directed to the proper distribution of the national income on the principle of rationally adjusting the balance between accumulation and consumption and radically elevating the people's living standards while insuring a high tempo of expanded reproduction and successful carrying out of defense upbuilding.

In the future, we will take all measures for raising the money wages and real incomes of the working people on the basis of increased socialist production and enhanced labor productivity.

The Government of the Republic will make greater state investments in various social and cultural services to give fuller satisfaction to the demands of the entire working people.

Particularly, profound attention will be paid to improving trade and the public health services to raise the general living standards of the people.

In our country, trade is the supply service for the working people and an important means of meeting the material and cultural requirements of the people.

In the field of trade and commerce, greater quantities of foodstuffs, clothes, and various kinds of articles that go to meet cultural requirements should be supplied to the working people and, in particular, the sales of winter goods should be markedly increased.

To improve commodity supply, the trade networks should be properly distributed and further expanded, the trading facilities should be modernized, and commodities should be well distributed to meet the demands of different regions, seasons, and social sections. Culture and service should be improved in trade by making proper arrangements

for packing and delivery of commodities, for night and mobile sale, and so forth.

The number of various restaurants should be increased and the quality of public catering improved to offer more conveniences for the working people in their everyday life. Public service establishments should be increased and furnished adequately to give better service to the working people. In this way, conditions should be improved for large numbers of housewives to participate in social labor and thus working-classize and revolutionize themselves.

Nothing is more precious than man under our system. We should develop the public health services to protect the lives of men and further promote the health of the working people.

In the sphere of health services, more hospitals and clinics should be built, many medical workers assigned to them, and the qualifications of doctors should be raised decisively for further improving medical service to the working people. The prophylactic line should be firmly maintained and hygienic and antiepidemic work be carried out regularly in town and country. Along with modern medicine, the traditional Donguihak medicine of our country should be developed, and attention should also be directed to the theoretical systematization of folk medicine. The variety of synthetic medicines should be expanded and the production of antibiotics be increased by developing the production of medicaments.

4. *Labor Administration Work*

The toiling masses are the creator of history, and socialism and communism can be built only by the creative labor of the toiling millions. Labor force is the most active and decisive factor in production. Technology is developed by man and machines are made by man, and it is also man who operates them. All the precious and fine wealth of the world, material and cultural, is created by the labor of the working people.

It can be said that whether or not we can build socialism and communism faster and better depends, after all, on how we bring the creative ability and talents of the working people into play, how we organize and use social labor, and how speedily we raise labor productivity.

The improvement of labor administration is a very important task to be tackled in the whole course of socialist construction.

The improvement of labor administration poses a question of particular importance in our country.

Under the conditions of our country where arable land is limited, the intensive farming method should be applied to keep agriculture in step with the developing industry, and it will take a long time to complete the mechanization of agriculture, owing to the peculiarities of agricultural production in our country. Under the circumstances, we do not have a big source of rural population that can be enlisted in industry as in other countries, even when mechanization is carried out in agriculture.

Furthermore, as we have to push ahead vigorously with economic construction while continually increasing the defense capabilities of the country, directly confronting the U.S. imperialists, the chieftain of world reaction, we shall be unable to carry out satisfactorily the political and military tasks facing us or further accelerate socialist construction if we fail to economize in the labor resources of the country to the maximum and make a rational use of them.

At present, one of the most important ways to implement our Party's line of building the economy and defenses in parallel and to advance vigorously defense upbuilding while successfully executing the gigantic tasks of the Seven-Year Plan, lies in the improvement of labor administration.

It is of primary importance in improving labor administration to heighten constantly the political and ideological consciousness of the working masses and bring them to display their labor enthusiasm and creative activity to the fullest extent in socialist construction.

Labor is not only the sacred duty of a citizen but the most honorable thing for the good of the state and society. Love of labor is one of the most important traits of man of a new type in socialist and communist society. We must cultivate the sense of honor for labor and love of labor among the working people, so that they may hate work-shyness and loafing as an idea of the exploiter classes, and participate in public labor in a way that becomes the master, for the sake of the collective and society and for their own happiness.

The most important task in labor administration at present is to insure the full use of the 480-minute workday, decisively doing away with the wastage of labor.

In socialist production, in which cooperative production and division of labor are highly developed and which grows steadily on the basis of advanced techniques, the 480-minute workday can be fully utilized only when each production unit and each worker strictly observe the established discipline. We should deeply realize that the eight-hour workday system is a state regulation laid down under the labor law, which no one is allowed to violate, and wage an uncompromising struggle against practices of the slightest labor wastage and violation of labor discipline, work every minute and every second, and do our utmost to achieve the maximum productivity within the working hours.

Also, to get rid of the labor wastage and insure the full use of the 480-minute workday, fluctuations in production should be eliminated and work stoppage be reduced to the minimum by providing the working people with adequate working conditions in factories and other enterprises. In all fields of the people's economy, in all enterprises, the production of raw materials and other supplies and semifinished goods should be kept ahead of other work, and cooperative production properly organized to insure that all units participating in cooperative production strictly observe discipline in the fulfillment of our contracts. For a regular supply of raw materials and other materials, detailed plans should be worked out, and a system of material supply under which the higher units deliver materials to the lower units in a responsible manner should be established in accordance with the Dae-an* work system. Meanwhile, decisive precedence should be given to technical prearrangements in all factories and other enterprises.

It calls for primary attention in labor administration to advance vigorously the technical innovation movement. Technical innovation is the most important factor in easing the present shortage of labor and in raising the per capita output value swiftly. In all branches and all units, mystification of and passivism toward technique should be thoroughly smashed and the technical innovation movement should be unfolded extensively, so as to save even a single man-day of labor and produce more with less labor expenditure.

For the improvement of labor administration it is also important to maintain the correct balance of labor force between the productive and nonproductive branches and between the basic and auxiliary sections of production within the productive branches, and to assign the working people to their right places.

* Dae-an is the name of a model machine building plant in North Korea. (trans.)

Under socialism, a proportionate assignment of all working people to the productive and nonproductive branches is of weighty importance in expediting socialist construction and the development of the people's economy as a whole. The more working people work in the productive branches, the more heavy and light industry goods and farm produce needed for economic construction, defense upbuilding, and the people's life will be put out, and thus will make it possible to raise per capita output value and promote the people's well-being, while steadily increasing state accumulation. What is important in the distribution of labor force, therefore, is to give priority to the growth of the number of employees in the productive branches and, at the same time, fix the number of workers in the nonproductive branches to conform to the level of economic development. In the future, too, we should continue to adhere firmly to this principle in distributing the labor resources of the country rationally.

Also, for a rational use of labor, the proportion of labor force in the indirect branches should be lowered and that in the basic productive branches, especially in the direct branches, should be upped decisively.

Simultaneously with this, the functionaries of the labor administration organs should pay deep attention to allocating labor force to the right places, taking into account the sexes, ages, physical conditions, and technical and skill levels of the working people so that all of them may give full play to their ability.

It is an important guarantee for the further development of socialist production to implement correctly the socialist principle of distribution, while constantly heightening the political and ideological consciousness of the masses. Under socialism, the development of the productive forces has not yet attained such a level as to insure distribution according to the needs. The fundamental differences remain in labor, and the working people have not yet completely eradicated the survivals of outmoded ideologies. Under these circumstances it is possible only through the correct implementation of the principle of distribution according to work done to eliminate the outdated idea of seeking to live at the expense of others without working, to give stimulus to the working people's zeal for production and to the enhancement of their technical and skill levels, and thus to promote the development of the productive forces. Necessary measures should be taken in all branches and all units of the people's economy to distribute shares accurately according to the quantity and quality of work done.

We must decisively improve the work of labor planning. Labor planning is the basis for the rational organization and effective use of labor force and, accordingly, excellent labor planning is the basic condition for the improvement of labor administration. The leading personnel of the state and economic organs should improve the work of labor planning so as to explore actively the labor resources of the country, rationally distribute labor force, and raise labor productivity.

The Government of the Republic will further strengthen the economic might of the country and its economic independence and radically improve the people's life by creditably carrying out all these tasks of socialist economic construction.

Sixth. The Government of the Republic, adhering firmly to the idea of *Juche* of the Workers' Party of Korea, will fight on stubbornly to step up the development of the country's science and technology and build socialist culture.

The fulfillment of the all-round technical revolution, which is the most important central task for socialist economic construction in our country at the present stage, urgently calls for a radical advancement of science and technology.

We should wage a vigorous battle to occupy the fortress of science and make great strides in this field, thereby fully insuring the immediate technical reconstruction in all sectors of the people's economy.

The fundamental question in scientific research work is to keep developing science and technology in such a direction as required by our Party and our revolution, steadfastly maintaining the position of *Juche*. Only when *Juche* is established firmly in scientific research work is it possible to bring the initiative and talents of scientists into full play to accelerate the advancement of science and technology and develop our economy faster by relying on the resources of our country and our own techniques. Scientists and technicians should concentrate their efforts on the research work designed to promote industrial production with domestic raw materials, tap those raw materials which are lacking in our country, produce substitutes for those raw materials we do not have, and expedite the technical revolution in conformity with our actual conditions so as to free the working people from arduous labor as soon as possible.

While solving for ourselves these scientific and technical problems the solutions of which are vitally necessary to us, we should pay

attention also to taking in the scientific and technical achievements and experiences of foreign countries to suit the actual conditions of economic development in our country.

The immediate task confronting scientists and technicians is to find solutions to the scientific and technical problems on utilizing the existing economic foundations to the fullest extent and, at the same time, to explore new domains of science and technology constantly, in the light of the prospective task of developing the people's economy.

Speedy development of technology, mechanical engineering, and electronics, among others, is a very important question at present.

Unless mechanical engineering is developed, it is impossible to carry out satisfactorily the task of building up-to-date factories and manufacturing machinery and equipment of the latest types, of increasing the capacities of the existing factories and equipment, or of speedily introducing the achievements of scientific researches in the people's economy. We must concentrate our scientific forces on developing mechanical engineering to vitalize this particular domain of science as soon as possible.

It is an urgent problem to develop electronics in view of the carrying out of the technical revolution and of the prospects of the development of the people's economy. The importance of electronics and its role increase more and more, and its sphere of application expands constantly as science and technology develop and automation is widely applied in all fields of the people's economy. We should positively advance the researches in electronics in all its aspects.

Scientists and technicians should also direct profound attention to the development of chemistry, biology, agricultural science, forestry, and oceanography in order to tap and use the natural resources of our country effectively and gain mastery over nature successfully.

To attain great successes in scientific research work, contact and cooperation should be strengthened among scientists and scientific research organs, and creative cooperation should be intensified between scientists and producers. Also, instead of putting forth new problems at random, efforts should be focused on the solution of those problems which are urgent and important for the people's economy, and problems on which researches have already been undertaken or have not yet been completed, thereby fully solving the problems one by one by the method of annihilation operation.

To step up the development of science and technology of the coun-

try, the qualifications of those who are engaged in this field should be elevated decisively. All the scientists and technicians should study energetically to become workers who possess a high level of scientific theory, a wealth of practical experience, and who are well acquainted with the trends of the advancement of modern science and technology, able workers who can skillfully solve scientific and technical problems raised by reality.

We shall see to it that scientific research centers are reinforced all the more and that better conditions are provided for researches with a view to promoting scientific research work successfully.

What is important in the building of socialist culture is to give education to all the working people and enhance their general cultural and technical levels to a higher stage.

The most important task for us in this field is to carry on the compulsory nine-year technical education efficiently in a qualitative way. By carrying on the compulsory nine-year technical education efficiently, we should bring up the training of technical personnel to keep pace with the advancement of the productive forces of the country and the rapid tempo of the technical revolution.

Along with the regular full-time educational system, the education system of studying while working should be further developed so that all the working people may be insured of better conditions for learning.

Success in the education of younger generations and training of cadres depends largely upon the role of the teachers who are engaged in this work. The teachers should acquire the habit of studying and raise their political and theoretical levels and their level of professional knowledge decisively, so that instruction and education may be conducted more qualitatively. Simultaneously with this, the whole state, the whole society should be concerned with laying sufficient material foundations for educational establishments so as to develop the educational work.

We should continue to strive for the development of socialist literature and art, upholding the literary and art policy of the Party. Literary and art workers must better contribute to the working-classization, revolutionization of the whole society by creating many revolutionary works which represent the glorious anti-Japanese armed struggle of our people, and the grandiose struggle of our people today who have inherited it, and the pulsating realities.

Seventh. The Government of the Republic will do all it can to increase further the defense capabilities of the country and build up the defense posture of the whole country and the entire people to cope with the gaining situation.

It is one of the basic functions of a socialist state to keep increasing defense capabilities while pushing ahead with economic construction. The imperialists perpetrate uninterrupted aggression and plunder, and as long as imperialism exists, the danger of war will not disappear. Under the circumstances, the gains of revolution can be safeguarded against the imperialist aggression and the security of the people defended only when we reinforce our own defense power and are ready for action at all times.

To augment our defense capabilities is an urgent task for us, particularly in view of the situation in our country where the territory is divided and we are building socialism directly confronted with the aggressive forces of American imperialism.

Since the first days of their occupation of South Korea, the U.S. imperialists, pursuing the sinister aim of committing aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia, have converted South Korea completely into their military base for aggression. The U.S. imperialists station tens of thousands of their aggressor troops in South Korea and keep a huge puppet standing army more than 600,000 strong.

In recent years the U.S. imperialists have embarked upon further intensifying war preparations in South Korea. In order to execute their war policy in South Korea, the U.S. imperialists are further reinforcing the puppet armed forces and are incessantly bringing into South Korea weapons of mass destruction, including tactical nuclear weapons and guided missiles, as well as vessels, aircraft, and other types of military equipment. They have set up the system of wartime mobilization to drive the innocent South Korean people into an aggressive war, and are frequently carrying out provocations against the territory of the Northern half of the Republic along the military demarcation line, in flagrant violation of the armistice agreement.

In an attempt to utilize South Korea more effectively for Asian aggression, the U.S. imperialists are maneuvering to align the South Korean puppets militarily with Japanese and other reactionaries in Asia, and are running wild to form a new military alliance in Asia with the "South Korea-Japan Treaty" as a bait. They try to unleash

another war in Korea, using South Korea as an advance base and the forces of Japanese militarism as a shock brigade, and throw the South Korean armed forces easily into their war of aggression in Asia. The U.S. imperialists have already dragged South Korean puppet troops into the aggressive war against Vietnam, and the traitorous Park Chung Hee clique herded more troops than any other vassal country into the battlefields of South Vietnam, and earlier than any of them.

The situation is becoming tenser and the danger of war more and more increasing in our country and the whole of Asia.

The prevailing situation demands us to make the country's defense capabilities steel-strong and be fully prepared for war so as to counter any surprise attack by the enemy.

To defend the country is the work of defending the socialist gains won by our people and our base of revolution; it is the most sacred duty and honorable task for the whole people. The People's Army should serve the fatherland and the people, and the whole people should love and aid the People's Army; the Army and the people should further display the traditional spirit of unity of the Army and the people and, in the case of emergency, closely unite into one as truly revolutionary comrades and fight with single-hearted devotion to safeguard our fatherland and our gains of socialism, sharing life and death, the bitter and the sweet.

The entire people and the men and officers of the People's Army should never be captivated by a pacifistic mood but always keep a tense, mobilized posture and should maintain a sharp revolutionary vigilance and prepare themselves to meet and fight the enemy valiantly without the slightest confusion, no matter when he may launch a surprise invasion.

In order to make our defense capabilities inviolable, the People's Army should continue to implement the policy of turning the whole army into an army of cadres and into a modern army; and the people should, on their part, execute the policy of arming the entire people and fortifying the whole country with the military line of the Party.

We should temper the ranks of the People's Army politically, ideologically, and in military technique, and make all the men and officers undertake the duties of commanding personnel of a higher rank up, thereby further boosting the combat capabilities of the People's Army and enabling the entire people to take part in battle with the existing forces of the People's Army as the core in case of emergency.

The People's Army should be armed firmly with up-to-date weapons and combat and technical equipment, and the military science and technique should be rapidly developed to meet the demands of modern warfare. Combat training should be intensified for all Army personnel so that they may be well versed in their weapons and fully master modern military science and technique.

Our People's Army should, in this way, be built up into a revolutionary force equipped with the indefatigable spirit of fighting through thick and thin for the Party, for the working class, for the fatherland, and for the people; into an army each member of which is a match for one hundred enemies, capable of smiting any reckless adventure of the enemy.

The army of the entire people and the fortification of the whole country constitute the most powerful defense system, based on the unshakable political and ideological unity of the entire people and on the solid foundations of the independent economy of the country. We should firmly arm the workers, farmers, and all other people so that they may unfold an intensive labor struggle in socialist construction, while defending the fatherland with a hammer or sickle in one hand and a rifle in the other; and, in case of emergency, they should not only carry on production but conduct combat actions with credit. Together with this, impregnable defenses must be built in all parts of the country to convert the whole country into a military fortress to repel the enemy at a stroke, no matter when and where he may attack us.

All this is aimed at fully embodying our Party's line of self-defense in national defense. Only by so doing can we smite the enemy's ceaseless subversive activities at every step and shatter armed invasion in all forms.

Eighth. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, while continuing to hold fast to the line of building an independent national economy by enlisting its own potentials and domestic resources to the maximum under the banner of self-reliance, will establish economic relations and develop foreign trade with other countries on the principles of proletarian internationalism, complete equality, and mutual benefit.

By the development of an independent, comprehensive economy with our own efforts in our country, we never mean that we reject

international economic ties and produce everything we need for ourselves. Every country differs from the others in the natural and economic conditions, in the levels of development of the productive forces and science and technology in the given stage and, accordingly, in the variety and quantity of raw materials and products turned out. Under these conditions, each country should produce on its own essential things, the things which are in great demand, and procure those things which are in slight demand or which are insufficient or cannot be produced at home through trade with foreign countries, on the principle of filling each other's needs.

In developing foreign trade we attach prime importance to the world socialist market.

As is generally known, the world socialist market came into being as an economic result of the emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and it was transformed into a world system after the Second World War, when our country and a number of other countries broke away from the capitalist system.

The formation of the world socialist market promoted economic and technical exchanges among the socialist countries, thereby making a great contribution to the development of the national economy, to the building of the material and technical foundations of socialism, and to the improvement of the people's livelihood in each of these countries. Hence, it became possible to frustrate the sinister designs of the imperialist powers of the world headed by U.S. imperialism to blockade the socialist countries economically, impede their economic development and, further, stifle the world socialist economic system.

The socialist market provides favorable conditions not only to the socialist countries but also to the newly independent states to fill each other's needs in the interests of the development of their national economy. Unlike the capitalist market where operates the law of seeking monopolistic high profits through nonequivalent exchange and plunder of backward countries, the socialist market enables the newly independent states to realize their surplus industrial goods and farm produce and purchase in return from other countries industrial equipment, raw materials, and other supplies essential to the development of their economy on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

Thus, economically backward countries are no longer held in bondage to the capitalist market to be robbed endlessly of their natural wealth and the priceless fruits of their people's labor as in the past, and

are now able to follow the path to economic independence, casting away the economic yoke of imperialism.

The formation of the socialist market dealt a mortal blow to the capitalist monopolies and multimillionaires that had assumed complete control of the world economy through their vast market; in particular, it shattered to pieces the expansionist policy of U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of modern imperialism, that had sought to monopolize the overseas markets, plunder the world of its raw material resources at will, and dominate the world; and it aggravated the general economic crisis of the imperialist powers.

If all socialist countries, filling each other's economic needs, consolidate and develop the socialist market, the development of the national economy of each socialist country will be further promoted, and more favorable conditions will be created for the economic independence of the newly independent states and, further, the capitalist market can be driven into an unstable position, and the general crisis of the world capitalist economic system can be aggravated still further.

Needless to say, consolidation and development of the socialist market and the strengthening and development of economic ties among the socialist countries do not mean in the least that the socialist countries should not establish economic relations with capitalist countries.

We will develop relations of trade and commercial exchange with all countries with differing social systems that respect our sovereignty and are desirous of having economic ties with our country. Nevertheless, the economic business relations with capitalist countries are in any case of secondary importance in the foreign trade of the socialist countries, and those relations should not be made the basis of the latter's economic relations with foreign countries. We should pay primary attention to the promotion of economic and technical exchanges with the fraternal countries and to the consolidation and development of the socialist market.

Of prime importance in consolidating and developing the socialist market is that each fraternal country, proceeding from the political interests of the victory of the common cause of building socialism and communism against imperialism and colonialism, displays the lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism and entirely renounces hide-bound nationalistic egoism in the mutual economic relations. In partic-

ular, the developed socialist countries should give more material assistance, with no political strings attached and with no selfish motives, to the economically backward countries which aspire after socialism against imperialism. In this way, conditions should be created for these countries not only to frustrate the economic blockade of the imperialist powers successfully but also to have less transactions with the capitalist market and to rely on the socialist market. In the trade relations with foreign countries, too, as in all other matters, we should never deviate from the class stand or become oblivious of communist ethics and comradely duty.

We will exert all possible efforts to maintain close economic ties among the fraternal countries, consolidate and develop the world socialist market for the victory of the common cause of building socialism and communism against imperialism, for the unity of the national and international interests in revolution and construction.

While preferentially developing the economic ties with the socialist countries, the Government of the Republic will endeavor to establish economic relations and develop commercial exchange on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit with the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa which broke the fetters of imperialism and achieved political independence.

The peoples of many newly independent countries who gained political independence are now confronted with the urgent tasks of eradicating the aftermaths of the colonial rule of imperialism, building an independent national economy, and radically improving their lives.

And yet, the imperialists are maneuvering to bring the newly independent countries under the yoke of neocolonialism, a new form of colonialism, to subordinate the peoples of the liberated countries again to themselves. The imperialists pursue the policy of enslaving other countries economically by using their "aid" as a bait and, further, of trampling upon the sovereignty of those countries. The "European Common Market," the "integration of the world economy," and the like, loudly advertised by the imperialist powers today, all pursue the heinous aggressive aims of stifling the economic independence of the newly independent states and subordinating these countries to themselves.

By developing economic relations with the newly independent states on the principle of filling each other's needs without any political

and economic strings attached, we should sincerely help them secure complete political and economic independence from the imperialists and assist their peoples in achieving national prosperity.

Ninth. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will fight actively in defense of the interests and the national rights of all the Korean compatriots abroad.

In the past, large numbers of our fellow countrymen left their homeland to wander abroad, owing to the occupation of Korea by the Japanese imperialists. As a people without a country, they were subjected to national discrimination and all sorts of humiliation, deprived of all rights, and they suffered from utter destitution in strange lands over long years.

Today, however, as proud overseas citizens of their beloved fatherland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, they have boundless national confidence and pride, and see their happy future in the prosperity and development of the Republic. The overseas citizens of Korea support all the policies of the Republic and are exerting active efforts to perform their duties as citizens of the Republic.

The 600,000 Korean compatriots in Japan, united firmly around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and under the guidance of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, are now fighting valiantly for their democratic national rights against the unwarranted national persecution and contempt by the Japanese authorities, and continue to wage a staunch struggle for the unification of their fatherland and the prosperity of the nation.

At present, a movement is widespread among our fellow countrymen in Japan for their continued repatriation. To return to their homeland is a legitimate national right of the Korean citizens in Japan which no one is entitled to deprive them of. There still remain large numbers of Korean citizens in Japan who want to come back to their fatherland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

This notwithstanding, the Japanese authorities have placed artificial obstacles in the way of the repatriation work of the Korean citizens in Japan and are maneuvering to wreck it halfway in gross violation of international law, international practice, and humanitarian principles. This is evidence that the Japanese government is trampling upon the democratic national rights of the Korean citizens in Japan and is

openly challenging the unbiased public opinion of Japan and the world.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entire Korean people resolutely denounce the unjustified maneuvers of the Japanese authorities to sabotage the repatriation work of the Korean citizens in Japan.

The Government of the Republic maintains that the Korean citizens in Japan should be fully insured freedom of travel to their homeland, democratic national education, and all other democratic national rights. We strongly demand that the Japanese government treat and protect the Korean citizens in Japan duly as foreigners and immediately stop all acts of persecution and suppression against them.

No suppression and persecution whatsoever by the Japanese authorities can ever check the just struggle of the Korean citizens in Japan for their democratic national rights and for the unification of the fatherland. The persecution and suppression being intensified every day by the Japanese authorities against the Korean citizens in Japan will only arouse still greater national indignation on the part of the entire Korean people, and this unjust act will be checked after all.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regards it as its sacred duty to protect the 600,000 Korean compatriots in Japan and all other overseas Korean citizens and defend their national rights. We will continue to fight stubbornly against all the unwarranted acts of infringing upon the national rights of the overseas Korean citizens and against the acts of persecuting and humiliating them, and we will always resolutely support and inspire our overseas compatriots in their just struggle.

Tenth. From the first days of the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we have consistently confirmed that we would promote friendly relations with all countries which oppose imperialist aggression, respect the liberty and independence of our people, and desire to establish state relations with our country on an equal footing and we will in the future, too, continue to hold fast to this principle in the field of foreign policy.

The foreign policy of the Government of the Republic derives from the nature of our state and social system, free from all exploitation and

oppression, and reflects the lofty aspiration of our people to achieve victory for the common causes of peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. Our independent, principled foreign policy enjoys support from an increasing number of countries in the world and has consolidated the international position of our country as never before.

Today our country maintains friendly relations with the fraternal socialist countries and scores of other countries in the world. In the period after the formation of the third Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1962 alone, our country newly established diplomatic relations with many countries in Asia and Africa, and our country's friendly relations with these countries are developing steadily. Economic and cultural exchanges between our country and other countries, too, have been further expanded and developed. Our country maintains trade and cultural relations with many countries now. Intercourse becomes brisker every day between a large number of peace-loving peoples in the world and our people, and our friendly ties with them expand more and more. Thus we have many revolutionary comrades and friends in all parts of the world, and the international solidarity of our revolution is being cemented constantly.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people will in the future, too, further strengthen and develop such relations of friendship with foreign countries and strive to have many more friends in the world.

The international situation of our revolution is very complex and tense today.

The imperialists, headed by U.S. imperialism, incessantly perpetrate armed invasion and subversive activities against the socialist and newly independent countries. They are brutally suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asian, African, and Latin American countries, disturbing peace and threatening the security of the peoples everywhere in the world.

U.S. imperialism is the chief enemy of peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. U.S. imperialism is going downhill, but it has not desisted from its aggressive ambition and is revealing its brigandish nature more and more openly.

The basic strategy adopted by the U.S. imperialists for aggression against the socialist countries and the progressive countries of the world at the present stage is mainly to swallow up divided or small countries one by one, while refraining from worsening their relations

with big countries and shunning confrontation with them as far as possible. For this purpose, the U.S. imperialists are directing their spearhead of aggression especially toward Vietnam and other Asian countries. This aggressive maneuvering on the part of the U.S. imperialists aggravates tension in our country and all parts of Asia to the extreme, and gravely endangers peace throughout the world.

It is the most pressing task today for the peoples of the socialist countries and the peace-loving peoples all over the world to check and frustrate the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Apart from the anti-U.S. struggle, no one can talk about the victory of the revolutionary cause or world peace or the progress of mankind.

What attitude the socialist countries take toward U.S. imperialism is a criterion that shows whether or not they fight in real earnest for the advancement of the international revolutionary movement at the present time. The attitude toward U.S. imperialism is a touchstone that distinguishes the revolutionary position from the opportunist position. The socialist countries should do away with all deviations in the anti-U.S. struggle and maintain the unswerving revolutionary position against U.S. imperialism.

In order to battle vigorously against U.S. imperialism, international anti-U.S. joint action must be achieved and an anti-U.S. united front be formed. A split of the anti-U.S. forces only gives benefits to the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism, and does harm to the revolutionary people. All the socialist countries and the anti-imperialist forces of the whole world should form the broadest possible anti-U.S. united front, thoroughly isolate U.S. imperialism, and administer collective blows to it in all regions and on all fronts to which U.S. imperialism stretches its tentacles of aggression. Only by so doing is it possible to disperse and weaken the forces of U.S. imperialism to the maximum, cut off its windpipe everywhere, and succeed in smashing the world strategy of the U.S. imperialists designed to defeat the international revolutionary forces, including the socialist countries, one by one.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people will resolutely fight against the imperialist forces of aggression headed by U.S. imperialism, will continue to wage a stubborn struggle to drive the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of South Korea, and will accomplish the revolutionary cause of the unification of the fatherland.

The Government of the Republic and the Korean people, regarding

it as an important factor in the victory of the Korean revolution to strengthen the solidarity with the international revolutionary forces opposing U.S. imperialism, will unite with all the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. forces in the world, and will render positive support and encouragement to the struggle of the peoples of all countries against U.S. imperialism.

It is the primary task of the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle at the present stage to check and foil U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, and support the Vietnamese people in every way in their just resistance war against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation.

Vietnam has now become a front where the anti-U.S. struggle goes on most severely. It is on the soil of indomitable Vietnam that a bitter struggle is being waged between socialism and imperialism, between the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces of the world and the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism. The Vietnamese people, bearing the heavy burdens of this struggle, are valiantly fighting not only to safeguard the independence and freedom of their fatherland but also to defend the socialist countries and peace in Asia and the rest of the world. The heroic Vietnamese people are inflicting one serious military and political setback after another on the U.S. imperialist aggressors and driving them into an inextricable quandary.

On behalf of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entire Korean people, I would like to extend, from this rostrum of the Supreme People's Assembly, warmest militant greetings to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, and all the heroic people of North and South Vietnam who have risen as one in the just resistance war against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people regard the aggression of U.S. imperialism against Vietnam as aggression against themselves and are doing everything in their power to support the brotherly Vietnamese people. The Government of the Republic and our people solemnly declare once again that they are fully ready to fight side by side with the Vietnamese people whenever requested by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. We fully support the position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the political program of the

South Vietnam National Front for Liberation with regard to the solution of the Vietnam question.

It is a sacred internationalist duty of the socialist countries and the revolutionary peoples throughout the world to defend the Cuban revolution and actively support and inspire the revolutionary struggle of the Cuban people. The triumph of the Cuban revolution and the existence of the Republic of Cuba give hearty blows to the U.S. imperialists and exert a great revolutionary influence on the liberation struggle of the peoples in Latin America and the oppressed peoples of the world. Today the Republic of Cuba represents the hope and revolutionary future of the Latin American peoples.

That is why the U.S. imperialists are running wild in their malicious attempt to stifle the Republic of Cuba and incessantly carrying on aggressive plots against Cuba by whipping together the reactionaries in Latin America.

No maneuver on the part of U.S. imperialism, however, will be able to block the way of the heroic Cuban people who advance unwaveringly in the front rank of the anti-imperialist struggle, holding aloft the banner of revolution.

The Korean people resolutely support the heroic Cuban people in their struggle to safeguard their revolutionary gains and build socialism under the difficult conditions in which they are confronted directly with U.S. imperialism in the Western Hemisphere, and strongly denounce the U.S. imperialists for their aggression and all their subversive activities against the Republic of Cuba. Our people will in the future, too, continue to make all efforts to strengthen military solidarity with the fraternal Cuban people.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people will strive to cement solidarity with the peoples of all countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are fighting for freedom and national independence, and will positively support their liberation struggle. Particularly, our people will fight in firm unity with all the Asian peoples to chase the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism out of all parts of Asia. We will unite firmly with all the anti-imperialist forces in Asia, including the democratic forces in Japan, and wage a staunch struggle against the revival of Japanese militarism, a shock brigade of U.S. imperialism for Asian aggression, and its aggressive maneuvers.

The Korean people express firm solidarity with the working classes and laboring peoples of capitalist countries who are fighting against the exploitation and oppression by the capitalists for their vital rights, democracy and socialism, and extend warm support and encouragement to their revolutionary struggles. We will always stand firm by the peoples of all countries fighting for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress, and endeavor untiringly to strengthen solidarity with them.

Despite the frenzy of the imperialists, the general international situation today still develops in favor of the forces of peace and socialism. The ranks of the peoples in the battle against imperialism are growing in scope and strength in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in all parts of the world.

Imperialism and reactionaries of all hues will eventually be destroyed, and the peoples who have risen in the anti-imperialist struggle for the just cause of revolution will definitely emerge victorious.

Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people will in the future, too, as in the past, unite with the people of the socialist countries, unite with the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, unite with all the progressive peoples of the world, and continue to fight determinedly for the triumph of the common cause of peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

Comrade Deputies:

The political program of the Government of the Republic embodies our Party's idea of *Juche* and its revolutionary line of independence, self-sustenance, and self-defense—a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of Korea.

The realization of this political program will turn our country into a richer, stronger, and more advanced socialist country which is independent in politics, self-sustaining in the economy, and self-defensive in the national defense, and will insure a still happier life for our people. It will inspire and encourage the South Korean people forcefully in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and afford a firm guarantee for the unification of the fatherland.

The Government of the Republic will execute this political program faithfully and thereby advance the revolution and construction of

our country further, to live up to the expectations of the entire people and you deputies.

The entire people, upholding the policies of the Party and the Government, should dash ahead faster, surmounting all difficulties by continually displaying a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and patriotic devotion. It is the revolutionary mettle of our heroic people that they do not yield to difficulties and rest on their laurels but make continuous advances and continuous innovations for new victories. There will be a new, great upsurge in our revolutionary struggle and construction work when all our working people keep forging ahead dynamically at the speed of Chollima to implement the policies of the Party and the Government.

No force can ever stop the forward movement of our people, who are under the seasoned Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and who hold power firmly in their hands. Our revolutionary cause is a just one and the victory is on the side of the Korean people fighting for justice.

Let us all march forward valiantly for the final victory of our revolution, toward the bright future of socialism and communism, rallied closely around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic.

6

The Great Idea of Lenin on the National Liberation Struggle in Colonies in the East Is Triumphant

(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)

We are about to join with the progressive people of the world in celebrating the memorable centennial of V. I. Lenin.

Lenin, great leader of revolution and genius of mankind, devoted all his life to the sacred revolutionary cause of the freedom and liberation of the international working classes and the oppressed nations in all lands, and performed immortal exploits for the victory of socialism and communism.

Lenin firmly defended the revolutionary quintessence of Marxism by his uncompromising struggle against opportunist trends of all hues, and creatively developed, and further enriched Marxism to suit the new historical conditions of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. Carrying out his activities in the era of imperialism when the contradictions of capitalist society had reached their peak, Lenin scientifically expounded the nature and historical place of imperialism as the highest and latest stage of capitalism, according to Marx's laws of the emergence, development, and downfall of capitalism, and this demonstrated the inevitability of its ruin and put forward, for the first time, the theory of a socialist revolutionary victory in a single country. He further developed ideas of the proletarian dictatorship, formulated the organizational and ideological bases of a new type of Marxist party, and worked out its tactical principles and mapped out a program of socialist construction, thereby arousing the working classes and the exploited and oppressed toiling masses of the whole world to a decisive revolutionary battle for socialism.

Leninism is creative Marxism in the era of imperialism, the theory, strategy, and tactics of the proletarian revolution, a powerful weapon for all revolutionary people in overthrowing the old society and cre-

ating a new world, and a great militant banner of our times. Reality vividly proves the invincible vitality of Leninism as the revolutionary theory of the proletariat to change the world. The undying revolutionary banner of Lenin is flying high everywhere around the globe; and as the days go by, it is giving an increasingly powerful impetus to the struggle of the progressive peoples around the world, and reliably leading all mankind to a bright future.

The colonial-national question holds an important place in the theory of Lenin.

He created an orderly system of the theory regarding the colonial-national revolution in the era of imperialism, in 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 hand and the colonial and dependent countries inhabited by the oppressed peoples which constitute the majority of the population on the globe on the other. Under the new circumstances, Lenin linked the national question with the colonial question, extended it from a local question confined to the nations of "civilized" countries in Europe to a general question of the liberation of the oppressed nations from the yoke of imperialism, and regarded the colonial-national question as part of the whole question of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. Lenin said that the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries must be converted from a reserve of imperialism into an ally of the proletarian revolution and that the working class must totally reject social chauvinism and fight in firm unity with hundreds of millions of the oppressed nations who up till then had been completely outside the orbit of historical progress and considered simply objects of history. Lenin further developed in depth Marx's scientific idea of the self-determination of nations, which is the basic principle of solving the national-colonial question. He pointed out that all nations are equal and independent, that no privileges should be given to any particular nation on any account, and that all actions of infringing upon the rights of national minorities should be declared illegal, and held that all nations should enjoy the freedom of state 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 fighting for the freedom and independence of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, Lenin directed particular attention to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples in the East.

From the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, the Eastern countries were divided up by the world imperialist powers as their colonies and the Asian continent was turned into a source of raw materials, a place of capital export, a market for surplus commodities for the world capitalist powers—into a vast backbone of imperialism. This greatly impeded the normal economic development of the Eastern countries, where the capitalist relations were budding out to a considerable degree within the feudal society. The intensification of the oppression and exploitation of the Eastern countries by the imperialist powers, and the impediment to the social and economic development of Asian countries, inevitably aggravated national differences between the imperialist powers and the people in the regions. Compared to the peoples of the advanced capitalist countries, the Eastern peoples were subjected to multiple harsh exploitation and barbarous national and racial oppression by the imperialists. The intensified aggression by the imperialist powers upon the East, and the accelerated process of colonization and semicolonization of Asian countries, also sharpened class contradictions here to extremes. Combined with exploitation by the indigenous reactionary ruling classes, the plunder by foreign imperialists became increasingly intolerable. The contradictions among the imperialist powers and the monopolist capitalist combines scrambling for colonial interests and spheres of influence were also culminating in serious clashes in this area. This zone was, indeed, a focal point of the various contradictions giving birth to the revolution, the weakest link in the chain of the imperialist front, and a field of decisive battle in the worldwide political struggle. The East became the central point of the national-colonial question. The Eastern peoples awoke from a century's sleep, and, from the close of the nineteenth century onward, the peoples' revolutionary movements for freedom and independence began to take place throughout Asia. Lenin said as follows:

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 Eastern peoples. The victory of the October Revolution further awakened the Eastern peoples who, made ignorant by medieval policies, had existed until then only as material to fertilize capitalist civilization, and who linked up the oppressed nations' struggle for liberation with the international working classes' revolutionary movement, raising it to a new, higher level of development.

Having gained fathomless strength and courage from the great idea of Lenin on the colonial-national question and found a correct way of struggle in the victory of the October Revolution, the peoples of the East won historic victories in resolute and valiant battles against imperialism and colonialism under the leadership of the working class. Especially since the Second World War, a great revolutionary change has taken place in the East and the look of Asia has been fundamentally altered.

The Chinese people finally drove out foreign imperialists and overthrew the feudal and bureaucratic-capitalist rule through a long liberation struggle against imperialism. The triumph of the Chinese revolution was a great international event, second only in its significance to the Great October Revolution. The fact that the Chinese people, comprising nearly one-fourth of the world population, cast off the shackle of imperialism and embarked upon the road to socialism signified another big breach made in the imperialist colonial system, and tipped the balance of forces between socialism and imperialism decisively in favor of socialism.

The heroic Vietnamese people kicked out French colonialists and other foreign invaders by waging bloody struggles, and founded the first socialist state in Southeast Asia. Today Vietnam is the fiercest front of anti-imperialist, particularly anti-U.S. imperialist, struggle. It is on the soil of Vietnam that an intense fight goes on between the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces and the aggressive forces of U.S.

imperialism. The people's liberation armed forces and the people of South Vietnam have already emancipated four-fifths of the territory and two-thirds of the population, establishing the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. They keep on inflicting irretrievably serious military and political defeats on the U.S. imperialist aggressors, and are driving the U.S. imperialists and the South Vietnamese puppets into a tight corner.

Under the leadership of the Laotian Patriotic Front, the Laotian people have taken up arms for the liberation and independence of their country, for the safeguarding of peace and security throughout Indochina and Southeast Asia, and are delivering uninterrupted attacks upon the U.S. imperialists and their cohorts, scoring ever greater successes in their day-to-day struggle. The working class and the people of Japan are carrying on a vigorous anti-U.S. imperialist, anti-monopoly struggle, dealing heavy blows both at the war policies of the U.S. imperialists and at the revival of Japanese militarism. The Thai and the Malayan peoples are unfolding a powerful armed struggle against the U.S. imperialists and the pro-American dictatorships; and the Philippine people, youth, and students have gone bravely into the streets to resist the country's political and economic subjugation by U.S. imperialism. The Cambodian people are fighting for their national sovereignty and territorial integrity; and the peoples of India, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, and Pakistan are marching ahead with all the rest of the Asian countries in the fighting ranks against imperialism and colonialism.

The whole course of the Korean revolution, both its harsh ordeals and its heroic events, has been one of glorious victories under the immortal banner of Lenin. The Korean people found a weapon of liberation in the great ideas of Lenin, and, under his banner, have been waging a sacred struggle for freedom and independence and carving out a history of creation and victory.

When misfortunes were besetting our nation in the darkest days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, the Korean Communists, raising high the banner of anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle with Lenin's ideas as their strategic and tactical guideline, were waging the fifteen long years of heroic armed struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggressors, and defeating Japanese imperialism and achieving the historic victory—the liberation of the fatherland.

After the August 15 liberation, our people who embarked upon a

new life fully enacted the anti-imperialist, antifeudal democratic revolution and established a reliable revolutionary base in the Northern half, heroically repulsed the bestial armed invasion by U.S. imperialism and its puppets in the Fatherland Liberation War, and honorably safeguarded the revolutionary gains. The victory of our people in the Fatherland Liberation War showed that no imperialist forces of aggression can ever conquer a people who have risen up for the freedom and independence of their country under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, exposed the vulnerability and corruption of U.S. imperialism, and firmly convinced the oppressed nations of the world that U.S. imperialism is by no means invincible and it is quite possible for them to defeat it in battle. Our Party has attained great victories and successes in the socialist revolution and socialist construction by adhering firmly to the *Juche* line of creatively applying Marxist-Leninist universal principles with the experiences of other countries to suit our country's historical conditions and national peculiarities, of solving our own problems always on our own responsibilities, and of displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. Today our country has become a socialist state with the full right to self-determination in politics, a powerful, self-sustaining national economy, a brilliant national culture, and mighty powers of self-defense.

The great socio-economic changes in the Northern half of the Republic exercise an immense revolutionary influence on the people of South Korea who are groaning under the tyrannical colonial rule of U.S. imperialism. The South Korean people, who look up to the prospering and developing Northern half as a beacon of hope, have been conducting a staunch struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of colonial subjugation and military aggression ever since the first days of the occupation of the Southern half by the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. imperialist colonial rule has been fundamentally shaken by the popular struggle of resistance in October 1946, the massive popular uprising in April 1960, which overthrew the puppet regime of Syngman Rhee, the old stooge of U.S. imperialism, and by all the ensuing 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 maneuverings of the present South Korean rulers to prolong their term of office. At present the revolutionary struggle in South Korea is getting gradually organized, and is taking root deep within the workers and peasants, who are the main forces

of revolution; and the broad masses are rising from all walks of life in the anti-U.S. imperialist, antipuppet struggle. With further expansion and strength in their revolutionary organizations, the South Korean revolutionaries and patriotic people are upholding an active mass attempt to liquidate U.S. imperialist colonial rule, to realize the complete sovereignty, unification, and independence of the nation, and to oppose military fascist dictatorship in order to win political freedom with democratic rights. The awakened South Korean people will achieve final victory in the revolution as, steeled by the struggle, they drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressors and destroy their puppets, thereby definitely achieving victory in the revolution.

Asia has turned from a colonial continent into an area where furious revolutionary storms rage to combat imperialism. Today this area has become the foremost front of the international revolution against imperialism, the main arena of the revolutionary struggle being carried out in a worldwide scope for freedom and liberation. Dealt powerful blows by the national-liberation struggle of the Eastern peoples, the imperialists have been mortally disfigured with wounds all over and completely isolated. The appalling imperialism and colonialism which kept hundreds of millions of people in poverty and hunger are now living their final days in the East, and their total liquidation is in sight.

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the Asian continent, who total over half the world population and possess enormous natural and economic resources, is strengthening the position of socialist countries in the world arena, and by aggravating the crisis of the world capitalist system, the Asian revolution is providing favorable conditions for a further advancement of the international working-class movement. The Eastern nations, subjected to centuries of oppression, plunder, national humiliation, and racial discrimination by foreign aggressors, have now emerged as a great revolutionary force of our times that opposes imperialism and colonialism, a great motivating power that carries forward the history of mankind.

Lenin once said that ". . . clear enough, in the impending decisive battle of the world revolution the movement of the majority of the population on the globe tending towards national liberation at the beginning will oppose capitalism and imperialism, and, possibly, play a revolutionary role far greater than we expect."

With every passing day, the correctness of Lenin's prediction is

proved more clearly by the modern history of mankind which is adorned with revolutionary events.

Frightened by the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces which are daily growing and strengthening in Asia, the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism are desperately floundering in their endeavor to repress the anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggles of the people in this area which are spreading like wildfire, and to reinforce their tottering colonial rule.

The U.S. imperialists have poured most of their overseas military aid into the Asian region and set up numerous military bases which house two-thirds of their overseas armed forces aggression. While reinforcing their aggressive troops, they are nursing a fantastic pipe dream of achieving their Asian aggression without difficulty mainly by means of "making Asiatics fight each other," strengthening Japanese militarism as a "shock brigade," and building U.S. satellite states and puppets within Asia. The U.S. imperialists have rearmed Japanese militarism and aligned it with the South Korean puppets, and are making frenzied attempts to rig up an Asian "anti-communist" military alliance with them as the axis. Especially of late, the conspiratorial maneuvers of the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism to commit aggression on Asia are being pushed farther ahead. The U.S. imperialists have set out to utilize actively, for their Asian aggression, the military and economic potentialities of Japan as their junior ally and military base of aggression, while the Japanese militarists, for their part, are openly running amuck to realize their old dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" with U.S. backing. The Japanese militarists are already taking an active part in the U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam, stepping up blatant war preparations to invade Korea and other Asian countries, and intensifying their economic and cultural penetration into the countries of this area.

With no amount of desperate endeavor can U.S. imperialism and its puppets escape their doom already sealed in Asia. As the U.S. imperialists intensify their policy of aggression and war in Asia, the Asian people will counter with increased resistance. The Eastern peoples will uphold an uncompromising, determined struggle for the building of an independent, prosperous new Asia and thereby knock down the colonial system of the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism once and for all.

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 the liberation of the world's oppressed peoples. The Soviet people assisted our people in the cause of liberation from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, and have given great moral and material aid to our people's struggle to safeguard the freedom and independence of their fatherland and build a new society. Our people remember the internationalist support and assistance the Soviet people have given them. The Korean people set great store by their friendship and solidarity with the Soviet people on the front of the anti-imperialist and anti-U.S. imperialist struggle. Today the militant solidarity between our people and the Soviet people is being further cemented. The militant solidarity between the peoples of Korea and the Soviet Union, which was formed amidst the flames of common battle against imperialism and colonialism and for socialism and communism, and which has endured the trials of history, will continue to consolidate and develop in the days to come.

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

7

Answers to the Questions Raised
by the Iraqi News Agency

(July 1, 1969).

Question: What are Your Excellency's impressions concerning the earnest struggle waged by the people of South Korea against the U.S. imperialist occupation for the liberation of the South? And, what are the bases Your Excellency proposes for the unification of the two parts of the country?

Answer: As for the questions of the South Korean revolution and the unification of the country, we dealt with them in detail already in the report at the celebration of the twentieth founding anniversary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea last year. Besides, many documents of ours concerning the questions of the South Korean revolution and the unification of the country (including the report at the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea held in 1966) have been published. I think if you read these documents, you will fully understand our program for the unification of the country and our position on the revolutionary struggle of the South Korean people against the U.S. imperialist occupationists.

It is the greatest desire of the Korean people today to unify their divided country at the earliest possible date.

The speedy attainment of our cause of national unification hinges, we can say, mainly upon the solution of the following three questions: 1) How we further strengthen our revolutionary base in all the political, economic, and military fields by splendidly carrying out socialist construction in the Northern half of the Republic; 2) How the South Korean people wage the struggle more vigorously against the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, and also foster their own revolutionary forces quickly; 3) How the world people, especially those in countries making revolutions, and all the forces opposing imperialism

unite firmly and isolate and greatly weaken the U.S. imperialists internationally. At the same time, they must give active support and encouragement to the Korean people in their struggle to drive out U.S. imperialism and unify the country independently.

In our opinion, unification will be realized in Korea when these three revolutionary forces are fully prepared and properly combined.

As has been widely declared to the South Koreans and to the peoples of the whole world, it is our consistent desire to materialize the unification of Korea by peaceful means. Our program for the unification of the country is to establish a unified central government by holding democratic general elections throughout the North and South on a democratic basis, without the interference of any outside forces. This will be done after the U.S. imperialists have been withdrawn from South Korea.

This claim of ours is most correct and reasonable. It is because our program for the unification of the country reflects the entire Korean people's firm consciousness of national independence. And, it opens up the possibility of solving the unification question democratically, in accordance with the free will of the people from all walks of life—irrespective of their party affiliations, political views, property status, level of education, religious faith, or sex.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has in the past put forward time and again most reasonable and concrete proposals for the unification of the country. It has always expressed the unanimous will and desire of the Korean people, and has made every possible effort to realize these proposals.

But the U.S. imperialists and the successive puppet rulers of South Korea have doggedly opposed our program and proposals for unification, and have carried out all sorts of maneuverings to perpetuate the division of our country.

The biggest obstacle in the way of realizing the peaceful unification of our country is the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists. As long as the U.S. imperialist aggressor army stays in South Korea, there can be no general elections in North and South Korea expressing the free will of the people. Therefore, for the peaceful unification of Korea, the U.S. imperialist aggressor army must first pull out from South Korea.

Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists will not leave South Korea on their own accord. Furthermore, the South Korean puppets propped

up by the bayonet of the U.S. imperialists are begging those villains not to withdraw the troops from South Korea.

This is by no means the true expression of the will of the South Korean people. The South Korean people, like the people in the Northern half, demand U.S. imperialism to get out of South Korea as soon as possible. They want to unify the country independently and peacefully on a democratic basis.

The U.S. imperialists and their traitorous stooges are running wild trying to dampen this desire of the South Koreans, and are cruelly suppressing the struggle of the South Korean people for the unification of the country. Those villains recklessly arrest and imprison anybody in South Korea for the merest utterances about peaceful unification. They intensify the unheard of fascist suppression of the activities of progressive political parties, public organizations, and press organs, and barbarously imprison and murder patriots.

The peaceful unification of the country cannot be achieved as long as U.S. imperialism and its stooge, the present puppet regime, are allowed to remain in South Korea. The peaceful unification of our country can be materialized only after the U.S. imperialist aggressor army has been forced out of South Korea, and the South Korean people have overthrown the present puppet regime, and the progressive forces have come into power. If the U.S. imperialists get out of South Korea and the democratic and progressive forces with national conscience seize power even now, we are ready to hold negotiations with them on the question of unifying the country by peaceful means.

The revolutionary struggle of the South Korean people develops as the days go by, even though the U.S. imperialists and the present South Korean puppet clique are trying desperately to check the revolutionary struggle in South Korea by means of intensifying their fascist suppression.

The South Korean people are well aware that they can only unify the country peacefully by driving the U.S. imperialists, target number one in their struggle, out of South Korea and by smashing their stooge, the Park Chung Hee puppet regime. They are vigorously unfolding various forms of struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in order to realize their desire for the unification of the country at the earliest possible date.

Of late in South Korea, great numbers of youths and students have risen to stage vigorous demonstrations. They are demonstrating against

the Park Chung Hee puppet clique's scheme for the so-called "revision of the constitution for the third-term election," which they are busying themselves with in order to remain in "power" for a long time.

It is true that the revolutionary struggle of the South Korean people is arduous. But they have been tempered in the course of their protracted struggle against aggressors and are ceaselessly expanding their fighting ranks and continually accumulating their revolutionary forces.

The South Korean people have the experience of a heroic struggle in overthrowing the puppet regime of Syngman Rhee, the old stooge of U.S. imperialism. Through their arduous struggle, the South Korean people have been further awakened and have come to realize more clearly how they should fight in order to emerge victorious. A large number of fine leading cadres of the revolution are also growing among the fighting ranks of the South Korean people.

The South Korean people will certainly drive the U.S. imperialists out of South Korea and crush the Park Chung Hee puppet regime. The day will soon come when they will establish a people's power with their own hands and actualize the unification of the country together with the people in the Northern half. This is our firm belief.

Today the U.S. imperialists, in a foolish attempt to cover up their foul nature as aggressors before the world's people, are making preposterous false propaganda of our "aggression" upon South Korea. They claim that the revolutionary movement taking place in South Korea is the action of the Northern half of the Republic. In the meantime, they perpetuate ceaseless provocations against the Northern half of the Republic and try to threaten us with war, while brutally repressing the struggle of the South Korean people.

However, with no deceptive artifice can the U.S. imperialists hoodwink the world's people, and by no threat can they frighten the Korean people.

The Korean people will never tolerate the illegal occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists, and will never give up their aspirations to attain national unification.

The Iraqi people today, as in the past, actively support the Korean people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression and for the unification of the country. This is a great inspiration to the Korean

people. We should like to offer our thanks to the Iraqi people, and express our conviction that they will in the future continue to render active support to our people in their just struggle.

Question: We are sure that Your Excellency is completely aware of the struggle waged by the Arab peoples against Zionism and imperialism. What is Your Excellency's opinion about the armed struggle by Arabs to liberate Palestine?

Answer: Our Government and public organizations have issued statements on number of occasions supporting the struggle of the Arab peoples against Zionism and imperialist aggression and for the liberation of Palestine.

The Arab peoples are valiantly fighting with arms in their hands against the brazen gangster-like invasion of the Israeli expansionists and their manipulators, the imperialists led by the U.S. imperialists. The anti-U.S., anti-Israeli struggle waged by the Arab peoples today is a just struggle to defend national independence and dignity, to restore the occupied Arab territory and accomplish the Palestinian people's cause of liberation.

The Korean people positively support the just struggle of the Arab peoples and express firm solidarity with them. Our people will, in the future as in the past, firmly stand on the side of the valiant Palestinian people who are fighting to liberate their fatherland, and on the side of the entire Arab peoples fighting determinedly against the invasion of the Zionists and imperialists. We will always march ahead, shoulder to shoulder with the Arab peoples, in the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle.

We regard your Arab peoples' struggle as our own, and are deeply convinced that the righteous struggle of the Arab peoples will surely win victory.

The U.S. imperialists are now on the decline. They are meeting with fierce anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggles of the people's everywhere in the world and are getting it in the neck. When the revolutionary and progressive peoples of the whole world pool their strength and fight resolutely, the U.S. imperialists, the Israeli expansionists, and all other reactionaries are bound to be ruined, however strong and malignant U.S. imperialism might be.

Question: As one of the most prominent leaders of socialism, what are Your Excellency's impressions about the social gains that were

the outcome of the July 17, 1968, revolution in Iraq? What are Your Excellency's views about the executions of the U.S. and Israeli spies that were caught in Iraq?

Answer: As our Government has already stated, the Korean people join the Iraqi people in fully supporting the measures taken by the Revolutionary Government of Iraq to safeguard the revolution and its gains in Iraq. The working class and people of Korea sincerely wish the working class and people of Iraq to win fresh victories in their struggle to frustrate the aggressive ambition of the U.S. imperialists and Israeli expansionists, and to consolidate the independence of the country and create a new life under the leadership of the Revolutionary Government of Iraq.

As for the execution of the U.S. and Israeli spies caught in Iraq, I consider it a perfectly correct measure to guard the security of the country and the gains of the revolution from the enemy's maneuverings of subversion and sabotage. You should have no mercy on the imperialist spies who menace the sovereignty and security of your country, but should only wage an uncompromising struggle against the enemy of the revolution. The Korean people express full support of the Iraqi people, who meted out severe punishment to the malicious espionage agents of the U.S. imperialists and Israeli aggressors.

8

Progressive Journalists of the
Five Continents, Wield
Your Powerful Revolutionary Pen
and Sternly Condemn U.S.
Imperialism!

(Congratulatory Speech delivered at the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Struggle against the Aggression of U.S. Imperialism, held in Pyongyang on September 18, 1969.)

Dear delegates:

Comrades and friends:

This international conference of journalists meets amid the great concerns of the revolutionary peoples of the entire world, reflecting the noble ideals and unanimous aspirations of the journalists of five continents: to fight against imperialism and colonialism and to bring about national independence and social progress. We are very pleased that this meeting of true representatives of the progressive world press should be taking place here at Pyonyang, the capital of our country, under the revolutionary flag of the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle. In the name of the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I extend my warm greetings to the representatives of progressive journalists, come from Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania, and Europe to participate at this conference.

Comrades and friends, we live in an era of exciting revolutionary change, when the colonial system of imperialism is irrevocably dying, in a great historic epoch in which the revolution of national liberation of oppressed peoples is winning major victories.

Today, a bitter struggle is going on in the international arena between socialism and imperialism, between revolutionary forces and counterrevolutionary forces.

In this struggle, socialism and the passionate forces of peace are reaping victory after victory, and continue to succeed, while the forces of imperialist aggression are on the decline, are indeed destroying themselves.

The time is already passed when a handful of imperialist billionaires played king and conducted themselves as masters of the globe,

and exploited and pillaged humanity as they pleased; world attitudes have changed radically.

In the international arena, the liberating struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries forges ahead, as does the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of socialist countries. Today, the irreversible current of the revolutionary movement of national liberation surges forward with irresistible force over vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the storm of the great revolution, sweeping away imperialism and colonialism in its wake, rages upon these continents. Hundreds of millions of men from these regions, oppressed and deprived for centuries by imperialism, have shaken off the odious colonial yoke, have arisen with pride to become heroes in the arena of the new history, and have won brilliant victories in their great work aimed at upsetting the old system of imperialism and colonialism, thus clearing the way for a new life. The peoples of countries still groaning under the colonial yoke of imperialism are fighting heroically, guns in their hands, against the foreign imperialist forces of aggression.

As a result of powerful thrusts by the movement of national liberation, the shackles of colonial slavery are being broken the world over, and the colonial system of imperialism, which has brought so much misery and suffering to humanity, is splitting at the seams; imperialism is breathing its last.

The revolutionary struggle of the working class and of other workers in capitalist countries against the oppression and exploitation of capital, for their basic rights and for democratic freedom, is also gaining increasing strength. This struggle makes the blood-thirsty imperialists tremble with anguish and terror.

The political and economic crisis of the imperialist world grows daily worse, and the conflicts among the imperialist powers, and their disputes over markets and over spheres of influence are becoming increasingly acute.

From both without and within, the imperialists are exposed to harsh blows, and sink deeper and deeper into the point of no return.

There are vicissitudes and reverses and momentary setbacks during the course of the march of the revolution. In the meantime, the overall situation is always evolving in favor of socialism and of revolutionary forces, to the detriment of imperialism and of reactionary forces.

But the imperialists, with the U.S. imperialists as their leader, have

no intentions of retiring from the scene of history. Imperialism dreams of its former pre-eminence and makes desperate efforts to recuperate its lost positions and, through aggression and through war, seeks a way out from its fate of the condemned.

By resorting to open violence, the U.S. imperialists perpetrate acts of violence and aggression against socialist countries and independent nations, quell savagely the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and upset peace throughout the world. For several years now, the U.S. imperialists have been pursuing a war of barbarous extermination against the people of South Vietnam and, further, allow themselves to commit acts of brigandlike aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. U.S. imperialism makes frenzied attempts to smother the Republic of Cuba, where the socialist revolution has triumphed for the first time in the Western Hemisphere, a country which is the beacon of hope for the peoples of Latin America. U.S. imperialism is stepping up its armed intervention in Laos, and in the Middle and Near East is consistently committing acts of aggression and war against the Arab peoples by inciting the Zionists. By resurrecting Japanese and West German militarism, U.S. imperialism creates a dangerous threat of a new war in Asia and in Europe.

The imperialists, with the U.S. imperialists acting as their leader, publicly announce the "independence" and the "freedom" of peoples, but in fact stop at nothing to maintain, in the most deceitful and cunning manner, their colonial domination, and stupidly seek to lead the peoples of newly independent nations into the trap of neo-colonialism.

In many nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America they are pursuing the colonial subjugation policy by bribing and whipping up the Right-Wing circles, such as the top military brass and representatives of the tribal upper crust who have turned reactionary. In the event that the puppets whom they themselves have placed in power hamper the execution of their colonial policies in the slightest degree, the imperialists manufacture a reactionary military *coup* so as then to be able to apply a fascist military dictatorship, thus, of course, resorting without hesitation to armed intervention. Astute plots and intrigue on the part of the imperialists subject newly independent countries to perpetual threat and blackmail, and corrupt a number of governments

into machines of colonial and imperialistic domination, thereby swaying these countries to the Right depriving them of the right to free themselves from the status of colony or neocolony.

The imperialist policy of economic subjugation vis-à-vis developing countries is one of the most important characteristics of neocolonialism. Today, U.S. imperialism makes of its "aid" policy an important instrument of expansion overseas, camouflaged under the fancy sign of "development common to underdeveloped countries," thus easing the path for overseas penetration of its monopolistic capital through the channel of so-called "aid."

Relying on the export of an immense amount of capital and various colonial concessions, the imperialists retain economic leverage in a number of countries in the world. Thus, the monopolistic capital of imperialism always plunders outrageously the abundant resources of the underdeveloped countries and the fruit of their hard-working peoples. Through economic aid the imperialists put a brake on the development of a national independent economy in underdeveloped countries and, worse still, brutally meddle in their internal affairs and make only nominal their political independence.

Besides, economic infiltration, ideological and cultural penetration constitute important tools of neocolonialism. Through the means of an ideological and reactionary cultural offensive, skillfully camouflaged, such as the "peace corps" and the "African crossroad program," the U.S. imperialists paralyze the national independent and revolutionary conscience of the peoples of the undeveloped countries, encouraging among them the cult of the United States and anticommunist ideas, and infusing them with national nihilism, implanting immorality and degeneration of the yankees, and hatching incessant plots of sabotage and subversion from behind the mask of "peace."

Under the banner of "anticommunism" or of "mutual security," the imperialists, led by U.S. imperialism, bind a series of countries into military aggressive blocs, into alliances and bipartisan military treaties, enslaving them to the military plan and transforming them into colonial military bases.

It was in this neocolonial manner that the imperialist U.S., after the Second World War, succeeded to the "hegemony" of the capitalist world, and presented itself as "emperor" of colonialism by replacing former colonialists. And the U.S. imperialists are still extending their black tentacles of aggression throughout the world.

Today there is not a single part of the world into which the aggressive tentacles of the U.S. imperialists have not penetrated, nor is there one single country which is not suffering from the threat of aggression on the part of U.S. imperialism, be it in Asia, in Africa, or in Latin America, be it a small country or a large country.

All this proves more clearly than ever that U.S. imperialism is the most barbarous and cynical aggressor of modern times, the main force of aggression and war the mastermind of worldwide reaction, the bastion of modern colonialism, the strangler of freedom and national independence, and the disturber of world peace.

The present situation demands that the revolutionary peoples of the five continents fight more vigorously against old and new colonialism and imperialism and, above all, that they focus their attacks against U.S. imperialism. If we do not combat U.S. imperialism today, we shall be unable to think of the future in terms of peace, or national independence, or the victory of democracy and socialism.

The revolutionary peoples of the entire world should exercise strong pressure from all sides on the imperialists with U.S. imperialism as their leader, and bind them hand and foot so that they are unable to exert their will.

It is therefore clear that a major role is to be played by the peoples of socialist countries. The people of socialist countries must not only accelerate energetically the upbuilding of socialism and communism in their countries, at the same time stamping out with vigilance the machinations of sabotage and subversion of the imperialists and the elements still remaining of the overthrown exploiting classes, but they should also make it an internationalist duty to support actively the movement of national liberation, leaving aside moral revolutionary Marxist-Leninist obligations. The socialist countries that form the foundations of the world revolution must be resolutely opposed to the policy of war and to the policy of colonial pillage of the imperialists, and energetically support all revolutionary struggles of oppressed nations. This means the forming of closer ties between the socialist countries and the international working classes, and the acceleration of the common victory in the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle.

As with the peoples of socialist countries, the working classes of the capitalist countries should struggle even more vigorously against imperialism and support and strongly encourage the liberation movement of oppressed nations. The working classes of suzerain states and

the oppressed colonial nations are in the same situation. With the aim of intensifying the pillage and exploitation of the peoples of colonial countries and dependents, the imperialists use every means at hand to separate the working classes of the suzerain states from the peoples of the colonies. They poison the working classes with pestilential ideas of racism and national chauvinism, and destroy the inner combat cadres of the working class by corrupting the working class aristocracy with sharing of excessive profits obtained in their colonies. The working classes of the suzerain states should shatter the imperialist ruses, should be resolute in their opposition to the pillage that they practice against colonial countries and dependents. At the same time, they should support without reservation the right to complete independence of the peoples of colonial countries and dependents, and undertake with increased vigor the revolutionary struggle, with the idea of overturning the decaying regime. This is the road for the working classes of capitalist countries, the way for their own liberation from the class structure, their contribution to the movement of national liberation in the colonies.

The colonies are the lifeline of the imperialists and their last means of power. Imperialists do not voluntarily cede colonies, and do not make the latter gifts of their independence. The peoples of colonial countries must unite their strength and wage a resolute, death-defying struggle to drive out the imperialists and win their complete freedom and independence.

The countries that have just freed themselves from the imperialist yoke and achieved their independence must set themselves the important task of safeguarding their national independence, of constantly promoting revolution, and of supporting the liberation struggle of the peoples of countries still in the service of imperialism. Those peoples who have won their independence must break all shackling treaties and accords and military alliances concluded with the imperialists. They must liquidate the political and economic bases on which foreign imperialists and interior reactionary forces allied to the former might rely on in their underhand maneuvers, and they must apply revolutionary social reforms through the massing of revolutionary forces. It behooves them to be sure to see clearly the essence of neocolonialist policies which imperialists practice in every field—political, economic, military, and cultural—to knock the wind out of their sails and to break them completely, so as not to fall once again into their trap. Only

then will they be sure to be able to defend the conquests of the revolution, to achieve national prosperity, and to contribute to the common cause which is that of the peoples of the entire world, namely the burial of imperialism.

Today, the international democratic movement and the peace movement occupy a very important place in the common anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. front. These movements group under their aegis the hundreds of millions of workers and progressive personalities of the world. The peace-loving people the world over must struggle with renewed energy for a durable peace and for the brilliant future of humanity, for checking and frustrating the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

When each of the revolutionary forces of the world with vigor deploys the anti-imperial, anti-U.S. struggle on every front they hold, imperialism will be definitively wiped out, and the peoples of all nations will achieve genuine national independence and social progress.

Esteemed delegates:

The present international conference of journalists is opened therefore at a time of great stress, when the U.S. imperialists are once again increasing their maneuvers of aggression and when the revolutionary peoples of the world find themselves confronted with the major historic task of struggling more resolutely than ever against U.S. imperialism. It is therefore opportune—and this corresponds perfectly with the aspirations of the revolutionary peoples of the world—that today the representatives of progressive journalists of the five continents, who have taken upon themselves the sacred task of struggling for the just revolutionary cause of the peoples, are gathered here together to discuss the means of fighting the aggression of U.S. imperialism.

In further accentuating the fighting role of the progressive journalists the world over in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, the present conference will give much encouragement to the popular masses in the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle and will greatly contribute to their common cause of socialism, national independence, peace, and democracy.

Very great is the inspirational role played in the social revolution and in the construction by the progressive journalists and progressive publications, defenders and propagators of advanced ideas, word-bearers and organizers of public opinion.

As all the world knows, it is the popular masses who create and develop history. But this does not mean that the popular masses engage

spontaneously in the revolutionary struggle. It is only when the popular masses are armed with the revolutionary conscience and engage with abnegation in the bloody combat to bring about the downfall of the superstructure of the crumbling society that they will be able to become truly the main force of the army of revolution, a powerful driving force for the development of society, and the worthy creators of a new history. In every revolutionary movement the more the popular masses who participate in it have a high level of consciousness, the sooner they will become a great force and the sooner they will play a decisive role in the revolutionary struggle. It is the progressive personalities, word-carriers of the interests of the popular masses, who infuse the revolutionary conscience into these people, and arouse them with their advanced ideas. The advanced personalities struggling for the popular masses arm the latter with revolutionary ideas which will assist in the toppling of crumbling regimes, and create a new society, giving it a just battle slogan, inspiring it, rallying it, and uplifting it with energy in the revolutionary struggle.

The progressive journalists, possessors of advanced ideas, partisans of justice and truth, and militants for the elimination of all injustices and of all social vices, have always seized upon the precise objective requirements of social evolution and, with their revolutionary pens held tight, have defended the interests of the advanced class to denounce vehemently the former rotten regime and to pronounce the severe sentence of death to the dominating reactionary and moribund class.

In this sacred struggle, the progressive journalists have shed much blood and fought heroically without flinching in the least, despite repressions on the part of all sorts of reactionaries; even in jail and on the gallows, they have valiantly struggled until the last moments of their lives without abandoning their revolutionary faith. Thus, the journalists have accomplished really immortal exploits in the history of the struggle for the freedom of humanity. The peoples offer their sublime thanks to the revolutionary journalists who have spilled their precious blood in the sacred struggle for the emancipation of humanity, and they will never forget their exploits.

This heavy burden—that of continuing these excellent traditions of the martyrs in condemning without mercy the crimes of U.S. imperialism that bar the route to freedom and the liberation of humanity, and of calling peoples of the world to rise valiantly for the decisive struggle against U.S. imperialism, the worst common enemy to all

humanity—this heavy but glorious burden falls precisely to you, the progressive journalists.

The progressive journalists of the entire world must completely annihilate the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war, and lay completely bare its barbarous aspects, so as to create throughout the world a large body of public opinion against U.S. imperialism. One must not have the slightest illusion about U.S. imperialism. History explicitly demonstrates that to spread illusions on U.S. imperialism and to preach unprincipled compromise with it only slackens the revolutionary vigilance of the peoples, renders U.S. imperialists more arrogant and more ferocious, and encourages their machinations of aggression and war. The progressive journalists of the entire world must actively propagate among the largest popular masses the patent truth that we must fight imperialism resolutely to the end, and that only with a determined and stubborn struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and war will the colonial yoke be shaken off, by the obtaining of independence, with the defense and consolidation of revolutionary gains, and with the maintenance of a durable peace.

At the same time they must educate the masses in the spirit of rejecting the ideas of worship and flunkeyism toward the United States, of fearing and submitting to the United States, and of dependence on the United States, and in the spirit of implacable hatred toward U.S. imperialism. The reactionary ideas of United States imperialism are an instrument to degrade the people from the point of view of ideology and from the political point of view render them impervious. The progressive journalists, representing advanced ideas, must completely and absolutely repel the reactionary offensive of U.S. imperialism on an ideological and cultural level.

When the popular masses have arrived at a high level of revolutionary consciousness, thanks to the energetic journalistic activity of the progressive publicists on the ideological front, they will struggle more vigorously to vanquish U.S. imperialism, villainous enemy of humanity.

To support actively the struggle of the peoples of all regions and of all countries against the aggressive imperialist forces with U.S. imperialism as their leader is a revolutionary task which the progressive journalists of the world must necessarily accomplish.

The imperialist aggression, led by U.S. imperialism, against the revolutionary peoples of the world is also a villainous attack on and challenge to the personalities of the press struggling for the cause of

emancipation of humanity. In order to preserve the freedom of speech and the press and to defend their rights and their interests, the journalists must always breathe the same air and think in the same way as the peoples of Vietnam and other heroic peoples the world over who are struggling with arms against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the peoples who with courage are creating a new life in resolutely repelling the subversive acts of their foreign aggressors and interior reactionaries, and the workers of all the countries who, engaged in resistance, condemn U.S. imperialism. Thus, in order to submit this imperialism to the judgment of history, all the articles written by journalists, all their criticism and all their political commentaries must be acts of accusation against U.S. imperialism, must be stirring calls to combat, urging the popular masses to resist U.S. imperialism for the sake of national salvation.

The progressive journalists must rally firmly and without fail under the flag of the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle, so that they can develop their international movement in a constructive way and attain their goals. The progressive journalists of the world over are companions at arms on a common front, who have an ideal in common and an objective in common in their fight against U.S. imperialism for peace, for democracy, for national independence and social progress, despite their living under different social systems, despite their differences in party affiliations and political opinions, in mores, in religious belief, in nationality, in color of skin, in language and in writing. Only under the flag of the anti-imperialist and anti-U.S. struggle can the progressive journalists of the world unite on a large scale, can the international movement of journalists as a militant revolutionary movement contribute efficaciously toward the just cause of the peoples of the world. All the progressive journalists of the world must combine their efforts in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and together condemn U.S. imperialism.

I am convinced that through the common and sincere efforts of all the delegates, the present international conference of journalists will reach an agreement of views concerning the means to be adopted for the struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialism, and will achieve the desired results in a manner corresponding to the anticipations and desires of the revolutionary peoples and the progressive journalists the world over. I therefore trust that the conference will become a

glorious page in the history of the struggles of the journalists of the world against imperialism and colonialism.

Dear delegates:

Not only are you the delegates of the international conference on the tasks of the world's journalists in their struggles against the aggression of U.S. imperialism but are also the distinguished guests of our people.

The presence at this conference of anti-imperialist fighters from such a large number of countries held at Pyonyang, the capital of our country, is a great encouragement to our people, who are the object of a permanent threat of direct aggression on the part of U.S. imperialism.

For more than twenty years, the U.S. imperialists have occupied South Korea, one-half of our fatherland, where they exert the most reactionary of colonial fascist military dominations. They have completely transformed South Korea into their colony, into a military base from which to invade all of Korea, Asia, and all the socialist countries. In trampling underfoot the fundamental democratic freedom and right to exist of the people of South Korea, they have thrown the South Korean people into a hell of the living, bringing about famine, misery, terror, and massacre. The U.S. imperialists and their faithful lackeys, the puppet South Korean clique, have stopped at nothing to perpetuate the division of Korea and check the nationalist aspirations long nurtured by all the peoples of both North and South Korea for the unification of our fatherland. The occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their policy of aggression are the source of all the misfortunes of our nation, the principal obstacle against the unification of our country, and the permanent source of war in our country. The supreme national tasks of the Korean peoples are to chase out the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression from South Korea, to accomplish the revolution of national liberation, and to bring about the unification of the country.

The progressive journalists of the world over, notably yourselves, have demonstrated a profound understanding and a great sympathy for the just cause of the Korean people and have always energetically condemned the policy of aggression and of war pursued by U.S. imperialism on the Korean peninsula. In the past, during the course of the Korean war which U.S. imperialism unleashed in its unlawful ambition

to invade the whole of Korea, the progressive journalists of the world condemned the criminal atrocities of the U.S. imperialists and gave active support and encouragement to our people, who had risen to safeguard their freedom and independence of their fatherland, their national dignity and the gains of revolution; today again, they wield their pens in support of the people of Korea in their just struggle to chase out U.S. imperialism and to unify their artificially divided country. That the international prize for journalism has been bestowed, in the name of the progressive journalists of the world, upon comrade Kim Jong Tae, indomitable militant revolutionary and fervent publicist issuing from the Korean people, offers further and greater support to our people in their just, revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle. In the name of the entire people of Korea, I express my heartfelt thanks.

Our people welcome in your person true friends, companions at arms worthy of our confidence. During the course of your stay in our country, you will be warmly greeted by our people wherever you go, and you will be able to see for yourselves their ardent desire to strengthen their ties of combat with the revolutionary peoples of the world.

The people of Korea have always supported oppressed peoples and have assisted with all means available their struggle for liberty and freedom, for they themselves have been in a similar position in the past and have the same objectives. Today, the militant friendship and solidarity of our people with the revolutionary peoples of the world are further strengthened. We consider this friendship and this solidarity to be an important guarantee to the victory of our revolution. Further, in the future, we shall make untiring efforts to reinforce our combat solidarity with the peoples of all countries in the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle.

In conclusion, I greet you with fighting spirit, you who are gathered here, you who have devoted yourselves to the sacred revolutionary cause of humanity, and, through your intermediary, all the progressive journalists of the world, and with all my heart I wish all revolutionary journalists, ardent political, militant anti-imperialists, every success in their noble work.

9

Answers to the Questions Raised by the Delegation of the Democratic Youth League of Finland for the "Kansan Uutiset," the Central Organ of the Communist Party of Finland

September 2, 1969

Question: U.S. imperialism has intensified the maneuverings against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Do you consider that the violations of the territory and the territorial waters and territorial air of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists, are a prelude to an eventually more extensive armed intervention against the territory of your country and that will lead to a total war in the end?

Answer: At present the peace-loving peoples of the whole world follow, as you do, developments in our country with deep interest and are greatly concerned about the unusual situation in our country.

In fact, the situation of our country is very complicated and tense today. The U.S. imperialists play with fire almost every day against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, making the situation extremely acute.

As regards the uninterrupted intrusions by the U.S. imperialists into the sacred territory, territorial waters and air of our country, they are no accidental occurrences but a link in the chain of their premeditated maneuvers to unleash a new war in Korea.

Ever since the first days of their worming into South Korea, the U.S. imperialists have consistently pursued and are still pursuing the heinous aim of not only turning South Korea into their complete colony but also committing aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia and, further, against the socialist camp with South Korea as a stepping-stone. It is for the attainment of this aim that they try to maintain their colonial domination over South Korea by all means and methods. The U.S. imperialists set up by the bayonet a most ferocious colonial fascist regime of dictatorship in South Korea, a puppet regime, which

faithfully executes their policies of military aggression and colonial enslavement, and through it and with the so-called "aid" as a bait, have taken hold of all the political, economic, cultural, and military fields of South Korea and converted it into a U.S. military base for aggression, into a military appendage to the United States.

The U.S. imperialist maneuvers to provoke a new war in Korea have been more intensified, especially in the recent years. The U.S. imperialists have revealed their burglarious nature in a more undisguised manner, and they commit armed provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea every day, leading the situation to the brink of war. Last year alone, they made armed attacks on our side along the Military Demarcation Line on more than 2,000 occasions, and infiltrated numerous espionage agents into the territory of the Northern half of the Republic to perpetrate activities of subversion and sabotage. In March this year the U.S. imperialists, for the purpose of testing their preparedness for another war in Korea, went so far as to stage a most provocative military exercise of "airlifting" massive aggression troops and combat material from the U.S. mainland to South Korea under the name of "Operation Focus Retina."

In order to unleash a new war, the U.S. imperialists have of late embarked upon more openly perpetrating various forms of espionage activity against our country. They cause hostile provocative incidents frequently by sending their armed spy ships to intrude deep into the territorial waters of our country in broad daylight on the one hand and, on the other, they intensify aggressive aerial reconnaissance in our territorial air. As is widely known to the world, the U.S. imperialist aggressors intruded their armed spy ship *Pueblo* deep into the territorial waters of our country to carry out espionage activities in January last year and were caught red-handed and received due punishment, but they still carry on espionage activities instead of having learned a lesson. As the U.S. imperialists themselves made public, the U.S. imperialist reconnaissance planes had flown around our territorial air and carried out espionage activities hundreds of times for the first few months of this year, and on last April 15, a large-size EC-121 spy plane was dispatched to penetrate deep into the territorial air of the Republic, but was shot down by the valiant Korean People's Army men while carrying out its espionage activity.

It was the exercise of sovereignty as recognized by international law that we shot down the U.S. imperialist spy plane which had intruded

into the territorial air of our country and committed hostile acts. It is the sacred and inviolable right of the people of every country to defend their sovereignty and take self-defense measures against those who try to infringe upon it.

However, as their spy plan was damaged severely, the U.S. imperialists are ridiculously maneuvering to justify their criminal acts with a preposterous sophistry and are going off into a more reckless war hysteria. The aggressors of U.S. imperialism clamor that they will continue reconnaissance flights over our country in the future, too, and that they will be provided with an "armed escort." They are drawing a false picture, as if their espionage activities against our country were some sort of measure "necessary" for the security of the United States and some sort of "right" devolved upon them.

As the world history of war shows, this kind of provocation is a deliberate act of aggression committed by the imperialists only on the eve of war for the purpose of detecting foreign military installations and other military secrets and making a pretext for igniting war.

In these days many war chieftains of U.S. imperialism creep into South Korea and bustle about the front line areas and military bases, and the South Korean puppets are summoned to Washington almost every month for one conspiracy after another. This, too, shows how furiously they are running about to provoke a new war of aggression in Korea.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have now established "war structure" throughout South Korea, issued emergency mobilization orders to the U.S. occupation troops in South Korea and to the South Korean puppet army, and have entered a "special alert," reinforcing their armed forces along the Military Demarcation Line.

Judging from all the portents, it is obvious that unless we maintain sharpest revolutionary vigilance and make every preparation, the U.S. imperialists may launch a new war of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at any moment. The situation is very tense; dangerous conditions have been created in our country, where war may be unleashed by the U.S. imperialists even tomorrow or the day after. If the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys keep on provoking us, we will not just sit with folded arms, and if this process of hitting and being hit is repeated, it will, in the long run, develop into a total war.

Question: Are there any instances of the increase of the U.S. military

potentialities on South Korean soil? If they have increased, to what degree, do you think, is it linked with the premeditated aggravation of tension and the danger of total war?

Answer: Since South Korea is a U.S. imperialist military base of aggression intended to invade the whole of Korea and Asia, there are already tremendous U.S. military potentialities there. The U.S. imperialists keep more than 60,000 U.S. troops and the armed forces of their satellite countries in South Korea and permanently maintain the huge puppet army 700,000 strong. And through their military occupation and "aid," they have seized real power in South Korea and thoroughly subordinated all its manpower and material resources to their military objectives and war policy.

The U.S. imperialists have incessantly increased their military potentialities in South Korea in systematic violation of the armistice agreement after the war and have embarked upon further reinforcing them, particularly in recent years. This is related entirely to the frantic preparations of another aggressive war by the U.S. imperialists in South Korea against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

For a war of aggression, the U.S. imperialists are reinforcing the U.S. occupation army in South Korea and increasing their combat capacities all the more. They have already introduced into South Korea large quantities of tactical nuclear weapons, guided missiles, and other weapons of mass destruction; and of late they newly formed what they call the 71st task fleet with large armed forces and deployed it off the Democratic People's Republic of Korea while reinforcing fighter-bombers in South Korean bases by several hundreds.

In increasing their military potentialities in South Korea, the U.S. imperialists are especially interested in the reinforcement of the numerical strength of the South Korean puppet army and the modernization of their military equipment.

The South Korean puppet army is a colonial mercenary army which exclusively serves the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists. It is not without reason that the U.S. imperialists are expanding the puppet army so immensely instead of their aggression army. For the upkeep of a division of the South Korean puppet army, the U.S. imperialists pay as little as a twenty-fifth of that for the maintenance of a division of their aggression army. So, the U.S. imperialists pressgang young and middle-aged Koreans to use them for their ag-

gressive purposes and thereby "cut" their military expenditures greatly. Furthermore, by employing a huge puppet army instead of their own troops, they make believe the South Korean puppet army serves for some national interests, and they beautify and embellish themselves as "helper."

For this purpose, the U.S. imperialists have increased the number of the ground forces of the South Korean puppet army from sixteen divisions right after the armistice to twenty-nine divisions plus four brigades and activated atomic and guided missile units, while reinforcing the South Korean puppet navy and air force on a large scale.

The maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to reinforce the numerical strength of the South Korean puppet army have become all the more frantic following the *Pueblo* incident and the incident of the shooting down of the EC-121 spy plane. The numerical strength of the puppet army has swelled by almost 100,000 over the last one to two years in South Korea as a result of a number of measures such as suspending the demobilization of the puppet army men, extending the term of military service, reorganizing reserve divisions in the rear into combat divisions, and activating new units.

What merits special attention are the maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen to form the "Local Reserve Army." For the purpose of further reinforcing local mercenaries in South Korea, the U.S. imperialists manufactured the "Local Reserve Army" and press-ganged into it over two million youth and middle-aged of South Korea and are hurrying up with its full armament. Now, they have placed the "Local Reserve Army" under the command of the puppet army and forced military training upon it and have already prepared "call-up papers" so that it can be thrown into battle at any time.

In accordance with the requirements of the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, military airfields, harbors, rocket bases, strategic roads, and various other military bases and military installations are being built or expanded in a big way all over South Korea now.

The U.S. imperialists have converted South Korea into a huge army camp where massive armed forces are concentrated and everything is geared to war policy, into a drill ground for the provocation of a new war. This glaringly shows the aggressive design of the U.S. imperialists to conquer the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by "force."

Owing to these maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges

to increase the military potentialities in South Korea, the tension is now being further aggravated and the danger of a new aggressive war is increasing every day in our country.

Question: Do you think the outbreak of a total war on the Korean territory can be checked?

Answer: The situation in our country has become very tense today due to the intensified U.S. imperialist maneuvers for aggression and provocation of another war, but I think a total war can be checked if we actively struggle to safeguard peace.

Proceeding from the intrinsic nature of our state and social system, which is alien to exploitation and oppression of any kind, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea holds it as the basis of its foreign policy to oppose aggression against other countries and fight for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress. Being a peace-loving people, we Korean people do not want to provoke anyone first. We have never invaded a single inch of foreign territory in our history nor have we infringed in the least upon the sovereignty and security of other countries.

The imperialists, however, make aggression and war their regular business, their basic means of existence. Aggression and war are the constant companions of imperialism. U.S. imperialism, in particular, has carried out all sorts of brigandish plunder and atrocities everywhere in the world, by means of most brutal and barbarous wars, since the first days of its birth and has become fattened with the sweat and blood of hundreds of millions of people.

The situation has become aggravated to the extreme in Korea today and danger has been engendered; thus a war may break out again at any moment, not because we have committed any act of violating the territory of the United States of America or menacing its sovereignty and security, but because the U.S. imperialists have come to our country thousands of miles away from their country and intensified the policies of aggression and war against the Korean people. The source of war in Korea lies in the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their policy of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and, accordingly, the outbreak of a total war in Korea, too, depends entirely on the U.S. imperialists.

To check a war in Korea, this source of conflagration must be removed. If the U.S. imperialists get out of the Southern half of our country, taking their aggression army and lethal weapons with them,

and if they desist from hostile acts against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a total war will be prevented and peace maintained in Korea. This is the fundamental requisite to preventing a new, total war in Korea.

Following the withdrawal of the U.S. aggression army from Korea, we may conclude a peace agreement whereby North and South Korea will pledge not to invade each other and take measures for cutting the armed forces of North and South Korea to 100,000 or less respectively. This will become a reliable guarantee for maintaining a durable peace in Korea.

To conclude a peace agreement between North and South Korea and cut the armed forces of North and South Korea sharply in this way after the withdrawal of the U.S. imperialist aggression army from Korea—this is the very way to the prevention of a total war in Korea and the removal of the danger of war.

The U.S. imperialists, however, oppose it tooth and nail and are going further on the way to hazardous war provocation.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people have made and are still making every sincere effort to consolidate the Korean armistice, preserve peace in Korea, and frustrate the reckless maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys for provoking a new war. Peace is maintained in Korea today only thanks to the maximum patience and stubborn struggle of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people and to the struggle of the peace-loving peoples of the world.

The Korean people are well aware that peace can never be maintained by begging the U.S. imperialists for it, that it can be won only through a positive and persistent struggle to thwart the U.S. imperialist maneuvers for war provocation. As in the past, the Korean people will, in the future, unfold a resolute struggle to check the U.S. imperialist maneuverings of aggression and to safeguard peace in Korea.

We fight with all consistency to prevent war and maintain peace, but we are not at all afraid of the imperialists pouncing upon us by force of arms. If the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys go the length of unleashing another total war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea despite our repeated warnings and the unanimous condemnation of the peace-loving peoples of the world, we will definitely return them a total war, and will thoroughly annihilate the aggressors. We

Korean people will never become colonial slaves of the Wall Street warmongers even if we die in the decisive battle against the enemy. We will resolutely defend our beloved fatherland and the socialist gains which we have won at the cost of blood from the encroachment of foreign aggressors.

Question: With what kinds of measures is U.S. imperialism attempting to suppress the national-liberation movement in South Korea? And what, in your opinion, are the possibilities of the development of the movement?

Answer: The revolution in South Korea is a national-liberation revolution against U.S. imperialism and a democratic revolution against feudal forces. The U.S. imperialists have occupied South Korea by force of arms and turned it completely into their colony and military base. In maintaining their colonial rule over South Korea, the U.S. imperialists rely on the landlords, comprador capitalists, and reactionary bureaucrats who have become guides for the U.S. imperialist aggression and its faithful agents. The landlord class cruelly exploits and oppresses the peasant masses under the patronage of the U.S. imperialists. The comprador capitalists make profits by introducing U.S. surplus goods and capital, plundering and selling out the resources of our country to the U.S. monopolies, and supplying war materials to the mercenary troops of U.S. imperialism. Accordingly, the basic task of the South Korean revolution is to oppose the occupation of South Korea by U.S. imperialism and drive out the U.S. aggression army, oppose the exploitation and oppression by the landlords, comprador capitalists, and reactionary bureaucrats who are hand in glove with U.S. imperialism, and to insure democratic development for South Korean society.

Ever since the liberation, the South Korean workers, peasants, and patriotic youth and students, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie, and even the conscientious national capitalists have waged vigorous struggles to carry out that task, thereby shaking the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism to its very foundations and driving the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys into a dead end.

The U.S. imperialists are so flurried at this that they resort to plain military fascist dictatorship in an attempt to maintain their colonial rule which is on the brink of total bankruptcy in South Korea, and eliminate all the social and political elements that constitute an

obstacle to their colonial rule and the carrying out of their war policies.

U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have expanded the repressive apparatus on a large scale while manufacturing various evil fascist laws and thus covering the whole of South Korea with a military, police intelligence, and secret service networks, and have turned the whole land of South Korea into a living hell of terrorism and oppression. They are running amuck to stamp out all freedom and democratic rights of the people, and are brutally suppressing the patriotic, democratic forces. All the progressive political parties, public organizations, and press organs have become the target of harsh suppression, and the revolutionaries and patriotic people, who have risen in the righteous struggle for the right to existence, democratic freedom, national liberation, and the unification of the country, are being arrested, detained, and butchered right and left. Only recently, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys arrested, imprisoned, and murdered at random a large number of revolutionaries and patriotic personages, including Kim Jong Tae, a leading functionary of the United Revolutionary Party in South Korea, because they had demanded democracy and liberty. With the rampancy of the "intelligence politics that violate human rights and the power politics that ignore the public opinion," South Korean society has virtually been reduced to a "space without air, a land without moisture and society without light," to a "debris where democracy has been eroded." In this way, the regime of military fascist dictatorship established in South Korea faithfully serves the U.S. imperialist policies of colonial enslavement and war. The military fascist dictatorship enforced by the U.S. imperialists in South Korea surpasses by far the fascist dictatorships of Hitler and Tojo in ferocity and barbarity, and has become a pattern of the malicious fascist rule of the imperialists over colonies.

Under the heavy burden of military expenses resulting from the policies of aggression and war pursued by the U.S. imperialists and their puppet regime and under fascist suppression, poverty and lack of rights of the South Korean people have reached an extreme; the dignity of the nation is utterly trampled upon and social unrest mounts day by day.

The revolutionaries and patriotic people of South Korea are waging the anti-U.S. national-salvation struggle under very different conditions

of the rampant fascist suppression, and the national-liberation struggle in South Korea has an arduous way to go, of course. But no difficulty, no amount of frenzy of the enemy can ever hold in check the advance of the revolutionary movement in South Korea.

Where there are exploitation and oppression, there always breaks out the revolutionary struggle of the people, and where oppressors intensify their tyranny, the people's struggle against it always becomes more organized and tenacious.

The more the U.S. imperialists intensify their fascist suppression in South Korea, the greater discontent and stronger resistance of the South Korean people will they encounter.

In South Korea today, confrontation between democracy and reaction has become more acute, and the imperialist forces of aggression are ever more isolated and weakened, whereas the patriotic forces of revolution keep on growing.

National and class consciousness is gradually increasing and anti-U.S. sentiments are mounting among the popular masses in South Korea. The revolutionary struggle of the South Korean people is ever more expanding and developing into diverse forms of positive anti-U.S. national-salvation struggle, armed struggle included. The struggle has become increasingly organized and deep-rooted among the workers and peasants, the main forces of the revolution, and is vigorously unfolded among the broader masses of the people of all walks of life. The mass struggle of the South Korean people, which is rapidly gaining momentum in these days against the maneuvers of the Park Chung Hee puppet clique for a long-term office in South Korea, clearly proves that the national-liberation movement of South Korea is growing continuously, even under the circumstances of the maximum fascist suppression by U.S. imperialism and its stooges. Through the active and arduous revolutionary struggle, the South Korean people will be all the more awakened and tempered, and will grow into an invincible revolutionary force which will eventually be able to repulse any malignant enemy. And once a revolutionary situation arrives, they will definitely crush U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and achieve the final victory for the revolution.

Question: How best can the national unification of Korea be realized?

Answer: The stand we have taken with regard to the question of

Korean unification has already been made clear on a number of occasions.

We have maintained and still maintain that the question of Korean unification should be solved by the Korean people themselves independently and by peaceful means on democratic principles without interference of any outside forces.

The question of Korean unification is an internal affair of the Korean people, in which no outside forces are allowed to meddle. We can never place the question of the unification of our country at the disposal of foreigners. Foreigners cannot solve the domestic affairs of our country either. The Korean question should be settled only by the Korean people themselves, according to their will and with their own efforts. Ours is a sagacious and civilized nation that is fully capable of solving any of its national questions by itself.

The unification of the North and South of our country, the long-cherished desire of the whole nation, has not yet been accomplished, solely because the U.S. imperialists occupy South Korea, interfere in the internal affairs of our country, and pursue the policy of national split. If the U.S. imperialists had not unlawfully occupied South Korea and had not obstructed our people's cause of national unification, we would have long ago unified the country, and the forty million Korean would be leading a happy life together in a unified land stretching across three thousand *ri*. The occupation of South Korea by U.S. imperialism and its aggressive policy constitute the source of all the miseries of our nation and the main obstacle to the unification of Korea. For the attainment of Korean unification, therefore, the U.S. imperialists aggressors should get out of South Korea, first of all.

We may materialize the unification of the country by way of establishing a unified central government through general elections in the North and South to be held on democratic principles under the conditions in which all foreign troops have withdrawn and there is no interference of outside forces.

In order to hold such general elections, first of all, complete freedom of political activities of all political parties, public organizations, and individuals, as well as freedoms of speech, the press, assembly, association, and demonstration, should be fully insured in all parts of North and South Korea. Along with this, all the citizens should be enabled to enjoy equal suffrage and eligibility for election irrespective

of their political party affiliations, political views, property status, standards of learning, religions, and sex, anywhere in North and South Korea. A unified democratic government representing the interests of all strata of the people can thus be established only through the elections by secret ballot on universal, equal, and direct principles in a completely democratic atmosphere, after eliminating all the factors that obstruct or suppress the expression of free will of the people.

We consider that this is the most realistic way for the unification of Korea and is a fair and reasonable program acceptable to all.

We have so far made every possible effort to realize the unification of the country since liberation.

If the free general elections throughout North and South Korea cannot be held right now, we have proposed to set up a Confederation of North and South Korea as a transitional step to tackle urgent, immediate problems of common concern for the nation and gradually go over to complete unification. The Confederation we have proposed means the formation of a Supreme National Committee composed of equal numbers of representatives designated by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the South Korean authorities respectively, while preserving the present political systems established in North and South Korea as they are. The Supreme National Committee should be an organ whose main function is to coordinate the economic and cultural development of North and South Korea and promote mutual cooperation and intercourse between the North and the South for the common interests of the nation.

We maintained that if the South Korean rulers could not accept the Confederation, economic and cultural interchange and mutual visits of individual persons between North and South Korea should be materialized so as to mitigate even a little the sufferings of national split, setting aside political questions for the time being. In case they would not like even that, we proposed to take humanitarian measures for allowing the North and South Korean people to exchange letters at least.

The U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique, however, have rejected all these just proposals of ours and answered our persevering, sincere efforts with aggressive provocations each time.

In consequence, since liberation up to now when a new generation has grown up, our people have lived an extremely abnormal life in

which parents, wives and children, relatives and friends live asunder in the North and South and cannot even hear from each other, to say nothing of the unification of the country.

Do the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen oppose our just proposals on unification with any counterproposal which is acceptable to us on the question of Korean unification? No, far from that.

Now the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique are frantically raising repressive rackets, recklessly arresting and imprisoning anybody in South Korea for mere utterances on peaceful unification, and are maneuvering in every way to perpetuate the division of Korea. Under these circumstances, it is practically impossible to think of the peaceful unification of Korea so long as the U.S. imperialists and the present puppet rulers are allowed to remain in South Korea.

Korea's peaceful unification can be achieved only after the U.S. imperialist aggression army has been driven out of South Korea, the South Korean people have overthrown the present puppet regime, and the progressive forces of South Korea have taken power. When the U.S. imperialist aggressors are forced out of South Korea, when the present South Korean rulers are ousted, and when some progressive democratic personages have seized power, we can hold peaceful negotiations with them on the question of Korean unification at any time. Our people's cause of national unification will thus be attained with the concerted efforts of the socialist forces of the Northern half and the patriotic democratic forces of South Korea.

We can say that the unification of Korea and the attainment of the Korean people's cause of national liberation depend, in the final analysis, on the preparation of the three revolutionary forces. They are, firstly, the socialist forces of North Korea, secondly, the revolutionary forces of South Korea, and thirdly, the international revolutionary forces. While striving to strengthen and develop the revolutionary forces in North and South Korea, we are fighting to develop the international revolutionary movement and cement solidarity with it.

The U.S. imperialists will finally be chased out of South Korea by the revolutionary struggle of the North and South Korean people who enjoy active support from the revolutionary peoples of the whole world, and Korean unification will be accomplished without fail.

I should like to avail myself of the opportunity to extend my warm greetings to the Finnish Communists and the working class of Finland

who actively support the righteous struggle of the Korean people to drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressors from South Korea and unify the country independently.

Question: What is your opinion about the will of the youth of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to step up socialist construction and defend their country's right to self-determination?

Answer: The youth play a very great role in the revolution and construction of our country.

The youth can play an important role in the social revolution and the construction of a new society, for they are originally sensitive to the new and are endowed with an enterprising spirit and have the fine character and quality of loving justice and truth and fighting for them, surmounting difficulties without fear. Particularly, all the excellent characters and qualities of the youth will display a very great force when they are combined with their firm revolutionary determination to devote themselves to the struggle for society and people under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

We consider that the Korean youth have proved this truth creditably in their practical activities.

Today, the Korean youth, under the leadership of our Party, are playing the role of a vanguard, a shock brigade on all fronts of economic construction and national defense upbuilding in order to accelerate the socialist construction of the country and safeguard the revolutionary gains, the independence of the country, and the security of the people against the enemy's aggression.

After liberation, the Korean youth firmly rallied behind the banner of the Democratic Youth League under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and took an active part in the carrying out of all the democratic reforms in North Korea. In the arduous period of post-war rehabilitation when the socialist revolution and socialist construction became the order of the day, they brought their revolutionary enthusiasm, inexhaustible strength, and talents into full play. They participated with a great revolutionary spirit in the work of cooperativizing agriculture and transforming private trade and industry on socialist lines, a great socio-economic change in our country. And they erected factories, reconstructed the railways, and built in a new shape the towns and villages which had been reduced to ashes, tightening their belts and fighting hard-fought battles.

The steadfast determination and high revolutionary zeal of the youth

in our country to build a new happy society faster and better are displayed to the full in all fields of socialist construction today.

The youth always bear the brunt of the most difficult and arduous work in the factories and mines, in the farming and fishing villages, and on numerous construction sites across the country, and they are ceaselessly raising the flames of innovation movement in production. They are not only performing a great feat of labor in building an independent socialist industry and firm socialist agriculture but also contributing greatly to the work of developing science and technology and bringing national culture and art into full bloom in our country. All the achievements made by the Korean people in socialist construction are imbued with the precious sweat of our young men and women and associated with their great exploits.

The Korean people are also exhibiting unexcelled patriotic devotion and gallantry in the struggle to defend the socialist gains and sovereignty of their fatherland against foreign aggressors.

The Korean youth have the brilliant revolutionary traditions of the struggle for the freedom and independence of the fatherland. When the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea, young Korean Communists waged fifteen years of arduous struggle with arms in their hands and restored their usurped country by crushing the Japanese imperialist aggressors; and when the U.S. imperialists unleashed a war against our young Republic, too, the Korean youth repulsed the enemy and defended the independence and honor of the country with credit, displaying their indomitable revolutionary fighting spirit and mass heroism.

They stand firmly at the outpost of national defense today. Our valiant People's Army soldiers administer decisive counterstrokes at the enemy whenever he violates the territory or territorial air and waters of our country even an inch. The U.S. imperialists have more than once had the bitter taste of the counterstrokes of our brave People's Army soldiers of late.

In our country, national defense service is taken up not only by the youth in the People's Army. Our entire youth and working people are builders of socialism and real defenders of the fatherland at the same time. They are all building their socialist country with a hammer and sickle in one hand and a rifle in the other.

Today the whole Korean youth are filled with a strong determina-

tion to defend the country firmly against any aggression of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

All this is an expression of the boundless loyalty of the Korean youth to the Workers' Party of Korea and an expression of their ardent love for the country and the socialist system.

The Korean youth are well aware that they are reliable reserves of the Workers' Party of Korea and true masters of the country, and that they represent the future of our society. That is why they are most faithful in serving the revolutionary cause of the working class and actively support and profoundly love the socialist system and their socialist fatherland which have enabled them to work and study to their hearts' content and to display all their youthful wisdom and talents to the full. That is why they regard it as their greatest honor and as their sacred duty to devote their all to the struggle for pushing ahead with socialist construction, consolidating and developing the socialist system, and firmly safeguarding the revolutionary gains and their fatherland.

With the triumph of the socialist revolution and the dynamic acceleration of socialist construction in our country, a great change is taking place in the spiritual life of our youth. It has become the common traits of our youth to lead a simple and militant life and to study and work steadily and sincerely for the society and the collective. As Red revolutionary soldiers of the Workers' Party of Korea, all their work and life are filled to overflowing with a lofty revolutionary consciousness and other beautiful communist traits of life.

In the future, too, the Korean youth will continue to march forward vigorously in the van of the struggle for the building of socialism and communism under the leadership of our Party.

The Korean youth will further strengthen the ties of friendship and solidarity with the progressive youth of the whole world, including the Finnish youth, and will always fight staunchly together with them on the same side of the barricade in the struggle against the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists.

Question: What effect do you think the U.S. presidential election, the Paris negotiations on Vietnam, and the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam will have on the final solution of the Vietnam question?

Answer: The Vietnam question is a matter of greatest concern for the peoples throughout the world today.

The Vietnam war was sparked off when the U.S. imperialists, proceeding from their burglarious ambition to turn South Vietnam into their colony and military base for Asian aggression and swallow up the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, started a shameless armed intervention in the just cause of the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence, democracy and unification.

In an endeavor to achieve their aggressive ends in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have been engrossed in all sorts of malignant maneuvers for fifteen years, in flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists have dragged into South Vietnam a colossal aggression army more than 500,000 strong, and huge numbers of troops of their satellite countries and puppets. They have massacred South Vietnamese people at random by using various weapons of mass destruction and war equipment and even poisonous chemicals. As they encountered the strong resistance of the heroic Vietnamese people, who came out against the foreign aggressors, the U.S. imperialists embarked upon the escalation of their criminal war of aggression in South Vietnam and went to the extent of unleashing a destructive war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by framing up the Bac Bo Gulf Incident in 1964.

For the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam and the final solution of the Vietnam question, therefore, the U.S. imperialists should stop all their aggressive acts against Vietnam at once and forever and quit South Vietnam, taking with them their aggression army as well as the troops of their satellite countries and puppets unconditionally. We consider this the basic requisite for the solution of the Vietnam question.

But we cannot expect that there will be any change in the policy of U.S. imperialism nor any change in the solution of the Vietnam question simply because a new president has assumed office in the United States.

All the policies of the United States of America originate from the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism, and they can never change so long as the United States remains an imperialist power and does not give up her ambition for world domination. No matter who becomes the U.S. president, he executes the colonial policy and expansionist policy of U.S. imperialism faithfully as a spokesman for the interests of the U.S. monopolies. Unless the state and social systems of the United States of America undergo fundamental changes, the policies

of U.S. imperialism can never change all of a sudden from aggressive ones to peaceable ones simply because the president has been replaced. The same can be said with regard to the Vietnam question. The aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism on Vietnam cannot change because of the replacement of the U.S. president, and, accordingly, the presidential election in the United States cannot be the occasion for any change in the solution of the Vietnam question.

But all this in no way means that the Vietnam question is a question that can never be solved and that has gloomy prospects so long as the United States remains an imperialist power. The Vietnam question will definitely be solved sooner or later, when the subjective and objective situations of the revolution are created. It may be solved even earlier, during the term of office of the present U.S. president. Even in that case, however, the Vietnam question would be solved not because the present U.S. president desisted from the aggressive policy and adopted a peace-loving policy, but because the U.S. imperialists were finally beaten and driven out of Vietnam by the heroic anti-U.S., national-salvation resistance of the Vietnamese people, who enjoy the positive support of the world's revolutionary peoples.

As for the Paris Conference on Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists were forced into the conference site at Paris because they suffered more irretrievable, heavy military and political defeats with each passing day from the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, and because they were confronted with the resolute protest and condemnation of the whole world's peace-loving peoples opposed to the criminal war of aggression in Vietnam. But the U.S. imperialists are brazenly maneuvering to recover at the conference table from the crushing defeat they have sustained on the battleground. Behind the screen of "peace" and "negotiation," they cling to crafty trickery and artifice to pursue the "policy of strength" and intensify the aggressive war in Vietnam and perpetuate their occupation of South Vietnam. All this shows beyond doubt how heinously the U.S. imperialists are maneuvering to carry through to the end their brigandish designs to stifle the national-liberation revolution of the South Vietnamese people, maintain their neocolonialist rule over South Vietnam, and destroy the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Paris Conference on Vietnam, due to the insidious maneuverings of the U.S. imperialists, has made little progress, contrary to the expectation of the progressive people of the whole world.

If the U.S. imperialists persist in their present position at the Paris Conference on Vietnam, nothing can be expected from there.

The only correct way to push forward the Paris Conference on Vietnam successfully and to solve the Vietnam question in conformity with world public opinion and the desire of the Vietnamese people is the full acceptance by the U.S. imperialists of the reasonable suggestions set forth by the representatives of the Vietnamese people. No one can solve the Vietnam question for the Vietnamese people. The master of Vietnam is the Vietnamese people and the Vietnam question should be solved by the Vietnamese people themselves, without interference of any outside forces. We consider that the Vietnam question can be settled most correctly only on the basis of the proposals made by the representative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the ten-point proposal made public by the delegation of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation at the Paris Conference on Vietnam, and we give wholehearted support to the proposals.

As for the setting up of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, it is an epoch-making event which has recently focused the attention of the whole world, I think.

The establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, a brilliant point scored in the resistance war of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism for national salvation, is of great historical significance in the struggle of the South Vietnamese people to accomplish the national-liberation revolution. Through the establishment of their revolutionary government, the South Vietnamese people have come to possess a more powerful weapon in the struggle to develop the liberation struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors on a new stage, to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, and neutral South Vietnam, and to bring about the peaceful unification of the country.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam is the genuine, lawful government of the South Vietnamese people; it embraces the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the Vietnam Alliance of National Democratic and Peace Forces, as well as various political parties, public organizations, religious organizations, and all strata of the people of South Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists should leave the Vietnam question to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the genuine, lawful representative of the South Vietnamese people,

and withdraw from South Vietnam without delay. The U.S. imperialists should also discuss the solution of the South Vietnam question with the representatives of the Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam at the Paris Conference on Vietnam.

If the U.S. imperialists reject this and continue to back the Thieu-Ky puppet clique in South Vietnam as they do now and persist in the criminal aggressive maneuverings, the South Vietnamese people will fight more resolutely under the guidance of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam until they sweep away the U.S. imperialist aggressors to the last man.

We are deeply convinced that the heroic South Vietnamese people, rallied firmly around the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, will defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their running dogs; they will surely win the complete victory of the national-liberation revolution and the sacred cause of national unification.

No force can subdue the people who have taken power in their hands and risen to an armed struggle for freedom and independence.

Victory will be attained definitely by the heroic Vietnamese people, who have risen in the sacred battle against U.S. imperialism for national salvation to safeguard the North, liberate the South, and unify the country.

10

Let Us Intensify the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-U.S. Struggle

(Article published in the Inaugural Issue of the Theoretical Magazine *Tricontinental*, Organ of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, on August 12, 1967)

Two years ago the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America was inaugurated in Havana, capital of Cuba. It was an event of enormous importance. The aims and ideas of this organization have aroused the sympathy of hundreds of millions of Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans and they are exerting a profound influence on the great changes taking place in the world today.

The peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, who had been oppressed and plundered by Western capitalism and imperialism for centuries, have risen courageously and taken their place on the stage of history. The strong tide of national liberation is rising with an irresistible force. Hundreds of millions of people on the three continents are fighting for their liberation and are struggling to defend the revolutionary achievements they have already won. The colonial system of imperialism is rapidly disintegrating.

Imperialism is making desperate attempts to retain its former positions and regain its lost ground. As the dying hour of imperialism draws closer, the struggle is further intensifying. Thus, the peoples cannot but continue their struggle, holding high the banner of anti-imperialism, until imperialism is totally wiped off the face of the earth.

The newly independent countries which have thrown off the yoke of imperialism are confronted with the very difficult and important tasks of defending their national independence, carrying forward the revolution and aiding the liberation struggle of the peoples still chained by imperialism. The peoples who have won their independence must fight to crush the subversive activities of foreign imperialism and domestic forces of reaction, tear down their economic strongholds, strengthen the revolutionary forces, set up a progressive social system

and build an independent national economy and national culture. Only in this way can they safeguard the gains of the revolution, achieve the prosperity of their countries and nations, and contribute to the common struggle of the peoples of the whole world to bury imperialism.

Asia, Africa, and Latin America comprise 71 per cent of the world's land surface. These continents are inhabited by more than two-thirds of the world's population and are endowed with inexhaustible natural resources. Imperialism has grown and become fat by grinding these peoples down and robbing them of their riches. Even today imperialism is squeezing tens of billions of dollars in profits from these areas every year. Once Asia, Africa, and Latin America are completely freed from old and new colonialism, there will not be an imperialist Western Europe and an imperialist North America.

The struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism and colonialism is a sacred liberation struggle for hundreds of millions of oppressed and humiliated people; it is also a great battle to cut the life line of world imperialism. This struggle and the revolutionary struggle of the international working class for socialism are the two major revolutionary forces of our times, and they join into one torrent which will carry imperialism to its grave.

The imperialists cannot bestow independence upon the colonial peoples. Is there any need to prove the falsity of the imperialists' declaration that the Western world can help the peoples of the three continents to achieve independence and progress and can coexist with a free and independent Asia, Africa, and Latin America? The imperialist leopard cannot, and will never, change his imperialist spots. Imperialism will exploit, oppress, and plunder the people until it meets its doom.

The oppressed peoples can liberate themselves only through struggle. This is a simple and clear truth confirmed by history. It is necessary to expose the false propaganda of the imperialists and thoroughly dispel the illusion that the imperialists will give up their positions in the colonies and dependent countries with good will. Where there is oppression, there is bound to be resistance. It is inevitable that the oppressed peoples should fight for their emancipation. As long as imperialism plunders and oppresses small and weak nations by force, it remains an inalienable right of the oppressed nations to rise up in arms and fight against the aggressors.

It is wrong to try to avoid the struggle against imperialism under the pretext that independence and revolution are important, but that peace is still more precious. Is it not really true that the line of seeking unprincipled compromise with imperialism only tends to encourage its aggressive actions and increase the danger of war? Peace secured by slavish submission is not peace. Genuine peace cannot be achieved unless a struggle is waged against the breakers of peace, unless the slave's peace is rejected and the oppressors' rule overthrown. We are opposed to the line of compromise with imperialism. At the same time, we cannot tolerate the practice of only shouting against imperialism but, in actual fact, being afraid to fight it. The latter is a line of compromise in an inverted form. Both have nothing to do with a genuine anti-imperialist struggle and only help the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

To fight imperialism, it is important above all to concentrate the attack on U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism. By stretching out its tentacles of aggression all over the world, U.S. imperialism has become the common enemy of all peoples of the world. There is no country on earth whose sovereignty is not violated by U.S. imperialism; there is no country which is free from the menace of U.S. imperialist aggression. The U.S. imperialists are brutally suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and constantly perpetrating acts of aggression and subversion to reenslave the newly independent countries. Bluntly revealing their true colors as gangsters, the U.S. imperialists are waging a war of aggression against a socialist country and interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries by force of arms. Over the past twenty-odd years since the end of World War II, not a day has gone by which has not witnessed the flames of aggression and war kindled by U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism is, indeed, the most heinous and shameless plunderer known to history. It is none other than the U.S. imperialists themselves who are causing peoples all over the world demanding peace, independence, and progress, to unite in a common front against U.S. imperialism.

The peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America have common interests and are in the position to support each other in their anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle. As long as Africa and Latin America are not free, Asia cannot be free; driving the U.S. imperialists out of Asia will benefit the liberation struggle of the African and Latin-American peo-

ples. Our victory over U.S. imperialism on one front will sap its strength that much, facilitate victory on other fronts. If the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression are defeated in any part of the world, it will be a very good thing for all peoples of the world. It is necessary, therefore, to form the broadest possible anti-U.S. united front to isolate U.S. imperialism completely, and hit it in unity wherever it extends its talons of aggression. This alone will make it possible to disperse and weaken the force of U.S. imperialism to the maximum and to lead the people with their decidedly superior power to defeat U.S. imperialism on all fronts.

For more than twenty years, the U.S. imperialists have been occupying the Southern half of our country. They have enforced colonial rule in South Korea and turned it into a military base for their aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia. In spite of their ignominious defeat in the aggressive war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the U.S. imperialists have not yet given up their aggressive design to conquer the whole of Korea and are incessantly maneuvering to unleash another war in Korea. The supreme task of the Korean people at present is to liquidate the colonial system of U.S. imperialism in South Korea, accomplish the national-liberation revolution and reunite the country. For the Korean people to achieve the cause of national liberation, forces must be prepared along three fronts: strengthen the socialist forces in North Korea; increase and accumulate the revolutionary forces in South Korea; and develop the international revolutionary movement and strengthen solidarity with it. North Korea is the base of the Korean revolution. The successes of socialist construction there encourage the South Korean people in their anti-U.S., national-salvation struggle and stimulate the preparation of revolutionary forces in South Korea. We are striving to strengthen and develop the revolutionary forces in North and South Korea and, at the same time, to cement solidarity with the international revolutionary forces. The Korean people support the struggle of the peoples of all countries against U.S. imperialism, and regard it as support for their own cause of liberation. We maintain that all the anti-imperialist forces of the world should unite in a joint struggle against U.S. imperialism, and we have been working consistently to achieve that goal.

The U.S. imperialists are afraid of the united strength of the revolutionary peoples of the world more than anything else. That is why they

are resorting to all kinds of maneuvers to obstruct the formation of an anti-U.S. united front and are using the strategy of conquering small, weak countries one by one. This strategy of U.S. imperialism must be thoroughly frustrated. The Asian, African, and Latin-American countries have differing social systems, and there are many parties and groupings with divergent political views in those countries. But all these countries, parties, and groupings—except the stooges of imperialism—have a common interest in opposing the imperialist forces of aggression headed by U.S. imperialism. The difference in social system and political ideas can never be an obstacle to the united struggle and concerted action against U.S. imperialism. No one must be allowed to divide the anti-U.S. united front or refuse joint action, attaching primary importance to his own specific national or partisan interests. Such an act will only benefit imperialism led by U.S. imperialism and harm the revolutionary peoples.

It is very important in the joint struggle against imperialism to defend the revolution which has already triumphed.

It is an internationalist duty of all the revolutionary peoples to fight to defend the gains of the Cuban revolution. Revolutionary Cuba represents the future of Latin America, and its very existence encourages the peoples of that continent in their liberation movement. The triumph of the Cuban revolution is striking evidence that imperialism is doomed and that the national-liberation revolution and people's revolution will certainly triumph in our times. It is for this very reason that the U.S. imperialists hate and fear this small island country so much. The U.S. imperialists are trying to strangle the Republic of Cuba. The peoples of Latin America and the progressive peoples of the whole world must do everything in their power to foil the U.S. imperialists' blockade policy against the Republic of Cuba and frustrate their attempt for a military invasion of Cuba.

Today the Vietnamese people's war of resistance for national salvation against the U.S. expeditionary forces has become the focal point of the anti-imperialist struggle. The U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces of the world are having a showdown in Vietnam. The U.S. troops are suffering one defeat after another in face of the heroic resistance struggle of the Vietnamese people and are falling into a bottomless pit. Contrary to the calculation of the U.S. imperialists, the Vietnam war has become a grave for the

aggressors. The Vietnamese people's war of resistance for national salvation is another graphic example that a people who are determined to defend their independence and freedom at any cost and who have the support of the peoples of the whole world cannot be defeated.

At present, the U.S. imperialists are escalating the war, continuously reinforcing their own military strength in South Vietnam, bringing in more troops from their satellite countries, and perpetrating the extensive aerial and artillery bombardment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people, through their heroic struggle, are shouldering the enormous burden of resisting the aggression of the most barbarous and most heinous imperialism of modern times. They are fighting not only to defend their independence and freedom, but also to safeguard world peace and security. Once U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam is checked and frustrated, U.S. imperialism will sink like the setting sun and the situation will be more favorable for the peoples of all countries fighting for peace, independence, and progress. The peace-loving peoples of the whole world have a duty to give all forms of aid to the Vietnamese people, and the Vietnamese people are entitled to receive it. The peoples of the socialist and the newly independent states and the peoples of all countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the world should make the greatest efforts to broaden the anti-U.S. united front, to aid the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance for national salvation, and, through concerted action, check U.S. imperialist aggression. No one has the right to force a solution of their internal affairs on the Vietnamese people. The U.S. armed forces of aggression must pull out of Vietnam and the Vietnamese question must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves.

We must neither underestimate nor overestimate the strength of U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism can still commit many crimes. But it is on the decline. Today when U.S. imperialism is behaving most outrageously, its vulnerability is more evident than ever before. The Korean people know what U.S. imperialism is. Our people have fought U.S. imperialism, and defended their country against its aggression. The Korean war showed that U.S. imperialism is by no means invincible, and that it is quite possible to fight it and defeat it. The triumph of the Cuban revolution again proved this truth under conditions different from ours. The Vietnamese people's war of resistance for national salvation also clearly confirms this truth.

U.S. imperialism is doomed to complete destruction. Through a unified struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America will build a new, independent, and prosperous Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and will make a great contribution to world peace and the liberation of mankind.

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