

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

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CONTENTS

ON TAKING GOOD CARE OF STATE PROPERTY AND USING IT SPARINGLY AND FURTHER DEVELOPING THE FISHING INDUSTRY

Concluding Speech at the 19th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, <i>June 30, 1969</i>	1
1. On Intensifying the Struggle to Take Good Care of State Property and Use It Sparingly.....	1
1) On Fostering among the Working People the Collectivist Spirit of Taking Care of State Property and Using It Sparingly.....	1
2) On Strengthening Control over the Treatment of State Property	7
3) On Carrying Out Cooperative Production Properly.....	20
4) On Discontinuing Unplanned Construction Projects.....	40
5) On Increasing Endeavours to Improve the Quality of Products	46
6) On Preventing Destructive and Subversive Activities against State Property	51
2. On Developing the Fishing Industry Further	54
1) On Firmly Building Up the Material and Technical Foundations of the Fishing Industry.....	54
2) On Developing Small-Scale Fishing and Aquaculture Extensively and Protecting Marine Resources Thoroughly.....	62
3) On Improving Fish Processing.....	68
4) On Developing the Science of Fisheries Rapidly	69
5) On Improving Supply Services for Fishermen	71

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY TAHA AL-BASRI, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE IRAQI NEWS AGENCY

<i>July 1, 1969</i>	75
---------------------------	----

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY ABDEL HAMID
AHMED HAMROUCHE, GENERAL MANAGER OF THE
DAR-EL-TAHRIR OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

July 1, 1969.....82

FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIFIED PLANNING SYSTEM

Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of the Officials in Charge
of the Planning Sector, *July 2, 1969*.....95

1. On Setting Up State Planning Departments in Factories
and Other Industrial Establishments95
2. On Establishing New Science of Planning Methods 103
3. On Planning City Management and Commerce and Distribution 114
4. On Drafting Next Year's National Economic Plan Quickly 117

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE DELEGATION
OF THE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE OF FINLAND FOR
THE *KANSAN UUTISET*, CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

September 2, 1969 120

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

Speech of Welcome at the International Conference on the Tasks
of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight against the Aggression
of US Imperialism, *September 18, 1969* 142

ON SOME EXPERIENCES OF THE DEMOCRATIC
AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS IN OUR COUNTRY

- Lecture to Cadres of Party and State Organizations, *October 11, 1969*..... 155
1. On Agrarian Reform.....155
 2. On the Agricultural Cooperative Movement..... 165
 3. On the Socialist Transformation of Private Trade and Industry 175

SOME PROBLEMS IN IMPROVING STATISTICAL WORK UNDER SOCIALISM

Speech at a Meeting of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, <i>October 21, 1969</i>	181
--	-----

ON SOME IMMEDIATE TASKS FOR PARTY WORK AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Speech to the Chief Secretaries of Provincial, City and County Party Committees, <i>October 25, 1969</i>	190
1. On Party Work.....	190
2. On Economic Affairs.....	201

ON THE PRESENT SITUATION AND SOME POLITICAL AND MILITARY TASKS OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Concluding Speech at the Conference of the Battalion Commanders, Their Deputies for Political Affairs and the Chairmen of the Battalion Committees of the League of Socialist Working Youth, of the Korean People's Army, <i>October 27, 1969</i>	210
1. On the International Situation.....	211
2. On the Internal Situation.....	221
3. On Party Political Work in the People's Army.....	227
4. On Some Military Tasks.....	246

LET US DEVELOP PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SPORTS ON A MASS BASIS AND PREPARE ALL THE PEOPLE FOR LABOUR AND DEFENCE

Speech at a National Conference of Athletes, <i>November 4, 1969</i>	253
--	-----

ON IMPROVING PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL WORK IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Speech Delivered upon Dispatching Heads of Organizational Departments under Political Departments of Field Armies and Corps of the Korean People's Army, <i>November 7, 1969</i>	266
--	-----

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY ALI BALOUT,
CORRESPONDENT OF THE LEBANESE NEWSPAPER *AL ANWAR*

November 22, 1969278

SOME QUESTIONS ON COMMUNIST EDUCATION
OF YOUTHS AND CHILDREN

Concluding Speech at the 20th Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth
Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, *December 5, 1969*..... 290

1. On Some Tasks of Developing Socialist and Communist Education..... 290

1) On Perfecting Socialist Pedagogy 290

2) On Establishing Juche Thoroughly in Technical Education..... 301

3) On Revolutionizing and Working-Classizing Teachers 304

4) On Managing Factory Colleges Efficiently 310

5) On Laying the Solid Material Foundations of Education in Schools 313

6) On Improving Party Guidance in Education..... 318

2. On Improving the Function and Role of the League of Socialist
Working Youth as a Militant Reserve Force of the Party..... 324

1) On Making LSWY Organizations Revolutionary and Active 325

2) On Improving the Work of the League of Socialist Working Youth
and Children's Union Organizations in Schools..... 332

3) On Working Efficiently among the Young People of Different
Classes and Sections..... 340

4) On the Broad Education of Young People and Children by Means
of Revolutionary Works of Literature and Art..... 348

ON SOME TASKS OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE PARTY
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Speech Delivered at a Meeting of the Secretariat of the Party Central
Committee, *December 24, 1969*..... 361

ON TAKING GOOD CARE OF STATE PROPERTY AND USING IT SPARINGLY AND FURTHER DEVELOPING THE FISHING INDUSTRY

**Concluding Speech at the 19th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth
Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

June 30, 1969

Comrades,

I should like to talk about intensifying the struggle to take good care of state property and use it sparingly, and on further developing the fishing industry.

1. ON INTENSIFYING THE STRUGGLE TO TAKE GOOD CARE OF STATE PROPERTY AND USE IT SPARINGLY

1) ON FOSTERING AMONG THE WORKING PEOPLE THE COLLECTIVIST SPIRIT OF TAKING CARE OF STATE PROPERTY AND USING IT SPARINGLY

A dynamic campaign to stamp out the practices of embezzlement and waste of state property must be launched on the ideological front as a matter of priority.

It is an expression of capitalist ideology to neglect to take care of state property or embezzle and waste it. In other words, failure to value public property and joint ownership as much as one's own is selfishness, a survival from capitalist society, which is manifested in caring only about one's own comfortable life disregarding the collective and society.

It should not be thought an easy matter to root out selfishness which has been growing in the minds of the people for a long time. It is impossible to eradicate the remnants of obsolete ideas merely through legal sanctions, and we shall never put an end to them if such a method is used. The most important factor in our efforts to stamp out embezzlement and waste of state property and to value and use it economically, is to eliminate the old ideas which remain in people's minds and educate them in communist ideas. It is particularly important to intensify ideological work so that all the working people clearly understand that each has his share in social wealth, and that he will be better off as this wealth increases.

However, we have not been successful in this work in the past.

Of course, many of our Party members and other working people work voluntarily and unsparingly until late at night.

Let me quote an example.

On one occasion in the past, some of our senior economic workers, who did not have a clear understanding of the Party's intention on making proper use of the law of value, visited the Hwanghae Iron Works and annoyed the workers, issuing promissory notes and stating that they would receive extra pay for whatever they produced over and above the plan, and so forth. To this the workers retorted: We don't need these things. Provided that you feed and clothe us, we'll work devotedly for the Party, the country and the people. So get away with the law of value or the "law of valves" or whatever it is!

What does this show? It shows that many of our workers have a high revolutionary resolve to devote everything to society and the people, not to their own interests. We can say that they have been working-classized and revolutionized to a large degree. Not only the

workers, but many of the former poor peasants are also determined to devote themselves to society.

However, there are also many in our society who are not like these people. In other words, there are still many who have not been working-classized and revolutionized and place their own interests and selfish desires above the interests of society and the collective. These people can also be found among the working class.

This is not accidental. We always say that many people in the ranks of the working class must be reformed. Where are the former merchants, handicraftsmen and entrepreneurs in Pyongyang and other cities and the rural well-to-do? Many of them have joined the ranks of the working class and some are in the ranks of cadres because of their wrongful promotion.

It is true that some of them have been reformed and are now working well. It cannot be said that none of them has been working-classized and revolutionized. However, many of them have yet to be reformed. Their minds are full of old ideas which serve their own interests and ambitions. Outwardly they seem meek, but they have a hidden purpose and are always looking for a chance to satisfy their own interests.

Let me take an example.

Until the year before last there was no egg plant in the Taean workers' district, South Phyongan Province. Therefore, for the purpose of providing eggs to the workers, the state built one there. The population in this district is 20,000 and the plant produces 23,000 to 24,000 eggs every day. They have a surplus even after they have provided an egg to every member of the population, so they send some of them to the workers in Nampho. In short, it can be said that in Taean the egg problem has been solved.

The workers could not afford to have eggs in the past, but now they can eat plenty of them as we see. Therefore, they should work conscientiously on behalf of the Party and the state which have brought them a more prosperous life, and firmly defend the socialist system. However, some of them, blinded by self-interest, are trading in eggs.

They buy eggs for 22 *jon* each in Taeon and take them over the pass to Kiyang where the tractor plant is situated, to sell them for 40 to 50 *jon*. If they sell an egg for 40 *jon*, they will earn 18 *won* for 100 eggs, and 36 *won* for 200. If they sell 300 eggs, they will earn the equivalent of an ordinary worker's monthly wage. The state provides rice for next to nothing through the supply system, and the fees for housing, electric power and water are also very low. So, if someone deals in eggs for about four days, he can live idly for a month.

When we started to build an egg plant in the Taeon workers' district, we told the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees to construct egg plants in many places to forestall this matter of resale, foreseeing that they would face huge problems for some years because of this practice.

However, things do not always go smoothly. Although we undertook these construction projects in many areas, in some places they were completed in a short time, but in others they were a little behind schedule. As a result, Taeon has laid the material foundation to produce sufficient eggs, but Kiyang has not yet done so. Taking advantage of this, a capitalist pattern re-emerged amongst some of the people, the idea which leads to the pursuit of an idle life through trading in eggs.

Let me take another example.

There are present here, today, deputy regimental commanders in charge of political affairs of the People's Army. According to them, selfishness was criticized to a large extent in the course of the ideological struggle which was aimed to get rid of the ideological aftereffects of bureaucratism and military-despotism which had been implanted in the People's Army by anti-Party and counter-revolutionary elements in the past. They say that some dependants of officers carried out contemptible acts. Each family of these dependants raised 20 to 30 pigs, and with the money they received from selling them, they bought goods from those who had returned from Japan and also did some other despicable things. The standard of supply services in the People's Army can be said to be the

highest. But their dependants did such things. This is not because they were short of food or clothing, but because they retained vestiges of capitalist ideas to a large degree.

I take these examples because I want to say that no matter how abundant material wealth is, the capitalist ideas are liable to revive as long as there is the least room—the slightest vacuum—for capitalism to exert its influence, unless the ideology of the working people is transformed along communist lines.

As I have said before, when walking along the street, we can see grass shooting up between cracks in the asphalt pavement. The poison of capitalism is very persistent and terrible, just like this grass. It revives whenever there is even the slightest room for it to do so.

Capitalist ideas will not revive in the minds of our working people when communism is built throughout the whole world or, even before this, when it is put into effect in our country. However, until that time they will be restored if there is the slightest chance of this happening.

We always say that in order to defeat capitalism completely and ensure the victory of socialism and communism, it is necessary to capture two fortresses, that is, the material and ideological fortresses. If we lose sight of either of them, it is impossible to scale the high peaks of socialism and communism. Communist society cannot be built, even if the productive forces develop and material wealth increases, unless all the working people are trained in communist ideas so that they will work devotedly for all the people and society with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm.

As a matter of course, in our country the social and economic sources, which could breed capitalist ideas again, have been done away with. However, there are still many factors which could give rise to the revival of the old capitalist ideology and there is room for it to grow. Moreover, it is an urgent matter to wage a strong ideological struggle against capitalist ideas while our country remains divided into the north and the south, the US imperialists keep occupying one half of the country and the surviving elements of the overthrown exploiting classes are attempting to overthrow the socialist system established in

the northern half of Korea and restore the capitalist system.

Self-interest is found not only among those who were prosperous in former days, but also among those who were badly off. Everyone has got it, although in varying degrees. Probably there is no one who can positively say that he does not have an iota of selfishness. We shall be right to suggest the question in this way.

Therefore, we should carry out a strong ideological struggle to eradicate selfishness among Party members and the broad sections of the working people. Without such an ideological struggle, it is impossible to do away with the practices of embezzling and wasting state property. This is the most important problem in our efforts to take good care of state property and use it economically.

The specific tasks of the ideological revolution and ideological struggle were mentioned in great detail in the report to the Party Conference and in other documents. Therefore, today I shall not speak about them at length.

In educating people there can be various forms and methods such as lecture meetings, circles for the study of the Party's policies, revolutionary traditions, and other things, collective reading sessions, Party meetings and meetings of the working people's organizations, individual talks and so on. Criticism is also an effective way of training people. Most of our people think that criticism is not a means of education. However, it is the best method of education. These varied forms and methods are important instruments for eradicating the remnants of obsolete capitalist ideas from the minds of people and arming them with the communist idea of devoting themselves to society and the collective.

Therefore, everyone should take part in study circles and meetings with great enthusiasm. Party members ought to attend Party meetings and study circles and the members of the working people's organizations must attend those prepared by them. One should not regard it as a nuisance to attend study circles and meetings, nor should one think that these meetings, which have educational value, can be held only when one has spare time.

Study circles and meetings are important opportunities for combatting capitalist ideas. Everyone should clearly understand that he cannot rid his mind of capitalist ideological remnants and that, eventually, remaining steeped in capitalist ideas, he will degenerate if he tries to evade study circles, does not strive to arm himself with the Party's policies as well as with communist ideas and revolutionary traditions or absents himself from meetings and objects to being under the control of the organization.

All Party members and other working people should regard it as their duty and an important revolutionary task to attend study circles and Party meetings and those held by the working people's organizations. By doing this they should be able to make a clean sweep of capitalist ideas and steadily harden themselves in a revolutionary way.

2) ON STRENGTHENING CONTROL OVER THE TREATMENT OF STATE PROPERTY

Another front in the battle to prevent the misappropriation and squandering of state property is strengthening control over the treatment of state property.

In a socialist society there are still many people who have not been ideologically reformed and remnants of obsolete capitalist ideas persist in their minds. Therefore, ideological education on its own is not enough to do away completely with misappropriation and waste. It should always be backed up by control. At school pupils do not study well when they are simply told to do so. However, they study hard when controls—examinations—are applied. In the same way, as long as there are people whose ideological level is not yet high, it is not enough simply to talk about the need to take good care of state property. Strict control should go with education.

To strengthen control over the administration of state property, it is first necessary to make clear-cut regulations which set out the system

and order which should be observed in handling all state property.

As you all know, a socialist society is a collective where all the people are united for a common goal. Here all major means are under public ownership. Therefore, in this society everyone should act as required by the collective discipline and together they should protect and take care of the valuable state property which is owned by all the people. To this end, there should be general rules which are binding on everyone and which make everyone act in the same way.

At present in the People's Army all the activities of the soldiers are carried out according to strict regulations. There, even standing guard and relieving sentries are done in accordance with regulations. Regulations mean rules of action which have to be observed by everyone who leads a collective life. As a matter of fact, without them it is impossible to make hundreds of thousands of soldiers act as one man.

In the same way, if we are to govern a socialist society properly, there must be regulations, laws and orders which all members of society must observe and by which they can be supervised.

At a meeting the participants should adhere to the common rules of conduct which stipulate that they should not smoke, chat, doze or leave and re-enter the meeting-place, but should listen to the speakers attentively. At the moment nearly 2,000 people are meeting here in an orderly manner. This is because those present are faithfully observing the rules which should be followed in public places. Meetings must be conducted in an orderly manner. It is not acceptable that participants should be left to do as they please. We must not countenance so-called "liberalization". It is a very harmful habit which cannot be tolerated in a socialist society. It undermines public order and obstructs collective life.

It is impossible to maintain a socialist society without system, regulations, laws and orders which are binding on all its members and by which they can be supervised. However, at the moment we do not have the order and discipline which are essential to a socialist society, and have many shortcomings in this respect.

Moreover, as has been discussed a great deal in the course of the current plenary meeting, in the treatment of state property even elementary order and system are not established, nor are there any of the necessary regulations relating to the supervision of property worth mentioning.

All the wealth of the state has been obtained through the devoted and patriotic efforts of our people. In order to treat this valuable property of the people by our joint efforts as we should, there must be rigid discipline, well-regulated order and definite regulations with regard to its management. There should also be a rule under which violators of the set order and discipline are severely punished, both materially and legally.

However, at the moment there seem to be many ambiguities in the registration of fixed property, the checking of inventories and its handling. In many cases, there are no regulations on the supervision of fixed property. Those that there are probably ones which were made when there was not a large amount of fixed property and which were copied from those of another country at that. But they do not suit the present situation.

When we started to build socialism for the first time, some officials considered it a bother to frame many regulations. However, I think now that they were wrong. In a socialist society there ought to be orders and regulations which define and control all work and the activities of all people. If there is the slightest chance that they will be violated, state and public order will be destroyed.

It is true that, at present, such a situation can be found in our country to a large extent and, because of this, a lot of the country's precious wealth is misappropriated and wasted.

Let me quote several examples.

A couple of months after an egg plant had been built in Pyongyang and shops had begun to sell them, I learned that out of the 400 eggs packed in a case, 40 to 50 broke. Therefore, the Party immediately summoned the officials of the General Poultry Bureau and those of the commercial sector in Pyongyang to teach them in detail how to make

the egg cases and trays and the truck-bed heights of the motor vehicles which carry the egg cases. I was told that after this in Pyongyang eggs do not break during transit because the Party's instructions have been followed, but in other places many eggs are still broken because they have not done as they have been told.

If they were warned by the Party, the General Poultry Bureau and the commercial sector should have issued explicit regulations relating to the handling of eggs, so that they would not be broken in other places, too, as in Pyongyang. In other words, the breakage of eggs would not have recurred if they had specified in the regulations that when eggs are produced they should first be graded into large and small sizes before being packed into the trays; that the trays and cases should be so made that the eggs would not move, and that the cases were not disturbed when being carried by lorries. In addition, they should have made a rule under which violators of these regulations were prohibited from carrying eggs or meted out some punishment. However, because they did not do this, in every place except Pyongyang more than 10 per cent of the total amount of eggs produced at the expense of a great deal of fodder and labour continue to be broken.

As was mentioned at the recent meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, at present in our country there are no clear-cut regulations about dealing with firebricks, and they are handled carelessly.

Firebricks should be handled very carefully so that not even a bit of their edges is broken. At the moment they are made with some care. However, after they are made, they are exposed to rain because they are stacked in the open, and not under cover, and are spoilt because they are handled carelessly while being transported.

Several days ago I visited a factory to find firebricks stacked outside and not under cover; some of them were cracked and others had had their edges broken. Because these firebricks are then carelessly mended to build the furnace, it is inevitable that it will not last long.

At present there are no regulations regarding the quality of rice sacks, either.

Our workers do not exercise any control at all over whether sacks are densely or loosely woven, and they put rice in any sacks haphazardly. The sacks themselves are loosely woven. Moreover, they are carried by lorries which leak. So, a large amount of rice is lost.

There are no regulations governing the handling of chemical fertilizers. They are dealt with carelessly, so large quantities are wasted. Some time ago, on our way to a local area, we saw something white on the road, which turned out to be fertilizer. Fertilizer is, in effect, rice and rice is as precious as gold. It is a very serious matter to handle the valuable fertilizer and rice which our working class and farmers have produced at the expense of tremendous labour in this careless manner, dropping them along the road.

There is no clear-cut order or system in the storage and use of building materials such as cement and steel. At present in the construction sector there are only the formalities regarding the supply of building materials, but no regulations about supervising their use.

When officials are asked to supply so many tons of cement and steel for the construction of a particular project, they should inquire whether that amount is actually needed. They must also supervise and investigate how the supplied materials are used, whether all of them have been used or not and what has been done with the surplus. However, at the moment there are no clear-cut regulations capable of supervising the consumption of materials and nobody controls it. As a result, at present in the construction sector the consumption of materials is calculated only after the completion of a given project on the basis of the amount of materials which have been supplied for the project.

As a matter of fact, there are, at present, many loopholes which could allow misappropriation and waste of the property of the country and the people because of the lack of a system and clear-cut regulations in the supervision of state property.

According to a report from the judicial and procuratorial organ

which we once received, a saleswoman who had worked at the fabric counter of a shop kept stealing pieces of cloth, which eventually filled a chest. Probably at the outset she had not intended to steal such a large amount of cloth. At first she took a remnant, left over after she had made a sale. But no action was taken against her. So she stole once again. And this time, too, she was undetected. So she repeated the act. Needless to say, stealing the cloth owned by the state was wrong in itself, no matter what the amount. However, it can be said that she committed this crime mainly because there were no definite regulations about disposing of odd pieces of cloth and no supervision was exercised over their disposal. Had we drawn up explicit regulations regarding the disposal of pieces of cloth, taken stock every day, every week and every month and set up a rigid inventory system, she could not have stolen the pieces of cloth and would not have been put into the house of correction for her crime.

They say, which is even worse, that in some places it has been known for some doctors, taking advantage of the lack of a system of work, order and supervision, to obtain medicine in the name of people who have died of disease or who have left hospital after receiving medical treatment, and sell it. This is a very grave offence.

If we establish a rigid system of work and order and exercise efficient control to prevent misappropriation and waste of state property, we shall not have to take strong legal action in the administration of state property.

We Koreans are not bad people. Once a system of work and order is set up, we shall all observe it voluntarily. However, some people commit crimes because such a system is lacking in the disposal of state property and also because there are many opportunities for its misappropriation and waste. The remnants of bourgeois ideas persist in the minds of the people. To make matters worse, these opportunities still exist. Therefore, as the saying goes, "Seeing is wanting"; when people see things they are tempted to steal them. Therefore, if we are to take good care of state property and use it sparingly and do away with the practices of misappropriating and wasting it, we must introduce

stringent controls to prevent such opportunities arising.

To this end, it is essential to frame all the necessary regulations—on the registration, checking of inventories, and disposal of fixed property, on the preservation of nature including forests and on the storage of fertilizer, cement, steel, agricultural chemicals and grain. It seems that at the moment the factories and enterprises have no explicit regulations on shift changes. You must draft them. You should make new regulations, and all the existing regulations should be examined and those which do not suit the existing situation must be redrafted.

After you have promulgated the regulations regarding the management of state property you should make them widely known to all the working people so that they will observe them voluntarily. Public prosecutors offices must not only look for offenders but explain the regulations on the management of state property and the laws and orders.

The next important thing for the strengthening of control is to introduce many measures for supervision so as to prevent the misappropriation and waste of state property.

At present, even if we want to prevent these practices, we cannot supervise them because we have no appropriate measures.

Let me take the problem of eliminating the waste of electric power as an example.

We have emphasized on every occasion that the utmost economy should be exercised in the use of electric power because there is pressure on the power situation in our country. In spite of this, the practice of wasting power still continues. This is mainly because there are no controlling measures which are needed for saving electricity. At present it is impossible to know for certain where and how much electricity is consumed. In order to strengthen control over the use of electricity, it is first necessary to know who uses what amount of power, but now it is impossible to do so. Therefore, effective control over power consumption is impracticable.

To control the consumption of electric power, it is necessary to install electric meters at the factories and enterprises so as to see the

amount of electricity used by each shop, each machine and each shift. Every house should also install such a meter. In this way a strict rule should be established under which an additional rent and fine are charged for wasteful use of electricity and, when the case is serious, the supply of power should be suspended.

The question of making electric meters is not being raised for the first time today; it was proposed immediately after the armistice. However, until now, 15 years later, the officials in this sector have only indulged in empty talk on eliminating the waste of electric power but have taken no steps to produce electric meters.

Logically, it is desirable that electric meters should be installed in various places within a factory. Furthermore, each machine should have a switch and an automatic device so that when it has come to the end of its operation, the supply of electricity is automatically discontinued and it comes to a standstill. It is not so difficult to make electric meters and such automatic devices. A long time ago prototype automatic devices were produced, which stop machines automatically when they cease production. But officials are reluctant to introduce them. Many factories and enterprises do not yet have a switch for each machine. There are even such cases in which a great deal of electricity is wasted because all the machines, regardless of whether or not they are being used, are put into operation because there is only one switch for the whole factory or shop.

Our officials do not take the necessary measures for controlling the consumption of electricity strictly and closely and eliminating waste. And when there is a shortage of electricity in the dry season, they “control” its consumption in such a crude way that they cut the supply indiscriminately without taking into account in detail which branches badly need it and which can do without. We must not manage the economic affairs of a socialist society in such a crude way.

We must provide wattmeters and weighing and measuring devices as well as various kinds of controls as soon as possible and strictly compute and supervise the consumption of state property so as to prevent its waste.

Let me give you another example.

It has been said today that although at present we catch large quantities of fish, people eat little of it because much of the catch rots. Even if only several tons of fish are caught, it is important to ensure that people receive the whole amount. If we catch hundreds of thousands of tons while leaving a lot of them to rot, we shall only be wasting manpower and there will be no point in it.

It is true that this is partly due to the fact that measures for processing fish have not been taken. However, the main reason is that we have no means of control to see that the fishery workers do not leave the catch to rot, but process it for the people. At present all that the fishery workers have to do is to catch fish, and they do not care whether they are processed or not.

In order to stop the practice of allowing the landed fish to rot, we must first give definite planned state targets. We must assign the fishery workers planned targets for different kinds of processed products—salted, dried, refrigerated and canned. We must establish a rule whereby we regard only the amount of processed fish products which have been delivered to the state as the actual catch, no matter how much fish has been landed. Then they will try every possible means to process all their catch, without allowing them to rot. However, at present the plan target only includes the amount of fish which the fishery workers have to land. Therefore, they are only interested in this and do not take the necessary measures to prevent the catch from rotting. What is worse, there is no control over the amount of fish which is landed. The present situation is such that we simply believe fishery workers when they say that they have caught such and such an amount of fish but have thrown some of them into the sea because they have become rotten. So there is no knowing for certain whether they have indeed caught a large amount of fish or whether they only say so although it is not true.

The Hwanghae Iron Works does not produce sheet steel according to plan. Instead, it manufactures a lot of plate steel which is easy to make, thus obstructing production at the machine factories. Workers at

this works who do not carry out their plan in all production items are, of course, to blame for this. But I think the trouble is that people are not taken to task even when they neglect to do so. In the past this iron works did not carry out its plan in terms of all indices, but fulfilled it in terms of output value. Therefore, they were paid their full wages and, in addition, they even received bonuses. This is only one example which shows that discipline is lacking in the fulfilment of the state plan and that financial control is very slack.

The reluctance of factories and enterprises to carry out their plans in all production items is largely due to the improper fixing of the prices of different products. It is much more difficult to produce sheet steel than plate steel. Therefore, when fixing prices for these products, the price of sheet steel must be set considerably higher than that of plate steel so that the iron works takes a material interest in producing sheet steel. However, now the prices of these products are fixed in such a way that the more plate steel one produces, the more advantageous, and the more sheet steel one makes, the less beneficial it will be.

Yesterday the Party chief secretary of the Hwanghae Iron Works said in his speech that from the beginning to the middle of every month they try to carry out their plan in all production items. And in the last third of the month, when they see that it will be difficult to fulfil their monthly plan they supply materials only to the plate steel shop but not to the sheet steel shop, and produce only a large amount of plate steel to fulfil their plan in terms of output value.

The Party's policy on increasing the varieties of light industrial goods and improving their quality has not been carried out satisfactorily. This is mainly due to the fact that officials in this branch only talk about the need to do this, but do not take measures to stimulate the producers materially and supervise them so as to encourage them to do so.

If we are to encourage them to produce large quantities of various good-quality consumer goods, we must exercise strict control so that they carry out their plan for the production of different specifications of products. At the same time, when they produce new articles or better

goods than they did before, their products should be priced higher. However, in many cases, even when they make new kinds of goods, they are not priced as they should be and there is hardly any difference in the prices between high-quality articles and low-quality goods. That is why the producers have no incentive to increase the assortment of products and improve their quality.

Let me talk about the production of shoes. If, in a shoe factory, they want to convert shoe production from one size to another, they will have to change the mould and they will have to do other things which they consider to be a nuisance. For this reason the shoe factory wants to produce only shoes of the same size as far as possible. In order to prevent this practice, a definite monthly plan should be given to each shoe factory for the production of different kinds and sizes of shoes, and a rigid rule should be established under which a shoe factory is regarded as having failed to fulfil its plan when this plan has not been carried out. Prices should be different for different sizes and those kinds of shoes which are difficult to make should be more expensive than the others. However, because there is no material control and stimulus in the production of shoes, the shops have a large stock of shoes of only very few sizes.

At present shops stock a very small amount of goods which are necessary for people's everyday life. This is not because the industrial foundations of our country are weak but because our officials neglect the production of consumer goods and are unwilling to produce them. If we give factories definite target figures for the production of consumer goods, fix prices more favourably for them than for other kinds of goods and provide various conditions necessary for their production, we shall be able to solve this problem without difficulty.

For some time in the past the peasants were not enthusiastic about taking part in procurement work. So we fixed reasonable procurement prices, with the result that now the peasants even produce a large amount of those articles which they did not make in the past and sell them to the state. As for the production of consumer goods, you should not simply assign planned targets to the factories. The State Planning

Commission or the Price Assessment Commission or the Secretariat of the Cabinet should fix correct prices for consumer goods and provide good conditions so that these goods will be produced according to plan. But they do not do this, with the result that consumer goods are in short supply and this inconveniences people in many ways.

Because financial control has now become very slack, there are many cases in which factories and enterprises keep state funds idle by stockpiling materials which they do not need. There must be some means to check this practice. If factories and enterprises have inessential materials, they must be financially disciplined so that they will not be able to buy those materials which they need, or they should be fined. Then they will immediately transfer the unwanted materials to other factories since their production will be greatly obstructed because they will not get other materials if they stockpile these. However, because they are not affected in any way when they keep inessential materials, factories and enterprises accept them no matter whether they need them or not, only to put them into store. This makes it impossible for other factories to use them.

From now on we must strictly control all sectors of the national economy so that they carry out the state plan every quarter, every month and in all production items and we must specifically strengthen control by *won* over the management of enterprises.

We must immediately put an end to the illogical system under which workers get bonuses if they carry out their plan in terms of output value even when they do not fulfil their plan in all production items, and set up a rule whereby they are regarded as having fulfilled their plan, and are accordingly appraised, only when they have both been carried out.

The State Planning Commission and the Materials Supply Commission must set correct norms for the consumption of materials per unit and draft an accurate production cost plan for each kind of article. The Price Assessment Commission must fix correct prices for products. Almost all the prices now in use are outdated. Therefore, they must be re-examined and corrected as soon as possible.

I have talked a great deal about production cost and prices. However, this does not mean that we only stress material incentives. In any case, the main thing in the management of a socialist economy is to enhance the working people's ideological level and encourage them to take part in economic management willingly. For all this, we should not ignore the transitional character of a socialist society and regard material incentives as being totally unnecessary, nor should we disregard the use of the lever of price in economic management.

I have stressed this question for a long time, and set this as an important matter of principle in socialist economic management in my recently published article *On Some Theoretical Problems of Socialist Economy*. Our officials, however, do not study Party documents in depth. Even when they do study them, they do not do so in order to put what is said in them into practice, but merely for the sake of study. Therefore, they do not understand the laws of a socialist economy and the principles of its management, nor do they make proper use of the economic levers in economic management. They should rectify these shortcomings as soon as possible and pay more attention to the proper use of the economic levers in economic management as required by socialist economic laws.

It is very important to improve statistics in the management of both state property and of the socialist economy as a whole.

At present some local Party organizations and government organs are said to have the bad habit of meddling in the work of statistical bodies without cause, and of amending the statistics concerning production and consumption as they please. They are very wrong. Statistics must be scientific and objective. Therefore, nobody can amend them as he pleases.

In our country statistical bodies are unified, and all the local ones have to submit themselves only to the Central Statistics Bureau. The statistical bodies in the provinces and counties are also state statistical establishments. Therefore, local Party organizations and government organs have no right to interfere in their work. We should allow nobody to do so. This will enable us to obtain objective and scientific

statistics on production and consumption.

All our officials should fully understand the importance of statistics and control in a socialist society. Without scientific statistics and rigid control over production and consumption, it will be impossible to plan the national economy and build socialism successfully. We have to improve the role of statistical bodies considerably in order to be able to obtain scientific statistics on production and consumption, and exercise rigid control so that they will proceed as they should.

In this way we should establish a well-regulated order and system on the care of state property and create all the conditions which are necessary for supervising people so that they will take care of state property and use it sparingly. This should be followed by a strong campaign to ensure that all the working people observe the regulations regarding the care of state property as well as laws and orders. If anybody violates the laws, orders and regulations of the state and handles state property carelessly and misappropriates or wastes it, he must be punished severely by the law. By doing this, we should thoroughly prevent the revival of obsolete capitalist ideas to encroach upon the interests of the state and the people.

If we actively enlist the working people's creativity and awareness and, at the same time, strengthen financial, legal and social control by various means and methods, we shall be able to bring about a radical change in the care of state property and eliminate its misappropriation and waste once and for all.

3) ON CARRYING OUT COOPERATIVE PRODUCTION PROPERLY

In many branches of the national economy now, state property is not used properly and a lot of it is wasted. A major cause of this is that cooperative production between different branches of the national economy and between enterprises is not carried out satisfactorily.

A socialist economy is a planned economy. In a socialist society all

sectors of the national economy and factories and enterprises form an integral whole, closely related to each other. If we liken our national economy to a large factory, its different branches and factories and enterprises can be said to be workshops or workteams within it. Therefore, if a certain sector or a certain enterprise fails to fulfil its plan or violates discipline for cooperative production, this will immediately affect other branches which are related to it and raise a big obstacle in the path of the development of the general national economy.

If the coal industry does not provide coal as scheduled, the metal industry will not be able to produce steel as it should. If the production of steel fails, it will raise obstacles for the output of machines and for capital construction. And if machines are not produced according to plan, it will be impossible to weave cloth and carry out production normally in all other sectors. This is synonymous to the fact that if any part of a man's body—arms and legs, eyes, nose, mouth and ears—fails to fulfil its role, the whole body will not be able to function as it should.

In the first half of this year the Nampho Smeltery failed to produce copper as planned. This created a large problem for many sectors of the national economy. Because copper was not produced at the smeltery, the electric wire factory could not make copper wire, which made it impossible to produce electric motors. They are the heart of any kind of machine. However, because of the failure to produce them, the machine factories could not produce finished goods, but had to stockpile only semi-finished goods, although they worked very hard.

This example clearly shows how important it is for different sectors of the national economy and factories and enterprises to carry out their plans punctually and to observe strict discipline for cooperative production.

In a socialist society the plan for cooperative production is not something which various sectors may or may not carry out according to their wish. It is a legal task which all the sectors of the national economy and all factories and enterprises must implement unconditionally.

However, some officials still do not understand this clearly, and

make light of discipline for cooperative production. What is still worse is that senior officials of some enterprises amend at will the plan targets which are dovetailed on a national level, merely following the interests of their own enterprises. They do not even produce those items required for cooperative production which are within their power. This creates a great deal of difficulty for the development of the general national economy.

Let me quote some examples.

In the first half of this year tractors and lorries were not produced as they should have been. Therefore, we asked the managers of the tractor plant and the motor works the reason. The manager of the tractor plant said that they could not produce tractors because the Ryongsong Machine Factory was not providing crankshafts and the Kangson Steel Plant was not supplying thin walled pipes. The manager of the motor works said that they were unable to finish the lorries because they had no sheet steel which was needed for the production of the bonnet, although they had made all other parts. Because the Hwanghae Iron Works did not produce sheet steel, not only the motor works but the tractor plant and other machine factories, and also many other factories including consumer-goods factories which needed sheet steel, had many difficulties in production.

From now on, strict discipline has to be established so that all sectors of the national economy and all factories and enterprises produce the items required for cooperative production, which are integrated in the state plan, unconditionally and ahead of schedule, whatever the circumstances.

So that this can be done, Party organizations at all levels should first launch a powerful ideological struggle against departmental selfishness and the egoism of localities which are manifested among some officials; in other words, the wrong idea of being content only when their own sector and their own enterprise fulfil the plan, while paying no attention to whether other people carry out their plan or not and having no interest in the general economic life of the country.

I think that our officials do not yet clearly understand what

departmentalism and the egoism of localities are and why they are harmful. For this reason, factory Party chief secretaries and other factory Party officials do not fight against the departmentalist acts revealed among some officials and working people although they see them. Instead, they compromise with these practices claiming, “For all that, they are doing this for the sake of their own factory.” They are grossly mistaken. Officials’ departmentalist acts are seemingly in the interests of their own factory and collective. However, in fact, departmentalism causes great difficulties to the general development of the national economy and, therefore, this eventually brings a tremendous loss to their own factory and collective which forms a part of the national economy.

In a capitalist society capitalists do not care one iota whether things in other sectors and enterprises go smoothly or not, whether they prosper or fail. They are content as long as they make a colossal sum of money and live in comfort. In order to make a fortune for themselves, they would like to see other sectors and other enterprises failing in their management activities and going bankrupt. It cannot be otherwise in a capitalist society where private ownership of the means of production prevails.

However, in a socialist society where all means of production are owned by the public and in all sectors and all enterprises production is carried out according to plan, the departmentalist attitude of being satisfied with just the prosperity of one’s own sector and one’s own enterprise without paying any attention to others, cannot be tolerated.

Party officials must conduct a disciplined campaign to implement its policy and must not be motivated by their desire for fame. If Party chief secretaries who are authorized representatives of the Party, do not work on Party principles but are engrossed in departmentalism like managers and chief engineers, it will be impossible to establish discipline for cooperative production and demonstrate the full advantages of a planned socialist economy.

We should set aside about two years from now onwards as a period of battle against departmentalism and the egoism of localities. We

must inaugurate a strong ideological struggle amongst all senior officials and working people and eradicate these mistaken ideas from their minds.

The most effective guarantee for efficient cooperative production is to implement the policy of detailed planning put forward by the Party.

Some people may think that our Party upsets people by having put forward such a difficult problem as detailed planning unnecessarily. If anybody thinks so, he is mistaken.

In a socialist society where all sectors of the national economy constitute an integral whole, closely related to each other, one must carry out detailed planning if one wants to manage the economy properly. If we had a great deal of foreign currency we should be able to obtain some of the materials through foreign trade, even though they are not included in the national economic plan. If one has failed to include in the plan a certain type of steel pipe which is needed for a machine factory, one would be able to buy it from foreign markets if one had a lot of foreign currency. However, because we have not got much of it, we are unable to import all the necessary materials without losing time. Therefore, it is very important for our country to implement detailed planning effectively and itself produce the materials needed in all sectors of the national economy.

Effective detailed planning is essential in a socialist society even if a country has plenty of foreign currency and has extensive trading links with other countries. In a socialist economy which takes the form of an integral whole, the activities of all its sectors and enterprises should be coordinated to the last detail according to plan and as smoothly as gears. If, instead, any of its components fails to function as it should, the economy will not be able to make rapid progress. Therefore, it can be said that detailed planning is the most important problem on which the success of socialist construction depends.

Through our own experience we have appreciated still more keenly how important it is to implement the detailed planning put forward by the Party. Everywhere we can witness cases in which cooperative production is not ensured, a lot of social labour is wasted

and precious state property is kept idle because of the unsatisfactory implementation of detailed planning.

Let me give some examples.

At present in many cases collieries are mining unsuccessfully. This is entirely due to inefficient planning. In the army they launch a battle only after conducting reconnaissance and studying the enemy's position in detail. In the same way, collieries should draft a detailed excavation plan only after carrying out detailed prospecting properly, thereby learning fully the whereabouts of soil, rock and coal. Then they must carry out heading according to this plan. However, at present they map out a rough excavation plan without including detailed prospecting in the plan and thoughtlessly urge the miners to carry out heading excavating. Therefore, the miners only engage in heading. This is because they think that it will be all right if they find coal while excavating, and even if they fail to do so, they do not worry about it because it is only the money of the state which is being wasted and they themselves have nothing to lose. It is indeed deplorable to mine by guess-work at the expense of state funds and manpower. If there is not enough manpower for detailed prospecting, they must include this project in the plan and provide the necessary further number of people for this work. Excavation should be carried out according to a detailed plan which should be drafted after detailed prospecting has been completed. This is the right way to do things. Instead of doing this, however, they work carelessly, with the result that a large amount of state property is wasted.

On this occasion criticism has been made of the practice of using parts from new machines. I have discovered that this is also chiefly due to the failure to implement detailed planning. The State Planning Commission should plan the production of both machines and spare parts. However, they do not plan the production of machine parts properly. Take air compressors, for example. Large numbers of them are produced.

However, no factory produces spare parts. Therefore, those enterprises which use compressors have no choice but to obtain new

ones and strip them for spares.

The Party has stressed more than once the need to build separate spare parts factories and give them definite assignments in order to meet the need for them. However, officials of the State Planning Commission and other planning workers did not make the effort to implement the Party's instructions. In consequence, the production of spare parts is a long way behind in our country. Therefore, a great part of the many sewing machines we have produced cannot work because of a shortage of spares, and also a large number of radios, television sets, lorries and tractors are not used as they should be for the same reason.

Many shortcomings are apparent in the supply of materials. This is also primarily due to the fact that the plan does not include everything in detail. Although our planning establishments are said to draft detailed plans, they still fail to include many things. It is true that the State Planning Commission plans more kinds of products than it did before. However, it still includes only the production of large items in its plan and sends it down to the ministries. The ministries now make a more detailed plan and send it down to enterprises, which go into greater detail. Therefore, only the production of those things which are included in the state plan has the force of law, but the additions to the plans which are included by ministries and enterprises remain merely "moral plans".

In a socialist economy there can be no such "moral plans". A "moral plan" means one which may or may not be fulfilled. The term "moral" derives from the ideas of Confucius and Mencius. This term has no place in the management of a planned socialist economy. In a socialist society all economic plans should be fulfilled as a matter of duty. Even the plan for the production of small items must not be "moral".

For instance, if the metal industry has to produce 1,000 kinds of products in the light of the needs of the national economy, it should be held responsible to the state and by law for the production of each one of these 1,000 kinds. If the chemical industry must produce 500 kinds

of chemical products, these should be included in the state plan, and if the light industry must manufacture 10,000 kinds, these must be fixed as its legal task. Only when detailed production tasks are assigned by the state in terms of different kinds and specifications in this way, will it be possible to put an end to practices whereby a particular factory produces large amounts of unnecessary items only to stockpile them, or does not produce what is needed immediately, thereby making it impossible for other factories to put their production on a normal basis. Furthermore, it will also be possible for the material supply agencies to supply various kinds of materials needed by enterprises smoothly according to contract.

If we carry out detailed planning and dovetail management activities down to the smallest detail, we shall be able to increase production considerably by making effective use of the present economic assets.

I think that the policy of detailed planning put forward by the Party is not carried out as it should be, largely because of the flunkeyist idea which persists in the minds of the planners.

We must not follow other countries blindly, but must solve all problems arising in socialist construction one by one by our own efforts and in conformity with our country's present situation. It is true that we can manage one way or another even without effecting detailed planning as other countries do. However, if we do not do this, we shall not be able to develop the national economy rapidly and get rid of our backwardness as soon as possible.

Our Party's policy of unified and detailed planning fully conforms to the Marxist-Leninist theory on the building of socialism and communism. Lenin said that in a socialist society there should be centralized discipline in all spheres of social life including the political and economic fields. Unified and detailed planning is the most correct way of strengthening centralized discipline in the economic sphere.

Planning workers must unreservedly discard their flunkeyist idea and work hard to implement our Party's creative policy of unified and detailed planning which has great viability.

There is nothing difficult about detailed planning. It can be implemented if planning workers attack it with a firm determination.

If detailed planning is to be effected, we must first be bold and do away with the old way of planning. Detailed planning will never be put into practice if one relies on the old way, the old method of drafting the state plan by consolidating the plans, as they were, which were submitted by senior ministerial officials who retained traces of departmentalism.

Planning workers should determine to do away with the old way in planning, in other words, break with the old planning method and create a new method, that is, a method which conforms with the requirement of the system of unified planning and is capable of drawing up a detailed plan.

It will be possible to draw up a detailed plan if planning workers discard the old method of coordinating plans at their desks in a bureaucratic way, proceeding from their subjective desire, and visit the production sites and hold extensive discussions with the producer masses.

Let us, for instance, take the drafting of a detailed plan for the metallurgical industry. The officials of the regional planning commission in South Phyongan Province can consider the potential capacity and possibilities for ensuring production by visiting the Kangson Steel Plant to discuss matters directly with the producers and consult the plant's Party committee. Then they will be able to understand in detail the potential sources and possibilities for increasing production, such as the specifications and amount of steel which will be produced each month and the technical preparations which will be needed every month.

In the same way the regional planning commission in North Hwanghae Province can visit the Hwanghae Iron Works to draw up the draft of a detailed plan to submit to the State Planning Commission. This can also be done by the regional planning commission in North Hamgyong Province by visiting the Songjin Steel Plant and the Kim Chaek Iron Works. While doing this they ought to submit their opinion

on what has to be done in order to guarantee production.

The State Planning Commission must check the drafts of detailed plans for the metallurgical enterprises which have been submitted by the regional planning commissions against the detailed plans submitted by the Ministries of Machine-Building Industry and Construction and other ministries which use the products of these enterprises. In the course of this, they must determine what specification of steel is unnecessary and decide for which varieties the production needs to be greater than planned.

Needless to say, checkup must not only be done in this way. A detailed plan will not be drafted merely by checking the production capacity of steel against the demand for it. It is also necessary to take into account the possibilities of the supply of raw materials, fuel and electricity which are needed for its production. In considering the possibilities of the supply of electricity, for example, we must take into account how much electricity can be supplied to the metallurgical industry in such and such a month because only so much of it will be produced in that month, and how much can be provided in each month thereafter.

Following this investigation, the detailed plan must be modified through the medium of the regional planning commissions. For example, if the detailed plan of the Kangson Steel Plant is to be coordinated, people from the regional planning commission in South Phyongan Province should visit this plant and do this work. They must modify the draft plan by informing the people there of the needs of the state and the possibility of the supply of electricity. They must say that they had originally intended to produce such and such an amount of round steel of such and such specifications. However, this was now unnecessary in the light of the need of the national economy. Instead, they must increase the production of given specifications of shaped steel, and only a particular amount of electricity would be supplied during a certain month. Needless to say, things turn out to be a little different from what we anticipated at the outset. Therefore, we must take into account the period needed for making technical preparations

if it is necessary to do so.

When the plan, which has been modified in this way taking into consideration the needs of the national economy and the possibilities of ensuring production, is submitted to the State Planning Commission through the regional planning commission, it will re-examine it and will be able to determine the detailed plan for each enterprise.

When drawing up the detailed plan the State Planning Commission must pay particular attention to the problem of making efficient use of officials of regional planning commissions who are well acquainted with the situation at the job-sites.

It is true that on some occasions in the past we told officials of the State Planning Commission to visit production sites frequently and find out the situation there. However, it was not easy for this commission by itself to visit the thousands of factories and enterprises throughout the country to get to know their situation. But, now it can do so if it makes use of the officials of regional planning commissions.

Because they are located near factories and enterprises, regional planning commissions can understand their situation well. At present these commissions do not play their part as they should. However, if they find out how factories and enterprises carry out their plans and try to get to know their situation in a planned way, they will be able to have everything at their fingertips—how many machines each factory has and what their capacity is, how many of them are now at work and how many are not working, whether all of them are operated at full capacity, how many of them need to be repaired, what is the weak point at the factory and what requires to be improved and how much production will increase if that is done.

If officials of regional planning commissions are fully aware of the situation of the factories and enterprises in their own regions in this way, many difficult problems will immediately be solved in drafting the detailed plan if the State Planning Commission holds a consultative meeting. For example, if the chairman of a certain regional planning commission says that the iron works in his region is unable to repair its furnaces promptly because of the shortage of firebricks and that it will

be able to increase the production of steel if it is supplied with some additional bricks, the chairman of the planning commission of the region which has a refractory materials factory will say that they will provide that many firebricks. Many problems will be solved through such consultations.

The Ministry of Defence is not the only one which drafts a plan of operations in the army. If the ministry defines the plan of operations which involves the direction of attack and its object, the battle order and armament, it sends it to the armies and the General Supply Service Bureau so that they will add the necessary details. When a detailed plan, which indicates the amount of shells, fuel oil and provisions which will be needed for the operation and the duration of the march which will have to be undertaken, is submitted, the ministry summons commanding officers including the commanders of all arms and services for extensive discussion to decide on the final plan of operations. Then it issues a battle order to the headquarters of all arms and services, and gives the order for ensuring the battle to the General Supply Service Bureau and the Bureau of Ordnance telling them that they must supply such and such an amount of fuel oil to such and such a unit and by what time, how many shells they must deliver to what place and by what time and how many days' provisions they must supply. There is no difference between drafting the plan of operations and the national economic plan.

If we draw up plans according to this method there will be no ministerial and no enterprise targets. These terms came into use because the State Planning Commission and the regional planning commissions have so far not planned production items in detail—a job which they ought to have done, in conformity with the policy of unified and detailed planning—but have tried to shift the responsibility for their failure to do this on to the ministries. Therefore, when the management activities are dovetailed down to the last detail on a national level, these terms will no longer be used.

At the same time as drafting detailed plans, it is necessary to tighten control and establish strict discipline so that they will be implemented

as they should be. No matter how good a detailed plan is worked out, it will be utterly useless if it is not carried out.

The state plan is a Party directive and a state law which reflects the will of all the people. No one has the right to violate it, and all the economic establishments and enterprises are in duty bound to carry it out.

At present, however, when a state plan is issued to the ministries, factories and enterprises, in many cases they amend their plan targets as they please or they do not carry them out as they should. Of course, there may be many reasons for this, such as that their senior officials do not adopt a firm stand based on the interests of the Party and the state. However, the main reason is that discipline is weak in implementing the plan and no supervision is exercised over its fulfilment.

From now onwards, the controlling function of planning establishments and other state and economic organizations over the fulfilling of state plans should be radically increased. Before the establishment of regional planning commissions the State Planning Commission could not exercise efficient supervision over the carrying out of all plans because it is located in Pyongyang. However, now that they have been established, it will be able to exercise day-to-day supervision over the execution of plans on the part of enterprises, correct what is going wrong and promptly solve any problems which need to be settled.

Public prosecutors offices must also exercise day-to-day supervision so that detailed plans are implemented as they should be and take legal action against those who have neglected to carry out their plan in all production items.

The next important factor for ensuring smooth cooperative production is to put the supply of materials on a proper basis by increasing the part played by the material supply agencies.

No matter how hard factories and enterprises try to fulfil their plans in all production items and observe the discipline required for ensuring cooperative production, they will not be able to carry out production according to plan unless they are supplied with the necessary materials

at the right time. Therefore, unless we improve materials supply we shall not be able to establish discipline in fulfilling plans nor tighten the discipline required for cooperative production.

The most important thing in materials supply is to give effect to the Taaen system which requires that people at the higher levels supply all the necessary materials to the production sites with a sense of responsibility. To this end the material supply agencies will have to improve their role considerably.

At present each ministry has a material supply agency, but, in fact, it is only so in name and does virtually nothing.

When we organized material supply agencies for all the ministries we mainly intended that they should be responsible for providing all the materials needed at factories and enterprises, so that their senior officials would be able to concentrate on the direction of production without having to visit various places to obtain materials as they had done in the past. Therefore, under the new material supply system these agencies should undertake all the work relating to materials supply, the work which was done by supply officials of factories and enterprises in the past.

If material supply agencies are to play their part as they should, they must first have a clear knowledge of the kinds and quantities of materials which are needed by the factories and enterprises under the jurisdiction of their respective ministries for each quarter and each month. On the basis of this, they must conclude contracts with their counterparts in other ministries in order to obtain the necessary materials. Then they should receive them in good time from the agencies concerned according to these contracts and deliver them to their factories and enterprises. In addition, they must conclude contracts with the material supply agencies belonging to other ministries on the transaction of products made by the factories and enterprises under the jurisdiction of their own ministries and must deliver these products to them according to the contracts.

If the material supply agencies do this work well, the supply workers of factories and enterprises will not have to visit various

places to get materials and will also be relieved of the complicated work related to the selling of products. It is true that factories and enterprises also have supply sections at present, but they carry out different functions from those which they performed in the past. The material supply section of a factory or enterprise only receives materials from the ministerial material supply agency and delivers them to different workshops and workteams. The sales section does not deal with other factories and enterprises as in the past, but sells the products of its factory to its own ministerial material supply agency. Therefore, direct dealings between factories and enterprises with regard to the supply of materials do not exist any more, and all these dealings are carried out only between the material supply agencies of different ministries.

Of course, even at the moment the sales section of a factory or enterprise can send its own products to other factories and enterprises. However, by doing this it only carries out the activities of the ministerial material supply agency on its behalf and on its orders for the sake of convenience. This is not direct dealings between factories and enterprises. When factories and enterprises produce goods, they are immediately handed over to the material supply agencies under their relevant ministries. After this only these agencies are entitled to dispose of them.

The Taaen work system set up by the Party demands that materials supply should be carried out exactly in accordance with this procedure.

However, because material supply agencies do not work as they should at present, many supply workers from factories and enterprises have to visit various places to obtain materials as they did in the past. Now that nearly 10 years have passed since the introduction of the Taaen work system, the material supply system has retrogressed to its former position and the material supply agencies have become such in name only.

The major reason for this is that senior officials of ministries have not guided and helped the agencies as they should have done.

The basic task of ministries is to give technical guidance to

factories and enterprises and supply materials. Therefore, one of the most important duties of senior ministerial officials is to give effective guidance and assistance to the material supply agencies. They should think of these establishments as being as important as their right arm and should always pay particular attention to their work.

However, in the past almost all of them confined themselves to organizing these agencies but have neglected efforts to build them up so that they could work satisfactorily as required by the Taaen work system. They have almost neglected to judge the work of these agencies at the right time and correct their mistakes. It will not be an exaggeration if I say that none of the ministers have ever visited material supply agencies to examine their work in detail and worked in real earnest to solve their difficulties. They often drive to factories and enterprises in their cars, but they hardly ever visit the agencies.

In the final analysis, this shows that ministers and other senior ministerial workers do not actually follow the Taaen work system, although they talk a lot about the need to do so. In other words, this demonstrates that they still are lacking in Party spirit and have not armed themselves firmly with the Party's monolithic ideology.

Another reason for the unsatisfactory operation of the material supply agencies is that the Materials Supply Commission has not worked as it should have done.

As I have just mentioned, materials should be supplied in a form of commodity transaction according to the contracts which are concluded between the supply agencies in conformity with the national detailed plan which takes the needs of all enterprises into account. However, at present the Materials Supply Commission ignores these agencies and every month it sends the materials distribution plan direct to the different enterprises. This causes confusion in the production activities of these enterprises and prevents the agencies from playing their proper role.

The Materials Supply Commission should not work in this way. If we give a definite detailed plan to each enterprise and supply materials through the medium of the material supply agencies, this commission

will not need to issue a separate materials distribution plan.

Let us take the production and supply of bleaching powder as an example. When first drafting a detailed plan, the planning institutions will not only be able to plan the amount of powder which will be produced by the Pongung Chemical Factory in January, February and March and successive months. At the same time, they can also decide on the monthly amount of supply to the Kilju Pulp Mill, the Sinuiju Chemical Fibre Mill and to the local industry factories. Then, it will be sufficient for the material supply agency under the Ministry of Chemical Industry, according to this plan, to conclude contracts with its counterpart under the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries and those of other ministries concerned and then deliver bleaching powder to them according to the contracts every month.

Therefore, the Materials Supply Commission must not deal directly with the distribution of materials. Instead, it should supervise whether or not the supply agencies conclude contracts properly as has been stipulated in the detailed plan, and whether they are fulfilling their contracts or not.

Another important task of the Materials Supply Commission is to maintain some reserves of materials and provide them when it is impossible to supply materials as scheduled in the detailed plan because an unexpected accident has occurred at a certain enterprise or because of some other reason.

For instance, the Pongung Chemical Factory is unable to produce the 10 tons of bleaching powder, which it is supposed to deliver to the Kilju Pulp Mill, because of an accident to its machines. In this case the Materials Supply Commission, in place of the material supply agency under the Ministry of Chemical Industry, should deliver the 10 tons, which it has been keeping in reserve, to the agency under the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries so that it will supply it to the mill. In addition, when some kind of materials which were expected to be imported have not been bought as planned, the commission should provide them from its reserves.

If it is to do this work efficiently, this commission must have a

separate centrally-run material supply agency. This agency must have reserves of materials which are needed on a national scale and sell them when ministerial material supply agencies ask for them.

The central material supply agency can also use its good offices so that the ministerial agencies will be able to meet each other's needs and can also regulate their supply. In many cases at present, those materials which a certain ministerial agency cannot obtain are stockpiled in another agency for no logical reason. Therefore, the supply of materials will be greatly improved if the central agency always has a list of materials which are in the possession of ministerial agencies and offers them its services, so that they will be able to sell or buy the necessary materials.

The central agency can also sell tools and spare parts direct to factories and enterprises. At present there are many instances when factories and enterprises experience great production difficulties because of the shortage of one or two kinds of materials and parts such as bearings, which they did not include in the detailed plan. In such a case it would be advisable to let the supply staff of the enterprises buy the necessary materials and spare parts direct from the central supply agency.

Another major reason for the unsatisfactory operation of material supply agencies is that there are no definite regulations and standards in respect of their activities.

As has been mentioned in your speeches, because of this, these agencies not only do not have a clear understanding of their duties, but act individually, without working in unison. Therefore, it is evident that materials supply cannot be done as it should be.

When the Party established a new system of supplying materials, the Cabinet should have drafted appropriate regulations and standards immediately, but it did not do so.

The Cabinet must formulate these regulations as soon as possible, and, at the same time, must assign the lecturers of the University of National Economy to the task of drafting specific standards for the activities of the material supply agencies.

You must not think of this as a difficult task. If you logically set out in writing what we have said at this plenary meeting with regard to the activities of the material supply agencies, this will give you the standards.

Besides formulating the standards, officials in charge of materials supply, including the directors and vice-directors of the material supply agencies, must be sent to the University of National Economy to be trained for some period of time. In the army all the officers attend the military academy to receive formal training. In just the same way, officials of the material supply agencies should attend this university to learn their basic mission and duties as well as the specific standards of their activities. This is the way that all of them can follow the same course in their work and materials can be supplied smoothly in conformity with the objective requirements of socialist economic development.

I think it is necessary to give training for some time not only to the officials of the agencies but also to all senior officials of ministries and factories and enterprises, as well as to planning workers.

Generally speaking, our cadres' level of economic knowledge is very low. At present many shortcomings are apparent in economic management including planning, the supply of materials and the management of factories and enterprises. It is true that the main reason for this is that officials in this sector have not ideologically accepted the requirement of the Party for improving economic management. However, it is partly due to the fact that they are poorly informed on socialist economic theory and methods of managing the economy.

Senior officials of state and economic institutions and factories and enterprises can be divided into two categories. One comprises people of worker-peasant origin who in the past had little opportunity of receiving education. The other is composed of those comrades who have graduated from universities or have received training by some other means. Those who belong to the first category are all faithful to the Party and try to work well, but there are many instances when they do not work as they should because of their poor knowledge of

industrial administration. One might think that those in the second category have a profound knowledge of industrial administration because they have received an education, but the contrary is the case. The majority of officials in the State Planning Commission, the Secretariat of the Cabinet and the ministries are technicians, and only a few of them have specialized in economics. They have some knowledge of their particular field of study and are capable of technical supervision, but they have little knowledge of industrial administration and are unable to make an economic analysis of the production activities of enterprises. Therefore, they know such things as how many kilowatt hours of electricity are consumed in producing one ton of steel and what kind of product is obtained if any two elements are combined. However, they do not know how to define the work norms or how the cost of products is made up. Still less do they know what profit a particular enterprise gives to the state.

One cannot manage the economy in a scientific and rational way as required by the Taean work system without a knowledge of socialist economic laws and socialist economic management. Therefore, everyone—both those who received a great deal of instruction and those who were given only little training in the past—should learn about economic affairs and industrial administration.

It is advisable that the ministers be the first to attend the university for study. Ministerial work will not go too far wrong if they attend the university for several months. It will be better for them to resume their work after several months' study even if they have to discontinue their work for that period.

Not only ministers but also senior officials of state and economic institutions and managerial workers of factories and enterprises, including managers and chief engineers, must attend the university and Party officials must also acquire economic knowledge.

If it is difficult to send all of these officials to the day faculties of the university, they should at least take a correspondence course.

The University of National Economy has reasonably good equipment; it prepared the textbook of industrial administration and

has built up its ranks of lecturers soundly. Therefore, I think that enormous progress will be made in their work if all the senior economic officials resume their work after studying at this university for some period of time.

4) ON DISCONTINUING UNPLANNED CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

In our socialist society we cannot and must not undertake unplanned construction projects.

However, despite the fact that we have pointed this out very strongly, the provinces still undertake construction projects which are not included in the plan. There is some reason for this: although the provinces want to build something because they badly need it, it is not included in the state plan, and they are not authorized to build anything from their own resources.

Officials who work at central authorities cannot know about everything—that it is necessary to rebuild the shop on such and such a road in such and such a locality, or that the bridge at the approach to such and such a village needs to be reconstructed. Moreover, the state plan cannot include such small projects. In this situation, the provinces should be authorized to plan and undertake the construction of small projects which they need under the control of the central authorities. However, at present the local people's committees are not authorized to rebuild a hotel which has become unfit for use, reconstruct a shop at a new site or build a bridge unless these projects are included in the state plan.

Because this is what the work order is like, the provinces try to include in the state plan those construction projects which they badly need to undertake. However, the State Planning Commission unconditionally refuses to do so arguing that it is impossible to include such projects because of the shortage of funds and also because there are many larger and more important projects. So they cannot accomplish their wish.

As we have seen, because those who work at central authorities do not take the inconvenience suffered by the people into consideration, and do not include those construction projects which they ask them to in the state plan, and do not permit the provinces to undertake those projects on their own, they have no choice but to undertake unplanned projects, although they know only too well that this is a violation of the law. All those unplanned projects which have so far been undertaken are those which are urgent for the people's well-being and which must be carried out, such as shops and nurseries. No private houses for the chairmen of provincial and county people's committees have been built. Therefore, we cannot punish them for having violated the law. In the final analysis, this is tantamount to having established a rule which compels people to undertake unplanned projects, and then making them commit a crime in violation of that law.

Why should we not authorize chairmen of county and city people's committees to build nurseries and make benches at bus stops when we do not include those construction projects which the provinces need to undertake in the state plan?

As far back as several years ago we spoke of the need to authorize the provinces to undertake small construction projects by themselves. However, the officials concerned have not implemented what the Party has raised, as they should have done.

We must change the present unfair system as soon as possible and take definite steps to prevent the provinces from undertaking unplanned projects.

Because it is impossible to include the small construction projects which are needed by the provinces in the state plan, I think we should authorize them to undertake them by themselves. In order to do so, we should allot some funds to the provincial, city and county people's committees and supply them with such building materials as timber, cement and glass. If they are only allotted funds without being provided with the necessary materials, they will not be able to obtain them. Even though we are experiencing an acute shortage of building materials, we must supply the provinces with what they need.

It will be necessary to formulate new regulations which stipulate that the construction projects requiring up to so many hundred or so many thousand *won* may be undertaken by the decision of the provincial people's committee or the provincial people's assembly.

You are wrong if you think that the central authorities need not exercise any control over the provinces because they are authorized to undertake construction projects by themselves. Even if they undertake some construction projects on their own, the central authorities must examine the plan which they draft to see whether they are going to undertake necessary works or those which they can dispense with, and promptly correct what is wrong. They must also constantly examine and supervise whether the funds and materials allotted to the provinces are being used as they should be.

The provinces, for their part, ought not to use the construction funds and materials provided by the state rashly for various projects. They must first inspect the construction projects which need to be undertaken. Following this they must draft the construction plan—such and such a shop must be repaired and such and such a shop rebuilt in another place, a nursery must be built in such and such a place because it has none, a bridge will have to be built in such and such a place. They must submit this plan to the people's committees or people's assemblies concerned for serious discussion and decision. After this they must use the materials and funds with the approval of the Cabinet.

If these measures are taken the plans drafted by the provinces will also have legal effect. There will be no more talk about unplanned construction projects and the provinces will not act against the law.

Furthermore, the provinces should not only depend on the building materials provided by the central authorities, but must make wide use of their own materials.

While visiting some places recently, we found many trees and caterpillar-eaten pines in the mountains. It is a different matter if there are no trees in the mountains. I think there is no reason for them to continue to live in straw-thatched huts, depending only on the timber provided by the central authorities when they have a lot of it in the

mountains. They should not merely watch the trees rotting, but cut those trees which it is proper to cut, so as to build modern houses and schools and undertake other necessary construction projects. Only when they are frequently thinned, will pine trees grow fast and become good timber.

If they increase the production of cement at their cement factories and make a number of blocks with weathered granite and use their own trees, the local authorities will be able to build modern dwelling houses and good schools even without getting supplies of materials from the central authorities.

Although Sinchon County is located on the plain, it has sufficient timber to rebuild all its houses in modern style. Pyoksong County also has enough timber to renovate not only its own houses but also those of another two counties.

They say that at present provincial people cannot cut trees in the mountains because the Ministry of Land Development and the Ministry of Public Security strictly prohibit this. From now on they should not be too strict about using those trees which it is suitable to cut.

In this way, we must give some authority to the local people's committees and provide them with the necessary conditions so that they will be able to show creativity to the full and manage their own economic life frugally.

At the same time, the existing buildings must be maintained in good repair.

Since the war our people have constructed a large number of buildings on the rubble. We have built hundreds of thousands of modern houses and lots of schools, cultural establishments, factories and enterprises and other buildings. All of them are the valuable wealth of the country.

However, we only construct good buildings, but do not repair them well when necessary and do not maintain them properly. In consequence, they leak and are becoming unfit for use. For this very reason at present many buildings become useless only a few years after they are constructed.

We should eliminate such practices as soon as possible and immediately repair and keep in good condition those buildings which our people have constructed through hard work and thus make sure that they last for 100 and 200 years or even longer, so that we can use them for generations to come.

The most important thing here is to prevent the funds allotted for the repair of buildings from being used for other purposes.

In the past buildings were not repaired as they should have been, nor were they kept in good condition, but this was not because the state did not supply the necessary funds and materials. Every year the state allotted an adequate amount for this purpose. However, the people's committees at all levels did not use them for the repair of schools, local industry factories and houses, as they were meant to do, but diverted them for other purposes as they pleased—for the construction of noodle houses and office buildings.

You should not spend the funds allotted for the repair of schools on building noodle houses or the office of a county people's committee. The present situation is not such that people cannot have noodles just because there are no noodle houses or that county people's committee officials cannot work because they have no office. If they have no office, a modern house, at the very least, will meet the purpose.

From now on, the diversion of repair funds for other purposes has to be discontinued. Strict discipline should be enforced so that the money allotted for the repair of schools and offices will be spent for the purposes for which it is meant.

In order to prevent funds and materials meant for the repair of buildings from being diverted, the state must not give them to the people's committees as it has done in the past, but deliver them direct to building-repairing stations.

For instance, if a particular school is planned to undergo repair this year, the bank should not give the funds to the county people's committee but to the repairing station concerned, and a rule should be set up that only the principal of the given school or the repairing station is entitled to receive the funds.

If we have a clear-cut order for the use of repair funds and materials in this way, it will put an end to the practice of many people receiving them and diverting them. Moreover, they will be effectively used for the repair and maintenance of buildings.

Party organizations at all levels ought to wage a strong ideological struggle against the diversion of funds intended for the repair of public establishments and houses, and should exercise day-to-day supervision so that they will be used as they are meant to be. If anybody has diverted repair funds and materials, he must be severely disciplined.

For the proper repair and maintenance of buildings, I think it will be necessary to increase the number of building-repairing stations which have exclusive charge of this work.

They must be organized everywhere—large cities and county seats, workers' settlements and country areas; they must improve their sense of responsibility and repair public buildings and dwellings promptly. If they do so, those buildings which we have constructed at colossal state expense will be kept for a long time, production will be increased and the people will not be inconvenienced in their everyday lives.

In addition, hardware stores which sell materials necessary for the repair of dwellings must be run efficiently.

It is true that our working people neglect to keep the fine houses built at state expense in good condition. However, at present the situation is such that even if they want to mend houses or repair anything, they cannot get the necessary materials. Even when their floor is cracked, or when they need to nail something and want to replace broken window-panes, they cannot buy cement, nails and glass.

In order to solve this problem, as far back as several years ago, we took measures so that hardware stores were organized to sell the materials necessary for the repair of houses. However, although some shops were built, the population cannot buy anything there because government establishments buy all the materials which are meant for sale. If they are supplied with 10 tons of cement, the stores sell the total amount to government establishments, but not to individual people. This is wrong.

From now on we must see to it that only individuals can buy building materials from the stores. Only individual cooperative farmers and workers should be permitted to buy them. Even then the amount sold to one person must not be too large, but moderate. If cement is sold in small packs containing four or five kilogrammes each, it will be very convenient to keep and use, and it will also not be wasted.

Furthermore, the kinds and amount of building materials which must always be on sale at the stores must be determined. The stores must always have in stock items which are necessary for repairing houses such as cement, nails, glass, floor paper, wallpaper, door paper, and so on.

5) ON INCREASING ENDEAVOURS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF PRODUCTS

An important factor in eliminating the waste of state property is to increase our efforts to improve the quality of products.

The Party has always stressed the need for all sectors of the national economy to strengthen this campaign. However, some officials still pay very little attention to this matter. As a result, in many cases valuable state property is wasted or left unused instead of being effectively used for developing the national economy and improving the people's living standards.

Some factories and enterprises still produce a large number of rejects and imperfect products, thus wasting a lot of manpower and materials.

As was mentioned in your speeches, the Nampho Glass Factory at present produces more than 1,000 kinds of glass items, including sheet glass and bottles. However, because it manufactures a lot of imperfect products, it not only wastes its own manpower and materials, but also makes it impossible for other factories to put production on a regular basis. Because of the shortage of bottles caused by this factory's failure

to produce them as planned, the pharmaceutical plants and light industry factories are unable to supply medicines, beer and cider, although they make large quantities of them.

At present, shops have large stockpiles of goods. This is mainly due to their inferior quality.

It is true that this is partly because of the thoughtless distribution of goods on the part of commercial officials.

However, the major reason is that people are not buying goods because of their low quality.

We can take linen of the Hyesan Textile Mill, as an example. This mill has up-to-date equipment and it is already six years since it started the production of this cloth. However, because of its poor quality it is not popular with the public. At this moment a large number of people are sitting in this meeting hall. But I can see no one wearing clothes made of linen produced at the mill. Foreign linen is as densely-woven as calico and also white. But the cloth of this mill which has been produced with the same equipment is very loosely-woven and yellow, so that it is unfit for clothes. The tarpaulin woven there is useless because it is porous. There are many other articles which do not sell because of their low quality.

The primary reason for the poor quality of our industrial goods is that senior ministerial officials do not try to improve it and guide factories and enterprises in a bureaucratic and perfunctory way.

At present none of our industrial sectors is weak in either technical equipment or production capacity. As far as the textile industry is concerned, all the factories, with the exception of some local ones, have up-to-date equipment, and yearly production capacity has already reached the level of 400 to 500 million metres. In spite of this, this industry still fails to meet the people's need for fabrics fully in terms of both quality and quantity. This is entirely due to the fact that senior officials in this sector do not work satisfactorily. At present senior officials of the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries do not organize any work carefully, but work in a slipshod manner and keep themselves busy visiting many places. The fact that they work in a

completely unplanned manner can be seen from the following fact. They say that last winter workers of a textile mill were weaving mosquito netting which was not urgent. When Comrades Vice-Premiers learned of this, they ordered that this work be discontinued. As it has already been criticized, several years ago these same officials suddenly gave, without serious consideration, absurd instructions to the Sariwon Towel Factory to discontinue the output of towels and start producing mosquito netting. In consequence, towel production, which had reached a very high level, was suspended and a quantity of imperfect mosquito nets was produced which caused a great loss to the state.

Their careless method of work did not suddenly come into being within the past few days.

The Party has been trying hard to correct their errors over a long period. Whenever we met them we told them about their errors and explained how they should work. In addition, we telephoned them almost every day to inquire about whatever we needed to know and to tell them what was needed. The Party also paid great attention to building up the ranks of officials in this sector. We personally examined the composition of its senior officials and appointed competent technicians as management bureau chiefs and other senior officials.

However, their old method of work has become ingrained and it is very difficult to rectify it.

If we exclude small local industry factories, the number of factories and enterprises directed by these comrades is not very large. Therefore, if the minister and other ministerial officials had built up at least a couple of factories every year according to a definite plan and helped them sincerely as they were told to do by the Party, all the factories in this sector would have been able to produce high-quality goods by now. However, they only visited various factories without achieving anything, with the result that they did not improve even a single one of them as they should have done. In consequence, this sector still fails to produce fabrics, clothes, shoes, caps and hats, socks and stockings and

underwear in large quantities, nor does it ensure their high quality so that they will appeal to the people's taste.

A formalistic and bureaucratic work style and indifference to improving the quality of products are not confined to senior officials of the Ministry of Textile and Paper Industries. These shortcomings are to be found among the senior officials of almost all other ministries, although to varying degrees. If we do not first rectify these defects as soon as possible, we shall not be able to succeed in our efforts to improve the quality of products and eliminate waste in all sectors of the national economy.

Another reason for the failure of factories and enterprises to improve the quality of products is that they do not strictly follow the Party's policy on keeping technicians and skilled workers in the same workplaces.

The Party has long stressed the need to appoint them to their specialized fields and keep them there. However, senior officials of some factories and enterprises still do not take care of them and thoughtlessly transfer them to various other jobs contrary to the Party's policy. Because of this, the quality of products improves very little.

During the last few years the quality of products dropped sharply at the Nampho Glass Factory. This is mainly due to the fact that its senior officials transferred the senior engineer and the engineer in charge of production processes and other technicians, who had long service records at the factory, elsewhere without giving serious thought to the matter.

This is not the proper way to build up the ranks of officials at factories and enterprises. As I have said, more than once, by firmly building up the ranks of officials our Party means that they should be efficiently trained and helped so that all of them will be loyal to the Party, instead of expelling those who have somewhat questionable family backgrounds or personal histories. Of course, if the person in question decries Party policy or does harm to production, he must not only be expelled from the ranks, but the appropriate legal sanctions must be applied against him as well. However, if he

actively supports our Party's policy and devotes himself to increase production and improve the quality of products, we should not expel him but untiringly educate and help him so that he will work better, even if he has a somewhat questionable personal history or family background.

As for those technicians whom the Nampho Glass Factory transferred to other branches, they are people whom our Party trained in the past 20-odd years of hard-fought struggle. Since immediately after liberation we worked very hard to produce glass for ourselves. At that time Comrade Kim Chaek and some other leading cadres worked hard for several years virtually living in the Nampho Glass Factory. As a result, we finally succeeded in producing glass. However, soon after the production of glass had started, the war broke out, in the course of which the factory was totally destroyed. After the war we rebuilt it and resumed production. However, little success was achieved because this work requires high-grade skills and long experience. At that time we invited technicians from many countries which were technically advanced in this respect. However, they failed to find a glass-making process which was suitable to our situation. Eventually, it was our own technicians and workers who succeeded in producing glass in our country. We must keep and look after our technicians and skilled workers whom we have trained in this protracted struggle and train more new ones.

Yet another reason for the failure of some factories and enterprises to ensure good quality products is that they do not store and look after raw materials as they should.

At the moment many factories and enterprises do not have good stores and keep precious raw materials carelessly. They convey them without even cleaning the trucks which had been used to transport filthy loads. As a consequence, a large amount of them become rotten through exposure to the rain or they are spoiled by dirt. Moreover, they do not achieve the good quality of products because they use raw materials which have become spoiled through improper storage.

In his speech Comrade chief Party secretary of the Hyesan Textile

Mill said that his mill is able to weave good-quality linen if it uses good raw materials. However, its workers cause a large amount of flax to rot because of its careless storage and they make thread without even separating the rotten flax. In consequence, its product is yellow and it does not last.

In our country flax is as valuable a raw fibre material as cotton. Party organizations in Ryanggang Province should take measures to build stores in all the flax-growing counties as soon as possible, so that not a single flax stalk will rot.

It is not very difficult to build them. Since this province abounds in timber, it can build them without difficulty by using the outer planks produced at the sawmills. In addition, it will also be able to solve the problem of manpower with its own resources if it launches a community-wide movement. It is advisable that the state should supply the cement needed for this undertaking.

6) ON PREVENTING DESTRUCTIVE AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AGAINST STATE PROPERTY

The last thing I wish to emphasize in connection with the need to end the embezzlement and waste of state property is the question of intensifying the anti-espionage campaign.

At present we are devoting all our energies and talents not only to ensure the contented life of our contemporaries but also to build a socialist and communist society which will bring prosperity to our children. However, the US imperialists who are occupying south Korea and their stooges—landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats—do not like to see the smooth progress of our socialist construction. Our enemies are continually infiltrating their spies with a view to demolishing the socialist system established in the northern half of Korea and disrupting our socialist construction. In addition, they are trying, by every possible means, to carry out subversion and sabotage.

At the moment at our workplaces which are dedicated to socialist construction, many things happen which cannot be overlooked and which cannot be regarded as accidents due merely to technical reasons.

The year before last students of Kim Il Sung University and Kim Chaek University of Technology who were taking part in repairing the flood damage at the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant discovered harmful objects stuffed into pipes, which was the work of subversive elements.

In addition to this, according to those who have been mobilized in the construction of an iron works, evil-doers there now remove screws from assembled equipment every night.

Let me give another example.

Last October when all the flies had disappeared, people in the chemical industry continued to produce fly poison instead of making other medicines. Probably everybody knows that there is no need for this kind of chemical in winter. In spite of this, they continued to make it until October instead of making medicines which were actually needed. We cannot regard this as merely a flaw in organizing work.

Our officials must clearly understand that everywhere the enemy is trying to place obstacles in the way of production and frustrate our socialist construction. Spies, subversive elements and saboteurs may be entrenched everywhere and carry out evil acts—they may be found in building and production establishments, as well as in educational and cultural institutions and in the army.

They do not carry a sign on their foreheads to the effect that they are destructive elements. As we have repeatedly said, outwardly they pretend to work faithfully, but behind the scenes they carry out subversive activities and sabotage. In particular, when the situation is tense, or we encounter difficulties in socialist construction, they try to go for our throat.

Therefore, we must always maintain sharp revolutionary vigilance, follow the enemies' vicious tricks with great alertness and we should not slacken the anti-espionage struggle even for a moment.

This matter was severely criticized at the recent national meeting of

public security men because, in the past, they did not take strong countermeasures against spies and subversive elements and saboteurs. Their major shortcoming was that they did not hold firm to their working-class views. Because of this, they even overlooked accidents which had been caused by the hostile acts of evil-doers and to which they should have paid attention. They simply decided that these accidents were attributable to poor technology, and so set them down to faulty switches or other technical causes. Of course, I do not mean that you ought to consider those accidents which are caused by inefficient technical skill as the work of spies. You must not frighten people by claiming that there are spies when there are actually none. However, you should not indiscriminately ascribe all accidents which occur in construction and production to inefficient technical skill. They may be attributable not only to the low technical skill of officials, but also to the vicious acts of evil-doers. We must clearly understand the fact that, with the aim of undermining socialist construction, the enemy can commit cunning subversive acts, lying low for a long time, and ascribing these acts to poor levels of skill. Therefore, we must investigate all accidents in detail and ascertain their cause.

What, then, must be done to carry out an efficient anti-espionage campaign?

The most important thing is to establish a rigid system of work and order at factories, enterprises, schools and all other establishments. If we clean the floors of our rooms and place mirrors on all sides, the footprints of those who enter the rooms will remain on the floors and everything they do will be reflected in the mirrors. In just the same way, if we establish a rigid system of work and a well-regulated order, all the activities of spies will be disclosed. We must set up a rigid revolutionary system and order in all sectors and maintain sharp vigilance to prevent even a single spy, subversive element or saboteur from moving about freely.

Stoutly defending the socialist gains through an intensified anti-espionage campaign is the most honourable revolutionary duty facing us. We must mount a powerful anti-espionage campaign and so

firmly protect our valuable socialist system and state and public property from all manner of intrigues on the part of the spies, subversive elements and saboteurs.

2. ON DEVELOPING THE FISHING INDUSTRY FURTHER

1) ON FIRMLY BUILDING UP THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE FISHING INDUSTRY

We always emphasize that developing the fishing industry in our country is very important. In our country which is bordered by the sea on three sides and has inexhaustible marine resources, the fishing industry is a major sector which we must develop. To do this is more advantageous than developing animal husbandry in solving the problem of supplementary food for the people quickly at less cost. Developing the fishing industry is also necessary for the advancement of animal husbandry.

Our Party has been paying close attention to the development of the fishing industry since immediately after liberation. As you know well from your study of our Party's history, the fishing industry was the first sector to organize cooperatives in our country. In the days immediately after liberation our Party ensured that fishermen's cooperatives were organized involving many people and that the state provided them with financial assistance to strengthen their material and technical bases, because we thought that the development of the fishing industry would be impossible as long as people continued to catch fish as individuals. As a result, within a few years after liberation the material and technical foundations of the fishing industry were laid to some extent and the catch increased considerably.

However, this progress was not achieved easily and there were many vicissitudes in the course of its development. Owing to the barbarous bombing and bombardment of the US imperialists, its material foundations were completely destroyed during the Fatherland Liberation War, leaving not a single serviceable boat.

However, we were not discouraged, and started to re-lay its material and technical basis by tightening our belts.

First of all, our Party applied itself to the production of marine engines. Once we have the boats we shall be able to catch as much fish as we need, and the production of boats needs engines. For this reason we started to manufacture engines. We first made primitive semi-diesel engines. Then we started producing diesel engines. At first we produced small capacity ones and gradually made 200 hp and 400 hp ones. Now we are able to make large ones—ones of 1,000 hp. At present we do not only produce marine engines. We also make various kinds of engines such as 28 hp tractor engines, those for the *Phungnyon* tractor, motor engines for the *Sungni-58* truck and the *Jajuho* truck. At present our engine-producing industry has attained a fairly high level. If we do a better job for some more years from now onwards, we shall even be able to produce good-quality, high-speed engines on our own.

The engines we now produce are sufficient for us to make boats. We can do so once we have engines, steel plate and navigation equipment.

We have also created the industrial basis capable of producing various kinds of fishing gear such as radiolocators, shoal detectors and nets.

However, we cannot rest content with this. So far we have laid only the basic foundations of the fishing industry. In particular, because nautical conditions have undergone great changes in recent years, we shall not be able to obtain a big catch unless we strengthen these foundations.

As you all know, in the past we landed a boatful of fish whenever we put to sea because the coastal waters were visited by large shoals of

migratory varieties such as mackerel, sardine and yellow corbina.

However, because of the change in the current, there have been only small numbers of mackerel and yellow corbina in these waters in recent years, while they are visited by large shoals of anchovy, saury, sand eel, squid and other kinds of fish. We should have made full preparations in conformity with this situation. However, because we are inexperienced, we have only prepared many nets needed for catching mackerel and also made tanks for salting them in many places since we had expected big shoals of this fish to come as they had done in the past. In spite of this, we could not catch them because they did not come, although they used to do so in large numbers. As for other varieties, we missed them because we had not made the necessary preparations. After that fishery workers are discouraged and at a loss what to do.

I think that it is now clear how the fishing industry should develop. The important thing is to lay sound material and technical bases so that we shall always be ready to catch any kind of fish that appears, no matter how nautical conditions change. In other words, we must prepare various types of boats and fishing tackle and nets so that we shall be able to catch squid, anchovy, mackerel or sardine whenever any of these fish appears. If this is done, we shall be able to catch 400,000 to 500,000 tons of fish annually in coastal waters alone.

We must establish sound material and technical bases which are capable of overcoming any change in nautical conditions and landing a large catch. However, as has been mentioned both in the report and your speeches, we have no such bases. At the moment we do not make various fishing gear which will enable us to catch fish in conformity with the changed conditions, nor do we produce different types of boats. Consequently, we can only catch fish which live on the sea bottom but not those which are found at medium depths.

We are still a long way behind as far as technology is concerned. People in other countries are reported to carry machines for filtering salt water to wash their faces and clothes on board ship. However, we are still unable to make them. Therefore, transport ships even have to

carry fresh water to the deep seas.

On their return from visiting international trade fairs, fishery workers said that they would produce machines by their own efforts based on foreign models if we bought them ten types of machines including those for making chipped ice and for filtering salt water and a simple detector. Therefore, I asked them the total sum needed to import them. They said that some 100,000 pounds would be enough. So I instructed the officials in charge of foreign trade to buy these machines for them. However, they say that they have bought only three or four types of machines although more than a year has passed since then. Our fishing industry will not be developed as long as they are so indifferent to laying its material and technical bases.

We have to increase state investment in the fishing industry so as to strengthen the material and technical bases of this backward sector as soon as possible.

We must build many ships of different types as a matter of priority.

The 450-ton trawler we are now producing has many shortcomings. Because of its small size the fishermen cannot stretch out to sleep comfortably. Apart from this, it has many other drawbacks. In particular, its most serious shortcoming is that it is unsafe. It can be used for fishing only in the Black Sea or the Baltic Sea where the waves are moderate, but it cannot be used in the Pacific Ocean where the waves are high. How can we keep an easy mind if we eat the fish which the fishermen have caught in the deep seas by their hard work without even being able to sleep comfortably in an unsafe ship for two or three months?

Judging from the fact that senior fishery officials have not yet taken necessary measures when they know this situation only too well, we can see that they do not have Party spirit, working-class spirit and loyalty to the people. Although we chose senior fishery officials from amongst those comrades who had been trained through protracted physical labour, I think they have not yet rid themselves of the capitalist grime which is a relic of the old days. In a capitalist society capitalists do not care about the hard toil of the workers because their only concern is to

make money. However, the workers have to engage in fishing at the risk of their lives in order to live. That is why in the past people used to say that fishermen carried food for the Devil's messenger.

However, now that the working class has become the master of the country, we must have the greatest regard for people's lives and show the utmost concern to guarantee safety in labour and provide the workers with comfort in their everyday lives. When we build a ship we must ensure its safety so that it can withstand any typhoon and make sure that the fishermen will suffer no discomfort.

At present we allow a great part of our catch to rot because the trawlers we now produce have no processing facilities. We must correct this shortcoming.

According to reports, they caught 1,000 tons of anchovy a day this year when the fishing was in full swing. At this rate, it should amount to 30,000 tons in a month. However, shops do not have a large stock of this fish. When I asked the officials in this sector the reason, they said that a great part of the catch had rotted because the ships have no cold-storage installations. Therefore, although it is said that daily catch was 1,000 tons, people can actually get no more than 100 tons to eat.

From now onwards the new ships must be provided with cold-storage facilities to prevent even a single fish from rotting.

If we are to ensure the safety and convenience of the ships and install processing facilities in them, we must make them large yet low and powerful. They say that foreign ships engaged in fishing in the Pacific Ocean are all generally large. We must also produce large numbers of 600 to 1,000-ton ships.

We must build many stern trawlers, too. It is said that recently fishermen in the deep seas caught a large whale weighing 50 tons. They could not lift the whole load because the ship had no large derricks. They managed to lift it only after they had cut it into several pieces. From now onwards the shipyards must build large ships capable of lifting any large whales. You must shoot them whenever they appear in the sea during your voyages. They have a lot of oil and meat. Therefore, it will be a great achievement, even if you only shoot a few.

As well as trawlers, large numbers of factory ships must also be built.

Because we are short of them, we now send processing mother ships only to the deep seas. If we send 3,000 to 5,000-ton ships to the coastal waters and get them to take over all the catch from the fishing boats and process them, the fishing boats will be able to increase their catch and the fish will not rot once caught.

If we are to build many ships, the capacity of the existing shipyards must be increased, and more ship-building centres have to be set up.

The Ryuktae Shipyard must be built first as soon as possible. At the moment the senior officials of this shipyard are working hard to build it. However, its construction is not proceeding quickly because the Ministry of Machine-Building Industry No. 1 and the provincial Party committee do not help this project in an effective way. They should give it efficient help so that it will produce many 600-ton and 1,000-ton ships for deep-sea fishing as well as boats for coastal fishing.

The Chongjin Dockyard must build 3,000-ton, 5,000-ton and 7,000-ton ships and in the future it must also build many 10,000-ton factory ships and transport ships.

Furthermore, a shipyard which will serve the fishing industry on the West Sea must be built as soon as possible in the area of Komdok Island.

With the increase in ship-building capacity, we should take pains to build up reliable centres which produce such equipment as radiolocators, machines for producing chipped ice, shaking off fish and lifting them.

While increasing the number of ships, we must also pay heed to using the existing ones effectively.

It is most important to set up a definite system of repairing ships.

No matter how many of them we build, we shall not be able to make better use of ships and, consequently, increase our catch unless they are repaired promptly. We stressed this problem as early as 1959 at the Meeting of Active Party Members in the Fishery Sector of Kangwon Province and also referred to it at many plenary meetings of the Party

Central Committee. However, there is still no suitable system of repairing ships and quality and speed are not achieved in this work.

As a matter of principle, if we are to succeed in this work, we must have a large quantity of engines and other spare parts in stock and examine the ships as soon as they come back from sea. If the engine is out of order, it must be replaced promptly, if screws are loose, they must be tightened and if there are leaks they must be stopped. If we do this, it will not take more than a fortnight to repair a ship.

However, at the moment people at the ship repair yards busy themselves getting engines, spare parts and paint, only after the ships return from the deep seas. They say, therefore, that it takes a few months to repair a ship, and sometimes it even requires 150 days. Consequently, they miss the fishing season.

Officials of the machine-building industry should also bear a large share of the blame for this. So far they have neglected the production of spare parts needed for repairing ships under the pretext of the shortage of steel and other items. The production of spare parts will not need a large amount of steel. Their attitude shows that they do not work as they should to implement the Party's policy on developing the fishing industry. We must launch a strong ideological campaign against these practices.

In order to correct these shortcomings as soon as possible, reliable ship repair centres must be built up.

A dock has been built in Rajin. Dredging must be completed as soon as possible to allow in a 10,000-ton ship and a repair yard built next to it so as to repair large ships. The Ministry of Fisheries must take over a building which has been used by a factory under some other branch and install machines there and appoint technicians.

The most important factor to ensure good quality in the repair of ships is to build a dependable centre for the production of spare parts and have a large quantity of various spare parts in stock. At the same time as building up the existing centres, a ship spare parts factory should be built in the city of Kim Chaek. Then it will be easy to obtain supplies of steel from the Songjin Steel Plant.

In addition to this, work must be organized well so as to reduce as much as possible the time during which ships remain in dock.

If transport ships tie up at wharves for a long time, factory ships will not be able to continue work because their refrigerators are full. In this case, fishing boats cannot resume their work because their catch cannot be unloaded.

In the past fishery workers did not make any preparations, and it was only after the ships arrived at the wharves that they organized the unloading operations and visited various places to get the oil, vegetables, salt and wooden tubs to load onto the ships. As a result, they caused the ships to stay there for nearly 20 days. I think that the fish which we did not catch last year merely because of the long and unreasonable time during which ships were in dock, amounts to tens of thousands of tons. When we consider that these were such tasty fish as herring and turbot, our loss is really tremendous.

Not only officials in the fishery sector but Chongjin and Kim Chaek City Party organizations should be held responsible for this. It is said that in other countries not only dockers but even soldiers are mobilized to unload the catch and load the necessary stores when the ships dock. These cities have large fishing ports. Therefore, their Party organizations should visit the fisheries prior to the arrival of transport ships and carry out a detailed examination on whether their cranes are in working order, whether they have the warehouses to store the catch, whether they have enough water, oil, vegetables, salt and wooden tubs and take all necessary measures. If the cranes are out of order, senior officials of these Party organizations should lead the others in donning rubber clothes and inspire the government workers to take part in unloading the catch promptly and in loading such things as water, supplementary food and wooden tubs. However, in the past they did not organize any work.

The Party Central Committee tries hard to supply more fish to the people. In spite of this, the local Party organizations are apathetic in this way. Therefore, it is natural that things are not going as they should. Catching fish in the sea is a different matter, but why should

they fail to unload the catch promptly?

From now onwards the fisheries and the Party organizations which I have mentioned must pay due attention to reducing the time during which ships are tied up at the wharves.

The Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of Land and Marine Transport and other ministries should provide what is needed for deep-sea fishing as a matter of priority.

If we organize work well, every year we can catch 150,000 to 200,000 tons of tasty fish such as herring and turbot in the deep seas with the existing ships. In fact, this is far better than catching 300,000 tons of pollack in coastal waters. There is nothing further to be thrown away in the case of fish caught in the deep seas, because they are refrigerated with their heads and tails cut off.

Moreover, we can obtain 2,000 tons of fish oil and process some 12,000 tons of fish-meal.

To proceed. The production of fishing gear must be developed as soon as possible.

At present our production of fishing gear is far behind our requirements. Our fishing gear is crude, its variety is extremely limited and even what we produce does not meet our needs.

At present we are even unable to produce sufficient nets. From now onwards net factories must be built in many places to mass-produce different kinds of good-quality nets.

Only when we determinedly strengthen the material and technical bases of the fishing industry and modernize it in this way, shall we be able to increase the output and eat all the catch without any of it rotting.

2) ON DEVELOPING SMALL-SCALE FISHING AND AQUACULTURE EXTENSIVELY AND PROTECTING MARINE RESOURCES THOROUGHLY

I should first like to refer to the problem of developing small-scale fishing.

At present we cannot eat different kinds of fish, but have only a few varieties which are caught by large ships. In former days people in Phyongan Province never ran out of pickled shellfish and shrimps. They were one of this province's specialities. However, these products which we used to find in great abundance have sharply decreased in recent years.

According to fishery workers, during the last few years their resources have decreased because their habitat was destroyed by frequent floods. Of course, that may be one of the reasons why so few are now caught. However, this cannot be regarded as the main reason. If their habitat has been destroyed, it can be restored.

The main reason for our failure to catch a large amount of these and other kinds of fish lies in the small number of fishermen. In the past a large number of small boats covered the whole area from Monggumpho to Sin Island and caught fish with nets and reels and multiple hooks. However, at present not many people are engaged in fishing in the West Sea. Our officials only think of using large ships to catch scores of tons at a time in the deep seas. I wonder whether this is because they have become accustomed to do everything in a big way. They are wrong. We can catch a great deal even if we engage in small-scale fishing in the inshore waters.

I was told that last year every member of a fishermen's cooperative in South Hamgyong Province caught an average of 6.5 tons of fish in nine months. At this rate, they will be able to catch eight tons a year each. This is quite something. If it is accepted that the ratio of fish to meat is 2 to 1, eight tons of fish amounts to four tons of meat. Even if we estimate it at 3 to 1, it will be over 2.5 tons of meat. If we undertake animal husbandry, we can produce three tons of meat from one hectare of fodder fields at the most. Even at the Ryokpho Stock Farm which is said to be the biggest producer of meat, a worker has produced only one ton a year. Breeding pigs and cattle needs a lot of labour and money. We have built many chicken plants. They require a very large sum of money. I think we shall be able to build hundreds of small boats with the money needed for the construction of one chicken plant.

We should not ignore small-scale fishing. People in those places which border on the sea should organize many fishermen's cooperatives to develop this kind of fishing extensively.

At the moment there are many good comrades in big cities and workers' settlements who live on pensions because of illness, after having worked in mines or factories for a long time for the country and the people. It will not be bad to engage them in fishing. They will be very pleased if they are told to catch fish with nets and rods in boats while they continue to receive the benefits from pensions. This will be good for their recovery because they will frequently eat highly nutritious fish and feel re-invigorated while fishing. If they are engaged in fishing instead of being on the payroll of the state while doing nothing at home, they will not feel ashamed.

County Party committees in the coastal areas must build pleasant houses and bring pensioners from the large cities and the workers' settlements and organize fishermen's cooperatives with these people. These cooperatives must not be too large. Each of them ought to comprise from 15 to 30 people and there should not be many managerial personnel. If you appoint "heads" and "chiefs" such as the manager and the deputy manager in charge of supply services out of the small number of people, there will be very few people left who will actually engage in fishing. Therefore, you would do well to appoint the head and appoint as his assistant a man who has a long record in fishing. The state must provide each cooperative with three or four boats with a 28 hp tractor or motor engine, which can be used by five or six people.

From now onwards the fisheries must engage chiefly in deep-sea fishing and, even when they catch fish in the coastal waters, they must work in deep waters and let the fishermen's cooperatives catch fish in shallow waters.

Now I should like to speak briefly on the need to develop aquaculture.

Our country has very favourable conditions for breeding fish because it abounds in rivers, lakes and tidelands. The Chongchon River, in particular, is free from poisonous waste and its water is clear.

Therefore, we can breed cold-water fish in its upper reaches, crucian and carp in its middle reaches and sea fish in its lower reaches. Some people say that if we put fry into the Taedong and Chongchon Rivers, they will escape. I do not think so. River fish always live in the river. Therefore, even if they go downstream at one period, they go upstream again. In fact we can say that these rivers are the same as lakes. If we put fry into them, they will not escape.

The Pothong River is also very suitable for breeding fish. Because it contains a lot of microbes and thick mud, we can breed as many crucian, grass fish and carp as we want.

In addition, our country has many natural lakes such as Kwangpho and Sijung and reservoirs can be found everywhere.

If we make effective use of these favourable conditions, we shall be able to cultivate and catch a large amount of fish. According to officials in the field of fresh-water fish breeding, we can catch 300,000 to 500,000 tons of fish a year if we are successful in this undertaking. It will be a great achievement if we catch only 100,000 tons in the rivers and lakes even if we are unable to catch the greater amount.

They say that people in a certain country catch three million tons of fish a year by breeding them in fresh water. I was told that they earn a fairly large income by breeding fish in pools dug in front of their houses.

However, our officials do not do this work well despite the favourable conditions they have. When they are instructed to put fry into the Taedong and Chongchon Rivers, they are reluctant to do so. They say: "When will they grow big enough to eat?" "When will I be able to eat them?" This shows that officials in this field are not yet fully armed with the communist idea of serving society and the people and that egoism remains in their minds to a large extent.

We must intensify the education of these officials in socialist patriotism so that they will breed a large number of fish in rivers and lakes.

At present there are many strong young people in the fish breeding stations. However, it is advisable to carry out this work by organizing cooperatives with people who live on pensions. Furthermore, there is

no need to use many people for breeding fish in reservoirs because this job is not labour-consuming. A lot of fish come from the rivers to the reservoirs through water pumps. Therefore, all that needs to be done is to prevent them from going downstream again. It is not very difficult to put the spawn into the reservoirs. When the water in the reservoirs goes down, it will be sufficient to walk along the edge and push the spawn into the water so that they will not be dried up on the ground.

Not only fish, but also a large amount of *miyok* seaweed and tangle must be cultivated. They are very good for the people's health because they are highly nutritious. When we visited a foreign country some time ago, we saw people there eating *miyok* seaweed a little at a time in the form of small balls or powder like taking medicine. We asked them why they ate it in that way instead of boiling soup with it. They said that they had not enough of it to do so.

Because our country is bounded by the sea on three sides, we can cultivate as much *miyok* seaweed and tangle as we need. In spite of such advantages, in the past few years aquaculture officials did not pay attention to this as they should have done. In consequence, at present we provide the people with only a little because of its small supply. We must attend to this work to mass-produce *miyok* seaweed and tangle. I was told that South Hwanghae Province can cultivate large quantities of them. I think it will be a good idea to concentrate investment on this job to produce more than 100,000 to 200,000 tons a year.

Marine resources must be thoroughly protected.

Our mountains, seas and rivers are all the valuable wealth of our people. Therefore, we must ensure that the mountains are thick with trees and inhabited by a large number of various kinds of beautiful birds and animals and the seas and rivers teem with fish. However, some people still retain the wrong habit they acquired during the days of Japanese imperialist rule. Consequently, they manage the country's economic life carelessly and do not appreciate and take care of its valuable resources.

At present many people catch small fish with nets or hooks. Worse still, they even kill fry because they use explosives, black walnut trees

or slaked lime in catching fish. Therefore, it is useless for us to put thousands of millions of fry into the rivers every year.

The small number of fish in the rivers is also chiefly attributable to the fact that factories and mines discharge poisonous waste. We have drawn attention to this problem more than once. However, some mines still have not stopped this practice, and the Pyongyang Textile Mill discharges into the Taedong River the poisonous waste coming from the dyeing shop without purifying it.

In the past shoals of fish used to come as far as the Okryu Bridge. However, because of this practice on the part of mines and factories, at present they only come up to the waters in front of Mangyongdae and then go back downstream towards the sea as soon as they sense the toxic matter. How good it would be if they were to come up to the Okryu Bridge as they did in the past! If there are a lot of fish in the Taedong River, it will be a splendid sight and the Pyongyang citizens will be able to spend more pleasant Sundays fishing with rod and line. How interesting it would be if they could catch at least a few fish a day even though they cannot catch a lot! However, because our officials are not concerned about protecting the fish resources, there are not many fish in this river at present and there are only a few people who fish there on Sundays.

We must carry out extensive explanation and education among the people on the need to protect marine resources thoroughly, so that they will take an active part in this work. Schools should also educate their pupils in this spirit so that they will cultivate this habit from childhood.

Laws and regulations on the protection of marine resources must be formulated and strict control exercised to prevent their violation. If anybody violates them he should be fined and legal action must be taken against him. The Ministry of Land Development must permit only the use of nets with a wide mesh to prevent people from catching small fish and take measures so that they will fish only with those nets which are approved by the establishments concerned.

In order to protect the resources of sea fish, we must prohibit the cutting of seaweed.

If we cut this weed fish will have no place to be safe, or to hide and spawn in. There are no roe deer and pheasants in mountains which are bare of trees. In just the same way, all the fish will be depleted if there is no weed in the sea.

In the past people in some localities cut all the weed under the sea on the pretext that it was nutritious and could be used as raw fibre material and so on. We once visited the Sokhu Rest Home and talked to old people who had been living in that area for a long time. They said that the number of fish had decreased in the sea in recent years because the local population cut all the weed there.

From now on we should prohibit the cutting of seaweed with the exception of *miyok*, no matter what valuable things it contains, so that fish will breed there rapidly.

3) ON IMPROVING FISH PROCESSING

Last year we caught enough fish to distribute 68 grammes a day to every member of the population. This is a very high level. However, a large amount rotted because we had not taken the necessary measures to process them.

We must build refrigerated plants everywhere so that not even a single fish will become rotten. You must not try to build large ones only, but also small ones in different places because the fishing stations and fishermen's cooperatives are spread over wide areas.

We must have a large number of refrigerator vans as well as refrigerated plants. It is only when we have many of them, and dispose of the fish in the refrigerated plants quickly, that the ships will be able to unload their catch speedily. We must either make these vans ourselves or import them if it is difficult to produce them domestically.

The most important thing in fish processing is to process pollack well in winter. Some time ago I saw a film on pollack processing produced by the Scientific Film Studio. It is very good. Because our annual catch of pollack is more than 300,000 tons, if we are to process

all of them, we must industrialize and modernize this work as we are shown in the film. We have to build large refrigerated plants to freeze pollack and then process them with the help of machines.

If it is impossible to process all of them in this way, we have also to use manual labour. In this case, however, we must provide good conditions for the workers so that they will be able to do this job in warm buildings. Workers in the machine-building factories and textile mills work in places where the temperature is high enough. Therefore, there is no reason for us to make workers engaged in seafood processing shiver in places where the temperature is 20 to 30 degrees below zero. Under Japanese imperialist rule Koreans had no access to good jobs and were compelled to work in order to eke out their subsistence even if the capitalists paid them only 5 *jon* or three *jon* a day. And women made salted roe and cut out the entrails of pollacks shivering in cold places with their babies on their backs. However, under our system we cannot make them do this.

By increasing the investments needed for the provision of fish-processing installations, the State Planning Commission and the fishing sector must build more refrigerated plants and provide good conditions so that processing workers will be able to work without any discomfort. In this way we should refrigerate and salt a large number of fish and produce a large amount of salted roe, salted entrails and liver oil. If we work well, we shall be able to produce some 2,000 tons of liver oil a year. This is quite a large amount. It will be good if we provide it to our children. If we export it, we shall be able to earn a large amount of foreign currency.

4) ON DEVELOPING THE SCIENCE OF FISHERIES RAPIDLY

It is not an exaggeration to say that the modern world is one of science and that science and technology decide everything. We shall not be able to bring about a great improvement in the fishing industry if

we just persist in our outdated experience without developing science. We must develop the science of fisheries as soon as possible and modernize our fishing industry still further.

A research institute on the science of fisheries has been organized. We must concentrate competent scientists and technicians here so as to solve, as soon as possible, many scientific and technical problems such as how to catch a large amount of fish, how to detect fish shoals more effectively, how to develop our fishing industry under a long-term programme, how to undertake aquaculture and how to process fish and make the necessary machines and so on.

The state must provide sufficient equipment and conditions which are needed for scientific research so that the scientists and technicians will devote all their efforts to this work.

The important factor in developing the science of fisheries is to launch a strong ideological struggle against conservatism. Conservatives believe only in their outdated experience; they are unwilling to introduce new, modern science and technology and stand in the way of our advance.

South Hamgyong Province, which accounts for nearly 60 per cent of our seafood production, has not made any progress worth mentioning in fishing during the past few years. This is because the senior officials of the South Hamgyong Provincial Fishery Management Bureau are largely infected with conservatism. They neglect study and are not very willing to accept the modern science of fisheries and technology, claiming that they know about fishing better than anyone else because they have grown old in the course of catching fish. As a matter of fact, in the past they had not even seen shoal detectors. It is true that some of the fishery workers have long experience in this field and know immediately whether or not there are fish anywhere just by looking at the colour of the sea. We should respect them and zealously learn from their good experience. However, it will take us scores of years to train all the young people who are now engaged in fishing to be as skilful as they are. Moreover, their experience is limited. Even if we admit their skill, it will be more

accurate to detect shoals of fish in a scientific way with the help of detectors rather than to find them with their eyes. Therefore, their experience must, in any case, be subordinated to and help the development of the science of fisheries. It must not be an obstacle to it.

The fishery sector must carry out a forceful ideological struggle against the conservatives who are trying to check our advance and thus develop the science of fisheries as soon as possible.

At the same time as developing it, we must train technical personnel in this field according to a plan.

From now on the higher fishery schools must enrol good people and train them well.

At the same time, we must retain fishery technicians in their posts and recall those who are working in other fields so that they can work in their specialized fields.

5) ON IMPROVING SUPPLY SERVICES FOR FISHERMEN

We have stressed the importance of supply services on every occasion. However, this work is still not satisfactory. As a result, until recently fishermen who worked on the deep seas could not eat our abundant vegetables and fruit as they should. Canned apples and peaches do not spoil even if they are kept for a long time. In spite of this, senior officials in this sector did not supply them to these fishermen in the past.

The deep-sea fishermen could not listen to the radio or read newspapers and magazines. In consequence, they were utterly ignorant of the political situation and of what was happening in their motherland. They could not watch films, either. Some provinces, cities and counties gave other people the houses which the state had built for fishermen.

This was what the situation was like. However, neither the Minister of Fisheries, nor vice-ministers nor management bureau chiefs

reported it to the Party. Nor did the senior officials of fishing stations inform the Party of this. Last year when we visited Sinpho, we talked to comrades who had returned from deep-sea fishing. They said that until then many people had told them to catch a large amount of fish, but very few people had inquired about their living conditions. They spoke in detail about how they were faring. After our talk with them, we took steps to improve supply services for fishermen. Last year we adopted a decision of the Cabinet to this effect and instructed that dried slices of radish should be supplied to the deep-sea fishermen. It is easy to transport them to distant seas. Moreover, they are tasty if they are made into various dishes after being soaked in water. Besides, it is not difficult to make them. All that has to be done is for radishes to be sliced and dried. It is advisable to make a large amount of them and other things as a community-wide movement this year and supply them to the fishermen.

It will be good if we also supply them to geological prospectors. The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee intends to discuss the matter of geological prospecting and take appropriate steps some time in the future. The living conditions of geological prospectors also appear to be difficult. I think that, as a matter of course, they drink good water and eat wild vegetables and fruit because they frequently travel across mountains, but they also do not eat vegetables. We must produce a large amount of dried slices of radish and supply them to fishery workers and geological prospectors.

Fishermen working on the deep seas must be supplied regularly with plenty of oil, fresh vegetables and fruit.

In order to supply them with enough water, we must build a water-supplying ship this year so that it can follow the fishing ships and provide them with water. At present the city of Kim Chaek seems to be short of water resources. The provincial and city Party organizations should solve this problem as soon as possible so that enough water will be supplied to those who go deep-sea fishing.

We must ensure that fishermen get good rest even when they are on the deep seas. They will take an interest in their work only when they

have a day off from time to time. If they just work without resting and enjoying cultural activities, they will not achieve good results in their work. After they have worked for a week or for about ten days, they must be given a good rest on the factory ship for a day, taking a bath, having a haircut, receiving medical treatment if necessary and watching films. We still have a shortage of processing mother ships. It is advisable that the fishery sector earns foreign currency from its own resources and buys another one.

Fishermen working on the deep seas must also be supplied regularly with newspapers and magazines. However, because newspapers reach them too late, they cannot receive news of the country quickly. So it is advisable to use a room on the mother ship where they will receive news from home and make several copies of the latest news bulletin, so that each can read them in turn. They should also be shown good films and encouraged to organize art circles to carry out artistic activities. In this way they will be able to lead a cultured life.

Once this has been done, the fishermen will have a high sense of honour and great pride in their work and many young people will volunteer to work at sea.

Fishermen should also be provided with good houses. In this way they must be given a good rest with their families for about a month after three to four months' work at sea. This will not be very difficult because not many people engage in deep-sea fishing.

Government organs at all levels have to build houses for fishermen as soon as possible and return to them those houses which the state has built for them, but which are now occupied by others.

If supply services for fishermen are to be improved, senior officials in this branch should adopt greater responsibility for their work. The Party has sent managers and other senior officials to the fishing stations so that they will implement the Party's policy on the fishing industry and take care of the fishermen's living conditions. Senior fishing station officials must show great concern for the everyday needs of the workers and take care of them in a responsible way so that

they will not suffer any discomforts in their lives.

Large fishing stations have a lot of people who engage in deep-sea fishing and also have to do many things. Therefore, competent people with a high sense of responsibility must be appointed there as deputy managers in charge of supply services.

In conclusion, ideological work has to be intensified among the young people to encourage them to like the sea and be bold and to go to sea.

In our country which is bounded by the sea on three sides, people should not fear it. When our population increases greatly in the future, we shall only be prosperous when we conquer the sea and develop its inexhaustible resources. If, instead, we only search for something in the mountains, we shall not be able to gain very much there. If young men go to sea, they will become courageous and develop their bodies.

The League of Socialist Working Youth must set up maritime clubs in Chongjin, Sinpho, Hamhung, Wonsan, Nampho and other places and teach young people how to swim and give lessons in boating. Schools must also teach these things to their pupils so that they will like the sea from their early years.

In addition, many novels and films on the sea must be produced so that young people will love and enjoy the sea.

I think that it is very proper that this plenary meeting has discussed the question of developing the fishing industry. The development of our fishing industry has a very great future because we have already laid its foundations to some extent, acquired experience in deep-sea and inshore fishing and found out many methods of doing this work.

If we continue to develop deep-sea fishing and engage in inshore fishing on a large scale, in the near future the state fishing stations alone will be able to catch one million tons a year. The fishery sector must work hard to attain this goal during the period of the next long-range plan.

I am firmly convinced that you will not fail to prove yourselves worthy of the expectations of the Party by working hard to put the spirit of this plenary meeting into practice.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY TAHA
AL-BASRI, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR GENERAL
OF THE IRAQI NEWS AGENCY**

July 1, 1969

Question: What are Your Excellency's impressions concerning the fierce struggle waged by the people of south Korea against the US imperialist occupation for the liberation of the south and what are the bases Your Excellency proposes for the reunification of the two parts of the country?

Answer: As regards the questions of the south Korean revolution and national reunification, we have already dealt with them in detail in the report at the 20th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea last year. In addition, we have published many documents concerning the questions of the south Korean revolution and the country's reunification. They include the report to the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea held in 1966. I think that if you read these documents, you will fully understand our programme for national reunification and our position on the south Korean people's revolutionary struggle against the US imperialist occupiers.

The Korean people's greatest desire today is to reunify their divided country as soon as possible.

It can be said that the speedy attainment of our cause of national reunification depends mainly on the solution of the following three questions.

First, we must strengthen our revolutionary base still more in all political, economic and military fields by successfully carrying out socialist construction in the northern half of Korea; second, the south Korean people must fight more vigorously against the US imperialists and their stooges and quickly build up their own revolutionary forces; and third, people throughout the world, and especially the peoples making revolution, and all the forces opposing imperialism must unite firmly and isolate and weaken the US imperialists to the utmost on a worldwide scale and, at the same time, give active support and encouragement to the Korean people in their struggle to drive out US imperialism and reunify the country independently.

In our opinion, reunification will be achieved in Korea when these three revolutionary forces are fully prepared and properly combined.

As the south Korean people and the people of the whole world have already been told, it is our unalterable desire to reunify Korea by peaceful means. Our programme for national reunification is to establish a unified central government by holding a general election throughout the north and the south on a democratic basis without any foreign interference after the withdrawal of the US imperialists from south Korea.

This position of ours is most correct and reasonable. This is because our programme for the country's reunification reflects all the Korean people's strong awareness of national independence and offers the possibility of solving the reunification question in a democratic way in accordance with the free will of the people from all walks of life, irrespective of their Party affiliations, political views, property status, educational standards, religious beliefs or sex.

Expressing the Korean people's unanimous will and desire, the DPRK Government has repeatedly made detailed and most reasonable proposals for the country's reunification and exerted every possible effort to put them into practice.

However, the US imperialists and the successive puppet rulers of south Korea have doggedly opposed our reasonable programme and proposals for the country's reunification and schemed in every way to

perpetuate the division of our country.

The greatest obstacle in the way to our country's peaceful reunification is the US imperialist occupation of south Korea. As long as the aggressive troops of US imperialism remain in south Korea, there can be no general election throughout north and south Korea based on the free will of the people. Therefore, for the peaceful reunification of Korea, the first requisite is that the US imperialist aggressive troops have to evacuate south Korea.

However, the US imperialists would not quit south Korea of their own accord. In addition, the south Korean puppets who are protected by their bayonets are begging them not to withdraw their aggressive forces from south Korea.

This does not by any means express the genuine will of the south Korean people. Like the people in the northern half, the south Korean people demand the earliest possible withdrawal of US imperialism from south Korea and want to reunify the country independently and peacefully on a democratic basis.

The US imperialists and their stooges, the traitors to the nation, are going to all lengths to quench this desire of the south Korean people and are cruelly suppressing their struggle for the reunification of the country. They are arresting and imprisoning at will anyone in south Korea who even mentions peaceful reunification, and are intensifying the unprecedented fascist suppression of the activities of progressive political parties, social organizations and the press, in addition to brutally imprisoning and slaughtering patriots.

The peaceful reunification of the country cannot be achieved as long as US imperialism and its stooge, the present puppet regime, are allowed to remain in south Korea. It is possible only after the US imperialist army of aggression 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 US imperialists quit south Korea and the democratic, progressive forces with national conscience seize power even now, we are ready to hold peaceful negotiations with them on the question of the country's reunification.

The south Korean people's revolutionary struggle develops with the passage of time, although the US imperialists and the present south Korean puppet clique are desperately trying to check this struggle by intensifying their fascist repression.

The south Korean people are fully aware that they can reunify the country peacefully only by forcing the US imperialists, target number one in their struggle, out of south Korea and smashing their stooge, the Park Chung Hee puppet regime; and they are dynamically waging various forms of struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys to bring about their desire for national reunification at the earliest possible date.

Recently, in south Korea, a large number of young people and students have risen in order to stage spirited demonstrations against the Park Chung Hee puppet clique's bid hastily to introduce the "constitutional amendment for the third-term presidential election" which is designed to keep itself in power for a long time to come.

It is true that the south Korean people's revolutionary struggle is arduous. However, they have been tempered in the course of their protracted struggle against the oppressors and are ceaselessly enlarging their fighting ranks and continually increasing their revolutionary forces.

The south Korean people also have the experience of the heroic struggle which overthrew the puppet regime of Syngman Rhee, the longtime lackey of US imperialism. Through their hard struggle the south Korean people have been further awakened and now understand more clearly how they should fight to achieve victory. Many excellent revolutionary leaders are also growing up among the fighting ranks of the south Korean people.

The south Korean people will surely drive the US imperialists out of south Korea and crush the Park Chung Hee puppet regime; and the day is not far off when they will establish a people's government of their own and reunify the country in company with the people in the northern half. This is our firm belief.

Today the US imperialists, in a foolish attempt to disguise their foul

aggressive nature from the eyes of the people of the world, are spreading preposterous false propaganda about our “aggression” against south Korea and are claiming that the revolutionary movement now taking place in south Korea is being engineered by the northern half of Korea. At the same time, they are carrying out ceaseless ignitions against the north and trying to threaten us with war while harshly repressing the south Korean people’s struggle.

However, the US imperialists cannot hoodwink people throughout the world, no matter what deceptions they practise, nor can they scare the Korean people, however much they threaten.

The Korean people will not permit the unlawful occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists and they will never give up their aspiration to attain national reunification.

Today, just as in the past, the Iraqi people actively support the Korean people in their struggle against US imperialist aggression and for the country’s reunification. This is a great inspiration to the Korean people. We are grateful to the Iraqi people for this, and express our belief that they will continue to render active support to our people’s just cause.

Question: We are sure that Your Excellency is well aware of the struggle waged by the Arab people against Zionism and imperialism. What is Your Excellency’s opinion about the armed struggle waged by the Arabs to liberate Palestine?

Answer: Our Government and social organizations have issued statements on a number of occasions, supporting the Arab people’s struggle against Zionist and imperialist aggression and in favour of the liberation of Palestine.

The Arab people have bravely taken up arms to fight against the criminal, brazen invasion by the Israeli expansionists and their manipulators, the US-led imperialists. Today the anti-US, anti-Israeli struggle of the Arab people is a just struggle to defend national independence and dignity, restore the occupied Arab territory and

accomplish the Palestinian people's cause of liberation.

The Korean people positively support the Arab people's just struggle and express firm solidarity with them. As in the past, so in the future, our people will firmly stand by the valiant Palestinian people who are waging an armed struggle to liberate their motherland and by all the Arab people fighting determinedly against Zionist and imperialist aggression, and will always advance shoulder to shoulder with the Arab people in the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

We regard the Arab people's struggle as our own and firmly believe that your righteous war will surely triumph.

The US imperialists are now on the decline; they are facing fierce anti-imperialist national-liberation struggles of the people and being hit harder everywhere in the world. When the revolutionary and progressive people of the whole world pool their strength and fight resolutely against US imperialism and its stooges, the US imperialists, Israeli expansionists and all other reactionaries will be heading towards ruin however strong and villainous US imperialism might be.

Question: As one of the most prominent leaders of socialism, what are Your Excellency's thoughts about the social gains that were the outcome of the July 17, 1968 Revolution in Iraq? What does Your Excellency think about the execution of the US and Israeli spies who 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 the revolutionary gains in Iraq. Korea's working class and people sincerely desire the Iraqi working class and people to win fresh victories under the leadership of the Revolutionary Government of Iraq in the struggle to shatter the aggressive ambitions of US imperialism and the Israeli expansionists, consolidate the country's independence and create a new life.

As for the execution of the US and Israeli spies caught in Iraq, I consider it was a perfectly correct action which was taken to safeguard

national security and the gains of the revolution from the enemy's subversive, sabotage activities. You must have no mercy on imperialist spies who menace your country's sovereignty and security but must wage an obstinate battle against the enemy of the revolution. The Korean people express full support to the Iraqi people who meted out severe punishment to the malicious espionage agents of US imperialism and the Israeli aggressors.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY ABDEL
HAMID AHMED HAMROUCHE, GENERAL
MANAGER OF THE *DAR-EL-TAHRIR*
OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC**

July 1, 1969

Question: Comrade Premier, the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance is the most important thing I have learned on my visit to Korea. During my stay here I have seen that this spirit is splendidly embodied in all aspects of your domestic and foreign policies. I have seen clearly how the principle of self-reliance is actually carried through at home, in particular. But I cannot say I have fully understood everything in such a short time. So could you please tell me something more about it, Comrade Premier?

Answer: As regards the situation in our country, you have heard about it from the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Journalists Union, the Editor-in-Chief of *Rodong Sinmun*, I suppose.

As you have probably noticed, we have had no mean success in creating a new society and a new life in the past. We owe our past success entirely to the correct policies and wise leadership of our Party and Government and to the courageous struggle of our people who worked hard to implement the Party's policies.

In leading the revolutionary struggles and the work of construction, our Party has taken the idea of Juche as its unchanging guiding compass, and our people, armed with the Party's idea of Juche, have waged an indomitable struggle in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

We are making the Korean revolution. As far as the Korean revolution is concerned, Koreans know about it better than anyone else. The masters of the Korean revolution are the Korean people and our own strength is the decisive factor in its victory. No foreigners can tell us how to achieve the Korean revolution or carry it out in our stead. In order to ensure that the Korean revolution is a success, its masters, the Korean people themselves, must use their own initiative, solve all problems that arise through their own efforts and settle them in conformity with the interests of the Korean revolution.

That is why we have held that the most important task is to establish Juche in all fields of the revolution and construction, and have fought to this end ever since the first days of liberation.

To establish Juche means, in short, to live by your own intelligence and your own strength without following others blindly or trying to live on assistance from others. It means to hold a consistent position in tackling everything in conformity with your own actual circumstances, in the interests of the revolution of your own country.

We have firmly established Juche in ideology, and embodied it thoroughly throughout the political, economic and military fields. Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-defence in national defence—this is our Party's consistent stand.

Our Party has so far adhered firmly to the stand of Juche, solving all the problems of the revolution and construction independently in conformity with the specific conditions of our country and, in the main, through our own efforts. Our people have all carried on the struggle in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, which calls on us to accomplish the revolution and build socialism and communism in our country through our own efforts and using our national resources, ridding ourselves of the idea of dependence upon others.

As a result of the establishment of Juche and self-reliant efforts, we have been able to advance the country's revolution as speedily as possible and win victories and successes, surmounting many hardships and trials. Juche and self-reliance—these are the basic

guarantees for all our achievements.

You might have seen our film shot right after the armistice; the war destroyed so many things in our country. Everything was burnt down and destroyed and only ashes were to be found in our towns and villages. In Pyongyang, for example, nothing was left after the war but a few houses and even they were badly damaged. Our country was truly in a very difficult situation, confronted by a mountain of hardships.

But we were not at all discouraged. We embarked on postwar reconstruction, fully convinced that we could rise to our feet again in any adversity, so long as the Party, the power, the people and the territory were there. Our Party convinced the people that they could rise again from the debris, though almost everything had been destroyed by the war, if they relied on their own efforts, and it energetically stimulated the people to an enormous struggle for postwar reconstruction. The Party called upon people from all walks of life to contribute what they had to the sacred cause of building the socialist homeland: those who had physical strength gave their physical strength, those who had wisdom, their wisdom, and those who had technical skill contributed their technical skill.

All the people of our country, in active response to the Party's call, rose as one and carried on a courageous struggle, devoting all their energies, wisdom and technical skill. Our working people manufactured machines for themselves and rebuilt factories, producing what they previously lacked and searching for what they did not have enough of. Furthermore, they made new scientific inventions, technical innovations and creative suggestions, thus solving the tough and complicated problems which faced our country, by their own efforts. Our patriotic intellectuals especially made a great contribution.

Let me cite a few examples.

Under Japanese imperialist rule there was hardly any textile industry in the northern half of our country. There were no more than a few thousand spindles and the per-capita output of fabrics was barely 14 centimetres. Even after liberation it was not so easy to provide

enough clothing for the people. Our country has poor cotton harvest because we have a great deal of rain in summer, so the question of fibre still remained a difficulty.

Our scientists, displaying the spirit of self-reliance, solved this difficult problem satisfactorily. Some scientists invented the method of making vinalon from limestone which abounds in our country, and others discovered a way of producing fibre from reeds, which are plentiful in Korea. So we completely solved the problem of clothing for the people using the efforts of our own scientists and domestic raw materials.

Our iron industry, too, faced many unresolved problems. Coking coal is not produced in our country, and we had to import it to produce iron. But our scientists succeeded in producing iron using anthracite, of which we have inexhaustible supplies. The result was that we opened up an avenue for the production of iron from our domestic raw materials. This was another great contribution to consolidating the foundations of the country's independent economy.

Now some countries produce fertilizer by means of electrolysing water. But this method requires too much electricity, so it does not suit us. Our scientists, therefore, devised a method of producing fertilizer by gasifying the coal of our country.

In addition, various kinds of minerals have been found, which were formerly regarded as nonexistent in our country and they have helped the rapid development of industry. A great deal has also been done in rural irrigation, as we have devised ways and means unknown outside Korea. Again, the work of construction could be pushed ahead rapidly because it was done using our domestic raw materials and building materials.

The idea of Juche and the spirit of self-reliance have likewise been embodied creditably in the fields of education and culture.

The cadres and people of our country are inured to self-reliance and have developed great courage. Whatever task the Party may set, they accept it readily, without the slightest hesitation, and always carry it through to the end by their own efforts and talents, however difficult

and hard it may be.

When we were reconstructing a blast furnace soon after the armistice, we had no technicians and were short of equipment and materials. To make things easy, we could have invited foreign technicians and obtained equipment from abroad. But we did not have enough money to do so at the time. So we took bold measures. We provisionally graduated the third-year students of the technical university in advance and asked them to design and build a furnace. There were about 200 of them, and they worked hard day and night and succeeded in building excellent furnaces in a little over a year.

Had we built the furnace with foreign help, it would have cost us a great deal of time as well as money. It would have taken a year to design it, another year to manufacture the equipment plus a very long period of time to import it; it would have taken four or five years at least to complete the construction of a furnace.

If we rely on foreign countries to build a furnace, large amounts of funds and time must be spent, but if we rely on our own efforts, we can build a good furnace in the short period of a year. How good it is to rely on our own efforts!

Large funds are also necessary to import such things as electric locomotives. We could not afford to buy the large numbers of electric locomotives needed in our country from foreign sources. Therefore, we assigned our university students and technicians to the task of designing and building locomotives by themselves. Our technicians are now in a position to produce fine electric locomotives using their own techniques and efforts, and we are electrifying nearly all the railway lines in the country with locally-built locomotives.

Whenever we obtained a good machine, we copied it and opened up the let-each-machine-tool-make-another movement everywhere and thus developed the nation's machine-building industry. Today we manufacture automobiles, tractors and different kinds of weapons on our own; we make almost everything we need by our own efforts.

By relying on our own efforts in this way, we have laid solid foundations for an independent national economy and built up an

impregnable defence power for the country and have been able to solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people fully.

In our country today locally-built up-to-date machines are working at the construction sites, our own tractors are ploughing the fields, and strings of *Jaryokgaengsaeng* (Self-Reliance–Tr.) motor vehicles are driving along the roads. Our brave People's Army is impreguably protecting the nation's defence line with weapons made by our working class. It is true that our people's livelihood is not so prosperous as that in advanced countries. However, we all eat our fill with the rice we produce in our country, and do not have to purchase it from abroad. We all lead decent lives in the houses we have built; we are dressed in clothing made of our own fabrics, and use consumer goods of our own manufacture.

As a result of the establishment of Juche and our self-reliant efforts we have turned our country, once a backward colonial agrarian nation, into this advanced socialist industrial-agricultural country in a very short space of time. Today our people have become a dignified nation whom no one would dare to flout.

Some say that a small country need not have a comprehensively developed industry and others say that it would be better if we produced only some of the things which are needed in the country, and bought the rest from foreign countries. Certainly, at a given stage of development of the productive forces we may buy from abroad things which are not produced or are in little demand in our country. But the main thing is to establish the principle to build an independent national industry through our own efforts and using our own resources. In particular, we ourselves must produce things which are in great demand at home, as well as important raw materials and other items. Only by doing this can we ensure the independence of the national economy.

The idea of Juche and the spirit of self-reliance do not involve nationalism. We establish Juche and rely on our own efforts in order to build socialism and communism faster and better. Koreans are bound to build socialism and communism in Korea and live in Korea. They

could not abandon their country to live in some other country, could they? If we build socialism and communism well in Korea through self-reliance, it means that we carry out our national duty and, at the same time, we are faithful to our international duty. All this will be conducive to the advancement of world revolution.

In establishing Juche and relying on our own efforts we do not intend to reject international solidarity, mutual cooperation and assistance between fraternal countries and to solve everything by ourselves. We consistently urge that international solidarity between the fraternal countries should be further strengthened, and we think it is vital that we cooperate with and assist one another.

We were given active support and encouragement by other socialist countries and the peace-loving people of the world, during the difficult days of postwar reconstruction. We also received no small assistance from the fraternal socialist countries. The successes achieved in the postwar reconstruction of our country are also associated with these friends' helping hands. We are grateful for this and remember it.

We benefit from the advanced learning of foreign countries and draw on their good experience. We also get foreign help when we undertake something of which we have no previous experience, or tackle something new to us. And we purchase from abroad things which are unobtainable in our country. We have built a thermal power station with the help of Soviet technicians. We are also building an oil refinery with their help because oil is not yet produced in our country. It is unquestionable that next we shall build thermal power stations and oil refineries using our own technicians.

We consider it necessary that fraternal countries should cooperate with and assist each other. We get help from other countries, but we do not depend entirely upon it. Even in the days of postwar reconstruction we always made it a rule that we should rely on our own efforts and we did not attach overall importance to foreign assistance. This is all the more true today. Foreign assistance has limitations, however sincerely intended it may be, and can only play an auxiliary role in building the national economy. It is impossible to meet our own demands on time

satisfactorily with the assistance of foreign countries.

If too much stress is laid on foreign assistance or an attempt is made to rely entirely on others, it will make people lose faith in their own strength and neglect their endeavours to tap the inner resources of their own country, blindly pinning their hopes on others and simply imitating them. Then, in the end, it will be impossible to succeed in building a sovereign, independent state. You are a writer, so you cannot write a good article nor improve your writing if you merely imitate or copy the articles of others. You can write a good article and raise your writing standards only if you use your own intelligence.

Our experience shows that it is possible to build an independent national economy successfully, bringing prosperity and progress to the country, only when Juche is thoroughly established and the main emphasis is placed on self-reliance.

You speak very highly of our country's success made in socialist construction. But it is, as yet, no more than an initial success. We are not at all self-complacent about our successes to date.

We have a lot of things to do. We have not yet reunified our country. The southern half of our land is still under the occupation of US imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism. Our nation's supreme revolutionary task is to chase the US imperialists away, so as to accomplish the reunification of the country.

In order to reunify the divided land and hasten the nationwide victory of the revolution, we must carry out socialist construction better in the northern half of Korea and further strengthen our revolutionary forces in all the political, economic and military fields. We are especially faced with the vital task of consolidating still more the foundations of the independent national economy by rapidly developing our industry.

It is true that we have many difficulties and hardships ahead. However, they are not the difficulties of marking time or the hardships of retreat; they are the difficulties and hardships on the way of our advance.

By our people's revolutionary mettle we mean that we do not sink

in despair before difficulties or yield to hardships; on the contrary we make continuous innovations and continuous advances to fresh victories. We will, in the future, as in the past, continue to establish Juche in all spheres of social life firmly and demonstrate to the full the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, thereby surmounting all difficulties and hardships with courage and discharging the national and international duties that fall to us with credit.

Question: Comrade Premier, in your report at the 20th anniversary celebration of the foundation of your Republic you said it is a sad thing that there are differences within the socialist camp, differences which should be overcome. Do you think that the differences within the socialist camp have deepened any further since September 1968?

Answer: As we said before and still say now, there are differences between the socialist countries and we are not by any means going to conceal them.

But the differences between the socialist countries must not, in any way, be identified with the disagreements between the imperialist powers or with those of the different state and social systems which exist between the socialist and imperialist countries. In all the socialist countries power is in the hands of the working class and communal ownership of the means of production is established, with the result that exploitation and oppression of man by man is eliminated. Between the socialist countries, therefore, there can be no contradictions such as those which reflect the fundamentally different interests between the hostile classes.

The differences between the socialist countries are, in all respects, differences between fraternal countries fighting together for the common goal. If there are differences between the socialist countries, they are mainly differences over their judgement of imperialism and over strategic and tactical questions in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Some overestimate the strength of imperialism, US imperialism in particular, and do not wage an active anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle,

thinking that once the imperialists explode an atom bomb the whole world will perish. We cannot agree with this.

Imperialism should not be underestimated, of course, but it should not be overestimated, either. Imperialism, US imperialism above all, is already on the decline.

If the US imperialists are not on the decline, why did they suffer defeat in the Korean war? If the US imperialists are not doomed like the sun setting behind the western hills, why are they suffering such setbacks in South Vietnam? These examples show that the days of US imperialism are already numbered.

The imperialists did not dare to ignite a war when the people of the UAR, who had been freed from the yoke of imperialism and were embarking upon the creation of a new life, nationalized the Suez Canal under the leadership of President Nasser.

The Algerian people fought valiantly against the French imperialists and won independence, and many other African countries have set out to build a new life, emancipated from the imperialist yoke. The colonial ruling system of imperialism is collapsing irresistibly on the African continent.

Then, is it quiet in Latin America? No, certainly not. Anti-US, anti-dictatorship battles are being forcefully carried on by the peoples; the US imperialists are helpless and hard hit here in a continent which used to be called the “quiet backyard” of the United States. The revolutionary Cuban people are gallantly building socialism right under the nose of the US imperialists. Not long ago, Nixon’s “special envoy” met the surging anti-US resistance of the peoples in Latin-American countries and was finally turned away at their doors.

Imperialism is attacked not only from without but also from within and is facing an acute crisis. The black people’s struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and democratic rights and an anti-war movement of the masses of the people are continuing on a wide scale in the United States, and in France as well, the working class and the broad masses launched a campaign and forced de Gaulle’s dictatorial

regime to resign from power.

All these are manifestations of the decline of imperialism.

As you see, there are differences between the socialist countries over the questions of how to appraise imperialism, how to struggle against it and how to support the liberation movement of the people.

The differences between the socialist countries are, as it were, something like a casual family quarrel. Even brothers quarrel with each other occasionally, and how unlikely it is that there would never be differences between the fraternal countries?

This is our view on the question of differences between the socialist countries.

Well, the question you are interested in is whether such differences have recently been aggravated, but we do not view the matter in that light.

Quarrels may increase or diminish sometimes, since the differences between the socialist countries still remain unsettled. But, this does not mean that the differences have deepened, much less can it be considered that the socialist countries are completely split apart.

If any of the socialist countries had completely gone over to the side of imperialism, that would be a different matter. But, as no single socialist country has done this since the differences arose, and as such a thing is impossible, it cannot be considered that the socialist countries are completely cut off from each other. The peoples of all the socialist countries struggle to attain the common goal of building a free and happy socialist, communist society and the socialist countries are united in the alliance demanded by the class solidarity of the international working class which has triumphed in the battle against world imperialism and colonialism. Accordingly, the peoples of the socialist countries will never become detached from each other.

The socialist countries will eventually surmount the differences and have the same view, and fight on together against imperialism for the victory of socialism and communism.

Any manoeuvre on the part of the imperialists to estrange and split the socialist countries is bound to end in a shameful fiasco.

Question: Do I understand that the reason why your Party did not attend the recent international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties convened in Moscow was based precisely upon this analysis of the differences within the socialist camp?

Answer: In principle, our Party has no objection to an international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. It is a necessary and good thing for the fraternal parties to sit at the same table and discuss together, as comrades, important questions for the advancement of the international communist and working-class movements and lay down common tasks in the struggle to achieve unity of action. This sort of conference will lead to the development of world revolution and contribute to the cause of unity.

However, to achieve the aim of the international conference of the fraternal parties, the conference should be convened after ample preparations, when all conditions have matured. If an international conference is convened under the present conditions, it may further expose the differences between the fraternal parties to the enemy. And such a meeting will not benefit the cause of solidarity, either.

Our Party, proceeding from the desire for solidarity among all the fraternal parties and in the interests of the Korean revolution and the international revolutionary movement, refrains from participating in any international conference of the fraternal parties under the present circumstances, believing that the conditions are not yet ripe. This is our Party's consistent stand.

Question: Comrade Premier, have you anything to say to the people of the UAR through the newspapers of the *Dar-El-Tahrir*?

Answer: The people of the UAR under the leadership of President Nasser are valiantly fighting against imperialism led by the US imperialists and their henchmen, the Israeli aggressors, and for defending national independence; they are registering great successes in their struggle to build a new society.

The Korean people sincerely rejoice over the successes of the people of the UAR and extend their full support and encouragement to them in their righteous struggle. Our people regard your anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle as support for our own cause of national reunification.

The Korean people are happy to have the people of the UAR as their comrades-in-arms and will always march shoulder to shoulder with them in the common struggle against the US and other imperialists.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I sincerely wish the people of the UAR further successes in their struggle to force the Israeli aggressors out of the occupied territory and defend the dignity of the Arab people and build a prosperous country.

FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIFIED PLANNING SYSTEM

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of the Officials
in Charge of the Planning Sector**

July 2, 1969

I have examined your written opinions on the development of the unified planning system. Today I should like to make some comments on them.

1. ON SETTING UP STATE PLANNING DEPARTMENTS IN FACTORIES AND OTHER INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS

It was a very important step for unified planning when we set up the regional planning commissions. As a result of the organization of these commissions, the intentions of the Party and the state have reached the masses of producers, departmentalist and parochialist practices in planning and subjective errors on the part of the State Planning Commission have been eliminated to a considerable extent, and there has been some progress in drawing up scientific, realistic and dynamic plans.

Several years' work since the organization of the regional planning commissions has shown us, however, that these commissions by

themselves are not enough to carry out the Party's policy on unified planning. The weakness is that these commissions have no subordinate units. It is true, of course, that the planning departments which now exist in the industrial establishments are one of the cells, under the regional planning commissions, of the unified planning system. These planning departments, however, belong to their enterprises administratively. This being the case, these departments, in fact, remain outside the unified system of planning, although, in form, they are a part of this system. As a result, the intentions of the Party and the state do not reach the masses of producers in planning work, and factories and enterprises are not completely free from departmentalism.

Even now the Party's policy on unified planning is not implemented properly, and this is mainly due to the lack of work enthusiasm on the part of the officials in the State Planning Commission and in regional planning commissions. But it is also due, to some extent, to defects in the planning system itself.

Therefore, I think it necessary to set up separate state planning departments in factories and enterprises, departments which will obey the regional planning commission concerned and can function as its cell.

In other words, I mean that state planning departments capable of functioning as agencies of the regional planning commission should be set up in factories and enterprises. Then there will be two planning departments in a factory or in an enterprise—one of which, as part of the factory staff, does planning work to ensure production in hand, and another which, as a state planning department, belongs to the regional planning commission.

Since the officials of the state planning departments have to perform their duties in factories and enterprises, they ought to lead their Party life under the supervision of the Party committee of the factory or enterprise concerned. But administratively they are not under the jurisdiction of the managers of the factories and enterprises; they belong to the regional planning commissions. Therefore, the enterprises must not interfere in their work. Only then can they work from a firm standpoint of the Party and the state and combat

departmentalist practices without compromise.

The members of the state planning departments must not work without ever making contact with the managers and other executives of the enterprises on the pretext that they are not under their administrative control. Whenever they draft plans they must discuss them with and consult the local executives. In doing so they may have a disagreement with the enterprise workers when there is a difference of opinion, but they must not be afraid of that. The planners must plan from the point of view of the Party and the state, while accurately estimating existing conditions in the enterprises.

In addition, the regional planning commissions must not use the officials of the state planning departments at their discretion simply because these officials belong to them. At present some of the chairmen of the regional planning commissions seem to be thinking of doing so even before the state planning departments have been established. They must not divert the efforts of the planners to other purposes on any account. We are going to set up the state planning departments for the purpose of facilitating the implementation of the Party's policy on unified planning by getting the staff members of these departments to work in the industrial establishments. Therefore, if these planners were mobilized to do various other kinds of work, this purpose will not be achieved.

The staff members of the state planning departments must work out plans by staying in their factories and enterprises and then submit the plans to the regional planning commissions. And then, as a matter of routine, they must supervise these industrial establishments so that the plans are carried out satisfactorily—monthly, quarterly and on all indices. In addition, they have to make a systematic investigation of the reserves available for production in their factories and enterprises and report the problems in fulfilling the plans and their suggestions to the regional planning commissions so that the latter can take measures to solve these problems. If special-grade or first or second-grade enterprises have such problems, these must be reported to both the regional planning commissions and the State Planning Commission so

that they are solved promptly. In other words, the state planning departments are in duty bound to draft the economic plans of the factories and enterprises in their charge and submit them to their superiors, to supervise the industrial establishments to ensure the proper implementation of the national economic plan and to help them to solve the problems which arise in the course of this by bringing these problems promptly to the attention of the higher authorities. If these duties are performed, the factories and enterprises will not have to send so many people on business trips as they do at present.

In fact, now that the policy on unified planning is not being implemented properly and plans are not dovetailed with each other down to the last details, the enterprises are obliged to send many people to procure materials. This is not the proper way to solve the problem of materials; it only wastes labour. Worse still, if you get so many people travelling about from place to place, you cannot be sure whether or not they are working honestly away from their workplaces. These problems will be settled when the state planning departments are set up to work in factories and enterprises.

If the state planning departments are established in factories and enterprises to function as cells of a regional planning commission, this commission will be able to perform its duties successfully even with its present staff. It will only have to bring the planners of their subordinate units into action, put together and examine the draft plans it has received from the subordinate units in order to see whether or not they are appropriate, and forward them to the State Planning Commission after integrating, changing or consolidating them as the occasion requires. If it works in this manner, the regional planning commission will be able to coordinate all the details quite easily, no matter how many items it has to deal with.

In addition, the regional planning commission should carefully consider the opinions of the state planning departments of the enterprises about the problems arising in the course of implementing the plans, settle them by itself if it can do so, and, if this is not possible, it should bring them to the attention of the State Planning Commission

for settlement. If the state planning department of the Hwanghae Iron Works, for instance, reports the possible danger of failure in the production of some steel items in the following month, the Regional Planning Commission of North Hwanghae Province ought to consider the matter from every angle and solve it by itself if it can do so; if it cannot, it must report it to the State Planning Commission. Then the latter will weigh the national capacity of production, looking for the possibility of getting those steel items produced in another metallurgical works. If it is possible to do so, the State Planning Commission will give the assignment to the relevant regional planning commission; otherwise, it will settle the question by temporarily altering the planned quotas of both the Hwanghae Iron Works and the enterprise which is to receive the steel items.

The state planning departments which are to be organized should have as small a staff as possible.

The state planning department will, at first, have to do a great deal of work and deal with complex problems. But, when it has compiled the necessary data in the course of planning for one or two years, it will not need a large staff because there will be no great change in the factory situation. In my opinion, a staff of seven or eight will do for the state planning department even in such a large enterprise as the Hwanghae Iron Works. This iron works has approximately 40 workshops in all including the general coking shop, the general furnace shop, the general steel shop and the general rolling shop. So each of the eight planners will have to plan for five workshops. Approximately five planners will cope with the planning work for the Sinuiju Chemical Fibre Mill, and four or five for the Sinuiju Textile Mill. The Ragwon Machine Factory has no large workshops and its work is not very complicated, so three planners or thereabouts will be able to become familiar with the situation in the whole enterprise.

The state planning department should have a staff of three to four planners or five to six according to the scale and character of the enterprise concerned, and the number must not exceed eight at the largest, nor should it be smaller than three because too small a number

does not constitute a state planning department.

There is some doubt whether or not a state planning department should be established in a small enterprise with only 20 to 30 workers. We do not think it necessary to establish one in small local industry factories or producers' cooperatives, nor can we afford to leave them outside state control. It is desirable, therefore, that enterprises of the third grade and higher should have state planning departments, and that, as for those which are below the third grade, the county people's committees should have them so as to deal with the small enterprises in a coordinated manner.

State planning departments must be staffed with part of the personnel of the existing industrial establishments, the people who can be dispensed with. My inspection of industrial establishments shows that at present they have many redundant people. If their personnel are organized properly, you will make sufficient people available for the state planning departments. If it eliminates the people who travel about on business trips, a factory or enterprise will save more than enough people to staff several state planning departments. The state planning departments to be set up in the county people's committees must also obtain their planners by reorganizing the present personnel of these committees.

The state planning departments so established will make up a well-knit single state planning system, ranging from the State Planning Commission down to the production sites, facilitate the penetration of the intentions of the Party and the state into the production sites, eliminate departmentalist practices from among the executives of enterprises and encourage the working people to work more creatively. As a result, the Party's policy on unified and detailed planning will be implemented more successfully.

In addition to the establishment of the state planning departments of factories and enterprises, we must further increase the role of the existing regional planning commissions.

A regional planning commission holds a very important place in the system of unified planning; it plays a very great part in carrying out the

Party's policy of unified and detailed planning.

As you all know, we have set up the regional planning commissions mainly for the purpose of getting rid of departmentalism and parochialism which are obvious in planning work. To this end, we have placed the regional planning commissions directly under the State Planning Commission, not under the local government bodies. But officials of the regional planning commissions do not fight against departmentalism and parochialism to meet the Party's intention and, worse still, they have become infected with parochialism. This being the case, the unified system of planning appears to have been established in form, but, in reality, the intentions of the Party and the state on planning are not being implemented thoroughly.

At this meeting, the chairman of the Regional Planning Commission of North Phyongan Province said that the State Planning Commission had refused to consider the draft plan it had submitted. Of course, it is wrong for the State Planning Commission to ignore the draft plan from its subordinate unit. However, it is also necessary for the regional planning commission to consider the reason why officials of the State Planning Commission would not examine their draft. If this plan had been drafted strictly based on the control figures and if it had incorporated the Party's intention correctly, there would have been no reason why the State Planning Commission should refuse to examine it. The point is that the draft plan from the regional planning commission was not in accordance with the control figures and with the Party's intention, and that, therefore, it deserved no consideration. The regional planning commission planned an investment of 200 million *won* in capital construction when the control figures envisaged 100 million *won*. If the State Planning Commission had wasted time on the consideration of the draft plan, it would have delayed the drafting of the national plan. So it turned it down and compiled the national plan by referring to the control figures. So the regional planning commission is also to blame.

The State Planning Commission must bear a large share of the responsibility for the fact that the regional planning commission has

not worked strictly from the point of view of the Party and the state. The former has almost neglected the direction of the work of the regional planning commission during the years since it was set up. It has not imbued the officials of the regional planning commission with the spirit to champion and carry out the Party's policy unreservedly, so that they forgot their duty and went so far as even to contradict the control figures which had been discussed and decided on by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and by the Cabinet plenary meeting.

The provincial Party committees are also more or less responsible for the violation of Party principle by the regional planning commissions. The provincial Party committees should have directed and controlled all provincial affairs strictly on Party principle so that all these affairs are settled in line with the policy and intention of the Party Central Committee. In directing planning work, provincial Party committees should also closely examine, strictly on Party principle, the draft plans submitted by the regional planning commissions to see whether they correctly reflect the intention of the Party Central Committee. If they find even minor mistakes in them, they must have them rectified immediately. For example, if a regional planning commission has drafted a plan in violation of the control figures for capital construction, the provincial Party committee concerned ought to remind it sharply that it must on no account disobey the control figures and that it must find a way to ensure production with the amount of construction funds fixed by the central authorities. At present, however, provincial Party committees not only neglect the direction of planning work, but also pass the drafts submitted by regional planning commissions without making careful investigation. This practice tends to encourage the officials of regional planning commissions to parochialism.

It is not an attitude worthy of a communist not to combat but encourage any practice which is contrary to Party principle. Such a Party organization cannot be called a vital organization.

The State Planning Commission and provincial Party committees must thoroughly establish the Party's monolithic system of ideology

among the officials of the regional planning commissions and must guide and control them so that they firmly maintain the point of view of the Party and the state in their work.

Officials of the regional planning commissions also do not implement the intentions of the Party and the state correctly because they themselves are not familiar with the prevailing conditions at factories and enterprises and because they have very little knowledge of economics.

We must, therefore, pay particular attention to getting them to become familiar with the specific conditions at factories and enterprises on the one hand, and on the other to acquire knowledge of the laws of the socialist economy and of its management. To this end, the system of studying while on the job must be strengthened for them. They must be encouraged to study at least five days a month and work the rest of the month and repeat study and work alternately in this way until they have raised the level of their economic knowledge by one grade.

In view of the large volume of work for the provinces where industry accounts for the greater proportion, we have organized two regional planning commissions in each of them. This measure has given rise to complex issues, so it is desirable that in future one commission should function in each province. The regional planning commissions which now exist in Hamhung and Chongjin should be maintained as they are. The regional planning commissions need not be authorized to have exactly the same size of staffs; their sizes should be determined by considering the importance and scale of the industries for which they will have to plan.

2. ON ESTABLISHING NEW SCIENCE OF PLANNING METHODS

Our establishment of new state planning departments in factories

and enterprises and of an orderly planning system ranging from the State Planning Commission to these state planning departments does not mean that the policy of unified and detailed planning will be implemented automatically. We must also have new science of planning methods which can meet the requirements of unified and detailed planning.

It seems to me that you planners find it very difficult to work out new science of planning methods, but I think there is nothing obscure about it. Hoping to help you in this work, I am going to explain the procedures and methods of planning under the new planning system.

In this new system the planning of the national economy must begin with the compilation of preliminary figures by the industrial establishments. The preliminary figures which we intend to introduce in planning aim at giving the producers a better opportunity for democratic participation in planning work. The preliminary figures are neither a draft plan nor control figures. They are the figures which factories and enterprises, with a view to assisting the drafting of the national economic plan, submit to the regional planning commissions, ministries and management bureaus concerned after having had wide discussions with the producer masses and integrated all the potentials to increase production on the basis of their creative wisdom and activity. The preliminary figures are important not only in facilitating full democratic representation of the producers at factories and enterprises but also in preventing subjectivism which may appear in the work of the state planning bodies.

If they are to ensure that the preliminary figures are compiled properly so as to mobilize production potentials in the industrial establishments to the fullest, the state planning bodies must know their conditions clearly. This is important. State planning departments in factories and enterprises must have a clear picture of the actual situation in these industrial establishments by keeping records of their daily and monthly operations and their changing production conditions.

They must pay particular attention to their production capacities. In

this regard, they have to devote more attention to the capacity to produce major items which the national economy demands in large quantities and whose production is constant rather than minor items whose production fluctuates with changes in seasonal demands. They must explore the reserves for increased production by regularly checking the number and efficiency of available machines, the number which are not in use, the level of technical skill of the workers, the availability of raw materials, and the norms of material consumption. In other words, the officials of the state planning departments must always study possible ways to increase production, for instance, by improving low-efficiency machines, by operating all the unused machines and by eliminating imbalances between production processes, by teaching technical skill to unskilled workers so as to raise their technical level and by improving their work methods, by providing work promptly for the machines and operators which are not working regularly and wasting time because of the inefficient supply of materials, and by lowering the norms of per-unit consumption of materials rather than increasing the rate of material supply. Therefore, the planners of the state planning departments must not rest content with the draft plans they have submitted, but collect the necessary information by regularly supervising how these plans are being implemented.

Not only the state planning departments in factories and enterprises but also the regional planning commissions ought to know conditions in factories and enterprises clearly and tap the reserve for production growth. It is probable that the officials of the regional planning commissions confine themselves to office work because the state planning departments have been established. They must not do so. It is true that the workers of the regional planning commissions are not in a position to visit all the factories and enterprises in their areas to obtain firsthand information about their situation. But they must visit large and important factories frequently so as to confirm their conditions. As regards the factories which they cannot visit in person, they will have to be informed about them by the state planning departments. In this way the regional planning commissions will have a clear picture of the

situation in all sectors and at all factories and enterprises in their districts.

The State Planning Commission, as well as the state planning departments and regional planning commissions, must know the real situation at the shop-floor level.

Of course, the State Planning Commission will be able to know the situation at factories and enterprises even without visiting them if it properly directs and controls the regional planning commissions which have already been established and the state planning departments which are going to be organized so that they can perform their duties. But it is necessary for its officials to pay personal visits to factories and enterprises and see what is happening there so as to confirm the accuracy of information supplied by the regional planning commissions and improve its own work. Admittedly, it would be very difficult for the State Planning Commission alone to inspect the thousands of factories and enterprises throughout the country. So it should choose and visit several enterprises which are large and important from the point of view of the national economy, and learn about their conditions by talking to the workers.

It is only when they know conditions at factories and enterprises clearly in this way that the regional planning commissions and the State Planning Commission can direct them to compile preliminary figures correctly. Let us suppose that, while looking into the situation of a machine factory, a regional planning commission and the State Planning Commission have learned that the factory has produced 200 machines this year and that it will be able to increase the figure by 50 or so next year by improving the men's technical skills and by getting punctual supplies of materials. Then, these commissions must bear this in mind, and when they receive the preliminary figures from the factory, they must examine whether the figures are compiled correctly. If they find them incorrect, they will be able to correct them promptly.

If they know the situation beforehand in this way, they will be able to determine the preliminary figures for next year even before June this year.

Factories and other enterprises should submit two copies of their preliminary figures—one to the regional planning commission and the other to the ministry or the management bureau concerned. The regional planning commissions, ministries or management bureaus should put the figures together.

Since one region covers almost all branches of industry—the metallurgical industry, machine-building Industry, chemical industry and light industry and so on—it is not so easy for the regional planning commission to integrate the preliminary figures from the factories and enterprises in its area. But they must do this, no matter how difficult and complicated the work may be.

The regional planning commissions, ministries and management bureaus should forward the consolidated figures to the State Planning Commission. The preliminary figures compiled by factories and enterprises will have to be put together through two different channels in order to prevent the ministries and management bureaus from making conservative estimates of the production capacity of the factories and enterprises deliberately or from ignoring the producers' creative opinions.

Until now, the State Planning Commission has had to consolidate the data on production potentials only through the medium of ministries and management bureaus. Taking advantage of this procedure, ministries and management bureaus, affected by departmentalism, went so far as to underestimate production potentials in their reports, insisting that it was impossible to do even what the factories and enterprises had resolved to do. From now on, however, they will not be able to do this because the preliminary figures are to be reported through two channels.

Then the State Planning Commission will work easily. If it refers to the figures from the two channels—ministries and regional planning commissions—by cross-checking them, the Sate Planning Commission will have no complicated problem in its relationship with the ministries.

When you have determined the preliminary figures, you must

proceed to the next step—the compilation of control figures.

Formerly, the State Planning Commission issued the control figures to the ministries, management bureaus and enterprises which were supposed to draft plans. These control figures frequently did not match the local situation and so there were even instances in which the control figures were ignored in drafting plans. This will not happen again now that the control figures are to be compiled after receiving the preliminary figures from the factories and enterprises.

This does not mean that you can think that you can draft the control figures simply by adding the preliminary figures. The preliminary figures are compiled by factories and enterprises by calculating their production potentials only, without knowing the national needs and the national economic situation as a whole. Therefore, some of the items which are represented by the preliminary figures may exceed the need of the state which is not so urgent, and on the other hand, some may fall short of urgent needs or the figures may omit some essential items. Being compiled, as I have stated, by individual industrial establishments and districts without an estimate of the national needs and of the possibilities of getting supplies, the preliminary figures cannot be adopted without modification as draft control figures. These figures can serve only as references in drafting the control figures; they are not absolute.

In line with the direction of economic development set by the Party Central Committee the State Planning Commission must draft the control figures, referring to preliminary figures in examining item by item whether it is necessary to increase the output or not. Suppose the Party Central Committee has given the State Planning Commission next year's direction of the development of the national economy which requires that the production of plate steel should be maintained at the present rate and that the output of sheet steel should be doubled. If it has, in this context, received preliminary figures from the factories which propose to produce twice as much plate steel next year as they have done this year and to manufacture just as much sheet steel as this year, the State Planning Commission should draft the control figures in

such a way as to stop increasing the output of plate steel and instead to double that of sheet steel in accordance with the Party's direction and the needs of the state. In this way, the State Planning Commission must draft the control figures by combining correctly the suggestions of individual regions, factories and enterprises with the needs of the whole state and the national economy. This does not run counter to the principle of democratic centralism, but is aimed at strengthening it.

The State Planning Commission must draft the control figures for next year and submit it in June or July to the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee for approval.

Naturally, it will be difficult to submit completely accurate details to the Political Committee. We hope that the Political Committee will be able to discuss the list of several hundred major items. The Political Committee examines whether the draft control figures submitted by the State Planning Commission have been properly calculated in accordance with the level of the country's productive forces and with the Party's political and economic tasks and then ratifies them.

In conformity with the basic orientation discussed and decided upon by the Political Committee, the Cabinet should give concrete form to the control figures. It is not necessary to get the Cabinet meeting for formality's sake to reconsider the list of items which was discussed and decided upon by the Political Committee. Since it is a business conference of ministers, the Cabinet meeting must not accept the decision of the Political Committee mechanically. When discussing the control figures, the meeting should invite the chiefs of management bureaus to discuss them in detail and adopt a decision on at least 3,000 to 5,000 items.

To this end, the State Planning Commission must draft a detailed list of control figures to be submitted to the Cabinet for approval. The control figures on cement production, for example, must specify the amounts and strength of cement, on the basis of a detailed examination of the needs on construction projects: how many tons of 160-*marka* cement, how many tons of 200-*marka* cement, and how many tons of cement stronger than 200-*marka* rather than simply indicate a total

amount to be produced. The control figures on steel production must also specify the kinds and sizes and also define the specifications of round steel, shaped steel, sheet steel and so on, instead of showing only total amounts.

The Cabinet should discuss and decide on the control figures which it has received from the State Planning Commission in line with the direction set by the Political Committee and then issue them to the lower units as an appendix to its decision. This is a necessary measure for establishing rigid discipline in planning. Of course, the Cabinet will have only to decide on the control figures for several hundred items at some time in the future when our officials have increased their work efficiency and eliminated departmentalism. For the present, however, it is necessary for the Cabinet to discuss and decide on the control figures covering 3,000 to 5,000 items because our unified planning system is still immature and our officials are still inefficient and retain a great deal of departmental selfishness.

The State Planning Commission must further increase the control figures approved by the Cabinet as far as possible, say, to 30,000 or 50,000 or 100,000 items and shape them into an extended appendix to the control figures. It is desirable that the State Planning Commission hold consultations with ministers and examine the appendix over and over again before it is issued to the subordinate units. At present, ministers pay little attention to planning. If such meetings are organized, they will take a more active part in planning. If the control figures are compiled well in this way, their authority will be guaranteed and they will serve as the basis of the national economic plan in their initial stage.

When the appendix to the control figures is complete, one copy of it should be sent to each ministry and another to each regional planning commission. The ministries, bureaus, factories and other enterprises and regional planning commissions should draw up their draft plans according to the control figures they have received.

Since the control figures are adopted as decisions of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and of the plenary meeting

of the Cabinet, they represent the intentions of the Party and the state. It is true that the control figures are drafted by the officials of the State Planning Commission, but once they have been discussed and decided on by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and by the plenary meeting of the Cabinet, they are the control figures of the Party and the state, not those of the State Planning Commission.

No one is authorized to change the control figures at his own discretion. They can be amended only by the Party Central Committee or by the Cabinet. The ministries, bureaus, factories and other enterprises and regional planning commissions are in duty bound to implement them. They must not, on any account, change them. Suppose the control figures have allocated 100 million *won* for capital construction in a certain district, the district must draft the plan for capital construction within this limit, not beyond it. But there have been frequent instances of submitting a draft plan which proposes to use 150 million or 200 million *won* for capital construction by exceeding a 100 million-*won* limit defined by the control figures.

This is a mistake on the part of our officials who do not regard the control figures as instructions of the Party and the state because they are compiled by the officials of the State Planning Commission.

Nowadays, there is a general tendency for industrial executives to draft a plan which envisages the production of a smaller amount than the control figures and which requires more materials and manpower than those estimated by the control figures. Because of this violation of the figures and the excessive requirements for supplies on the part of factories and enterprises, the State Planning Commission has to spend a great deal of time in adjusting the discrepancies, with resultant delays in the compilation and issue of plans. It is said that in anticipation of their violations and frequent additional requirements the State Planning Commission issues control figures for materials and manpower which are smaller than its actual estimates. This is also an incorrect tendency. Both of these practices weaken the discipline of democratic centralism in planning.

We must eradicate these practices. Of course, ministries, bureaus,

factories and other enterprises can make various suggestions when they draft plans. But these must always contribute to the implementation of the control figures rather than violate them or refuse to implement them.

Ministries, bureaus, factories and enterprises should make the necessary calculations, coordinate the factors which require coordination, and take the necessary measures, with the intention of implementing the control figures. Let us suppose that an enterprise has submitted its preliminary figures requesting money to improve a process which will contribute to increasing the present production capacity to a certain extent. But the state can ask the enterprise for greater production and can send the necessary control figures without making a capital investment because of a shortage of funds and the great need to increase the output. Even in this case, the enterprise must ensure the production envisaged in the control figures by conducting a technical innovation campaign, by raising the level of the workers' technical skill and by rationalizing production.

In preparing a plan, differences may arise between a regional planning commission and a ministry or a management bureau. Because of its desire to work easily, the ministry or the management bureau may request money for capital construction beyond the ceiling set by the control figures. However, judging from the available information of the situation at the factories and enterprises concerned, the regional planning commission can insist that, even without constructing more production facilities, production can be ensured if reserves are mobilized. In this case, the State Planning Commission and the Cabinet can arbitrate in the issue by singling out the projects to be undertaken and those to be turned down after inquiring into the situation directly on the shop floor.

By establishing centralist discipline in planning we do not mean that the control figures can never be revised. In some cases it may be totally impossible to insure production with the capital construction funds which are permitted by the control figures. If we were to say that the control figures should be accepted unconditionally even in such an

impossible case, it would be unnecessary to draw up separate draft plans. In this case the officials concerned ought to discuss the issue from different angles and include it in the draft plan to be submitted.

In order to save time in preparing draft plans to be forwarded to the higher authorities, the regional planning commissions have to start integrating detailed indices at the stage of compiling preliminary figures even before they receive the control figures from the higher authorities. If they do this as far as possible and then, on receipt of the control figures, finish the remainder or correct the discrepancies between the preliminary figures and the control figures, they will be able to draw up the draft plans very quickly.

On receiving the draft plans from the ministries, bureaus and regional planning commissions, the State Planning Commission should complete them.

If a problem of the amount of investment in capital construction, an amount which is larger than the estimate of the control figures, arises when putting finishing touches to the plan, the State Planning Commission will be able to settle the matter by making an alteration. It can do so, for instance, by reducing part of the money intended for a project which is not very urgent while adding to another project which is very urgent and indispensable so as to make up for the shortage of funds for the latter.

When the draft plans have been integrated, the complete plan should be submitted to the plenary meeting of the Cabinet or of the Party Central Committee for approval.

No one can change the approved plan as he pleases; it is a law of the state. Therefore, the ministries, bureaus, factories and enterprises must implement it unconditionally, and the supply agencies must also make contracts and supply materials according to the plan.

In general, these are the procedures and methods of planning.

To be brief, the work of planning is done through three stages—compilation of preliminary figures, control figures and planned figures. At the stage of preliminary figures all possibilities for increased production must be discussed fully in a democratic way. At

this stage anyone can express his opinion, and the preliminary figures are determined through collective discussion.

The control figures represent the intentions of the Party and the state. So ministries, bureaus, factories and enterprises must not change them at their own discretion. In other words, the control figures assume a legal character. But in an unavoidable case which I have mentioned before, the officials concerned can make a draft plan by modifying the control figures through discussion for an explicitly justifiable reason before the draft plan is forwarded. In this sense, we can say that the control figures are semi-legal.

The planned figures are the indices which have been ratified by the Party and the state. So they must be strictly observed.

It seems desirable that these procedures should be followed in planning.

The plan should be issued to the subordinate units in October. If it is difficult to specify all the planned quarterly assignments for the next year by that time, you must first issue at least the assignments for the first quarter of the following year. This will enable the factories and enterprises to prepare for the next year's production and the material supply agencies to make contracts beforehand for the supply of materials for that year.

3. ON PLANNING CITY MANAGEMENT AND COMMERCE AND DISTRIBUTION

Not only industry, construction, transport and other productive sectors but also education, culture, public health and other non-productive sectors must all be planned under the one system of unified planning. Since the socialist economy can only develop in a planned way and since all the branches of the national economy in a socialist society are closely related with each other and form an

integral whole, none of them should be left outside the system of planning the national economy. If the educational sector, for instance, functions outside the state's single planning system, we shall be unable to get to know the growing number of pupils and students accurately, undertake school construction, train teachers and produce desks, chairs and other school furnishings properly in a planned manner so as to meet the demand. Therefore, both the productive and non-productive sectors must come under the system by which the State Planning Commission integrates their plans through the regional planning commissions on a regional basis and through the ministries on a sectoral basis.

But we have to make some exception for the planning of city management and commerce and distribution. In other words, the planning of these sectors should not be undertaken by the regional planning commissions and the State Planning Commission but directly by the ministries concerned.

This is intended to improve city management and commerce and distribution which are very important for the welfare of the people. Although the Party has many a time emphasized the need to improve them, there has been little progress in these sectors. Of course, the executives in these sectors are responsible for this. But the officials of the State Planning Commission and other state and economic establishments have not paid serious attention to their work. Consequently, even the materials allocated for city management have been diverted to other purposes on the excuse that they were badly needed for production and construction. This has made it impossible to repair buildings. The situation now is such that, under the pressure of major construction projects, schools, theatres, hospitals, shops, bathhouses and other similar facilities are not painted and whitewashed properly, nor are broken windows of public buildings and damaged taps repaired immediately. Because of the lack of proper maintenance good buildings are deteriorating, even though we have built a large number of dwelling houses and public facilities.

In order to improve city management, the State Planning

Commission must, under the system of unified planning, coordinate the production of materials for this sector, and their use must be entrusted entirely to the Ministry of City Management. In other words, after the authorized amount of materials for city management has been delivered to the Ministry of City Management, the State Planning Commission must not interfere in how they are used. The Ministry of City Management must get its material supply agency to deal with the materials it has received and must, with the help of its repair centres, work out a plan to repair city buildings and facilities such as dwelling houses and public buildings in the order of priority and then implement it.

The State Planning Commission must likewise plan only the production of consumer goods for the commercial and distribution sector, and the Ministry of Commerce must undertake the work of distributing them amongst its agencies in the commercial network. It is very complex to make a correct estimate of the demand for consumer goods and to allocate them properly. If the State Planning Commission and the regional planning commissions were to deal with all those matters, it would be impossible for them to plan the work of industry, capital construction and other sectors properly. So the State Planning Commission should only plan the total amount of consumer goods for the Ministry of Commerce and leave the estimate of the people's requirements of them and their allocation in the care of the Ministry of Commerce.

As for the sale of cement in hardware shops the Ministry of Commerce should allocate it under a plan.

The commercial and distribution sector should also follow the planning methods which we have mentioned. But it need not have separate state planning departments; it should get its shop workers to estimate the need for commodities directly and submit this to the higher authorities. Shops in the ri should study the inhabitants' need for goods, their cash income and the records of sales in the previous period and also receive detailed orders for goods. On this basis they should draw up the estimates of the demand of consumer goods and

report them to the county retail management office. The office should combine them and then forward them to the regional wholesale centre; the regional wholesale centre should consolidate them and submit them to the provincial wholesale management department, and the provincial wholesale management department to the Ministry of Commerce. The Ministry of Commerce should adjust the balance between the amount of commodities authorized by the State Planning Commission and the demands for goods reported by the provinces, and then allocate them to the provinces, the provinces to the regional wholesale centres, and the regional wholesale centres to the county retail management offices. In this way the commodity allocation plan will be made in detail.

4. ON DRAFTING NEXT YEAR'S NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN QUICKLY

The task of the planners at present is to prepare next year's national economic plan quickly.

The important principle which must be observed in compiling the preliminary figures for next year is that projects which have not yet been designed must not be included in the construction plan. There have been many instances in which construction projects, undertaken without designs, were continually delayed, and a great deal of manpower, materials and funds were wasted. Such practices must not recur. No one, not even ministers and chief secretaries of the provincial Party committees, should be allowed to include undesigned projects in the construction plan, projects other than those designated by the state. Projects which are urgent must be designed first and then planned.

Within ministries, the ministers must supervise and direct planning from the compilation of preliminary figures. Even if they have to stay in their offices without being able to visit local units, they should spend

half their time every day in directing planning work in person and the rest of their work hours in dealing with other administrative affairs.

You are a little late in compiling the control figures for next year, but you will be able to do it by the set time if you get the officials of the regional planning commissions to work properly. The State Planning Commission and the regional planning commissions will make up a great force. When we were drawing up the Five-Year Plan after carrying out the postwar Three-Year Plan, the State Planning Commission had a staff of only 300 to 400 planners. But the size of the staff has now doubled and there is a regional planning commission of 80 to 90 planners in each province. If all these planners are put to work properly, nothing will be impossible for them.

The problem is that the State Planning Commission has not been efficient in directing its subordinate units, the regional planning commissions. To be frank, the State Planning Commission has always been under pressure of work, without being able to plan correctly, because it has worked in a subjective manner, instead of bringing the regional planning commissions into action. Since it has ignored them just as a man would do his stepson, the regional planning commissions have been reduced to a mere name, and give little assistance in planning. We should say that the State Planning Commission is entirely responsible for this state of affairs. In future, it must mobilize the officials of the regional planning commissions efficiently and ensure that such a huge task as compiling the control figures is performed promptly and correctly.

I should like to emphasize in this connection that planning for next year must not be hindered by the work of organizing new state planning departments in factories and enterprises and by the work of merging and altering the regional planning commissions. In view of the absence of completely organized state planning departments in factories and enterprises, the regional planning commissions ought to compile the preliminary figures in cooperation with the officials of the planning sections and other staff sections which are part of the factories and enterprises. In the provinces where there are two regional

planning commissions, the lists of the preliminary figures must be drafted and forwarded before the buildings are reallocated and furnishings are disposed of for their merger. Thus, the merger of regional planning commissions and the organization of state planning departments should be conducted, while the plan for next year is being drawn up.

I firmly believe that, in the spirit of this meeting, you will strive persistently to carry out the Party's policy on unified planning and prove worthy of the Party's expectations.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED
BY THE DELEGATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC
YOUTH LEAGUE OF FINLAND FOR THE
KANSAN UUTISET, CENTRAL ORGAN
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND**

September 2, 1969

Question: US imperialism has intensified its intrigues against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Do you think that the violations of the territory, territorial waters and airspace of the DPRK, perpetrated by the US imperialists, are a prelude to what will eventually be a more extensive armed intervention against your country and that this will lead, in the end, to total war?

Answer: At present the peace-loving people of the whole world, like you, are following developments in our country with deep interest and are very concerned about the unnatural situation.

In fact, today, the situation is very complex and tense. The US imperialists are perpetrating armed ignitions almost every day against the DPRK and aggravating the situation to the extreme.

As regards the continuous intrusions of the US imperialists into our sacred territory, territorial waters and airspace, these are no random happenings but are links in the chain of their premeditated plans to unleash a new war in Korea.

Ever since the first days they wormed their way into south Korea, the US imperialists have consistently pursued and are still pursuing the

base aim of not only turning south Korea into a total colony but also, using it as the stepping stone, of carrying out aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia and, further, against the socialist camp. It is in order to achieve this aim that they are trying to maintain their colonial domination over south Korea by every means. By force of the bayonet the US imperialists set up a most savage colonial fascist dictatorship in south Korea, a puppet regime which faithfully carries out their policies of military aggression and colonial enslavement; through this regime and with so-called “aid” as a bait, they have taken over all the political, economic, cultural and military affairs of south Korea and converted it into a US military base for aggression, into a military appendage to the United States.

The US imperialist manoeuvres to unleash a new war in Korea have been especially intensified in recent years. The US imperialists have revealed their predatory nature in a more overt way and carried out armed ignitions against the DPRK every day, taking the situation to the brink of war. Last year alone, they made armed attacks on our side of the Military Demarcation Line on more than 2,000 occasions and infiltrated numerous spies into the territory of the northern half of Korea to carry out subversion and acts of sabotage. In March this year, in order to test their preparedness for another war in Korea, the US imperialists went so far as to stage a most provocative military exercise, under the name of “Operation Focus Retina”, airlifting, en masse, aggressive troops and combat materiel from the US mainland to south Korea.

In order to unleash a new war, the US imperialists have, of late, embarked more openly on perpetrating various forms of espionage against our country. They frequently create hostile ignitions on the one hand, by sending their armed spy ships in broad daylight to penetrate far into the territorial waters of our country and, on the other, increase aggressive aerial reconnaissance over our territory. As is known throughout the world, the US imperialist aggressors sent their armed spy ship *Pueblo* deep into our territorial waters to carry out espionage activities in January last year; they were caught red-handed and

received due punishment, but, instead of learning their lesson, they still carry on espionage. As the US imperialists themselves have made public, during the past few months of this year, their reconnaissance planes have flown over our territory, carrying out espionage activities hundreds of times; on April 15 last, a large spy plane *EC-121* was dispatched to penetrate far into the territorial airspace of our Republic, but was shot down while carrying out espionage activities by the valiant men of the Korean People's Army.

It was in the exercise of sovereignty as recognized by international law that we shot down the US imperialist spy plane which had violated our airspace and committed hostile acts. It is the sacred and inviolable right of the people of every country to defend their sovereignty and take self-defence measures against those who try to infringe upon it.

However, as their spy plane came in for severe punishment, the US imperialists are ridiculously trying to justify their criminal acts with high-flown sophistry and are plunging into more reckless war hysteria. These aggressors are declaring that they will continue reconnaissance flights over our country in the future, providing them with "armed escorts"; they draw 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" conferred upon them.

As the history of war throughout the world shows, this kind of ignition is a deliberate act of aggression committed by imperialists only on the eve of war, for the purpose of detecting foreign military installations and other military secrets and creating a pretext for sparking off war.

These days many US imperialist war bosses are coming to south Korea and stirring up activity along the frontline areas and in military bases, and the south Korean puppets are summoned to Washington almost every month for one conspiracy after another. This too shows how recklessly they are moving to unleash a new war of aggression in Korea.

The US imperialists and their lackeys have now established a

“wartime structure” throughout south Korea; they have issued emergency mobilization orders to the US occupation troops there and the south Korean puppet army and have entered a “special alert”, strengthening their armed forces along the Military Demarcation Line.

Judging from all the signs it is obvious that unless we maintain the sharpest revolutionary vigilance and make every preparation, the US imperialists may launch a new war of aggression against the DPRK at any moment. The situation is very tense and dangerous conditions have been created in our country; war may be unleashed by the US imperialists tomorrow, or the day after. If the US imperialists and their lackeys continue to provoke us, we shall not just sit there with our arms folded, and if this process of attack and counterattack is repeated, it will, in the long run, develop into total war.

Question: Are there any instances of the increase of US military capabilities on south Korean soil? If they have increased, to what degree do you think it is linked with the premeditated raising of tension and the danger of total war?

Answer: Since south Korea is a US imperialist military base of aggression, with a view to invading the whole of Korea and Asia, there are already tremendous US military capabilities there. The US imperialists keep more than 60,000 US troops and the armed forces of other satellite countries in south Korea and permanently maintain the huge 700,000 strong puppet army. And through military occupation and “aid”, they have seized real power in south Korea and completely subordinated manpower and material resources to their military objectives and war policy.

The US imperialists have continually increased their military capabilities in south Korea in systematic violation of the Armistice Agreement after the war, and in recent years in particular, have embarked upon reinforcing them further. This is directly related to the impulsive US imperialist preparations in south Korea for another war of aggression against the DPRK.

For a war of aggression the US imperialists are reinforcing their occupation army in south Korea and increasing their combat capabilities 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, recently, they have formed what they call the 71st task fleet with a huge armed force and stationed them off the DPRK. At the same time, they have increased the fighter-bombers in their south Korean bases by several hundreds.

In increasing their military capabilities in south Korea the US imperialists are especially interested in the reinforcement of the numerical strength of the south Korean puppet army and the modernization of its military equipment.

The south Korean puppet army is a colonial mercenary army which exclusively serves the US imperialist policy of aggression. It is not without reason that the US imperialists are expanding, to such a great extent, the puppet army rather than their own army of aggression. For the upkeep of a division of the south Korean puppet army the US imperialists pay as little as a twenty-fifth of what it would cost for the maintenance of a division of their own army. So, they force young and middle-aged south Koreans to enlist, using them for their purposes of aggression and thereby cut their own military expenditures greatly. Furthermore, by employing a huge puppet army instead of their own troops, they pretend that the south Korean puppet army serves some national interests, thus casting themselves in the benevolent role of “helper”.

For this purpose, the US imperialists have increased the number of the ground forces of the south Korean puppet army from the 16 divisions immediately following the armistice to 29 divisions plus four brigades and have activated atomic and guided missile units, encouraging large-scale reinforcements of the south Korean puppet navy and air force.

The US imperialists and their lackeys have become all the more violent in their attempts to increase the numerical strength of the south Korean puppet army since the *Pueblo* incident and the shooting down

of the *EC-121* spy plane. The numerical strength of the puppet army has increased by almost 100,000 during the past year or two in south Korea, as a result of a number of measures such as the suspension of demobilization of men from the puppet army and the extension of the term of military service, while reorganizing reserve divisions in the rear into combat divisions and establishing new units.

The attempts of the US imperialists and their henchmen to form the “homeland reserve forces” deserve special attention. For the purpose of reinforcing local mercenaries in south Korea, the US imperialists established the “homeland reserve forces”, forced over two million young and middle-aged men to join up and are now pushing forward full rearmament. They have placed these forces under the command of the puppet army and enforced military training and have already prepared call-up papers so that they can be thrown into battle at any time.

In accordance with the requirements of the US imperialist policies of aggression and war, all over south Korea, military airfields, harbours, rocket bases, strategic roads and various other military bases and military installations are today being built or expanded on a large scale.

The US imperialists have converted south Korea into a huge military camp where massive armed forces are concentrated and everything is geared to a policy of war, into a drill ground for the ignition of a new war. This glaringly shows their aggressive design to conquer the DPRK by force.

Because of these stratagems of the US imperialists and their stooges to increase the military capabilities in south Korea, the tension is now being further aggravated and every day the danger of a new war of aggression in our country increases.

Question: Do you think the outbreak of total war in Korea can be prevented?

Answer: The situation in our country has become very tense today

because of the intensified US imperialist plans for aggression and ignition of another war, but I think total war can be prevented if we work hard 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 DPRK upholds, as the basis of its foreign policy, opposing aggression against other countries and fighting for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress. As a peace-loving people, we, the Korean people, do not want to be the first to provoke anyone. We have never invaded a single inch of foreign territory in our history, nor have we infringed, in the slightest, 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 a constant companion of imperialism. US imperialism, in particular, has carried out all sorts of foul atrocious plunder everywhere in the world by means of the most brutal and barbarous wars since the first days of its birth, and has fattened on the sweat and blood of hundreds of millions of people.

The situation has become aggravated to the extreme in Korea today and has engendered the danger that 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 US imperialists have come to our country, thousands of miles away from theirs and accelerated their policies of aggression and war against the Korean people. The source of war in Korea lies in the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists and their policy of aggression towards the DPRK; and, accordingly, the outbreak of total war in Korea also depends entirely on them.

To prevent war in Korea, this source of conflagration must be removed. If the US imperialists quit the southern half of our country, taking their army of aggression and lethal weapons with them, and stop hostilities against the DPRK, total war will be prevented and peace

maintained in Korea. This is the fundamental requisite for preventing a new and total war in Korea.

Following the withdrawal of the US imperialist army of aggression from Korea, we may conclude a peace agreement whereby north and south Korea will pledge not to invade each other and may take steps to reduce the armed forces of north and south Korea to 100,000 or less. This will become a reliable guarantee for maintaining a durable peace in Korea.

The concluding of a peace agreement between north and south Korea and a sharp reduction in the armed forces of north and south Korea in this way, after the withdrawal of the US imperialist army of aggression, is the very way to prevent total war breaking out in Korea and remove the danger of war.

The US imperialists, however, oppose this tooth and nail and are advancing perilously down the road to war.

The DPRK Government and the Korean people have made and are still making every real effort to frustrate the reckless stratagems of the US imperialists and their lackeys to unleash a new war, and thus consolidate the Korean armistice and preserve peace in Korea. It is only due to the utmost patience and tenacious campaign of the DPRK Government and the Korean people and to the campaign of the peace-loving people of the world that peace is maintained in Korea today.

The Korean people are well aware that peace can never be maintained by begging from the US imperialists, that it can only be won through an intense and persistent battle to put down the imperialists' attempts to unleash war. In the future, as in the past, the Korean people will wage a resolute struggle to check the US imperialist aggressive moves and safeguard peace in Korea.

We shall persevere in the fight to prevent war and maintain peace, but we are not at all afraid of the imperialists attacking us by force of arms. If despite our repeated warnings and the unanimous condemnation of the peace-loving people of the world, the US imperialists and their lackeys go to the length of unleashing another total war against the DPRK, we, in turn, will declare total war on them

and thoroughly annihilate the aggressors. We, the Korean people, will never become colonial slaves of the Wall Street warmongers even if we die in the decisive battle against the enemy. We shall resolutely defend our beloved motherland and the socialist gains which we have won at the cost of blood, from the encroaching foreign aggressors.

Question: By what means is US 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 US imperialism and a democratic revolution against feudal forces. The US imperialists have occupied south Korea by force of arms and completely turned it into their colony and military base. In maintaining their colonial rule over south Korea, the US imperialists rely on the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who have become guides for their aggression and their faithful agents. The landlord class cruelly exploits and oppresses the peasant masses under the patronage of the US imperialists. The comprador capitalists make their profits by introducing US surplus goods and capital, plundering and selling the resources of our country to the US monopolies and supplying war materials to the mercenary troops of US imperialism. Accordingly, the basic task of the south Korean revolution is to oppose the occupation of south Korea by US imperialism and drive out the US army of aggression, oppose exploitation and oppression by the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who are hand in glove with US imperialism and to ensure democratic development for south Korean society.

From liberation until this day, the south Korean workers, peasants, patriotic students, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie and even the conscientious national capitalists have carried out a determined campaign to achieve this task, thereby shaking the colonial rule of US imperialism to its very foundations and driving the US imperialists and their lackeys into a tight corner.

The US imperialists are so disconcerted by this that they resort to plain military fascist dictatorship in an attempt to maintain their colonial rule—a rule on the brink of total bankruptcy in south Korea—and to eliminate all the social and political elements which form an obstacle to their colonial rule and the implementation of their war policies.

US imperialism and its lackeys have greatly expanded the repressive apparatus while promulgating all kinds of evil fascist laws and have thus covered the whole of south Korea with a military, police, intelligence and secret service network and turned it into a living hell of terrorism and oppression. They are making every desperate effort to stamp out all the freedoms and democratic rights of the people and are brutally suppressing the patriotic, democratic forces. All the progressive political parties, social organizations and press organs have become the target of harsh suppression; and the revolutionaries and patriotic people, who have risen in the just struggle for the right to existence, democratic freedom, national liberation and reunification of the country, are being arrested, detained and butchered right and left. Only recently, the US imperialists and their lackeys arrested, imprisoned and murdered at random a large number of revolutionaries and patriotic personages including Kim Jong Thae, a leading official of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in south Korea, because they had demanded democracy and freedom. With the rampant “intelligence politics which violate human rights and the power politics which ignore public opinion”, south Korean society has virtually been reduced to “a space without air, a land without moisture and a society without light”, to “a debris where democracy has been eroded”. In this way, the military fascist dictatorship established in south Korea faithfully serves the US imperialist policies of colonial enslavement and war. The military fascist dictatorship enforced by the US imperialists in south Korea far surpasses the fascist dictatorships of Hitler and Tojo in ferocity and barbarity and has become a pattern for the heinous fascist rule of imperialism throughout all colonies.

Under fascist suppression and the heavy burden of military expenses resulting from the policies of aggression and war pursued by

the US imperialists and their puppet regime, poverty and the lack of rights of the south Korean people have reached their limit and the dignity of the nation has been severely trampled on and social unrest is mounting daily.

The revolutionaries and patriotic people of south Korea are waging the anti-US national-salvation struggle under the very difficult conditions of rampant fascist repression, and, logically, the national-liberation struggle in south Korea has a difficult road ahead. But no amount of difficulties, no amount of frenzied enemy endeavour can ever hold back the advance of the revolutionary movement in south Korea.

Where there is exploitation and oppression, there will always be a revolutionary struggle of the people; and where oppressors intensify their tyranny, the people's struggle against it will always become more organized and tenacious.

The more the US imperialists increase their fascist suppression in south Korea, the greater the discontent and the stronger the resistance of the south Korean people they will encounter.

In south Korea today, the confrontation between democracy and reaction has become more acute; the imperialist forces of aggression are becoming more isolated and weak, whereas the patriotic forces of revolution continue to grow.

National and class consciousness is gradually increasing and anti-US sentiments are mounting amongst the masses of south Korea. The revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people is continuously increasing and developing into diverse forms of intense anti-US national-salvation struggle, including armed resistance. The struggle has become more and more organized with strong roots among the workers and peasants—the main forces of the revolution and is developing strongly among the broader masses from all walks of life. The mass struggle of the south Korean people, which is rapidly gaining ground now against the Park Chung Hee puppet clique's plan to secure a long-term office in south Korea, clearly proves that the national-liberation movement of south Korea continues to grow, even under the circumstances of the most severe fascist repression of US

imperialism and its stooges. Through the intense revolutionary struggle waged under difficult conditions, the south Korean people will become all the more aware and tempered; they will develop into an invincible revolutionary force which will eventually be able to repulse any enemy, however powerful. And, once a revolutionary situation develops, they will decisively crush US imperialism and its lackeys and achieve the final victory for the revolution.

Question: How can the national reunification of Korea be best realized?

Answer: The stand we have taken with regard to the question of Korean reunification has already been made clear on a number of occasions.

We have maintained and still maintain that the question of Korea's reunification should be solved by the Korean people themselves on democratic principles, by peaceful means, and independently, without any foreign interference.

The question of reunification is an internal affair of the Korean people, in which no outside forces can be allowed to interfere. We can never place the question of our national reunification at the disposal of foreigners. And foreigners can never solve the domestic affairs of our nation. The Korean question should be settled only by Koreans themselves according to their will and by their own efforts. Ours is a wise, civilized nation fully capable of solving any of our national questions on our own.

The reunification of north and south, the long-cherished desire of the whole nation, has not yet been accomplished simply because the US imperialists are occupying south Korea, interfering in the internal affairs of our country and pursuing the policy of dividing the nation. If they had not unlawfully occupied south Korea and had not obstructed our people's cause for national reunification, we would have reunified the country long ago and the 40 million Korean people would have enjoyed a happy life in the reunified land extending for three thousand *ri*. Their occupation of south Korea and policy of aggression are the

source of all the miseries of our nation and the main obstacle to Korea's reunification. If Korea is to be reunified, therefore, the US imperialist aggressors must first quit south Korea.

We may reunify the country by way of establishing a unified central government through a general election in the north and the south to be held on democratic principles, on condition that all foreign troops have withdrawn and that there is no interference by outside forces.

In order to hold this general election, it is necessary first to ensure throughout north and south Korea complete freedom of political activity for all political parties, social organizations and individuals together with freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration. At the same time, all the citizens of north and south Korea should be able to enjoy equal suffrage and eligibility for election irrespective of their party affiliations, political views, property status, standard of learning, religious faith or sex. A unified democratic government, representing the interests of all sections of the population, can, therefore, only be established through the elections to be held on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot in a completely democratic atmosphere, after eliminating all the factors which obstruct or suppress the expression of the free will of the people.

We consider that this is the most realistic way for the reunification of Korea and is a fair and reasonable proposal, acceptable to all.

Ever since liberation, we have, until now, made every possible effort to bring about the reunification of the country.

If a free general election 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 deal with urgent, immediate problems of common concern for the nation and to work gradually towards complete reunification. The Confederation we have proposed means the formation of a Supreme National Committee composed of an equal number of representatives designated by the DPRK Government and the south Korean authorities, while preserving the present political systems established in north and south Korea as they are. This Supreme National Committee should be a body whose main

functions are to coordinate the economic and cultural development of both parts of Korea and promote mutual cooperation and exchange between north and south for the common interests of the nation.

We maintained that if the south Korean rulers could not accept the Confederation, there should be economic and cultural interchanges and individual visits between north and south Korea so as to at least mitigate the sufferings of a divided nation, setting aside political questions for the time being. If they would not even accept that, we have proposed to take humanitarian measures for allowing north and south Koreans to exchange letters at least.

The US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique, however, have rejected all these just proposals of ours and, time after time, have answered our persevering, sincere efforts with aggressive ignitions.

In consequence, from liberation to this day, with a new generation grown up, our people, far from reunifying the country, have led an extremely unnatural life in which parents, wives and children, relatives and friends live apart, some in the north and some in the south, and cannot even correspond with each other.

Do the US imperialists and their henchmen oppose our just proposals on reunification with any counterproposal, acceptable to us, on the question of Korean reunification? No, far from it.

Now, the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique carry out severe repression, insolently arresting and imprisoning anybody in south Korea at the mere mention of peaceful reunification, and are working in every way to perpetuate the division of Korea. Under these circumstances, so long as the US imperialists and the present puppet rulers are allowed to remain in south Korea, it is practically impossible to think of the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Korea's peaceful reunification can be achieved only after the US imperialist army of aggression has been driven out of south Korea and the south Korean people have overthrown the present puppet regime and the progressive forces of south Korea have taken power. When these aggressors are forced out, the present south Korean rulers ousted, and progressive democrats in power, we shall be able to hold peaceful

negotiations with them on the question of Korean reunification at any time. Our people's cause of national reunification will be achieved, therefore, by the joint efforts of the socialist forces of the northern half and the patriotic, democratic forces of south Korea.

We can say that the reunification of Korea and the attainment of our people's cause of national liberation depend, in the final analysis, on the preparation of three revolutionary forces—first, the socialist forces of north Korea; second, the revolutionary forces of south Korea; and third, international revolutionary forces. While striving to strengthen and develop the revolutionary forces in north and south Korea, we are working to develop the international revolutionary movement and increase our solidarity with it.

The US imperialists will finally be driven out of south Korea by the revolutionary struggle of the north and south Korean people, with the active support of revolutionary people throughout the world; and we shall, without fail, achieve Korean reunification.

I should like to take this opportunity to extend my warm greetings to the Finnish communists and the working class of Finland for their active support of the righteous struggle of the Korean people to drive the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and reunify the country independently.

Question: What is your opinion about the resolution of the youth of the DPRK to step up socialist construction and defend their country's right to self-determination?

Answer: The young people play a very great role in the revolution and construction of our country.

They can play such an important role in social revolution and the construction of a new society, for they are from the start sensitive to the new; they are enterprising; they have strong qualities such as cherishing justice and truth and surmounting difficulties for them without fear. These qualities will show themselves very strongly when combined with firm revolutionary determination to devote everything

to the struggle for their society and people under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

We consider that the Korean young people have clearly proved this truth in practice.

Today under the leadership of our Party, Korean young people form the vanguard, a shock brigade on all fronts of economic construction and the building of national defence in order to accelerate socialist construction and preserve the gains of the revolution, the independence of the country and the security of the people against enemy aggression.

After liberation, Korean young people rallied firmly behind the banner of the Democratic Youth League under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, took an active part in the carrying out of all the democratic reforms in north Korea, and, especially in the difficult period of postwar rehabilitation, when the socialist revolution and the building of socialism became the order of the day, their revolutionary enthusiasm, inexhaustible strength and talents came 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 social and economic change for our country—and tightening their belts and fighting hard battles, they built factories, reconstructed the railways and rebuilt towns and villages which had been reduced to ashes.

Our young people's firm determination and great revolutionary zeal to build a new happier society rapidly are demonstrated to the full in all fields of socialist construction today.

Young people always bear the brunt of the most difficult and strenuous work in the factories and the mines, farming and fishing villages, and on the numerous construction sites across the country; and they never stop devoting all their energy to the movement for innovation in production. They are not only performing a great feat of labour in building an independent socialist industry and a solid socialist agriculture but also contributing greatly to the work of developing science and technology and encouraging national culture and art to blossom in our country. All the achievements made by the

Korean people in socialist construction are based on the dedicated labour and great exploits of our young men and women.

In the struggle to defend the gains of socialism and the sovereignty of their motherland against foreign aggressors, the young people of Korea are showing their unexcelled patriotic devotion and courage.

They have behind them the brilliant revolutionary traditions of struggle for the freedom and independence of the motherland. When the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea, young Korean communists armed themselves to wage a difficult 15-year-long struggle and gained back their country, which had been usurped, by crushing the Japanese imperialist aggressors; and when the US imperialists unleashed a war against our new Republic, young Koreans again repulsed the enemy and admirably defended the independence and honour of the country, displaying their indomitable revolutionary fighting efficiency and collective heroism.

Today they are stoutly defending the country. The valiant soldiers of our People's Army strike back decisively at the enemy whenever he violates even one inch of our territory, territorial waters or airspace. The US imperialists have, only recently, more than once experienced the bitter taste of the blows from our brave People's Army soldiers.

In our country defence service is not only for young people in the People's Army. Our entire youth and all other working people are builders of socialism and, at the same time, the true defenders of the motherland. They are all building their socialist country with a hammer or a sickle in one hand and a rifle in the other.

Today all Korean youths are filled with a strong determination to defend the country bravely against any aggression on the part of US imperialism and its lackeys.

All this is an expression of the boundless loyalty of Korean young people to the Workers' Party of Korea and of their ardent love for the country and the socialist system.

Korean youth are well aware that they are reserves on whom the Workers' Party of Korea depends, that they are the true masters of the country and that they represent the future of our society. This is why

they are most faithful in serving the revolutionary cause of the working class and why they actively support and profoundly love the socialist system and the socialist motherland which have given them the chance to work and study as much as they want, and to display all their youthful wisdom and talents to the full; and this is why they regard devoting their all to the struggle for the acceleration of socialist construction, the consolidation and development of the socialist system, and the protection of the revolutionary gains and their motherland, not as something to be bartered away but as their greatest honour and highest duty.

With the triumph of the socialist revolution and the dynamic advance of socialist construction in our country, a great change is taking place in the spiritual life of the youth. It has become common among our young people to lead a simple and militant life and study and work steadily and sincerely for society and the collective. Their activities and lives are filled to the brim with a strong revolutionary consciousness as Red revolutionary soldiers of the Workers' Party of Korea, and noble communist ways.

In the future, the young people of Korea will continue to march forward with great force in the vanguard of the struggle for the building of socialism and communism under the leadership of our Party.

They 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 US imperialism.

Question: What effect do you think the US 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 the greatest concern for people throughout the world today.

The US imperialists had a criminal ambition to turn South Vietnam into a colony and a military base for Asian aggression and occupy the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Vietnam war was sparked off when they began a shameless armed intervention in the just Vietnamese people's cause for freedom, independence, democracy and reunification.

In an endeavour to achieve their aggressive ends in Vietnam, the US imperialists have already been involved in all sorts of treacherous stratagems for 15 years, in flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. They have thrown into South Vietnam a colossal army of aggression, more than 500,000 strong, and huge numbers of troops of their satellite countries and puppet cliques, and have massacred South Vietnamese people at random by using various weapons of mass destruction, war equipment and even poisonous chemicals. As they met the strong resistance of the heroic Vietnamese people who came out against the foreign aggressors, the US 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 the "Bac Bo Gulf incident" in 1964.

For the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam and the final solution of the Vietnam question, therefore, the US imperialists must stop all aggression against Vietnam once and for all and retire unconditionally from South Vietnam taking with them their army of aggression plus the troops of their satellite countries and puppet cliques. 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 US imperialism or any turn towards a 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 have their origins in the aggressive nature of US imperialism, and they will never change so long as the United States remains an imperialist power and refuses to give up her ambition to world domination. No matter who becomes US President, as a spokesman for the interests of the US monopolies, he

can only faithfully execute the colonial and expansionist policies of US imperialism. Unless the state and social system of the United States of America undergoes a fundamental change, the policies of US imperialism can never change suddenly from being aggressive to being peace-loving simply because the President has been replaced. The same can be said with regard to the Vietnam question. The aggressive designs of US imperialism on Vietnam cannot change simply with a new President, nor can the presidential election in the United States be an occasion for any turn towards a solution of the Vietnam question.

But this does not mean that the Vietnam question is tilled with gloomy prospects which can never be solved, as long as the United States remains an imperialist power. The Vietnam question will certainly be solved sooner or later, when the subjective and objective situations of the revolution are created; and it may even be settled earlier, during the term of office of the present US President. Even then, however, the Vietnam question would not be solved because the incumbent US President desisted from a policy of aggression and adopted a peace-loving policy but because the US imperialists were finally beaten and driven out of Vietnam by the heroic anti-US save-the-nation resistance of the Vietnamese people who enjoy the positive support of the world's revolutionary people.

As for the Paris Conference on Vietnam, the US imperialists were forced into the conference seat in Paris because as the days went by, they suffered heavier and more irretrievable military and political defeats through the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and were confronted with the resolute protest and condemnation of peace-loving people throughout the world who were opposed to the criminal war of aggression in Vietnam. But the US imperialists are brazenly attempting to recover at the conference table the defeat they miserably received on the battlefield, and behind the screen of "peace" and "negotiation" they cling to crafty trickery 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 US imperialists are working to accomplish their criminal

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, because of the insidious scheming of the US imperialists, has made little progress, contrary to the expectations of the progressive people of the whole world.

If they persist in their present attitude at the Paris negotiations on Vietnam, nothing can be expected.

The only correct way to advance the conference successfully and solve the Vietnam question in conformity with world opinion and the wishes of the Vietnamese people is the full acceptance by the US imperialists of the reasonable suggestions set out 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 must be solved by the Vietnamese people themselves without interference from any outside forces. We consider that the Vietnam question can best be settled only on the basis of the proposals made by the representative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the ten-point proposal published by the delegation of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation at the Paris Conference on Vietnam, and we give our wholehearted support to the proposals.

As for the setting up of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, I consider that it is an epoch-making event which has recently caught the attention of the people of the whole world.

The establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam is a brilliant result achieved by the Vietnamese people's anti-US war of resistance to save the nation and is of great historic 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 US

imperialist aggressors to a new stage, build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Vietnam and bring about the peaceful reunification of the country.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam is the genuine, lawful government of the South Vietnamese people, embracing the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces as well as various political parties, social and religious organizations, and all sections of the people in South Vietnam.

The US imperialists should leave the South 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. They should also discuss the solution of the South Vietnam question with the representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam at the Paris Conference on Vietnam.

If the US imperialists reject this and continue to back the Thieu-Ky puppet clique in South Vietnam as they do at the moment, and persist in their criminal aggressive actions, the South Vietnamese people will fight more resolutely under the guidance of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam until they wipe out the US imperialist aggressors to the very 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 US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys and will surely win the complete victory of the national-liberation revolution and the sacred cause of national reunification.

No force can subdue a people who have taken power in their own hands and have risen in armed struggle for freedom and independence.

Victory will unquestionably be attained by the heroic Vietnamese people who have risen in the glorious battle against US imperialism for national salvation to safeguard the North, liberate the South and reunify the country.

**PROGRESSIVE JOURNALISTS OF THE FIVE
CONTINENTS, WIELD YOUR POWERFUL
REVOLUTIONARY PEN AND STERNLY
CONDEMN US IMPERIALISM!**

**Speech of Welcome at the International Conference
on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their
Fight against the Aggression of US Imperialism**

September 18, 1969

Dear delegates,

Comrades and friends,

Reflecting the lofty aspirations and unanimous desires of the journalists of the five continents who oppose imperialism and colonialism and strive for national independence and social progress, this international conference of journalists has been convened and the revolutionary people all over the world are taking a great interest in it. It gives us great pleasure that a meeting of true representatives of the progressive press of the world has been convened in Pyongyang, the capital of our country, under the revolutionary banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle. On behalf of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I warmly welcome the representatives of the progressive journalists of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania and Europe who have come to attend this conference.

Comrades and friends,

Today we are living in a glorious age of revolutionary change when

the colonial system of imperialism is crumbling beyond redemption, in a great historic age when the national-liberation revolution of the oppressed people is gaining signal victories.

A fierce battle is going on in the international arena today between socialism and imperialism, between the revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionary forces.

In this battle the socialist and peace-loving forces are winning victory after victory while the imperialist forces of aggression are falling into decay and ruin.

The time is past when a handful of imperialist billionaires could swagger about and lord it over the earth, exploiting and plundering humanity at will. The face of the world has changed radically.

In the world arena, in company with the revolutionary struggle of the people of the socialist countries, the liberation struggle of the people in the colonial and dependent countries is forging vigorously ahead. Today in vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America the mighty flood tide of the national-liberation revolutionary movement is surging forward with irresistible force. Great revolutionary storms are sweeping across these continents, wiping out imperialism and colonialism. Hundreds of millions of people, in those areas, oppressed and plundered by imperialism for centuries, have thrown off the cursed yoke of colonialism and emerged nobly as heroes in this new epoch of history. They are winning brilliant victories in their great cause of tearing down the old system of imperialism and colonialism and building a new life. The peoples of the countries still groaning under the imperialist colonial yoke have heroically taken up arms against the foreign imperialist aggressive forces. Under the powerful impact of the national-liberation movement the chains of colonial slavery are falling apart everywhere and the colonial system of imperialism which has entailed so much misery and suffering for humanity is crumbling to dust. There no longer exists any "safe rear" or "quiet backyard" for the imperialists. Imperialism is breathing its last.

At the same time, the revolutionary struggle of the working class and other working people in the capitalist countries—the struggle for

vital rights and democratic freedoms against capitalist oppression and exploitation—is gaining strength. This makes the bloodthirsty imperialists tremble with apprehension and fear.

Political and economic crises in the imperialist world are daily growing more serious and the contradictions between the imperialist powers in their competition for markets and spheres of influence are becoming more acute.

Hard hit from within and without, the imperialists are being driven further into a blind alley.

In spite of fluctuations and temporary failures and setbacks in the course of the revolution, the general trend remains favourable for socialism and the forces of revolution and unfavourable for imperialism and the forces of reaction.

But the US and other imperialists will never quit the stage of history of their own accord. Still dreaming of its past position, imperialism is desperately trying to recover its lost footholds and to save itself from destruction by resorting to aggression and war.

The US imperialists are resorting to open violence: they are committing aggressive acts against the socialist countries and independent national states, brutally suppressing the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and viciously disturbing peace in all parts of the world. While continuing their barbarous holocaust against the South Vietnamese people for some years, the US imperialists are committing gangster acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They are making frantic attempts to strangle the Republic of Cuba, the first country to win the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere and the beacon of hope for the Latin-American people. The US imperialists are accelerating their armed intervention in Laos and ceaselessly egging the Zionists on to acts of aggression and war against the Arab people in the Middle East. By rearming Japanese and West German militarism they are again creating dangerous hotbeds for new outbreaks of war in Asia and Europe.

The imperialists headed by the United States outwardly advocate

“independence” and “freedom” for the people, but in reality they are making frantic efforts to maintain their colonial rule in a more cunning and underhand way, and are foolishly trying to catch the people of the newly independent countries again in a noose of neocolonialism.

They are pursuing a policy of colonial subjugation in many of the Asian, African and Latin-American countries by bribing and stirring up Right-wing circles such as the senior military officers and representatives of tribal elites who have become reactionary. If the puppets they have put in power get in the way of their colonial policy in the slightest degree, the imperialists engineer a reactionary military coup, establish a fascist military dictatorship, and do not hesitate to intervene openly by force of arms. Such outrageous plots and actions constitute a standing threat to the newly independent countries and have reduced a number of governments to colonial ruling machines for imperialism, thereby diverting them to the Right and virtually tying them down to colonial or semi-colonial status.

The imperialist policy of reducing the developing countries to economic subordination is one of the main features of neocolonialism. US imperialism uses its “aid” policy as a major tool for overseas expansion, hypocritically calling it “joint development of underdeveloped countries”. Its “aid” paves the way for overseas infiltration of monopoly capital. By exporting huge amounts of capital and obtaining various colonial concessions, the imperialists have seized the levers of control of the economy in many countries of the world. Thus, imperialist monopoly capital ruthlessly continues to rob these countries of their rich natural resources and their industrious people of the fruits of their labour. Through “economic aid” the imperialists are not only holding back the development of independent national economies in the backward countries, but are also flagrantly interfering in their internal affairs and reducing their political independence to an empty name.

Hand in hand with economic infiltration, ideological and cultural infiltration is an important method of neocolonialism. By intensifying their reactionary ideological and cultural offensive against a number of

countries under the spurious titles of “peace corps”, “African crossroads programme”, and so on, the US imperialists are paralysing the people’s sense of national independence and their revolutionary consciousness, instilling in them worship of the United States and anti-communist ideas, imbuing them with national nihilism, spreading the decadent Yankee brand of immorality and depravity among them and continuing their wrecking and subversive activities behind the screen of “peace”.

Under such slogans as “anti-communism” and “mutual security”, the US and other imperialists have enmeshed a number of countries in aggressive military blocs and bilateral military alliances and treaties, making them dependent militarily and turning them into their colonial military bases.

By such neocolonialist manipulation, US imperialism seized the hegemony of the capitalist world from the old colonialists and emerged as the colonial “lord” after the Second World War. It has stretched its vicious claws of aggression into every part of the world.

On the earth today, there is no place, whether in Asia, Africa or Latin America, that is free from the reach of US imperialism’s tentacles of aggression, and there is no country, big or small, free from the threat of its aggression.

All this proves ever more clearly that US imperialism is the most barbarous and shameless aggressor of modern times, the main force of aggression and war, the ringleader of world reaction, the bulwark of modern colonialism, the strangler of national liberation and independence, and the disturber of world peace.

The present situation demands that the revolutionary people of the five continents fight more resolutely against imperialism, against old and new colonialism, and concentrate their attack on US imperialism in particular. Without combatting US imperialism, neither peace nor national independence, nor the victory of democracy and socialism is conceivable today.

The revolutionary people throughout the world must put strong pressure from all sides on the US-led imperialists and tie them hand

and foot so that they cannot act recklessly.

The people of the socialist countries, above all others, should play a predominant role in this. They should not only expedite the building of socialism and communism vigorously in their own countries, exercising vigilance to smash the subversion and sabotage of the imperialists and the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes, but, proceeding from Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ethics, should also regard giving active support to the national-liberation movement as an internationalist duty. As bases of the world revolution, the socialist countries should resolutely oppose the war policy of the imperialists and their predatory colonial policy. They should actively assist the oppressed nations in all their revolutionary struggles. This will strengthen the allied forces of the socialist countries and the international working class, and it is the way to hasten the common victory in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.

Together with the people of the socialist countries, the working class in the capitalist countries should also fight more vigorously against imperialism and thereby give powerful support and encouragement to the liberation movement of the oppressed nations. The working class of the suzerain states and the oppressed people of the colonies are in the same position. In order to increase their plunder and exploitation of the people of the colonial and dependent countries, the imperialists make every effort to estrange the working class of their own countries from the peoples of the colonies. They intrigue to poison the working class with the loathsome ideas of racism and national chauvinism and to disorganize the militant ranks of the working class from within by bribing the labour aristocrats with a portion of the superprofits they have extorted from the colonies. The working class of suzerain states must thoroughly smash this underhand trick and stoutly fight against the imperialists' aggression and plunder of colonial and dependent countries. They must also fully support the right of the people of the colonial and dependent countries to complete independence and wage revolutionary struggle more energetically so as to overthrow the old system. This is the way for the working class of

the capitalist countries to achieve their class emancipation and to contribute to the national-liberation movement in the colonies.

Colonies are the lifeline of the imperialists and their last strongholds. The imperialists will not give them up of their own accord, nor will they make a gift of independence. The peoples of the colonial countries must combine their strength and wage a resolute, do-or-die struggle to drive the imperialists out and win complete freedom and independence.

The newly independent countries which have thrown off the yoke of imperialism are confronted with the weighty task of protecting their national independence, carrying the revolution forward, and assisting the liberation struggle of the peoples of the countries still in imperialist chains. The peoples who have won independence must abrogate all the shackling treaties and agreements and military alliances concluded with the imperialists, eliminate the political and economic footholds which foreign imperialists and their accomplices—the domestic reactionary forces—can rely on in their underhand manoeuvres, and rally the revolutionary forces to effect the revolutionary reform of society. In particular, they must be clear on the true nature of the neocolonialist policy pursued by the imperialists in the political, economic, military and cultural domains and thoroughly expose and frustrate it, and they should not be caught in their trap again. This is the only way they can firmly defend their revolutionary gains, achieve national prosperity and contribute to the common cause of the people of the whole world, the eradication of imperialism.

The international democratic and peace movements hold a very important place today on the common anti-imperialist, anti-US front. These movements unite hundreds of millions of working people and progressive individuals in the world. Peace-loving people throughout the world must fight more tenaciously for a lasting peace and a bright future for mankind and to check and frustrate the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

When all the revolutionary forces of the world carry out a dynamic anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle on every front they hold, imperialism

will be wiped out once and for all and the people of every country will achieve genuine national independence and social progress.

Esteemed delegates,

As you all know, this international conference of journalists opens at a grave moment when the US imperialists have become more reckless in their aggressive actions and the revolutionary people of the world are faced with the weighty, historic task of combatting US imperialism more resolutely than ever before. This is a good time for the delegates of progressive journalists from the five continents, who regard it as a sacred duty to fight for the just revolutionary cause of the people, to meet together today to discuss how to fight against US imperialist aggression. This fully conforms to the aspirations of the revolutionary people of the world.

This conference will enhance the militant role of progressive journalists throughout the world in the struggle against the US imperialists and will thus rouse the masses of the people in the vigorous anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle and contribute greatly to their common cause of socialism and national independence, peace and democracy.

Progressive journalists and publications—the advocates and propagators of advanced ideas and the spokespersons and organizers of public opinion—play a very great and inspiring role in social revolution and construction.

As everyone knows, it is the people who create history and carry it forward. But this does not in any way mean that they join in the revolutionary struggle spontaneously. It is only when they are armed with revolutionary consciousness and devote themselves to the bloody fight to destroy the ruling circles of the old society that they can truly become the main force of revolution, the powerful motive force of social development and the worthy creator of a new historical era. In any revolutionary movement, the higher the level of consciousness of the masses who take part in it, the greater their force and the more decisive their role in the revolutionary struggle. It is the progressives representing the interests of the masses who should infuse them with

revolutionary consciousness and enlighten them with progressive ideas. The progressive individuals who are fighting for the masses of the people arm them with the revolutionary idea of overthrowing the old system and building a new society, create correct fighting slogans, encourage and rally them, and rouse them to active revolutionary struggle.

Progressive journalists—those masters of advanced ideas and fighters who love justice and truth and bring to light all manner of injustices and social evil—have never failed to grasp the objective requirements of social development correctly and have firmly taken up their revolutionary pens to defend the interests of the progressive classes. And they have bitterly denounced the decaying old system and inexorably condemned the moribund reactionary ruling classes to their doom.

The progressive journalists have shed a great deal of blood and fought heroically, in the arena of this sacred struggle, defying all of the reactionaries' harsh suppression. Even in prison and on the scaffold they have fought bravely to the last moment of their lives without abandoning revolutionary principles. Thus, journalists have performed immortal feats which will go down in the history of the struggle for the liberation of mankind. The people pay high tribute to those revolutionary journalists who shed their precious blood in the sacred battle for the liberation of mankind, and will long remember what they did.

By inheriting these splendid traditions of your forerunners, you progressive journalists have taken on the heavy but honourable tasks of scathingly condemning the crimes of US imperialism which blocks the way to the freedom and liberation of mankind, and of rousing the people of the world courageously to join in the decisive battle against US imperialism, the most vicious common enemy of humanity.

Progressive journalists the world over should fully expose the US imperialists' policy of aggression and war and reveal their brutal nature in all its rawness. In this way, they will be able to turn widespread public opinion against US imperialism everywhere in the

world. There must not be even the slightest illusion about US imperialism. History clearly shows that spreading illusions about US imperialism and preaching unprincipled compromise with it only leads to dulling the revolutionary vigilance of the people, making the US imperialists more arrogant and insolent, highhanded and reckless, and encouraging their schemes of aggression and war. The progressive journalists should widely propagate among the broad masses the plain truth that a firm fight against imperialism should be waged to the end and that it is only through determined and stubborn struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and war that colonial fetters can be thrown off, independence won, revolutionary gains defended and consolidated, and a durable peace preserved.

At the same time, they must educate the masses to reject the ideas of worshipping and kowtowing to, fearing and submitting to and depending on America, and imbue them with implacable hatred for US imperialism. The reactionary ideology of US imperialism is an instrument for debasing people ideologically and weakening them politically. Progressive journalists, the representatives of advanced ideas, should steadfastly repel its reactionary ideological and cultural offensive.

When the revolutionary consciousness of the masses has been raised through the impassioned writings of progressive journalists on the ideological front, they will fight more tenaciously to crush US imperialism, mankind's worst enemy.

Active support for the people of all countries and all regions in their struggle against the US-led imperialist forces of aggression is the bounden revolutionary duty of the progressive journalists of the world.

Aggression by the US and other imperialists against the revolutionary people of the world is also a vicious attack on and a challenge to people in the press who are fighting for the cause of the liberation of mankind. To defend freedom of speech and of the press and their rights and interests, journalists should always breathe the same air and think in the same way as the Vietnamese and other heroic peoples of the world who are bearing arms against the US imperialist

aggressors, as people who are gallantly building a new life while resolutely thwarting the subversive schemes of foreign aggressors and domestic reactionaries, and as the working people of all countries who have gone into the streets to resist and denounce the US imperialists. So all articles, commentaries and political essays written by journalists should serve as convincing indictments summoning the US imperialists before the court of history and a powerful militant banner inspiring the masses of the people to wage a resistance against US imperialism and for national salvation.

For the international movement of progressive journalists to develop soundly and achieve its aim, they should be firmly united under the banner of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle. Though these journalists of all countries live under different social systems and their party affiliations and political views, customs and religious beliefs, nationality and colour, written and spoken language are different, they are comrades-in-arms standing on the same front with the common idea and goal of fighting against US imperialism for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress. Only under the banner of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, can the world's progressive journalists be broadly united and the international journalist movement contribute to the cause of justice of the world's people effectively as a militant revolutionary movement. All such journalists in the world should combine their strength in the struggle against US imperialism and should denounce it with one voice.

I am confident that through the sincere joint efforts of the delegates, this international journalists' conference will reach agreement on the ways to combat US imperialist aggression and will achieve the desired results, living up to the expectations and hopes of revolutionary people and progressive journalists throughout the world. I hope the conference will thus write a glorious page in the annals of the struggle of the world's journalists against imperialism and colonialism.

Dear delegates,

You are not only delegates to the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight against the

Aggression of US Imperialism but you are also our distinguished guests.

Our people, who are constantly threatened by direct US imperialist aggression, receive great encouragement from the fact that anti-imperialist fighters have come from so many countries to attend this conference in Pyongyang, the capital of our country.

The US imperialists have occupied half of our country for more than 20 years, maintaining a most reactionary, colonial fascist military rule in south Korea. They have turned south Korea into a total colony, into a military base for invading the whole of Korea and Asia and then, all the socialist countries. They have even trampled the elementary democratic freedom and vital rights of the south Korean people underfoot and plunged them into a living hell ridden with famine, poverty, terrorism and murder. The US imperialists and their faithful stooge, the puppet clique of south Korea, are making every vicious attempt to perpetuate the division of Korea and smother the national aspirations which all the north and south Korean people cherish for the reunification of the country. The occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists and their policy of aggression are the root cause of all our nation's misery, the main obstacle to the reunification of our country and a constant factor which could bring on war in Korea. The supreme national task of the Korean people is to drive the US imperialist aggressor army out of south Korea, accomplish the national-liberation revolution and achieve the reunification of the country.

Progressive journalists all over the world, and you in particular, have shown deep understanding of and sympathy for the Korean people's just cause and have always strongly denounced the US imperialist policy of aggression and war on the Korean peninsula. During the Fatherland Liberation War, which was caused by the US imperialists with the piratical design to swallow up the whole of Korea, the world's progressive journalists condemned their criminal atrocities and gave active support and encouragement to our people as they rose to defend the country's freedom and independence, national dignity and revolutionary gains. Even today progressive journalists are using their powerful pen in support of the Korean people's just struggle to

drive out the US imperialists and reunify the artificially divided country. The International Journalist Prize awarded in the name of the progressive journalists of the world to Comrade Kim Jong Thae, an indomitable revolutionary fighter and impassioned journalist born of the Korean people, is another expression of their great support for our people's just anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. I should like to express deep gratitude to you for this, on behalf of all the Korean people.

Our people receive you as true friends, as reliable comrades-in-arms. Everywhere you go during your stay in our country, they will give you a warm welcome and you will see for yourselves their ardent desire to strengthen militant solidarity with the revolutionary people of the world.

Because of our similar position in the past and our common fighting goals, the Korean people have always stood firm by the oppressed and supported their struggle for freedom and liberation in every way. Our people's militant friendship and solidarity with the revolutionary people of the world are further strengthened today. We regard this as an important guarantee of victory for our revolution and will continue, in the future also, to work tirelessly for firm militant solidarity with the peoples of all countries at the anti-imperialist, anti-US battle front.

In conclusion, I should like to extend my militant greetings to you here present who are devotedly engaged in mankind's sacred revolutionary cause and, through you, to the progressive journalists of the whole world, and sincerely wish the revolutionary journalists, who are ardent anti-imperialist political activists, even greater success in their fruitful work.

ON SOME EXPERIENCES OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS IN OUR COUNTRY

Lecture to Cadres of Party and State Organizations

October 11, 1969

Under the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, our people have successfully carried out the democratic and socialist revolutions and gained a great deal of valuable experience and learned many lessons. But our young cadres do not have a clear understanding of the experience and lessons our Party has derived from the revolutionary struggle and from construction. Therefore, taking advantage of the cadres' Saturday study hours today, I would like to tell you something about our experiences in the democratic and socialist revolutions in our country.

1. ON AGRARIAN REFORM

Agrarian reform is the task which has top priority in solving the peasant and agricultural questions in the stage of democratic revolution. Unless the agrarian question is solved correctly it is impossible to free the peasants from feudal exploitation and oppression and develop the productive forces in agriculture quickly.

After liberation, our Party put forward agrarian revolution as the central task of the democratic revolution and organized and mobilized all its members and all the people to bring this historic task to victory within a short period.

The most important thing in agrarian reform was to decide correctly whose land should be confiscated. This is necessary if we are to work out correct strategy and tactics for the class struggle—on the question of with whom to ally ourselves, whom to oppose and whom to isolate.

On the basis of our detailed investigation and analysis of land ownership and class relations in our country areas, we decided to confiscate the land in the hands of the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys, the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, that of landlords owning more than five hectares of land and all rented land.

This revolutionary policy defined by our Party enabled it to defend the interests of the broad masses of the peasants at the expense of the interests of the small number of landlords and reactionaries and to rally the masses of the people firmly around itself. Since the Japanese imperialists had surrendered and been expelled, the first target in the struggle for agrarian reform was the landlord class. At that time our country had only 44,000 land-owning families with more than five hectares, while more than 720,000 peasant families had little or no land. Therefore, in the final analysis, agrarian reform was a people's policy to rid our peasants of feudal exploitation and penury by depriving the 44,000 land-owning families of their land and distributing it to the more than 720,000 families of poor and hired peasants.

Our Party's definition of whose land was to be confiscated was also a correct policy for dispersing and weakening the hostile forces to the maximum by isolating the rich peasants and winning over the middle peasants.

During agrarian reform we did not make the rich peasants a target of struggle. If we had done this at that time, the number of hostile elements would have increased and the class struggle would have become difficult and complicated. In order to carry out the class struggle against the landlords successfully, we had to prevent the rich

peasants from siding with the landlords and weaken the hostile forces. It is true that, because all rented land was confiscated irrespective of size, the rich peasants were also affected to a certain extent and so there was the possibility that they would come out in opposition to agrarian reform. However, our Party allowed them to continue to possess the land they had not rented out but tilled themselves, thus forestalling their outright opposition.

The middle peasants had no reason to think ill of us for depriving the landlords of their land because agrarian reform did not infringe on their interests in the least. On the contrary, they welcomed the land being confiscated from the landlords and distributed to the poor and hired peasants. Therefore, they were our allies in agrarian reform.

This correct classification of the land to be confiscated enabled our Party to ensure the positive ascendancy of the revolutionary forces over the hostile forces by firmly relying on the poor and hired peasants, determinedly winning over the middle peasants and isolating the rich peasants in our struggle against the landlords.

Next in importance for agrarian reform was to create adequate groundwork for depriving the landlords of their land.

We first had to strengthen our organs of power.

The experience of history shows that no class can enforce progressive reforms without organs of power strong enough to suppress the resistance of the hostile classes. Agrarian revolution also needs organs of power such as the people's government, armed forces and security organizations capable of exercising dictatorship over the landlords and other reactionaries. We cannot carry out agrarian reform simply by issuing an ordinance to the effect that landlords with more than five hectares of land are to have it expropriated. It is only when we have powerful instruments of dictatorship that we can strip the landlords of their land and promptly suppress those who resist and defy the Agrarian Reform Law.

Landlords will never meekly let themselves be deprived of their land. In our country, as in others, some landlords and reactionaries resisted agrarian reform. As soon as the Agrarian Reform Law was

promulgated, reactionaries began to subvert and sabotage in an attempt to frustrate the reform. By that time, however, we had set up a people's government, which was still a provisional people's committee, and a security officers training centre which constituted our people's armed forces, and security agencies. Because we had our own organs of power, we could promptly smash all the counter-revolutionary activities of the enemy.

Our Party had rooted itself deeply in the working class and assumed firm leadership over it. This was another important factor for ensuring the successful carrying out of agrarian reform. Our Party was not numerically large at the time. But it was so deeply rooted in the workers, the main force of the revolution, that it could vigorously organize and mobilize them to help carry out agrarian reform.

Our Party controlled these strong organs of power and was capable of organizing and mobilizing the working class, the most revolutionary class. That is why it could confidently push ahead with the campaign to deprive the landlords of their land.

Another important thing in carrying out agrarian reform was to organize and mobilize the peasant masses for a vigorous struggle against the landlords.

Unless the Party does this skilfully victory cannot be assured, no matter how correct its line and policies. Our Party increased the peasants' revolutionary enthusiasm for agrarian reform so that they always took the initiative in the battle against the landlords.

Our struggle to take away the landlords' land began with the peasants' campaign to request that the land be given to the tillers. Immediately after liberation, poor and hired peasants wrote many letters to our Party and people's government bodies, asking us to take the land away from the landlords and distribute it among them. We saw these letters demanding land piled mountain-high at the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee. This widespread petitioning campaign launched by our peasants after liberation, was a great contributing factor in raising their class consciousness to a high degree and increasing their desire and determination to seize the landlords'

land. Furthermore, it struck great terror into the landlords as the word went around that their land was going to be taken away from them.

After the proclamation of the Agrarian Reform Law we formed rural committees of the poor and hired peasants so that they themselves could put agrarian reform into effect.

At the same time, our Party organized agrarian-reform-support detachments among the workers and sent them to the rural areas to give the peasants active assistance in their struggle. Progressive workers were sent to the rural areas from the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, the Sadong Colliery in Pyongyang and many other factories and coal and ore mines. This working-class assistance not only helped strengthen the worker-peasant alliance but also greatly heightened the peasants' enthusiasm for the struggle. Having seen the workers personally helping them to enforce agrarian reform, the peasants clearly appreciated that they were not alone in the battle against the landlord class but had the working class on their side. Thus they became more confident and courageous in the struggle to strip the landlords of their land.

In our country, thanks to the Party's correct line and policies, agrarian reform was carried through to victory in a very short time, actually less than a month after the Agrarian Reform Law was proclaimed.

One of the outstanding features of agrarian reform in our country was that it proceeded comparatively smoothly without strong resistance from the hostile elements. This was because many people received land and supported agrarian reform thanks to the correct class policy, strategy and tactics of the Party, whereas only a few were deprived of their land and their forces were very weak.

In the course of agrarian reform the rich peasants were isolated, the middle peasants became the allies of the poor and hired peasants, and the working class actively supported the peasants' struggle to confiscate the landlords' land. While so many people supported agrarian reform, the land-owning families deprived of their land numbered only 44,000, nearly 20 per cent of which were in the towns. The absentee landlords were largely engaged in trade or other

enterprises and appeared on their tenanted land only once in a while to collect the rents, so they had no foothold in the country areas. Our Party's policy was to leave private trade and manufacturing intact, and these landlords were not deprived of their enterprises such as breweries and hosieries in the towns but were allowed to run them. So they thought they were lucky and did not try to put up any strong opposition to the seizure of the few hectares of land they rented out.

While eliminating the landlords as a class, our Party gave them enough means to subsist. We moved those who did not resist and obediently handed over their land, to other places where we allotted them land to farm for themselves. This policy helped weaken landlord resistance. The resettlement of the landlords also prevented them from exerting a negative influence on their former tenants and other peasants who were not yet politically awakened.

More negligible were the forces of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation—one of the main targets of agrarian reform. They used to assert their authority with the backing of Japanese imperialism, but after its surrender they had no one to rely on and were powerless.

The hostile classes failed to put up a strong resistance because the landlords and reactionaries were an insignificant force and, moreover, our Party mobilized the working class and all the other revolutionary forces to attack them. The landlords did offer some resistance in several places in South Phyongan Province during agrarian reform, but there was not much trouble anywhere else.

There was no stubborn resistance on the part of the hostile elements. Nor was there any serious deviation in enforcing the Agrarian Reform Law. In the first stage, a "Left" deviation was manifested in Hwanghae Province, which went so far as to wipe out rich peasants, and this put us in danger of increasing the number of our enemies. There were Right deviations in some parts of North Phyongan Province. But agrarian reform proceeded smoothly because we spotted and corrected these deviations in time.

Another feature of agrarian reform in our country was that it was carried out thoroughly.

In making preparations for agrarian reform, we made a serious study of the experiences of foreign countries which had carried out agrarian reform. In some countries, they did not confiscate all the land of the landlords who had been defined as objects of confiscation but allowed them to retain a considerable amount. What is more, they did not apply the principle of confiscation without compensation and distribution free of charge. They paid compensation for land confiscated and then distributed it to the peasants at some charge. The prevailing conditions in our country did not allow us to draw on these experiences.

We confiscated all the land of the landlords possessing more than five hectares without compensation and distributed it to the landless and land-short peasants free of charge. This policy of our Party towards the landlords was of great importance in preventing them from turning into rich peasants. If we had expropriated land from only those landlords with more than eight or ten hectares instead of five, or if we had not confiscated all the land of the landlords defined as objects of confiscation but had let them retain a large part of it, then some of them would have lost no land or only a small amount and they would have become rich peasants.

As for the rich peasants, we imposed some restrictions. They had to farm their land themselves and were allowed to employ seasonal labour but not to hire hands all the year round. These measures were designed to limit the growth of the rich peasant economy and create favourable preconditions for the subsequent cooperativization of agriculture. It was necessary to prevent excessive growth of the rich peasant economy during agrarian reform, because the rich peasants would be our main target in agricultural cooperativization. At the time, however, we could not talk about these restrictive tactics openly. So you will not be able to understand our policy of restricting the rich peasants very well from the reports or speeches we delivered during that period.

Furthermore, we confiscated all land which had been rented out, irrespective of its size.

Our Party forbade the peasants to buy or sell the land they had received and prohibited them from renting it out or mortgaging it. In our country the confiscated landlords' land was not taken over as state property. We allowed the peasants to possess it considering their centuries-old hunger for land. They were overjoyed at this and it was highly effective in rousing their enthusiasm and activity in work. When we put the confiscated land into the possession of the peasants, we declared that they could till it generation after generation as long as they farmed it themselves, but that they were not allowed to sell it or rent it out to other people and that they had to return it to the state if they stopped farming it themselves. These measures were tantamount to nationalizing the confiscated land. Although we transferred the ownership of the land to the peasants, we exercised control, barring them from selling it or renting it out so that the tenant system could not be restored and the rich peasants could not grow in strength.

By carrying out agrarian reform so thoroughly, we did away with the feudal tenant system and exploitation in the rural areas once and for all and created advantageous conditions for the socialist revolution.

After agrarian reform is completed it is very important to correctly organize and guide the work of consolidating the success achieved. If you just deprive the landlords of their land and distribute it to the peasants and do not meticulously carry things through to the end, you cannot consolidate the success of agrarian reform nor ensure the rapid development of agriculture.

Following agrarian reform, our Party and state were confronted with difficult tasks, such as supplying the peasants who had received land with draught animals, farm implements, seed grain, and so on. This problem is not confined to our country; we can say it is common in other countries, too. In some countries, I was told, even when the land is distributed to the peasants by agrarian reform, they are forced to beg the landlords again for draught cattle, farm tools, seed and the like, because they do not have any. Consequently, agrarian reform gradually loses its effect.

A similar thing happened in our country immediately after agrarian

reform. The peasants were hard pressed in the first year after the reform because of the shortage of draught cattle, farm tools and seed although they had been given land thanks to agrarian reform. At this critical moment, the overthrown landlords and reactionaries began to spread all kinds of rumours in a cunning attempt to make those peasants who were unawakened waver. In one region in South Phyongan Province landlords boasted: "You have taken away my land but what use is it? If you want to farm it, you will have to come hack and bow to me to borrow my draught cattle and seed."

Our Party was faced with the urgent task of ensuring a timely spring ploughing, so as to consolidate and develop the victory of agrarian reform. But grasping the situation in time, the Party put forth the slogan: "Let us not leave even an inch of land uncultivated!" and energetically organized and mobilized the peasants for the spring ploughing. At the same time, it rallied the working class and the broad masses to come to the aid of the rural areas and took active measures to supply the peasants with draught cattle, farm implements and seed.

In order to solve the problem of draught cattle, the state financed the purchase of tens of thousands of draught cattle in the mountain areas and distributed them to the peasants on the lowlands although its economic situation was extremely difficult. At the same time, the state lent money to the peasants so that they could buy cattle from the rich peasants and also took measures for them to purchase some with funds raised among themselves. In this way we were able to solve the question of draught cattle, which had been one of our problems, completely.

The state also had to supply seed to the peasants who had received land. To solve this difficulty, we persuaded the middle peasants to share their seed grain with the former poor and hired peasants. In addition, we shared out the seed we had confiscated from the landlords during agrarian reform. Thus, we also settled this problem successfully and managed to get the first spring ploughing and sowing after agrarian reform done on time.

The introduction of the agricultural tax in kind proved of vital

importance in stimulating the peasants' enthusiasm for production and consolidating and developing the victory of agrarian reform. Following agrarian reform, our Party had the law on tax in kind proclaimed to free our peasants from the onerous burden of forced delivery and miscellaneous levies and to provide them with favourable conditions for improving their material and cultural life.

As soon as the law was announced, the peasants welcomed and supported it actively. Why did they hail it so enthusiastically? They felt very grateful to the state for having distributed the land free of charge during agrarian reform. However, they were somewhat apprehensive that the state might take some sort of action after the harvest and seize their crop as in the days of Japanese imperialist rule. It was at this moment that the agricultural tax in kind was introduced. Now the peasants were to pay only 25 per cent of their crop to the state, and all the rest would be theirs to keep. They were overjoyed.

The state also supplied them with chemical fertilizer and let them pay for it with grain in the autumn, thus providing them with favourable conditions for better farming on the distributed land.

All the policies mapped out by our Party helped consolidate the victory of agrarian reform, greatly increase the peasants' patriotic devotion and their zeal for production and deepen their support and trust in our Party and Government. These changes in our rural areas coming after the reform fully demonstrated the correctness and great vitality of the Party's policy on agrarian reform.

From that year we had bumper crops every year and the peasants' standard of living rose considerably in the next three or four years. On the Namuri Plain in Hwanghae Province, for example, a year's rice crop provided the peasants with a substantial surplus even after they had paid their agricultural tax and put aside enough food grain for themselves.

Deeply touched by the profound concern of the Party and the people's government that had given them the land free of charge and made their lives happy, the peasants initiated a patriotic movement to donate rice. A peasant, Kim Je Won, was the pioneer of this

movement. The widespread patriotic rice donation movement was not, of course, ordered from above or manipulated by anyone. It was a patriotic movement voluntarily launched by our peasants who had benefited from agrarian reform, out of their desire to repay the Party and the Government for their solicitude in the best way they could. With the rice our patriotic peasants wholeheartedly donated to the country we built the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School to educate the sons and daughters of the revolutionary martyrs and a people's university to train cadres for the nation.

The great vitality of agrarian reform was demonstrated to the full during the Fatherland Liberation War to defend the freedom and independence of the country. With patriotic devotion and self-sacrifice, our peasants fought heroically at the front and in the rear to defend the Party and the people's government which had given them land and made their lives free and happy and to protect the gains of the democratic reforms.

As you see, the victory of agrarian reform was of tremendous importance in developing our rural economy and in consolidating and improving our social system.

2. ON THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The socialist transformation of the old relations of production in town and country is an essential task in the socialist revolution.

The cooperativization of agriculture is most important in this transformation. Only when the individual peasant economy is transformed along socialist lines in the country areas, can we totally rid the peasants of all sources of exploitation and poverty and speedily increase agricultural production in a planned way.

Before the war we had already begun to organize our socialist

cooperative economy. At that time we formed fishermen's cooperatives for the fishing industry and consumers' cooperatives for commodity distribution. This was the beginning of socialist cooperativization in our country.

In agriculture, however, the socialist cooperative economy started to bud during the Fatherland Liberation War. We set up several agricultural cooperatives on an experimental basis in order to fix an orientation for rehabilitating the destroyed agricultural sector after the war. They proved to be far superior to the individual economy even under wartime conditions when we lacked everything. On the basis of this experience our Party put forward the task of agricultural cooperativization immediately after the armistice.

Until then people had thought that agriculture could only be cooperativized after industrialization. This was the general thinking on agricultural cooperativization. Hence, some people who were infected with dogmatism were doubtful about the Party's policy of agricultural cooperativization. They claimed that industry had to be developed before cooperativizing the individual peasant economy, and asked how we would cooperativize it without machines.

Others argued that since our country was divided into the north and the south and the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution had not triumphed on a nationwide scale, it would be premature to carry out the socialist revolution only in the northern half. They said that if we abolished private ownership and went over to collective ownership by cooperativizing agriculture, taking no account of the partition of our country, many peasants in the southern half, the rich peasants in particular, would oppose us.

Still others questioned how we could carry out cooperativization when the agricultural cooperative movement was not yet operating fully in other countries. Of course, there were not many people with these views.

Those who alleged that agricultural cooperativization would be impossible before industry was developed or that it would be premature in our country, did not understand the postwar situation in

our country and the objective law of the development of the revolution.

Agricultural cooperativization was an urgent need in our country after the war.

Correct timing is very important in any revolution. This also applies to the cooperative movement. If you start it too early or too late instead of seizing the right moment, you may face many difficulties. In our country the most appropriate time was the postwar period.

Following the war, our rural areas badly needed draught cattle and farm implements and almost all of the work force there comprised women and old people. This being the case, we would not have been able to restore the damaged productive forces in agriculture quickly or improve the living conditions of the impoverished peasants speedily if we had left the private peasant economy intact. Cooperativization of this economy was the only way for us to clear away the obstacles in the path of agricultural advance after the War.

Lenin pointed out that even a collective economy which merely pooled the peasants' land and farm implements could achieve an economic improvement that was impossible in the individual small peasant economy, and could double or treble the productivity of labour. We were guided by this theory in our agricultural cooperative movement.

In our postwar country areas most of the peasants were in such dire straits that they could not farm the land without pooling their efforts in one way or another. Consequently, they themselves urgently demanded agricultural cooperativization. Moreover, they had little interest in land ownership because they could scarcely manage to till all their land on their own.

After the war the rich peasants found themselves almost bankrupt. The war destroyed almost all their houses, farm implements, draught animals and much of the rest of their property. All that they had was the land and the idea of exploiting others. Both the middle and well-to-do middle peasants were in the same plight. In the postwar country areas there were only a few people who could manage to lead a decent life.

Our Party considered this period the most propitious for cooperativization, since the rich and middle peasants had been largely ruined and the peasants could scarcely manage to farm the land without pooling their efforts. It put forward the policy of agricultural cooperativization and started to carry it out without delay. If we had not actively stepped up the agricultural cooperative movement but had delayed cooperativization of the rich and middle peasants until they had recovered, we would have had a hard time drawing them into the cooperatives.

In agricultural cooperativization our Party first organized several agricultural cooperatives in each county with the poor peasants and rural activists, and strengthened them with a view to letting our cadres gain experience and showing the practical advantages of the cooperative economy to the peasants, particularly to the middle peasants. With assistance from the Party and the state, these agricultural cooperatives clearly proved the superiority of cooperative over individual farming, although they had no modern machinery. They also enabled us to introduce the achievements of advanced science and technology widely in agriculture.

At the November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, our Party analysed the success achieved in the experimental stage of the cooperative movement and proposed the task of launching a mass movement for agricultural cooperativization. Later, we fully explained the goals of the socialist revolution in the April Theses of 1955.

Our peasants actively supported the Party's policy of a mass cooperative movement as soon as it was announced and enthusiastically participated in it. At the beginning, we set up three types of agricultural cooperatives and let the peasants themselves choose the one which suited them; we took into consideration the differences in their political awareness and economic conditions. The majority, however, chose the third type from the start, the one which was the same as our present cooperative farms. Our country had not many cooperatives of the first and second types. As a result of our

peasants' active support for the Party's policy of agricultural cooperativization and their enthusiastic participation in the movement, the socialist transformation of our agriculture was completed within a short period of only four or five years after the war.

In leading the cooperative movement our Party strictly adhered to the voluntary principle. We demonstrated the advantages of cooperative farming to the peasants in practice so that the broad peasant masses, the middle peasants in particular, joined the cooperatives voluntarily.

In getting the peasants to join the cooperatives of their own free will, we had no big problems as far as the poor peasants were concerned but this was not so with the middle peasants. The latter hesitate to join cooperatives which pool the land and all other basic means of production because they use their own land and draught cattle for farming. Therefore, in order to get them to join the cooperatives willingly, the Party and state must adopt a correct policy. Our Party strictly guarded against the tendency to force them into the cooperative economy or infringe on their interests and thus weaken our alliance with them. It got the middle peasants to join the cooperatives voluntarily by proving to them the advantages of the cooperative economy through competition between the individual and cooperative economies.

In order to demonstrate the superiority of the cooperative economy in this way, the Party and state must give it powerful assistance.

Our Party took different measures to support the cooperatives formed by the poor peasants. During cooperativization the state extended long-term loans to the cooperative farmers and short-term loans to the private peasants. This measure was aimed at shoring up the agricultural cooperatives as quickly as possible by enabling the cooperative farmers to buy draught cattle, farm implements, and so on. Moreover, we supplied the cooperative farmers with more fertilizer at lower prices than the private peasants. As for the agricultural tax in

kind for the former, the state lowered it by five per cent as against that for the latter, and they were also given priority in the use of the irrigation facilities built with state funds.

In addition, the state set up farm-machine hire stations which supplied the cooperative farms with tractors for ploughing at a low charge so that they could do their farming easily. The state charge for the work done by tractors was much lower than the hire for draught cattle charged by the rich and well-to-do middle peasants. This was one of the very important measures taken to prevent the rich and well-to-do middle peasants from exploiting the poor peasants and to restrict the growth of the rich peasants. In the past the rich peasants and well-to-do middle peasants had exploited the poor peasants also by renting them farm tools and draught cattle at exorbitant rates. In order to stop this exploitation, our Party fixed the rate for hiring the machines lower than that for draught cattle though this did not pay for the state. If the state had been calculating and had charged a high rate for the work done by tractors, then, the rich and well-to-do middle peasants could have continued their exploitation throughout the rural areas.

Thanks to this state support and assistance, the economic foundations of the agricultural cooperatives were consolidated and the cooperative farmers' standard of living rose considerably in a short space of time. It was impossible for the private peasants to compete successfully with the cooperative farmers because they had to buy fertilizer at a high price and pay more tax in kind, and they were unable to obtain long-term loans from the state. As the advantages of the cooperative economy became evident, the middle peasants began to join the cooperatives voluntarily.

Our Party also got the rich peasants to join the cooperatives of their own accord. In a certain country they eliminated the rich peasants by expropriation in the period of socialist revolution. However, taking into account the characteristics of our rich peasants and the fact that they had been almost ruined during the war, our Party adopted the policy of restricting and gradually reforming them instead of

eliminating them. Our Party drew into the cooperative economy all the rich peasants who accepted its cooperativization policy and were willing to join the cooperatives, and transformed them into socialist working people. But it applied strict sanctions against those who obstructed the cooperative movement. Most of the rich peasants joined the cooperatives of their own accord in the last stage of the movement when there was no longer anyone for them to exploit. In this way the agricultural cooperative movement in our country was completed without much trouble in a short space of time.

It is very important to fix the size of the agricultural cooperatives correctly, from the point of view of both developing the cooperative economy and increasing agricultural production.

Of course, in the light of the essential requirements of the collective socialist economy, it is desirable to have relatively large agricultural cooperatives. Only then can you introduce mechanization and irrigation properly and re-align and level the fields on a large scale. However, you must not just enlarge cooperatives without any preconditions. If they are excessively large when there is a low level of agricultural mechanization and the peasants have a low ideological consciousness and the officials of the cooperatives possess poor managerial ability, you cannot run them well, nor bring out the full advantages of the cooperative economy.

For these reasons, when we first organized the agricultural cooperatives, our Party ensured that they were comparatively small, each embracing 40 to 100 households with the village as the unit. Later, with the consolidation of the material and technical foundations of the rural economy and the improvement of the qualifications of the management personnel, we amalgamated the agricultural cooperatives taking the ri as the unit, thus enlarging them to some extent. This enabled us to accelerate the technical revolution in the rural areas more vigorously by making effective use of the land, farm machines and other means of production and opened up great possibilities for developing diversification of the cooperative economy.

In order to consolidate and improve the agricultural cooperative

economy it is very important to keep improving management and operation.

If you failed to run the agricultural cooperatives properly after establishing them, you would not be able to demonstrate the excellence of the collective socialist economy to the full. In the early days when we enlarged the agricultural cooperatives somewhat by amalgamating them with the ri as the unit, various shortcomings were revealed in the management and operation of some cooperatives. In February 1960, we gave on-the-spot guidance at Chongsan-ri, Kangso County. The agricultural cooperative there was also not operating satisfactorily. Instead of concentrating its efforts on farming, it set up oil-pressing, fish-breeding and stockbreeding workteams and drew off a substantial amount of manpower to put into these secondary activities. Moreover, it did not organize and sum up its work properly, nor did it correctly apply the socialist principle of distribution. Because of this some of the farmers were doing their work in a careless way and a few others were idling on the job. These shortcomings cropped up in the management of the agricultural cooperative economy because our officials' leadership level was not rising at the same rapid rate as the situation was developing.

So, after the guidance at Chongsan-ri, our Party carried out a dynamic campaign to raise our cadres' qualifications and improve their method of work. Through the efforts to publicize the experience gained when we gave guidance at Chongsan-ri and to carry through the Chongsanri method, the level of our cadres was considerably raised and an epoch-making change took place in the management and operation of the cooperative farms.

While raising the qualifications of our leadership personnel in order to improve management work in the agricultural cooperatives, our Party introduced the sub-workteam management system. Experience shows that this is an effective method for getting the cooperative farmers to participate in collective work with a full sense of responsibility and for improving the management and operation of the cooperative economy.

The technical revolution should be carried out in the rural areas in order to strengthen the socialist agricultural cooperative economy and make ours a prosperous and modern socialist countryside equipped with up-to-date technology.

Our Party got down to the rural technical revolution while driving ahead with the agricultural cooperative movement. The important thing in carrying out the technical revolution in the rural areas is to determine its content and order of priorities precisely. Our Party defined irrigation, mechanization, electrification and the wider use of chemicals as the basic tasks of this revolution and gave top priority to irrigation.

Rice growing is our chief farming activity and our country suffers severe floods and droughts almost every year. That is why our Party gave priority to irrigation, in order to prevent flood and drought damage and ensure large, dependable harvests.

Once our agriculture was cooperativized, our Party organized a mass campaign for irrigation. The September 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee adopted a resolution to launch a nationwide, all-people movement for irrigating one million hectares of fields and roused all the people to implement it. Upholding the resolution of the plenary meeting our workers, farmers, students, office workers, soldiers and, indeed, everyone, turned out to work on irrigation projects in the rural areas. As a result, several thousand reservoirs and a great many pumping stations were built.

As well as this dynamic irrigation campaign, our Party also actively pushed ahead with the mechanization and electrification of agriculture and the greater use of agricultural chemicals.

In order to consolidate and develop the agricultural cooperative economy, it is important to get the cooperative farmers to participate conscientiously in collective labour.

To this end, our Party ensured that they were given small plots of land for private kitchen gardens. In order to eliminate any selfishness remaining in their characters, it is most important to strengthen their ideological education. This is true. But ideological education alone is

not enough to do away with selfishness. To eliminate selfishness we must not create material conditions which might foster it, while strengthening the ideological education. If cooperative farmers are given large kitchen gardens, they may be interested only in them instead of taking an active part in cooperative farm work and their selfishness will grow. Therefore, we intentionally allocated small private kitchen gardens to our farmers so that they might rid themselves of egoism and the small-proprietor mentality, develop the collectivist spirit and wholeheartedly participate in collective labour on cooperative farms.

To stimulate the cooperative farmers' enthusiasm for production and ensure their wholehearted participation in collective labour, it is also necessary to carry out correctly the price and procurement policy for agricultural produce.

Our Party's price and procurement policy has never infringed upon the farmers' interests. It has always aimed at raising the workers' and farmers' living standards equally.

The state allows cooperative farmers to keep enough of their grain crop for their own provisions and purchases the remainder at a high price. We pay 60 *jon* per kilogramme of rice to the cooperative farmers and supply it to factory and office workers for eight *jon*.

Why then does the state buy rice from the cooperative farmers at such a high price? It is to improve their living standards and, at the same time, to encourage them to be more determined in running the collective economy with the consciousness that they will be well-off only when they develop this economy. If the state procurement price is too low for the grain the farmers have grown collectively, their cash income will be small. If they get a small income from the collective economy, they will be inclined to get more from the private sideline economy.

Our farmers now have little interest in private sidelines because it is more profitable for them to work on the cooperative farm than in sidelines. They are more concerned with the collective economy than their sidelines, and they try to get in as many man-days as possible on

the cooperative farm. This, I may say, is due to our Party's correct ideological education among the farmers and to its correct price and procurement policy with regard to farm produce.

3. ON THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF PRIVATE TRADE AND INDUSTRY

If socialist relations of production are to prevail in town and country, it is necessary to transform private trade and industry along socialist lines, while cooperativizing agriculture.

It is not easy to do this. In our country, however, thanks to the Party's correct policy it was accomplished as quickly and smoothly as in the case of agricultural cooperativization.

Private trade and industry were successfully transformed along socialist lines primarily because our Party seized the right moment when conditions were favourable and made the best use of them.

In the postwar period, the socialist transformation of private trade and industry presented itself as the most urgent requirement. Small and weak from the outset, our private merchants and manufacturers had their factories and enterprises destroyed during the war by the indiscriminate bombing of the US imperialists. Therefore, private trade and industry were on the brink of total bankruptcy and many entrepreneurs and merchants were reduced to the level of handicraftsmen and petty traders.

Moreover, as the process of agricultural cooperativization was accelerated and the role of state-run industry and socialist trade enhanced, the business activities of the private merchants and manufacturers were greatly restricted. Before agricultural cooperativization they could buy rice, fruit, meat and so on from the peasants in the country areas and process them to sell. However, after the cooperativization of the individual peasant economy and the

establishment of the centralized state system for the procurement of agricultural produce, they could not get raw and other materials as they wished. With state-run industry and socialist trade growing rapidly, they even lost their markets. In a word, since the socialist economic sector reigned supreme in agriculture and all other fields of the national economy, they found themselves unable to run their businesses and improve their living conditions unless they relied on the state.

Our Party quickly understood their situation and advanced the policy of cooperativizing them. When our Party proposed the policy of transforming private merchants and manufacturers on socialist lines some people opposed it and put forward the absurd argument that it would be more beneficial to make use of them. But we could not accept this.

If our Party had missed this chance when conditions were favourable for the socialist transformation of private trade and industry, and had not carried it out until they accumulated some assets, we would have taken a long time and have faced a number of problems. Furthermore, our revolution and construction would have been greatly impeded if we had left them to carry on their enterprises and trade as they wished instead of transforming them on socialist lines. At the time, some of them were doing considerable harm by stealing state-owned materials and equipment because they had no source of raw and other materials. In addition there were undesirable practices in which private tradesmen secretly bought agricultural produce in the country areas and some cooperative farmers sold it to them at high prices instead of to the state. Therefore, without transforming private trade and industry along socialist lines it was impossible to consolidate and advance the newly organized cooperatives in the rural areas or successfully accelerate the building of socialism. In this situation our Party could not just leave them alone, and there was no need to restore and utilize their ruined economy.

Strictly observing the voluntary principle, our Party ensured that

they joined in various forms of cooperatives in order to transform them along socialist lines.

An important question in their socialist transformation is how to draw those who lack the will to work into productive labour and transform them into members of the working class. Taking into account the characteristic features of the entrepreneurs and merchants, we got the entrepreneurs and handicraftsmen together in producers' cooperatives and the merchants in marketing cooperatives. Then we gradually turned the latter into producing-marketing cooperatives in which the members themselves produced goods for sale, and we later reorganized them into producers' cooperatives engaged solely in production. From the outset we also organized some private tradesmen into producing-marketing cooperatives so that they themselves could produce goods for sale. Step by step we increased the proportion of production in the producing-marketing cooperatives until they were finally transformed into producers' cooperatives engaged solely in production.

Increasing the leading role of state-run industry and socialist trade was decisive to transforming the producing-marketing cooperatives engaged both in production and selling into producers' cooperatives engaged only in production. Our Party ensured that the state produced large quantities of goods for the people's everyday life on the one hand, and on the other, greatly expanded the state trading network. Now that state-run shops were set up everywhere and plenty of goods were supplied, the producing-marketing cooperatives could only sell their products through the state wholesale agencies. Thus, as a natural process, their selling function gradually dwindled and they became producers' cooperatives engaged only in production.

In the period of the socialist transformation of the relations of production, private trade and industry became impotent since the cooperative movement was being pushed ahead in our rural areas and the role of large-scale state-owned industry and socialist trade strengthened. Consequently their socialist transformation proceeded with comparative smoothness.

* * *

We have done a lot of work, indeed, in a short space of time, in less than 25 years since liberation. Our Party has led the people in transforming our country, a once colonial, semi-feudal society, into a strong, advanced socialist state with a sound independent national economy and a splendid national culture. In the course of the struggle to bring about these great socio-economic changes, our Party has accumulated a wealth of valuable experience in different fields.

However, some evil persons who were once engaged in Party ideological work did not publicize the great exploits and successes achieved by our people widely, nor did they pass on to our cadres and Party members the rich and valuable experience of our Party in the struggle. It is true that since the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, we have actively conducted the work of propagating our Party's experiences and exploits in its struggle and of arming our Party members and other working people with the Party's lines and policies. But we cannot yet say that Party information work is satisfactory.

At present, our cadres do not have a systematic and profound knowledge of the Party's lines and policies because the Party's information work and ideological education have not been done properly. The young cadres, in particular, who never experienced the democratic and the socialist revolution, are not clear on the policies our Party adopted during agrarian reform and how the class struggle was conducted then, what difficulties we faced in organizing and developing the agricultural cooperatives, how we transformed the private traders and manufacturers along socialist lines, how more than 120 institutes of higher learning came into being in the northern half of Korea where there was none before, how a huge army of our own

cadres was trained, and so forth. This lack of clear understanding greatly hampers our officials in implementing the Party's lines and policies.

Since the cadres in the field of Party information work did not do a good job, we do not have a book which systematizes the rich experience our Party has accumulated in its revolutionary struggle and work of construction.

We must correct these shortcomings in the Party's ideological work as soon as possible and make a good job of educating our cadres and Party members in our revolutionary experience. Only then can we establish the Party's monolithic ideological system more firmly among them and lead them in carrying the Party's lines and policies through to the end.

In order to inculcate our revolutionary experience in our cadres and Party members, we should first publish good books which synthesize and systematize the lines and policies set forth by our Party in each stage of the revolution and construction as well as the achievements scored and experience gained in the struggle for their implementation.

These books should be compiled according to the different experiences accumulated by our Party in various fields during the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and in the course of building socialism. They should deal with our experience in all spheres of revolution and construction: the enforcement of agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries and the labour law, the agricultural cooperative movement and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry, the implementation of the line of giving priority to the development of heavy industry while at the same time developing light industry and agriculture, the simultaneous development of central and local industries, the building of socialist culture, the solution of the question of religion, the arming of all the people, the fortification of the entire country, and soon. They should also fully amplify our Party's Juche idea.

In systematizing the experience our Party gained in struggle, we should not just refer to general principles, but should describe in detail

the Party's lines and the measures taken to implement them. Suppose we are going to write about our experience in agrarian reform. We must explain with specific data the policies our Party adopted, the way they were executed and what measures we took after it was carried out. If we publish books on these subjects, they will be very helpful to our cadres in their study and work, and also useful for educating our Party members and other working people.

I hope you will establish the habit of study and acquire a wide knowledge of the experience our Party has accumulated in struggle so that you will achieve greater successes in your efforts to arm yourselves firmly with the Party's monolithic ideology and to carry through its lines and policies.

SOME PROBLEMS IN IMPROVING STATISTICAL WORK UNDER SOCIALISM

**Speech at a Meeting of the Political Committee of the Central
Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

October 21, 1969

Statistics play a very important role in the construction of socialism. Only when you have accurate statistics can you draw up a correct plan and do all your work on a scientific basis. Socialism presupposes statistics. Socialism can only be built successfully on the basis of strict calculation and accurate statistics.

Statistics give us a comprehensive quantitative review of the results of work. The officials in charge of guiding economic affairs must, therefore, review their work by compiling and analysing statistics at all times.

Ministers, the chiefs of management bureaus and other officials in charge of economic affairs must collect and analyse the monthly figures of production and work with statistical tables on their desks. The managers of factories and other enterprises must control the business activities of their enterprises daily and monthly by means of statistics, the figures on the amount of the material supplies they have received and used in terms of items, the amount of goods produced and sold, the production costs and the level of labour productivity.

The socialist economy is a planned economy, and the figures which reflect the socialist economy are closely related to one another. So, if you make a careful study and proper use of the statistical data, you can

discover the shortcomings in the business activities of the enterprises, see their effect on the national economy as a whole, and work out correct measures to improve the work of enterprises.

At the moment, some of the senior officials in charge of economic work do not have a clear understanding of the importance of statistics in socialist construction nor do they try to make proper use of them. This being the case, they do their jobs by rule of thumb, without even making a statistical review of a production index. They just rush around ineffectually, not knowing where to find the shortcomings in their work.

We must radically improve statistical work.

The most important aspect of this work is to ensure that statistics are scientific and objective. Accurate statistical information is a guarantee for the scientific planning of the national economy and for the correct formulation of the Party's policy.

If statistics are to be scientific and objective, there must not be a habit of making false statistical reports.

At present, some institutions and enterprises are making such false reports. Quite a few false statistics are reported by the agricultural sector and the fishing industry, and the building and extractive industries also make false statistical reports sometimes.

In recent years, the fishing industry has reported an annual fish production of 500,000 to 600,000 tons, but the working people have not actually received supplies of that much fish. Even if we make some allowance for the amount of fish which have rotted after being caught, the small amount which has been supplied to the people cannot be explained except by the fact that the statistics on fish production have been exaggerated.

The agricultural sector makes many false reports on the production of cereals, vegetables and fruit. The output of fruit, for instance, is sometimes inflated and sometimes understated for fear of being held responsible for rotten fruit. In particular, the report on the production of cereals is frequently exaggerated. At present, there are discrepancies between the statistics on grain output reported by the Secretariat of the

Cabinet, by the State Planning Commission and by the provincial rural economy committees.

The practice of compiling rough estimates must also stop.

On my visit to Okto-ri, Ryonggang County, South Phyongan Province, last year, I talked to the local managerial workers, asking about the production of meat there. They calculated it roughly and gave me a noncommittal answer. They calculated in such a way that since they had raised a certain number of pigs the output of meat would be roughly so and so, and that since a certain amount was sold to the state from what had been produced, the remainder must have been supplied to the people. From their answer I could not discover how much meat had been produced and how much meat the farmers had actually eaten. Statistics must not be compiled in this manner.

False statistical reports or reports of roughly estimated and inaccurate figures may give rise to chaos in the development of the national economy and in the nation's economic life. Statistics must, therefore, be objective. In other words, figures must neither be inflated nor understated in compiling statistics; these must accurately reflect the truth as it is.

In order to ensure that statistics are scientific, it is necessary to collect accurate figures and also to do away with the practice of altering statistical information in an arbitrary manner. It must not be changed in one way or another by different people as they please. An amendment to statistical information must be made on an objective basis in all cases.

False statistical reports are made or statistical information is changed arbitrarily because our officials still retain survivals of bureaucratism, fame-seeking, departmentalism and parochialism. An exaggerated report on the estimated output of cereals, for instance, is mainly due to bureaucratism and fame-seeking on the part of local officials. Statistics are an objective assessment of the results of the work of officials. Therefore, if officials retain outdated ideas, they are apt to exaggerate their success in pursuit of their own individual fame and the petty interests of their institutions, enterprises and provinces.

This is likely to happen in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Statistical work must be unified so as to ensure that figures are scientific and objective.

Unifying statistical work means that the statistical establishments are brought into a unified system and that individual statistical activity is carried out under the unified leadership of the state statistics establishments.

It is important in unifying statistical work to establish a good system of state statistics establishments and increase their role.

At present, there are statistics departments in the provincial, city and county people's committees, but the senior officials of local people's committees pay little attention to this work and they do not use statistical information properly. In particular, they do not attempt to look at the statistical data on the centrally-run enterprises in their districts. So the statistical departments should be separated from the local people's committees and made state statistics establishments based in local districts. These establishments should come directly under the Central Statistics Bureau, and no local people should be allowed to interfere in their work.

Statistics departments must also be set up in large factories and other enterprises and in the ministries and other central authorities. The third and lower grade enterprises must engage full-time statisticians.

In this way, statistical cells must be strengthened at all units and their role increased so as to establish a well-regulated unified statistical system.

In order to unify statistics thoroughly, we must put statistical work under the unified leadership of the state statistics agencies on the basis of the establishment of the unified statistical system. The statistical work of the economic sector must not be left to the discretion of the producers. If statistics on the local economy are compiled by the local economic establishments, and if those of the enterprises under central authorities are collected by the ministries concerned, the objectivity of statistics will not be ensured, nor will

accurate statistics be collected on a national scale.

Under the unified statistics system, all the figures must be concentrated in the state statistics establishments, and the Central Statistics Bureau must assume direct responsibility for statistical work. The state statistics establishments must keep detailed figures so as to provide all the statistical information required by the state easily and on time, and, at the same time, must always supervise all institutions and enterprises so as to ensure that they strictly observe the regulations and discipline relating to this work.

In particular, the ministries and management bureaus must not be allowed to arbitrarily demand statistics from their subordinate institutions and enterprises. Of course, they can ask them for necessary statistical information, but even in that case they must not violate state discipline with regard to statistics.

In addition to unifying statistical work, we must accomplish the compilation of detailed statistics.

As a matter of course, statistics must be detailed. Comprehensive and detailed statistics can give you a correct understanding of the actual situation and enable you to introduce detailed planning satisfactorily.

Statistics of national importance do not have to include great details, but those for the work of ministries, management bureaus, factories and other enterprises must be broken down in detail. If the management bureau of the textile industry, for instance, has 10 enterprises under its jurisdiction, it must keep detailed broken-down figures which can show the existing situations at these enterprises in comprehensive terms.

The next important thing in this work is to ensure that statistics are readily available.

Overdue statistics, no matter how good, are of no value. Statistics must be collected and analysed quickly. This will enable you to know what is going wrong in production and construction and where you must concentrate your efforts, and to take prompt steps to improve your work.

If they are to guide production properly, the Cabinet, ministries, and management bureaus must know production statistics. But if the monthly statistics are compiled late, they will not be used effectively. Just as you feel refreshed by drinking water when you are thirsty, so statistical information can be used effectively only when it is available when it is required.

If you are to ensure prompt compilation of statistics, you must introduce mechanical computation.

Mechanical computation is also necessary to guarantee accuracy in calculation. At present, abacuses are used for calculation, and this is not accurate and contains many mistakes, although it costs us a great deal of work. You can reduce the number of staff and ensure prompt and accurate calculation by introducing mechanized computation.

Now that the technical revolution is proceeding in the agricultural and all other sectors of the national economy, we must naturally introduce technical innovations in office work, too, so as to ease the work of hundreds of thousands of office workers.

The mechanization of mathematical work must begin with state statistics establishments. If it is impossible to introduce it in the statistics establishments in all cities and counties at once, we must begin with the central counties and complete the project gradually.

Factories and other enterprises must also strive to mechanize this work. The Central Statistics Bureau has mechanized computation in the Pyongyang Textile Mill to set an example, and the results are excellent. From now on, all the factories and enterprises must introduce computerization.

A large number of calculators will be required to mechanize all computing throughout the country. More than 10,000 of them are now required by the state statistics establishments alone. If we are to mechanize the computing work of the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance and other state and economic bodies, many more calculators will be necessary. So we must take steps to mass-produce them. In addition, we have to import some, even if it means that we must use foreign currency.

The Cabinet must organize work well to expedite computerization. It must take steps to produce calculators and, at the same time, to set up a computer repair centre and to train the necessary technical personnel.

The chief of the Central Statistics Bureau has suggested that a survey of the cost of living be made and I should like to speak briefly about this matter.

In a capitalist society such a survey serves the exploiter classes, but in a socialist society its purpose is to contribute to the improvement of the people's standard of living. If it is done properly, the result will be a foundation on which to base correct measures to raise the people's standard of living, measures to increase wages and salaries, reduce prices, and so on. Statistical information on living costs is also necessary for a rational organization of the production of consumer goods and non-staple foodstuffs and for the better supply of goods to the people by the commercial sector.

Last year we visited a grocery in Pyongyang and enquired about the sale of non-staple foodstuffs. The assistants in the shop said that if 3,000 eggs were put on sale a day, they were all sold, but that when 5,000 were offered for sale, they were not all sold. This meant that the purchasing power of the local inhabitants was low. If they are to buy enough eggs, the egg price should be a little lower. If the price is reduced to 10 *jon* an egg, a family will have to spend nine *won* on eggs a month at the rate of three eggs a day.

At present, the vegetable price is 10 *jon* a kilogramme, and this should also be reduced a little. Even if the price is reduced to five *chon* a kilogramme, a family will have to spend 3.75 *won* a month at the rate of 2.5 kilogrammes per day. If 250 grammes of meat is supplied to a family a day at the price of 2.5 *won* a kilogramme, the family will need 18 *won* a month to buy it. In addition, the family will have oil, bean paste and soy, fruit and confectionery. So a family will have to spend 50 *won* on non-staple foodstuffs on a monthly average. In order to increase the purchasing power to such an extent as to provide the working people with decent living conditions, it is necessary to reduce the prices of consumer goods and raise their wages and salaries.

If we are to judge correctly by how much we have to raise payment and by how much we must reduce the prices of consumer goods, we must investigate living costs correctly every year and determine the purchasing power of the people.

This investigation should be made on a district basis and cover a cross section of the inhabitants. The statistical data obtained from the investigation must show the prevailing situation, both national and regional.

The Party must tighten its control over statistical work.

The establishment of a unified system of statistics does not always ensure the objectivity of statistics or success in statistical work. In order to improve this work, Party organizations must always pay close attention to the work of the statistics establishments.

Party organizations must not, of course, interfere in their work unnecessarily. In particular, they must not, on any account, order the statistics establishments to alter their figures or do anything of that kind. But this does not mean that the work of statistics establishments should be left unsupervised by Party organizations.

Party organizations must build up the ranks of these establishments with sound people and intensify their education.

Statistical information is an important state secret, and the workers in these establishments are always dealing with confidential state information. For this reason, these establishments must be staffed by people with strong Party spirit and a high sense of responsibility. In particular, the Central Statistics Bureau must have a sound staff and must keep them at this work since it consolidates statistical data from all parts of the country. The local Party organizations should also keep statistical workers at their jobs and refrain from involving them in other work.

Statisticians must have specialized knowledge as well as a strong Party spirit. It would be a good idea to set up a college of statistics in the eastern part of the country and another in the western, and train statistical workers there. This measure is necessary because we cannot fill all the posts immediately with university graduates.

We must accord statisticians better social treatment. At present, statistical work is thought little of, and statisticians are regarded as inferior. This is not right. As a matter of principle, there is no inferior job in a socialist society. We must treat statistical work as important and respect statisticians. They should be accorded the same social treatment as planning workers.

The Party organizations must also concern themselves with providing good material conditions for statistical work.

Statistics establishments are important state institutions which are strictly confidential. So we must not house them in ordinary buildings, but we must construct good office buildings for them in good areas. This is necessary to keep statistical work secret and guarantee its security.

Modern buildings for the Central Mechanical Computation Office must be constructed under the state plan, and the local districts must also have well-furnished mechanical computation offices. The local statistics establishments should be supplied with motor vehicles which will transport statistical forms and ensure the provision of the material needs of the statisticians.

ON SOME IMMEDIATE TASKS FOR PARTY WORK AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

**Speech to the Chief Secretaries of Provincial,
City and County Party Committees**

October 25, 1969

Taking advantage of your stay in the capital, I should like to speak to you, the chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees, about some of the problems facing us.

1. ON PARTY WORK

The mistake now in Party work is that Party officials do not go deep among the working class.

As I always say, our Party is the vanguard of the working class; it is the Party of the working class. The basic class position it relies on is that of the working class. This class is the most revolutionary and progressive class which reforms and develops society and fights for the prosperity of mankind. Many Party officials, however, confine themselves to the country areas, neglecting to visit factories.

Chief secretaries of provincial, municipal and county Party committees are particularly reluctant to mix with industrial workers. In fact, few provincial Party committee chief secretaries have visited coal

mines to deliver lectures at miners' meetings. Even when they go to factories and enterprises, they do no more than find out production figures as ministers or vice-ministers do when they go there; they never attend meetings of factory Party committees or of Party cells to hear the opinions of the workers.

This is true of chief secretaries of central county Party committees. These committees were organized in the counties which have a number of factories and enterprises, with a view to increasing Party guidance to these establishments. In spite of this, their chief secretaries do not go among the workers, but limit themselves to talks with factory managers and Party committee secretaries.

When I visit a local area, I want to talk to workers and attend meetings for an even longer time than I do, but I cannot do so given the pressure of time. You are engaged exclusively in Party work, freed from such things as diplomatic activities. Why, then, do you neither visit factories nor mix widely with the workers?

When we were waging the armed struggle against the Japanese there were very few workers in east Manchuria, except for a few lumberjacks and miners. All the same, we visited them and operated among them because they were workers. However, even though there are a great number of workers in the factories and mines under your jurisdiction, you do not now rely on them, being afraid of mixing with them.

Some of our cadres at present, because they are not of working-class origin but were peasants or students, avoid mixing with workers. Furthermore, it is probably also because they know little about technology, having neglected their studies, with the result that, when they come into contact with workers, they can hardly understand what they are talking about, and so cannot give them any advice.

If cadres are afraid because of their ignorance they can never conduct revolution. When they are not familiar with anything, they should go to the workers to learn about it. When there is something I do not know, I ask the technicians to explain it. If you are not conversant with the processes of steel production you should go to the workers in a

steel plant and ask them about them. This modest attitude will help broaden your knowledge and assist your revolutionization.

Because chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees and officials of the Party's economic departments neglect to visit factories and enterprises, they are not familiar with workers and factory cadres nor can they systematically train cadres. The saying goes: one must go up to the heaven to pluck a star. In the same way, you must go among the workers to learn what they have in their minds, who works well and who is loyal to the Party. It is impossible for you to get to know workers properly merely on the basis of their personal histories and statistics about the composition of the work force. Only when you know the workers well, can you select competent ones as workshop managers, from amongst whom, in turn, you will be able to choose a good factory manager. The selection of good people as Party cell secretaries makes it possible to train secretaries of sub-primary Party or factory Party committees in a systematic way. Good cadres do not appear of their own accord.

It is because chief secretaries of provincial, municipal and county Party committees and officials of the Party's economic departments do not visit factories that their cadres are not under control. At present nobody trains and supervises managers and Party secretaries of factories and enterprises.

Senior ministry officials also neglect to visit factories and, even when they do, they give no training to the managers and other management but look at output figures and see whether plans are being implemented before returning home. When managers visit ministries, all that they do is to report output figures and consult on matters relating to production and technology; they are given no training whatsoever. They receive no training from the provincial Party committees that is worth mentioning. Although they sometimes attend executive committee meetings or plenary meetings of provincial Party committees, they merely listen to the matters discussed and then return home. As the provincial and county Party committees, which should supervise the managers and Party secretaries of factories and

enterprises, also neglect their duty, no training is provided for these people. As a result, some of them are slack and degenerate.

Recently work was not carried out efficiently at the Unnyul Mine. As a result, we investigated the matter and found that the Party secretary and manager of this mine were corrupt. This is because they were not under any supervision.

Had the chief secretary of the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee or of the Unnyul County Party Committee visited the mine to meet the manager and Party secretary and to attend Party committee meetings and Party cell meetings, they would soon have learned of the shortcomings of the manager and Party secretary and promptly set them right, and cadres would not have been discharged, and production hindered.

As I always say, anyone, whoever he is, can be corrupted if he is not under supervision and not undergoing constant training. Even a man who was engaged in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle may degenerate if he is not under Party supervision, and receives no training.

Chief secretaries of provincial, municipal and county Party committees should not make an issue of such matters only after they have gone wrong. They should make frequent visits to factories to attend Party committee meetings, as well as meetings of the Party cells to which the managers belong, so as to learn what criticisms are made of the managers and to give them advice and criticism promptly, so that they do not commit errors.

Local Party organizations must not work like spies or compile lists of people's shortcomings on the pretext of increasing their supervision of the managers and Party secretaries of factories and enterprises. This has nothing in common with our Party's work method.

It is because you have neglected to make contact with the workers that you are unable to make a proper political assessment of the reasons for inefficiency at factories and enterprises. You do not view matters from the Party's standpoint, attributing the failings in production to a lack of materials and to other insignificant factors. As a result of the

Ministry of Labour's irrational allocation of manpower, coal mines are severely understaffed and so cannot produce more coal which, otherwise, they can, whereas the Machine-Building Industry sector has surplus manpower, making for inefficiency. Local Party organizations should, as a matter of course, come to know this state of affairs and report it to the Party Central Committee. Nevertheless, chief secretaries of provincial and county Party committees were unaware of these facts because they had no contact with the workers and, consequently, they failed to inform the Party Central Committee without delay.

If you do not mix with the workers, you cannot give them effective ideological education nor can you ensure success in their revolutionization. At the moment many are paying only lip service to the revolutionization of the workers and are taking no measures whatsoever to expedite this. The Party has already laid down specific ways and means for this purpose: equip them thoroughly with our Party's Juche idea by stimulating their study, by improving their training in Party policy and revolutionary traditions, and inspire their revolutionary organizational life and ideological struggle. These are the only means by which we may revolutionize the workers. Yet you neglect to organize these operations at factories and enterprises effectively.

You and other Party workers should attend to the operations of the factories and mix widely with the workers.

This does not mean that you should visit factories more often for no reason at all but rather that you should attend meetings according to schedule and listen to the workers' opinions. Your schedule for a week should include attendance at a Party cell meeting at this factory one day and at workers' study meeting at that factory another day. You should then follow it through as laid down.

Since factory meetings are shown in the work plans of their Party committees, you should attend the scheduled meetings of a Party cell, a primary Party organization, a factory Party committee as well as a trade union and an organization of the League of Socialist Working

Youth and other meetings and hear what workers have to say. It would be a good thing to attend meetings for a few hours in the evening and hear the views of the workers.

When I used to attend the meetings of the Party organizations of the Ministry of Metal Industry once a month, other cadres would try to visit factories so as to take part in Party cell meetings. But, today, no one attempts to do so. At present you are floating in the air, like an oil slick drifting on the sea. Only in the course of attending meetings at factories to hear what workers debate, will you be able to know the workers, learn how officials work, what difficulties there are in production and whether senior officials are giving adequate guidance.

Today I call upon you once again to attend to the operations of factories and enterprises. Chief secretaries of Party committees should visit factories at least once a week and take part in meetings. The ideal would be to visit factories twice a week to attend meetings, and to deliver a lecture every month.

Next, you ought to take an interest in the universities.

A university is an important place where students lead a collective life for four or five years, during which they establish an outlook on the world. Four to five years is by no means a short period. If we assume direction of universities, lead students to participate well in collective activities for four or five years and equip them with our Party's ideology, they will be able to revolutionize themselves in this period before they go out into the world.

When the students are revolutionized, they will become an important revolutionary force, but failure to train them will allow them to take the wrong road.

The general secretary of the Communist Party of one country, who recently paid us a visit, said that at present students are feared in some of the European countries. I was told that it is because they are the people most likely to accept revisionism and to oppose the socialist system. He then went on to say that in universities of a certain country, lecturers of bourgeois origin teach the students bourgeois ideology, instead of working-class ideology, and encourage the students to make

counter-revolution for the overthrow of the socialist system and the restoration of the bourgeois regime.

We cannot be certain that hostile elements will not play this kind of mischief at our universities. In the past lecturers of bourgeois origin at our universities put forward a “theory of genius” and propagated revisionism in the course of their lectures on philosophy and political economy. As a result, revisionist ideas were spread amongst our cadres and Party members and then we made great efforts for some time to root them out. We should learn an important lesson from this.

I have emphasized more than once before that you ought to take an interest in the universities. However, you still do not do so. Chief secretaries of provincial Party committees do not visit universities to take an active part in meetings of Party committees or of lecturers.

Some of them leave university work to a few instructors of the education department and make no attempt to determine whether they give the university efficient direction. Chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees have not only neglected the supervision of universities but have also shown no interest in the affairs of higher technical, specialized and middle schools. Your only concern, if any, with educational work, is to provide schools with roofing which is necessary to prevent leaks and to carry out repairs when their principals ask for this to be done. Apart from this, you simply sit on the platform, when meetings are held at schools. There is no point in your sitting on the platform at a meeting if you then return without having had any contact with teachers and students.

Our Party trusted you to carry out Party work in the provinces, cities and counties, but you are not interested in the schools where the students live collectively for four or five years. This is wrong.

It is because of this indifference of Party committee chief secretaries to educational matters that they do not know the composition of teachers and students, and their ideological state, the performance of ideological education and the work of LSWY organizations at schools, and whether teachers instruct students properly as required by the Party.

Party workers must visit universities and keep lecturers and students constantly under the Party's direction. Visits to schools are the only way that they will understand the teachers and students and so train them.

You seem wary of going to universities because there are doctors and other learned people there. But this is the wrong attitude. Doctors do not know many things which you do. You may not be able to examine lectures on natural science subjects, but you are quite capable of doing so for those in the social sciences.

You should make contact with lecturers and students at universities, attend Party meetings, find out if the lecturers are working well with the students and promptly set them right when they are at fault. You should explain and disseminate our Party's policies among them and deliver lectures.

Now let us turn to another subject. You should establish model factories and undertake the training of cadres there efficiently.

At the moment we are training cadres at the Party schools, the University of National Economy and other regular cadre-training institutions. It is, of course, important to train cadres at these institutions. However, it is no less important that we set up a few model factories in the Machine-Building Industry and in the other industrial sectors, including the coal and ore mines, where cadres ought to be trained. An important factor in this regard is to appoint reliable people as factory managers, Party secretaries, workshop managers and other officials and build up their ranks of workers with sound people, to manage the factories efficiently in accordance with the requirements of the Taaan work system, to supply them with materials on a preferential basis so as to place production on a firm footing, and to let them implement the Party's economic policy to the letter. Another important matter is to ensure that all Party work, including the holding of Party cell meetings and the running of factory Party committees, is conducted in an exemplary way.

If we develop model factories where everything, including economic management and Party work, is put on a regular basis as the

Party demands, and give them effective guidance, those who are taught and trained there, in the course of their practical experience, will all be eligible for cadres. We should continue to train cadres by choosing a workshop manager at a model factory as the manager of another factory and promoting a workteam leader as a workshop manager, and then send them to other factories.

The establishment of model factories is important in two respects. One is that it will enable us to train cadres for factories and the other is that it will cause other factories to learn the experience of the model factories and induce them to work in the same way.

It will be to our advantage to train factory cadres in the course of their practical activities. It serves no purpose if we only pay lip service to the application of the Taean work system at factories and enterprises. The University of National Economy has prepared textbooks and wall charts in an attempt to introduce this system, but these are not sufficient for the students to understand what needs to be done for its implementation at factories and enterprises.

The provision of practical experience for officials is important both for training factory cadres and for ensuring that the Taean work system is thoroughly implemented at factories and enterprises.

Let me tell you about an experience gained in the course of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

When our unit advanced from north Manchuria into the Changbai area after the Nanhutou Meeting, it increased enormously. As we had so many recruits the unit was undisciplined and disorderly.

In order to train the recruits we made the guard company a model unit. We instructed the men of this company to be neatly-dressed, to take good care of their weapons, to build latrines and pitch tents neatly when camping anywhere over night, and to march in good order. After about a month spent in this way, the recruits followed their example to pitch their tents, build latrines and washing places, so keeping to a discipline while in camp, and they fought well in battle.

At that time we not only built up the guard company as a model and let each of the other units spend some six months with it to turn them

into units with a greater combat capability, but we also sent ordinary soldiers and platoon leaders who had trained with this company to other regiments to serve as their platoon leaders or company commanders, all of which contributed to raising the combat capability of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army as a whole.

Let me cite another example.

In 1956 I went to Changsong County where I found the people there to be badly off. We made various attempts to improve their standard of living. We ensured that the mountains were used to develop stock farming, that wild fruit was harvested and that raw material resources in that area were utilized to improve local industry and also that they planted red pepper, which grows well there, on a large scale. As a result, the subsistence of the people in Changsong began to acquire sound foundations. At present their standard of living is as high as that of the people in plain areas. Some officials believe that their prosperity is as a result of the Party having given great material assistance to this county. However, the Party has not given it any special assistance. The only assistance that it has rendered, if it can be described as such, is that it transferred an official from the Central Committee to the post of chief secretary of that county Party committee and that it gave a cooperative farm in this county a small number of sheep, so as to help it develop in an exemplary way.

Changsong County has fewer natural advantages than other counties. It would be true to say that our country has no worse county. Even Poptong County in Kangwon Province has advantages over it.

Nevertheless, the people of Changsong, upholding the Party's policy, have made determined efforts and the result is that today the county is a model for the whole country, and, in the course of this, many cadres have been produced.

We have sent those who were trained in that county as cadres to other provinces and counties. All of them are working well.

A comrade who was once chairman of the Changsong County Cooperative Farm Management Committee is now working well as the chairman of the Rural Economy Committee of North Phyongan

Province, and so is the former principal of the Yaksu Middle School in Changsong County, who is now the head of the educational office of the North Phyongan Provincial People's Committee. We also appointed a comrade who was the chairman of a cooperative farm in Changsong County to be chairman of the Tokchon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee. I have been informed that he works conscientiously at his post.

These examples prove that those trained in a model unit can become good cadres.

As far as the need of developing model factories and training cadres there is concerned, I have spoken of this to senior officials in the economic sector and officials in economic departments of the Party Central Committee and used every opportunity to stress it again and again. I also set the task of making the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant into a model factory.

However, the task of establishing model factories has been neglected by provincial and county Party committees, to say nothing of economic departments of the Party Central Committee as well as the commissions and ministries. At the outset they pretended to make the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant a model factory and gave in halfway through the project. This plant has, therefore, not been developed into a model factory.

It is because you have neglected developing model factories that we have not been able to produce a large number of cadres, steeled and trained on the shop-floor; this is why we are not able to fill vacant cadre posts, and we have no other choice but to keep elderly or incompetent managers and chief engineers in their posts.

The problem of establishing model factories must be solved at any cost, by means of Party organizations.

It is advisable to develop a few model factories within each province and give them guidance. In a province with many ore mines, or coal mines or machine factories one from each category should be designated for this purpose.

On the county scale one of its local industrial factories should be

established as a model factory, so as to train cadres and to make it possible for cadres of other factories to visit it for information.

This must not be confined to the provinces, cities and counties. The central authorities should also establish one model factory or enterprise from each category, be it iron works, machine factories, ore mines, collieries, light industrial plants, munitions factories and transport establishments, all of which are of national importance. From now on, we must develop model factories and fix their operations as a standard by which other factories will be assessed. The lack of this standard prevents us from assessing a great many matters. You should assist and direct model factories so that they fulfil the requirements of the Taean work system in enterprise management, place all activities in production and management on a regular and routine basis and achieve a steady rate of production so as to fulfil their production quotas, and conduct Party work in an exemplary manner.

As I have just mentioned the immediate tasks for Party work are that we at all costs overcome this problem of visiting factories and enterprises as well as universities and the problem of developing model factories for the training of cadres.

2. ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Now I should like to speak about a few tasks in economic affairs.

First, fruit must be preserved and handled carefully.

As a result of our planting a large number of fruit trees after the Pukchong meeting, the total area of orchards has increased to nearly 200,000 hectares. I am informed that we shall be able to produce 400,000 tons of fruit from next year. This is an immense amount. When have we ever reaped that amount of fruit in our country?

As the yield of fruit increases, it is important to store it properly.

However, we have built only few storehouses so far. This is of

course due in part to the state's failure to supply materials but it is mainly because you chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees have not made efforts to build all the storehouses which you could on your own.

Unless we build storehouses for fruit a great deal of it will be spoiled. It is not right that the fruit produced by our farmers under considerable difficulties is allowed to rot. In the time between this autumn and next autumn, you will have to supervise and carry out the construction of fruit storehouses.

In addition to this construction you should see to it that fruit is transported in boxes.

Now that fruit is carried loose in lorries, instead of being packed in containers, large quantities are damaged or bruised and rot in storage.

We have already presented the task of planting many poplar trees and said that people should make their own fruit containers. Pyongyang poplars grow very quickly. Planting them will, therefore, enable us to solve the problem of fruit containers in a short time. Trees in the forests should also be thinned out for that purpose. Fruit must be packed in boxes for the market, which is the way to preserve its value as a commodity and to prevent it from rotting.

Not a single fruit must be left unpicked and wasted.

At present the careless picking of fruit leads to prodigal waste. I have been told that recently the head of the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee visited a vineyard in Sariwon where he found that grapes were not harvested at the right time and also that the great many that had fallen were left under the vines.

We established this vineyard immediately after the ceasefire using young vines we had personally obtained from another country. At the time we intended to supply its produce to Pyongyang.

In addition to the fact that the fruit is not picked at the right time, large amounts of fruit are spoilt due to careless storage in cellars. Some time ago I inspected a fruit storehouse in Pyongyang, where I saw a great deal of fruit rotting because of careless storage. Chief secretaries of the county Party committees feel no concern about fruit being spoilt

through careless handling nor do they take any measures against it. Does this attitude befit men who should be masters of the country?

In the era of our Workers' Party many orchards have been created and fruit production has increased in the course of our determined efforts to improve the diet of the people and their standard of living. Therefore, we ought not to handle fruit in a careless manner and so make it inedible.

Next year you must adopt thoroughgoing measures to prevent fruit from spoiling and uncompromisingly combat the practice of leaving fruit to rot.

Grapes, for instance, should be picked promptly before they fall. The recent decision of the Party Central Committee lays down the task of building fruit-processing factories in the central counties. You must not fail to carry out this decision.

Secondly, all cities and counties should construct refrigerated plants.

As a result of our campaign for each farm household to produce 100 kgs of pork and each farm workteam to produce two tons, a large quantity of pork is being made available at present. I am, however, informed that the pigs raised by our farmers are not being purchased promptly this year. This is because purchasing agencies have no refrigerated plants available for the storage of meat. I am told that the total weight of the unsold pigs amounts to as much as 7,000 to 10,000 tons.

Since farmers are unable to sell well-fattened pigs quickly, they have to keep them despite the fact that they will not grow any further which is a waste of feed, while the miners do not get enough pork as it is in short supply.

As each of you county Party committee chief secretaries is responsible for one two hundredth of our territory, you should immediately set this matter right. But you do not do so. The Party has faith in you and has entrusted you with managing the economy of each county. You ought, therefore, to run the economy with a high sense of responsibility.

Cities and counties must carry out the construction of refrigerated plants as soon as possible. The state expects these plants to be built according to plan in 20 to 23 counties between the second part of this year and the end of next year. The other counties which do not come under the state plan must construct refrigerated plants on their own.

Each city and county has tunnels which were used in wartime as air-raid shelters. They should turn even these to some account. It would be very good if you walled up these tunnels with bricks before installing refrigerators there, in order to store meat.

In the places without refrigerators, you should take steps to make broken ice available so as to store pork well. In bygone days, butchers dug pits in which to keep ice. If ice is broken in winter, conveyed to the depths of caves and covered with rice husks, it can be used for the whole summer.

Next year we should manufacture one refrigerated lorry for every city and county so as to transport meat without fail. Pork will then be transported without delay.

Counties should build slaughterhouses and meat-processing factories, in addition to refrigerated plants.

On a trial basis, one of each of these has been built in Hwangju. It is said that the residents are very pleased because they can manage to buy haslet and sausages. These factories are supplied with many pigs by Yonthan County, as well as those from Hwangju County, so I am informed that every day they process amounts of haslet surplus to the needs of the inhabitants of this county town.

A slaughterhouse and a meat-processing factory must be built in each county so as to make sausages and brawn or similar foodstuffs available.

Meat processing must be improved. Our people still have a great deal more to learn about meat processing. Every county should send a few people to meat-processing factories in order to learn meat-processing techniques.

Thirdly, the vegetable problem has to be solved satisfactorily.

We have almost completely solved this problem by introducing the

spray irrigation system. This year the vegetable fields which did not use this system yielded 30 tons per hectare, but those which did produced more than 100 tons. Pyongyang in particular grew 150 tons of vegetables per hectare. This proves that the spray system is a great boon to vegetable farming.

However, there are still many shortcomings in vegetable cultivation. At present many kinds of vegetables are not planted. Only cabbage and radish are cultivated extensively, but farmers are reluctant to grow spices such as leek, garlic and chilli, which Koreans are fond of.

Successive cultivation of vegetables is neglected. As a result, vegetables are in short supply in April and August. I am informed that even in summer, vegetable supplies often run out in Hoelang County, South Phyongan Province, for example. Pyongyang ought to supply 500 to 600 tons of vegetables every day, but there was a day in September when it supplied as little as 400 tons.

From now on we must not tolerate a situation in which people will suffer inconvenience for want of vegetables.

Vegetables should be properly cultivated. They should be planted in fields which can be easily drained and irrigation must be introduced.

In the past, Pyongyang was not good at vegetable cultivation. The yield of vegetables varied between the extremes of bad and good from year to year. Vegetables grow well only on fertile land. However, the good land in Pyongyang is not well drained and is very muddy in the rainy season. As a result, vegetables were submerged in the rainy season or in a downpour of rain and the roots rotted, resulting in crop failures.

In a bold operation, we transferred the vegetable fields for Pyongyang to the hillsides along the road to Rihyon-ri. There, the vegetables will not be submerged even in a heavy downpour of rain and the area is suitable for the introduction of a spray irrigation system. However, some people were opposed to the transfer of the vegetable gardens, claiming that vegetables do not grow well in clay soil. Yet, after the vegetable fields had been moved to plateaus, the rainwater

drained away quickly, even during a downpour in the rainy season and the roots of the vegetables did not rot. With the introduction of the spray system the vegetables did not suffer from drought. Plenty of sunshine and a moderate rainfall are enough for the good cultivation of vegetables. The introduction of the spray system resulted in the yield of 150 tons of vegetables per hectare even in clay soil. This quantity is unprecedented in the history of Pyongyang. In fact, this year Pyongyang has a surplus of vegetables which it can deliver to other regions.

The success of vegetable farming in Pyongyang this year can be attributed not only to the introduction of the spray system but also to closer planting than in past years and to the use of the humus-cake method so ensuring firm cabbage hearts.

You must plant vegetables in good fields which can be drained well, introduce the spray system, apply a great deal of manure and so dramatically increase the yield of vegetables.

Vegetables should be raised in a successive way and provided for the people regularly. If you ensure that different kinds of vegetables, including Korean and other cabbages, are planted successively according to a detailed plan, you can guarantee the supply of vegetables throughout the year.

To deal with the situation in which people run short of vegetables, you should adopt measures to dry sliced radishes and cabbage leaves in the autumn.

You chief secretaries of provincial, municipal and county Party committees should be deeply concerned to provide an ample supply of vegetables to the people and take overall responsibility for vegetable cultivation and develop it.

Effective guidance for vegetable cultivation presupposes a knowledge of this subject. It is advisable that you make time to inspect vegetable gardens in Pyongyang during your stay here and learn how vegetable farming is carried on before you leave here.

You should always bear in mind the need to supply the workers and other inhabitants in your localities with sufficient vegetables, fruit and

meat. It is high time that we solved this matter.

Fourthly, this year's farming should be carefully reviewed, and thorough preparations must be made for next year.

In spite of there being little sunshine this year, rice is better than last year. This year's rice harvest in Yonan, Anak and many other counties of South Hwanghae Province increased considerably over that of last year. This year Anak County harvested nearly 100,000 tons of grain. Counties in other provinces, as well as South Hwanghae Province, surpassed last year's rice yield.

The rice plants which came into ear a little late this year produced a good yield. It is advisable for you to sow the seeds of rice plants which come into ear before or after the rainy season.

Although the rice crop was good, the maize crop failed this year.

This failure is due in part to unfavourable climatic conditions but mainly to poor guidance by senior agricultural officials. In spite of the cold weather this spring the Agricultural Commission directed the farmers to sow maize early. Since we grow maize as a single crop, we should not plant it too early; even if we sow it around April 15 or at the beginning of May, we shall be able to harvest it in mid-September. Senior agricultural officials, however, directed the farmers to sow maize early, becoming very impatient about the delay. As a result, this crop was severely affected by the cold weather. In addition, they did not take into account the shortage of fertilizer but ordered the close sowing of maize, thereby decreasing the yield. You should critically examine these practices when you review this year's farming.

Drawing on the experience in farming this year, you should make good preparations for next year.

Damage from hail should be prevented.

In a year like this when weather becomes cold and hot by turns, hailstorms are inevitable. When I visited Onchon County, therefore, I instructed the people there to harvest the rice as soon as it ripened. However, they did not heed this advice and the result is that they sustained serious damage in the recent hailstorm. I am informed that the hailstorm killed sparrows in flight and also killed scores of ducks.

In 1959 when we had a hailstorm in South Hwanghae Province countless numbers of rice grains fell on the paddy fields. Hailstorms might fall again. You should, therefore, arrange to harvest the rice as soon as it is ripe, rather than congratulate yourselves on a bumper crop prematurely.

For an early rice harvest it is essential to mass-produce harvesters. Our locally manufactured harvesters are of a good standard. From next year onwards these should also be manufactured in the provinces. If we are to use the harvesters it is necessary to re-align paddy fields and drain them completely in autumn.

We should concentrate our efforts on the production of chemical fertilizer. Next year country areas must be provided with 300,000 to 400,000 more tons of fertilizer than this year. This is the only means by which we will hit the production target of grain for next year.

For now you should finish threshing operations. The longer the crop is left in the field, the greater the risk of damage. You should thresh so well that not even a single grain is lost, and store it well to prevent rot. You must not mobilize rural manpower for other purposes until threshing operations have been completed.

You must ensure that modern rural houses are constructed. For all this, you should not transfer manpower engaged in threshing. You should ensure sufficient manpower for threshing operations, and then carry on housing construction with the surplus manpower.

You should arrange grain purchasing efficiently this year. This year was a disaster for crop farming throughout the world and many countries had a bad harvest. A number of countries are therefore suffering from food shortages. Nevertheless, our country remains self-sufficient and does not need to import food. This does not in any way imply that you can waste rice.

You should conduct effective explanation and information work among the farmers so that they sell all the grain over and above their needs to the state.

To facilitate the procurement of grain, it is necessary that we provide rural communities with large quantities of different kinds of

goods. We must barter some of our maize for good-quality fabrics for the rural market.

You should take steps to sow early-ripening maize, wheat and barley so that the farmers have new grain in summer.

The farmers should be encouraged to save grain in the winter so as to have sufficient amounts of food during the farming season of the following year, through proper organization of their lives.

Not only the farmers but also the factory and office workers should be encouraged to be frugal in consuming provisions. The practice of throwing away rice on ceremonial occasions must end.

Efforts must be made to reduce rice consumption. To this end, vegetables, eggs, fish and other non-staple foods should be produced in large quantities. North and South Hamgyong Provinces and Kangwon Province should obtain good hauls of fish during winter.

Upon your return, you must organize a “100-day campaign” carefully.

During this campaign, every possible effort should be directed, above all, to increasing the production of coal and steel. You chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees should live with the workers at the factories and enterprises in order to give them all the assistance they need.

We intend to take a decision at the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee to be held before long, on convening the Fifth Party Congress next year. Once this decision is made you will have to organize a political campaign to bring about a great upturn in every field of society next year. In particular, you should encourage all Party members to work hard for the achievement of every target in the Seven-Year Plan before the Party congress.

ON THE PRESENT SITUATION AND SOME POLITICAL AND MILITARY TASKS OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

**Concluding Speech at the Conference of the Battalion
Commanders, Their Deputies for Political Affairs
and the Chairmen of the Battalion Committees of the League
of Socialist Working Youth, of the Korean People's Army**

October 27, 1969

Comrades,

I am very pleased with this meeting of the People's Army battalion commanders, their deputies for political affairs and the chairmen of the battalion committees of the League of Socialist Working Youth.

I should like first to offer, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, warm greetings to the battalion commanders, their deputies for political affairs and the chairmen of the LSWY battalion committees who are present at this conference, and also to the battalion officers and all the other soldiers of the People's Army who are firmly dedicated to the defence of the country at this time.

We have now met you, the battalion officers who came to Pyongyang from the front after many years of service in defence of the country, and other battalion officers of the People's Army, and for many days, discussed the urgent matter of strengthening the army.

At this conference, I have learned that many successes have been achieved by your units, and I have also heard many good opinions. There is no doubt that after this meeting the People's Army will grow

stronger not only politically and militarily, but in all other respects.

Now, I should like to talk about the situation at home and abroad and about some tasks in strengthening the People's Army.

1. ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Today, the international situation is developing decisively in favour of the Korean and the world revolution. In other words, the revolutionary forces of the world are steadily growing stronger, whereas the US imperialists are constantly growing weaker.

We are now living in a revolutionary era when imperialism is dying and when powerful revolutionary battles are going on throughout the world. A great change is now taking place in the struggles of the world's people against US imperialism.

Even at the time of the Fatherland Liberation War when our country was fighting against invasion by the US imperialists, many of the world's people regarded them as formidable and unchallengeable, and many countries, which had illusions about them, expected "aid" from them. But, seeing them humbled by our country, people around the world have become convinced that US imperialism is nothing to be afraid of and that they are able to defeat it if they all fight in a concerted action. Thus, the nations who could hardly speak the words "US imperialism" in the past are now out in the battle against it, and the flames of anti-US struggle are raging in all parts of the world.

This struggle is fiercer in Asia than in any part of the world.

Today, the Vietnamese people are staunchly fighting against invasion by the US imperialists.

The US imperialists have been fighting an aggressive war in Vietnam for more than five years, but they are suffering one defeat after another. They can now be likened to a man who is desperately holding on to the tail of a tiger, a man in a dilemma, for if he lets go the

tail he will be eaten by the tiger, and if he wants to hold on he is already exhausted. In an attempt to retrieve themselves from the shameful defeat in their war of aggression in Vietnam, the US imperialists are making more frantic efforts to escalate the war, resorting to various stratagems for appeasement and deception. But they will be driven out of Vietnam in the end.

The Japanese people are also fighting against the US imperialists. In all parts of Japan, they are accelerating the campaign for the return of Okinawa from the hands of the US imperialists, and their campaign against the “Japan-US security treaty” is becoming more widespread.

Even those countries which were once neutral or opposed to our country by following the US imperialists are now fighting against them and are giving active support to the anti-US struggle of our people.

Pakistan, once subservient to the US imperialists, was opposed to our country even to the extent of becoming a member of the “UN Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea”. However, having realized the deceptive manoeuvres of the US imperialists in recent years, it has begun supporting our people in their anti-US struggle. In that country, the Pakistan-Korea Friendship Association has now been organized; and Pakistani newspapers report the anti-US struggle of our people almost every day. Anti-imperialist forces are growing in Pakistan with the passage of time.

In Ceylon, too, the revolutionary forces against the US imperialists are growing, and a powerful campaign in support of our people’s anti-US struggle is going on.

India and many other Asian countries are also opposed to the US imperialists and are giving support to our people’s anti-US struggle.

For the liberation of Palestine, the Arab nations are fearlessly fighting against the Israeli Zionists and against the US imperialists who back them.

The struggle against the US imperialists is raging also in Latin America.

Since the victory of the Cuban revolution, revolutionary battles are breaking out in many parts of Latin America, which was called by the

US imperialists their “quiet backyard” or “safe rear”. In Latin America, the struggles for class and national liberation are taking place in various forms, and particularly fierce among them is the national-liberation struggle against subjugation by US imperialism. In many other countries which are not yet out in the struggle against US imperialism, newspapers and other media are giving wide publicity to our article, *Let Us Intensify the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-US Struggle*, rousing the people to this struggle.

The struggle against the American imperialists is taking place even in the United States.

The US imperialists are trying to deceive the American people and send them as cannon fodder to the Vietnam war. But the people have realized that it is unnecessary for them to die in the war of aggression against another country. They are fighting against the war. Recently, a large number of people, including scientists and democrats in the United States, held a demonstration on an unprecedentedly large scale, putting up placards with inscriptions of the names of people who had died in the Vietnam war, asking what they had died for, and shouting. “Stop the war in Vietnam at once!” The Nixon clique was dismayed at these developments.

According to a delegation on a recent visit to our country from the Communist Party of the United States, not only the anti-war campaign but also the black people’s struggle against the US imperialists are mounting in the United States. The delegation also said that differences between the ruling circles of the United States were also increasing daily.

Today, the US imperialists are being hit in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world. In this way, their basic strategy of world conquest is ending in total failure, the strategy of conquering small nations one by one, avoiding clashes with big powers.

The US imperialist aggressors who started declining during the Korean war are now rushing to defeat. This decisively proves the great strength of our Party’s anti-imperialist, anti-US strategy that the revolutionary countries should develop powerful opposition to US

imperialism by their united efforts.

Changes are also taking place in the international communist and working-class movements.

Until only a few years ago, modern revisionism had done tremendous harm to the revolutionary movements around the world.

The Communist and Workers' Parties in some capitalist countries which had become almost inoperative under revisionist influence in the past have recently taken up the fight again.

In the past, these parties failed to achieve the desired success because they followed a revisionist path, blindly obeying the capitulationist policy of "peaceful transition" or "peaceful coexistence". Learning a valuable lesson from this, they are now trying to take the road of independence, refusing to go on the path of opportunism as advised by the revisionists.

The head of a Communist Party delegation on a recent visit to our country from a capitalist country called us the land of Juche and said that they would learn the Juche idea and make revolution, guided by this idea.

In France and Italy, massive demonstrations have been taking place since last year. In France the working class and students have joined in a massive demonstration, and in Italy, too, large-scale demonstrations and strikes have taken place.

What is characteristic of the recent struggles of the French, Italian and Spanish Communist Parties is that they are fighting not only against domestic imperialist forces but also against US imperialism. In the past these parties only fought against domestic imperialist forces, but today they have realized that it is impossible to defeat domestic imperialist forces without combatting US imperialism, the ringleader of imperialism. Therefore, they are fighting against both. This is a very good thing.

All this shows that the Communist and Workers' Parties in some capitalist countries which pursued opportunist and revisionist policies feel through their own practical experience that they must not follow the revisionist path but must seize power by revolutionary methods.

Many African countries are also advancing on the road of revolution.

The Sudan was a reactionary country until only recently. Externally, it was hostile towards the socialist countries, and internally it repressed the revolutionary forces. Since the recent establishment of a new government, it is following a progressive policy.

Zambia and Tanzania are also gradually advancing on a revolutionary, progressive road.

The national bourgeoisie and local feudal forces in some newly independent countries which harboured illusions about reformists and opportunists are now going to take a revolutionary stand, saying that they can achieve true independence only when they take the road of revolution, the road of socialism, for the good of the working masses.

Some newly independent countries which only played with words without adopting a definite policy in the past have now set up a truly new type of government which champions the interests of the workers, peasants and all the rest of the working people and are going to take the revolutionary and scientific road of socialism.

These changes in the newly independent countries can be seen as a turn in the world's revolutionary movement.

These countries have now realized that if they are to protect their independence they must abandon their illusions about the US and other imperialists and depend firmly on their own people. This is also a new change in the world revolution, in the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle in particular.

Another change in the world revolutionary movement at present is that the old idea of regarding support from big powers as essential for the revolution in small countries is being discarded.

A large number of people are convinced through their practical experiences that they can emerge victorious in the revolution and build a new society without assistance from big powers. The revisionist country has now become unable to brandish the big stick as it pleases, as it did in the past, and the "Left"-adventurist country is also not capable of imposing its unreasonable ideas upon others.

All this shows that a powerful, large-scale world revolution is developing to isolate and defeat US imperialism ultimately by further increasing the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces. The raging revolutionary struggle of the people around the world is a powerful encouragement to our people in their fight against US imperialism.

Our relations with foreign countries are also developing favourably.

Our Party formulated a correct foreign policy a long time ago on the basis of accurate analysis of the international situation and has been working hard to implement that policy.

The keynote of our Party's foreign policy at the present time is to ensure that the people in all parts of the world develop a forceful anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle and that they give active support to our people's struggle. Our Party's foreign policy has won unqualified support from many countries.

How many countries support us on a world scale was clearly demonstrated by the world journalists' conference against US imperialism, which was held recently in our country.

This was an international conference which discussed the tasks of the journalists throughout the world in their fight against the aggressive moves of US imperialism. Nowhere in the world had such a large conference against US imperialism ever been held. The meeting was attended by delegates from 90 countries in spite of all kinds of obstructive moves on the part of US imperialists. This fact shows firstly that our Party's policy on intensifying the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle in all parts of the world is absolutely correct and secondly it proves that our Party's Juche idea is valid.

We are on good terms with the peoples and Communist and Workers' Parties of many countries and in particularly close relationships with Cuba, Vietnam and other revolutionary countries, and revolutionary parties and organizations in the world.

Our relations with socialist countries are also developing much more favourably than in the past.

At that time, we put forward four principles on which to strengthen solidarity with the socialist countries, that is: first, to oppose US-led

imperialism; second, to support the national-liberation movement in colonies and the international communist movement; third, to continue to advance towards socialism and communism; and fourth, to respect each other, treat each other on equal terms and to refrain from interfering in the affairs of other countries. On these principles we have made every effort to remove differences among the socialist countries, unite with them and fight against the US imperialists, our common enemy.

Even when we were not on good terms with certain countries, we strove to unite with them, emphasizing that we had been comrades-in-arms in the past, were so now, and would remain so in the future. As a result, our relations with those countries which were not on good terms with our country, as well as those which were on good terms with us, have begun to improve recently.

All this signifies the victory of our Party's foreign policy. At the Party Conference held in October 1966, we made a correct analysis and judgement of the situation and, on this basis, laid down a correct course of external action and have striven to implement it right up to the present. In this way, we have changed the international situation decisively in favour of our revolution. This constitutes a big political asset for speeding up socialist construction in our country and for accomplishing the south Korean revolution by driving out the US imperialists.

The present situation is still tense, although it is developing in favour of our revolution.

The harder it is hit and pushed downhill by the struggle of revolutionary people in all parts of the world, the more desperate the efforts which US imperialism is making to save itself from its impending doom.

The US imperialists are scheming to intimidate the peoples of revolutionary countries, the fighting countries, by brandishing atomic bombs, and to undermine the revolutionary forces from within. They are aiming the spearhead of invasion at our country which maintains a particularly steadfast revolutionary stand and raises the strongest voice

for independence and against imperialism.

The delegates who recently visited our country from many lands of the world unanimously said that our country was the vanguard of the world revolution.

This is because our Party said the right thing and put forward a correct policy at a time when many countries were deviating to the Right and to the “Left”. It is, indeed, our Korea that has exposed and strongly condemned the US imperialists for their crimes, that held an anti-US journalists’ conference on a world scale, and that put forward the line of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

Moreover, when some countries were deviating from the right path one way or another in the revolution and construction, our country followed a straight road without any turns and twists, showing an example of independence, self-support and self-reliance in defence. It is also our country that, when opportunism emerged in the international communist movement, maintained an independent and revolutionary line without being swayed to revisionism or “Left” opportunism.

Peoples of many countries now say that the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea puts forward absolutely correct policies and does the right things even in a complicated situation and that our country is the beacon and example of the world revolution.

Today, the south Korean people and the revolutionary people of the world find the path of struggle in the just activities of our Party and Government, draw a belief in victory from these activities and are fighting stoutly for the triumph of the revolution.

The US imperialists hate our country most of all as a thorn in their flesh. You comrades must know that the US imperialists consider it their first and foremost task to destroy our Republic which maintains the firmest revolutionary stand and advances under the unfurled banner of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

We are not afraid of the US imperialists, no matter how reckless they become in their efforts to invade our country.

We have a conviction that, under the unfurled banner of the Juche

idea, we can steadfastly defend the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, build socialism and communism in the whole of Korea, come what may, and we have a strong conviction that we can destroy the US imperialists and accomplish the world revolution in unity with the world's revolutionary people. A man with such a revolutionary conviction will always be victorious. A man who is not firm in his revolutionary conviction may have his sleep disturbed by fear, or may suffer a nervous collapse. But a man of strong will and conviction can fight and overcome any enemy. This can be illustrated by a Soviet film, *The Iron Flood*. This film is an adaptation of an old novel. I read the original in the Jilin Prison for the first time when I was engaged in the youth movement against Japanese imperialism. I was seventeen at that time. A good point of the novel is that it shows a firm revolutionary conviction, a strong determination to defend the Soviet government. Because of this conviction and determination, the hero of the novel breaks through the rings of enemy encirclement in spite of great hardships and meets the main friendly force at last.

The anti-Japanese guerrillas had a firm determination to defeat Japanese imperialism and achieve the historic cause of national liberation, and therefore they were able to emerge victorious in the arduous battle against the enemy.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle was arduous beyond description. But the anti-Japanese guerrillas were firmly convinced that they would triumph if they fought unyieldingly to liberate the country. That was why they were able to defeat the Japanese imperialists and liberate their country by fighting for 15 years, overcoming all hardships and trials.

In the same way, the People's Army, with a strong revolutionary conviction, fought and defeated the US imperialist invaders in the three-year Fatherland Liberation War. The US imperialists who suffered a shameful defeat at the outset of the war, even mobilized the armies of their 15 satellites in an attempt to retrieve themselves from defeat. So the motherland had to undergo a severe trial, but the People's Army did not waver in the slightest.

As many of you here know from your own experience of the arduous war, the People's Army at that time fought with a firm determination to crush the US imperialists and defend our motherland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and, as a result, they achieved a great victory and upheld the honour of the country.

Last year when the People's Army captured the US imperialists' armed spy ship *Pueblo* which had been engaging in espionage activities well within our territorial waters, the US imperialists tried to intimidate and subdue us, but they themselves were brought to their knees in the end by our people.

As for the *Pueblo*'s intrusion into our territorial waters, it is an act of rank piracy and a flagrant act of aggression against a sovereign state. Therefore, it was a natural, self-defensive action for the People's Army to capture the spy ship.

Nevertheless, the US imperialists, demanding "retaliation", brought a large aggressive force including the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* to our East Sea and openly boasted that they would invade the northern half of our country.

At that time, the situation was very tense, and people of many countries expressed apprehension. But our Party did not vacillate in the least, but adopted a firm attitude.

It is true that the US imperialists have better military and technical equipment than ours. But we had the experience of having defeated these aggressors and had learned a great deal about them, so we believed that we would win if we were to fight against them. With this conviction our Party took the firm stand that we would return retaliation for their "retaliation" and total war for their total war. Made afraid by this unflinching attitude, they ran away with their large fleet of warships which had been brought to our East Sea.

Again at the time when our People's Army shot down their large spy plane *EC-121*, the US imperialists threatened that they would crush the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which was raising the loudest voice in the world in favour of the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

Nixon, a more belligerent character than Johnson, who had acted rashly at the time of the *Pueblo* incident, called for “retaliation”. He massed a larger number of naval vessels and aggressive troops in the waters off our country than at the time of the *Pueblo* incident.

But we confronted them without the slightest hesitation and thwarted their insolent acts of aggression.

We did so because we were determined to defend the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea to the last man, not to yield our country and become enslaved again by the imperialists even if we were to die, and to keep the Red revolutionary flag flying to the last, without giving up our communist revolutionary spirit, despite all imperialist intimidation and blackmail.

Not many people had such a revolutionary determination at the time of the Fatherland Liberation War, but now a large number of people have it. No force on earth can defeat the Party, the army and the people who are closely united in strong revolutionary determination. Our people who have such a strong revolutionary will and conviction and enjoy the support and sympathy of the world’s people will be able to destroy the US imperialists and achieve a nationwide victory of the revolution without fail.

2. ON THE INTERNAL SITUATION

At present, the revolution and construction in our country are going successfully. In particular, many successes are being achieved in the campaign to implement the Party’s line of carrying on economic and defence construction simultaneously.

This is a new revolutionary line. Simultaneous economic and defence construction may not pose a big problem in a large country; but to do the two at the same time is not easy for a small country like ours. A certain country finds it too difficult to construct the economy

by its own efforts and is depending on another country to a large extent.

Simultaneous construction in the two sectors is a very difficult task, but we must carry it out.

We proposed the line of simultaneous economic and defence construction at the Party Conference which was held in October 1966.

We put forward this line because it is only when we give a strong impetus to economic construction that we can steadily raise the people's standard of living and lay solid material foundations for successful defence construction and also because it is only when we build up indestructible defence power that we can protect the revolutionary government of the workers and peasants and achieve the final victory of the revolution.

Because increasing the economic and defence capabilities simultaneously was a vital matter which affects the fate of the revolution and construction, we adopted this policy at the Party Conference.

We must not neglect defence construction by concentrating only on economic construction, nor must we make light of economic construction by putting the emphasis on defence construction.

Building up only defence capabilities without constructing the economy is like a child's wearing an ornamental knife with his trousers off. An ornamental knife is something which is worn by a child so as to add to his dignity. So, if he is to look smart and dignified, he must wear the knife when fully dressed. A half-naked child wearing it would look ridiculous. Constructing the economy only without increasing defence capabilities is like dressing a child beautifully, but without an ornamental knife.

We must give a strong impetus to both economic and defence construction. If our country were to divert the money for defence construction to economic construction, we should, of course, be able to build more light industry factories so as to increase the output of consumer goods, undertake more housing construction and raise the people's standard of living much higher than it is.

But we have to direct our efforts to defence construction even if this means interfering with economic construction to some extent.

Since we are face to face with the US imperialists, we must increase our defence capabilities while at the same time pushing forward economic construction forcefully. This is the way to defend the Republic from any armed attack by the enemy and protect the socialist system.

Giving a powerful impetus to both economic and defence construction is a very difficult task.

When I was preparing the report to the Party Conference in 1966, I carried out a careful study on how to implement the line of simultaneous economic and defence construction. A question of a situation or of a method of Party work only requires careful theoretical analysis and amplification. But the policy of simultaneous economic and defence construction involves many difficult and complex problems, because the policy must yield material results.

We needed large amounts of materials and funds, and everything was in short supply. The manpower situation, in particular, was difficult. The tense situation in recent years compelled us to increase our military strength a great deal, and assign a large number of people to work in munitions factories and many other industrial establishments.

To make matters worse, the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements stood in the way of implementing the line of carrying on economic and defence construction simultaneously.

In view of the situation prevailing in the country, in the army these elements ought to have lightened the burden on the state by saving manpower, by eliminating wasteful practices and by organizing a campaign, for instance, to earn foreign currency. But, instead, they indulged in mischief, wasting a great deal of labour and money.

In addition, some undesirable elements cavilled at the Party's line on simultaneous economic and defence construction, saying that there was nothing new in the line since weapons were produced in other countries, too.

Some people confined themselves to economic construction, although they said that they supported this line, and some others neglected economic construction, being preoccupied with defence construction. Our Party ensured that these deviations were overcome through an ideological campaign, and expelled the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements from the Party's ranks before it was too late.

The US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique, by clamouring for war, obstructed our people's struggle to carry out the line.

The US imperialists got the armed spy ship *Pueblo* and the large spy plane *EC-121* to intrude into our country according to a premeditated plan and, taking advantage of these incidents, called loudly for war. Of course, the enemy moves to unleash a new war were smashed, but these incidents made people nervous and prevented them from achieving greater success which would otherwise have been possible.

In addition to these difficulties and obstacles, there was still another adverse factor in implementing the policy—the drought which has been going on since the year following the publication of the line.

You may not consider it important whether it rained or not, since we have grown good rice crops and we have had rice enough and to spare thanks to the complete introduction of irrigation. Agriculture has not suffered damage from the drought because of the introduction of irrigation, but the industrial sector has been affected to a certain degree. The output of electric power at the Suphung and Unbong Power Stations and at other power plants was low because of the shortage of water.

If we had not built the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant during the Seven-Year Plan, we would have suffered greatly in economic and defence construction from the shortage of electric power. But as we had built the thermal power plant, looking into the future, we have been able to supply electric power without great hindrance to all sectors of the national economy, although the hydroelectric power

stations have not produced electricity as they should have done.

As you can see, there have been innumerable difficulties in implementing the line of simultaneous economic and defence construction, but we have been carrying it out successfully by overcoming all the difficulties and obstacles.

We are continuing with our advance by overcoming the difficulties through our own belt-tightening efforts for increased production and economy and by repelling the pressure from outside. At present, all the working people are working hard to attain the targets of the Seven-Year Plan.

On account of the acute power shortage, some of the production quotas for the first half of this year have not been carried out, but the working class and all the other working people are vigorously conducting a "100-day campaign" in response to the Party's call. In this way, they will overfulfil this year's plan and register a rate of production growth which will be higher than it was last year.

At present, the Party's policy of giving priority to the power industry over other industries is being implemented successfully. Electric energy is used in all sectors in our country. A great amount of electric power is required for the production of chemical fibre, and it is also required for the production of fertilizer and agricultural chemicals, to say nothing of the steel industry and other heavy industrial sectors. That is why we are constructing power stations on a large scale. We are now concentrating on the construction of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant which is larger than the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant and also building the Sodusu Power Station.

The campaign to increase independence in iron production is also going on successfully. An iron works which uses domestic fuel rather than coke is under construction.

We are also building an oil refinery and textile mills. The textile mills under construction will have a total of 200,000 spindles, and this is more than the number of spindles in the Pyongyang Textile Mill.

We have broken the back of our difficulties in 1968 and 1969 and laid the foundations which will give a strong impetus to economic and

defence construction. If we get through our difficulties for another year, then we shall be able to implement the line of simultaneous economic and defence construction faster and more smoothly than we are doing now.

If we develop the economy rapidly and increase our defence capabilities by carrying out this line successfully, our socialist system will become stronger.

The work of revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society is also proceeding favourably. As I pointed out in my report to the Party Conference, the most important thing in revolutionizing the whole of society is to get all the people to study hard and lead a proper organizational life.

In our country everyone is studying hard under the slogan, "Let the entire Party, all the people and the whole army study!"

This year, our Party has introduced a study system under which everyone studies for two hours a day, and attends a lesson on Saturdays and under which cadres take a one-month course each year. It is not long since we started this programme, but the system is already showing its strength. Of course, it could be difficult to learn while on the job and work while learning. But we must establish the revolutionary habit of study thoroughly in order to revolutionize the whole of society.

The organizational life of the people is also being strengthened more than ever. In a word, an organizational life means a collective life. Inducing the people to lead a collective life well is an important requirement of communist education. We have made strenuous efforts to improve the life in Party organizations and in working people's organizations. Because of this all our people are leading their political life well in the organizations to which they belong.

As a result of the tremendous efforts made for the cultural revolution, nine-year compulsory technical education is going ahead successfully. The children who were born immediately after the armistice have reached the age for compulsory technical education. This year some of these children are receiving technical education after

their secondary education. Next year their number will increase. Anticipating a large shortage of schoolrooms, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee discussed the matter some time ago and decided to construct 10,000 of them. A campaign to implement this decision has been undertaken by adjusting part of this year's national economic plan. In addition, other tasks of the cultural revolution are being tackled successfully.

We have recorded many achievements in the revolution and construction. On the basis of these, our socialist system will be consolidated and developed immeasurably, and the might of the Republic will increase further, in the future.

3. ON PARTY POLITICAL WORK IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

An important task confronting our Party at present is to train the People's Army to be a cadre army which is well prepared politico-ideologically and in military techniques, and in which each soldier is a match for a hundred foes.

In the past the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements sabotaged the Party's military line, making mischief in the army. At the Fourth Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth People's Army Party Committee, we exposed the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary crimes of these undesirable elements and expelled them from the ranks of the Party.

Since then, the People's Army has worked hard to liquidate the harmful aftereffects of the ideological poison spread by the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements and to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system. As a result, it has achieved many successes.

First of all, the Party's monolithic ideological system is being firmly established in the units, and military bureaucracy has been

overcome to a large extent. Some remnants of this bureaucracy still exist in the units, but these will be wiped out gradually.

The work of the Party committees which existed only in name in the People's Army in the past, has been improved, the officials' neglect of political work has been eliminated, and the habit of giving priority to political work over all other affairs is being established.

Military training in the units has been placed on a regular basis, and military discipline is also being tightened and the soldiers' relations with the people are strengthening with each passing day.

This success is attributable to the fact that the Party organizations, political workers, all the officers and the enlisted men of the People's Army have supported the Party's policy and have worked hard to implement it.

But the People's Army has still many shortcomings.

Bureaucratism has not been eliminated. Of course, we can say that it has been overcome considerably compared with what it was in the past. But we have only begun to get rid of it. If we are to eliminate it, we must solve many problems. It would be impossible to root it up in several days or in several months since it emanates from bourgeois ideology. It can be eradicated only through a long-drawn-out ideological struggle.

You say that the soldiers are united in ideology and purpose, but their unity still falls short of our standard from the point of view of comradesly unity, communist unity. This problem must also be settled further through the ideological struggle to wipe out bureaucratism.

Party committees are not operating properly. Their work has improved a great deal compared with the past, but it has not yet got on the right track.

Political workers in the People's Army have not got rid of their perfunctory work attitude, and so they have not developed Party work into work among the people nor are they conducting this work in close touch with the rank-and-file soldiers.

The Party life of members is not proceeding at the level required by the Party, either.

The work of the League of Socialist Working Youth organizations in the People's Army is also inefficient. A great deal of superficiality is in evidence in this work, and these organizations are not playing their proper role as political organizations.

The quality of military training is also at a low level. A battalion commander spoke about the poor results of the live firing exercise in his battalion, and this is due to the low quality of military training. Superficiality is also affecting military training to a considerable extent. Some units waste their training hours, and the practice still exists of telling a lie that they have conducted training by keeping false records.

Discipline in the People's Army is still slack. That is why accidents still occur in units. It is quite possible to prevent them by tightening discipline and establishing strict order. Accidents which involve the loss of soldiers' lives when we are not fighting a war must not occur.

At present, even weapons are not properly maintained, so that they get rusty. You cannot fight the enemy with rusty weapons. Weapons get rusty because soldiers are ideologically slack, lack the spirit to take good care of state property and munitions and are not well initiated in preparations for war.

The revolutionary vigilance of units is also dulled, and they are not efficient in combatting spies.

Since the Fourth Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Committee of the People's Army, some people have suggested less rigid discipline, allegedly to wipe out bureaucratism. This weakens the combat power of the People's Army, and, therefore, it must not be tolerated. It is not at all bureaucratic for commanding officers to be demanding in intensifying military training and tightening military discipline. Some people denounce this as bureaucratism. This is a bad tendency towards anarchy.

If these shortcomings are not rectified, it will be impossible for the People's Army to become a revolutionary army, each man of which is a match for a hundred foes; it will not be developed to be steel-like revolutionary ranks nor will it be able to emerge victorious in battle

against the enemy. After this conference, therefore, the People's Army must correct all these shortcomings.

At present, the US imperialists are making frantic efforts to invade our Republic, and so it is most important that we should be well prepared for war.

Today, I once more call on you comrades to intensify combat and political training, establish an iron discipline, achieve political and ideological unity of the ranks, and develop our People's Army into a powerful revolutionary army capable of defeating any enemy which outnumbers it a hundred times over.

The first and foremost task in accelerating war preparations is to strengthen the People's Army politically and ideologically. In order to solve this problem successfully, it is necessary to improve Party political work.

First of all, you must build up the Party organizations solidly and increase their militant function and role.

A revolutionary army is strong because it has its party organization and because the soldiers are well prepared politically and ideologically.

The party organization in the army plays the role of equipping the soldiers with the party's revolutionary idea so as to unite them in idea and purpose, and of efficiently mobilizing them in the implementation of revolutionary tasks. A revolutionary army without a party organization would be like an army without a backbone; it could be likened to a man without bones.

Only when it has its party organization, can a revolutionary army defeat the enemy. History proves this patently. The Soviet army was able to crush Hitler's fascist army because it had a strong party organization. The party organization established the party's ideological system in the Soviet army and organized and mobilized party members so that they played a vanguard role.

Hitler's fascist army attacked to the sound of war songs and drumbeats on the battlefield, fighting what they called "psychological warfare". Although it appeared to be disciplined and dignified, the

fascist army was not a revolutionary army and was destroyed in the end by the Soviet army which had a revolutionary party organization.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army defeated Jiang Jieshi's army and the Japanese imperialist aggressors also because it had a revolutionary party organization. At that time, Jiang Jieshi's army had an organization of the Guomindang. The officers who belonged to this party organization were all sons or stooges of landlords and capitalists. The interests of the rank-and-file soldiers who were sons and daughters of workers and peasants were in conflict with those of the officers. So they did not join the Guomindang nor could they mix with the officers. By contrast, the commanding officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, were able to defeat the enemy because they fought, all united in idea and purpose, under the leadership of the Communist Party organization.

Our People's Army defeated the US imperialists in the Fatherland Liberation War because it had the Party organization and, under its leadership, the Party members played the role of the hard core.

At present, the Vietnamese People's Army is fighting the enemy victoriously mainly because the party organizations in the army educate the commanders and men well and unite them closely.

Our People's Army which is organized with the fine sons and daughters of workers and peasants is different from the armies of capitalist countries in that it has the Party organization and is under its leadership. On the strength of these characteristics, the People's Army can defeat enemies who are numerically and technically superior.

Even though it has the Party organization, the People's Army would be unable to use all its strength unless the Party organization was strong and efficient in the performance of its function and role.

At one time in the past, Party organizations in the People's Army were weak because of the plots of the undesirable elements. So the People's Army, the revolutionary armed forces of our Party, was unable to give full reign to its political and ideological superiority. The People's Army must strive to root up the harmful aftereffects of the

poison spread by the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements, strengthen the Party organization and increase its function and role.

The battalion primary Party committees must improve their collective leadership.

The Party is an organization of its members.

A battalion primary Party committee is also an organization. It is neither the battalion commander's organization, nor that of his deputy for political affairs, nor the battalion LSWY committee chairman's. It is our Party's organization. Our Party is the highest organization of the working class. The Party committees at all levels in the People's Army, therefore, function as the highest leadership in the units concerned just as they do in all other sectors. For this reason, the battalion primary Party committee must discuss the political, military and all other affairs of the battalion and establish strict discipline by which, in accordance with the assignments given by this committee, the battalion commander assumes the responsibility to implement the military tasks, and his deputy for political affairs to implement the political tasks.

Anticipating complicated problems which may arise in the regular operation of the battalion primary Party committee, we have had an executive committee set up in the primary Party committee. From now onwards, the executive committee must work for the battalion primary Party committee when it is not in session. How often the executive committee will have to meet will be defined in the Party political work regulations to be issued later.

The question of who is the man in the highest authority may arise when both of these committees are not in session. In a battalion, its commander is the first man in charge of the unit. So the table of battalion organization provides the highest military rank for the battalion commander. But this does not imply that he is the only man who is responsible for the battalion, and not his deputy for political affairs. The deputy as a member of the battalion primary Party committee has the responsibility to assist the battalion commander in his work through Party efforts, political efforts.

Since the battalion commander assumes the military responsibility

of the unit before the Party and since the deputy is in charge of its political affairs, both of them must be responsible for the work of the battalion.

How, then, should they perform their duties when they are together on the battlefield? When it is on the march or in a combat action, the battalion must obey the orders of one man. If, for instance, the battalion commander orders “Forward!” on the battlefield, no one can say “Retreat!” or “Go to the left!” Military actions must be ordered by the battalion commander, and his deputy for political affairs has to obey the order as long as the order is intended to implement Party policy and does not contradict the Party’s line. But, if the battalion commander issues an order contrary to the Party’s line, his deputy for political affairs can hold him in check. Then, the order becomes null and void.

Thus, the battalion commander is responsible to the Party for direct military command of his unit, and the deputy for political affairs is responsible for giving political leadership. Both of them must obey their higher organization and also the battalion primary Party committee.

Everyone must perform their duties under the collective leadership of the Party committee concerned. Only then can they thoroughly champion the interests of the Party, the interests of the people, and avoid making mistakes in their work.

Battalion commanders have all been trained by the Party. The Party trusts you comrades and has placed each of you in charge of a battalion with hundreds of soldiers and valuable weapons and equipment. If you are to perform in good faith the revolutionary duty given by the Party and prove yourselves worthy of its trust and expectations, you must work under the collective leadership of the battalion primary Party committees. If you do so, the Party organizations will be strengthened and their militant function and role increased.

From your speeches I can judge that the commanders are getting into the habit of working by depending on their Party committees and that they are making some progress in work. But many of you still lack

a full understanding of the matter.

Since officers still lack Party training, the Party spirit, the working-class spirit and the spirit to serve the people, it is desirable for them all to work under the collective leadership of their Party committees.

Party members must improve their life in the Party organization.

To this end, all members must carry out their duties as prescribed in the Party Rules faithfully. These rules clearly stipulate all the requirements emanating from the principles of Party organizational life.

An important duty of a Party member is to equip himself firmly with its policy, explain and disseminate the policy among the masses and unite them behind the Party. When the Party members in the army have fulfilled this duty, the People's Army will be politically and ideologically stronger.

Politico-ideological education must be intensified.

Even though it is equipped with efficient weapons, the People's Army will be unable to win a war unless the soldiers clearly understand what they are fighting for and whom they are dedicated to in the war.

An army which is not well prepared politically and ideologically cannot be considered a revolutionary army. Politico-ideological preparedness means a firm resolve to fight in the interests of one's own class, that is, the workers and peasants. The revolutionary army with a high degree of such readiness can defeat the enemy from any quarters. If an army depends on the technology-can-do-everything concept, it will not avoid failure in war. Of course, modern technology is necessary. But a high degree of soldiers' politico-ideological resolve is more powerful than the modern technical equipment of a unit.

The US imperialist army of aggression, in spite of its efficient weapons, was defeated by the People's Army in the Fatherland Liberation War and, at present, it is being defeated in Vietnam. Because the imperialists fight an aggressive, unjust war, the rank-and-file soldiers do not want to participate in the aggressive war. Even if they are forced to go to war, they are unwilling to offer their lives.

A capitalist army cannot have the politico-ideological advantages inherent in a revolutionary army, so it tries to settle everything by orders and command. Neither the US imperialist aggressor army nor the south Korean puppet army can stand comparison with the People's Army from the political and ideological point of view. The officers of the former come from the exploiter class including the landlords and capitalists, and the rank-and-file soldiers of these armies are hired for money or forced into the service. So there can be no unity between these officers and men. The men must only obey orders blindly, not consciously.

If the People's Army also motivates the soldiers by resorting to an easy way of ordering or dictating to them in everything, without doing political work, it will not be able to move them purposefully and consciously, and such a method will soon become ineffective and fail to increase the combat efficiency of its units.

If officers consider themselves special beings and have recourse to military bureaucracy and autocratic behaviour by getting into the habit of hurling abuse and shouting at their men, they will not be able to give rein to the beautiful traits of unity between superiors and subordinates in the army, nor will they be able to develop the People's Army into an indestructible revolutionary force. It is only when superiors and subordinates are closely linked by eradicating military bureaucracy and by conducting political work efficiently that they can overcome the difficulties in their way and win battles against the enemy.

A revolutionary army does not fight for money. As I always say, the anti-Japanese guerrillas fought not because somebody offered them pay, suffering all sorts of hardships in the mountains for 15 long years. Payment cannot encourage people to fight self-sacrificingly. Because they had chosen to fight for the country and for the revolution, and in the interests of the workers and peasants, the guerrillas fought courageously, overcoming all the difficulties and hardships, although they were not paid a penny, and, at last, they won the final victory.

The soldiers of the People's Army also emerged victorious in the

Fatherland Liberation War against US imperialism and its stooges because they fought with a revolutionary determination to defend to the last the people's democratic system which had given the peasants the land, made the workers owners of factories and guaranteed an eight-hour workday for them, and to safeguard our Party and the people's government which had provided the people with a happy life. Because they had this revolutionary spirit, they came back into the embrace of the Party from the Raktong River line at the time of the temporary retreat, breaking through enemy encirclement and undergoing grim tribulations.

At present, the People's Army soldiers are fully prepared politico-ideologically to fight the US imperialist aggressors and defeat them. In other words, everyone of them has a revolutionary determination to defend to the last the socialist system and the worker-peasant revolutionary government which have been established at the cost of the sweat and blood of the people, and to liberate the country and the nation completely by driving out the US imperialist aggressors who are occupying the southern half of our country without any valid reason. Because of this resolve the People's Army soldiers can fight the enemy staunchly at the cost of their lives and win final victory.

An important task in politico-ideological education is to ensure that all the soldiers acquire a firm revolutionary outlook on the world.

Recently, our enemies have been making vicious anti-communist propaganda. They are slandering our socialist system. It is important, therefore, that we intensify politico-ideological education so as to train the soldiers to be revolutionary fighters equipped with an unswerving revolutionary outlook on the world.

For this purpose, we must intensify their education in the monolithic ideology of the Party.

Our Party's revolutionary thought consists of the idea of independence, self-support and self-reliant defence for the construction of socialism and communism in our country, of the idea of fighting against US-led imperialism, and of the idea of proletarian

internationalism for solidarity with the world's oppressed people, the revolutionary people.

It is only when we are equipped with our Party's revolutionary thought that we can carry on our revolution and construction with success.

If you are to imbue the soldiers with this thought, all the officers in charge of both military and political affairs must first arm themselves solidly with the Juche idea and then explain and spread it among the soldiers so that everyone thinks and acts in accordance with our Party's thought.

In order to train the soldiers to be revolutionary fighters who are equipped firmly with the revolutionary world outlook, we must step up communist education.

The basic factor in communist education is the inculcation of the working-class spirit. An important task in class education is to teach every soldier to hate the class enemies, and fight for the revolution to the last. We must intensify class education and fill every soldier with hatred for the US imperialists, the Japanese militarists and all other imperialists, and with hatred for landlords, capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats. This is the way to ensure that the soldiers fight resolutely against the class enemies in any adverse circumstances.

Soldiers must be educated to remember their lot in the past. By their lot in the past I mean our people's lot of colonial slavery under Japanese imperialist occupation and the miseries of the workers and peasants who were subjected to exploitation and all sorts of mistreatment and humiliation by the landlords and capitalists. It is only when soldiers are educated to remember their past condition that they will fight bravely to prevent a return to the past when they were humiliated.

We must teach the soldiers not to forget south Korea.

At present, the people in the south are trampled upon by the US imperialist aggressors and are bled white by the landlords and capitalists. We must not forget this for even a moment.

We must educate the soldiers to cherish the future. To this end, we

must teach them clearly what a communist society is like and convince them that we are endeavouring to build the very same communist society.

We must intensify education in socialist patriotism. It is important in this education to give the soldiers a clear understanding of the advantages of our socialist system over the capitalist system.

The US imperialists boast that their country is rich and technologically developed. In the United States, the capitalists have a large stockpile of wheat and they leave it to rot or throw it into the sea, but the workers and peasants are starving.

The south Korean puppets say that they are building factories, but these are totally useless to the workers and peasants. Showy streets have no significance for the workers and peasants who are already destitute.

But we have a different system—the socialist system. Under this system the products are the property of the people and no one else, and their wealth increases as production grows. Since there are no exploiter classes in the socialist society, the more factories they build and the more they increase production, the better off the people will be. As you can see, there is a fundamental difference between the socialist and capitalist systems.

The soldiers must be taught to see clearly the reactionary nature of revisionism, “Left” and Right opportunisms and flunkeyism towards big powers and combat them without compromise.

We must give the soldiers a correct understanding of war.

Wars can be classified as just or unjust. If the enemy compels us to fight a war, we shall fight a just war, and the US imperialists will fight an unjust, aggressive war.

Therefore, it is important for the soldiers to have a correct understanding of war. When the enemy unleashes a war, the soldiers must know what they have to fight for. Only then will they fight in the spirit of self-sacrifice.

A revolutionary army is characterized by its voluntary and conscious participation in a war, not under coercion.

We must educate the soldiers of the People's Army so that they will fight willingly in the interests of their own nation and their classes—the workers and the peasantry—and for the construction of socialism and communism. In other words, we must give every one of them a clear understanding that they must protect the socialist system achieved by our people, that they must protect the revolutionary government of the workers and peasants, that they must liberate their brothers in south Korea who are suffering from oppression and mistreatment by the US imperialists, landlords and capitalists, that we do not want to invade other countries, but want to drive out the US imperialist invaders who are illegally occupying our country, and to liberate our country and nation completely, and that this is not only our sacred national and class duty but also a noble internationalist duty to the world revolution.

We must instil firm confidence in victory in the minds of the soldiers.

We must inspire them with the conviction that we shall emerge victorious in a war against the US imperialist aggressors if they unleash one. A soldier who has a strong belief in victory fights with redoubled courage in any adversity, without becoming discouraged, confidently looking forward to the day of victory.

What, then, are the important factors which will contribute to our victory?

First, there are the Party, the revolutionary government, the revolutionary people who are closely united behind the Party, and the powerful independent national economy.

Second, the south Korean people support us. If a war breaks out tomorrow, the workers and peasants in south Korea will support us rather than the US imperialists and their stooges. Of course, these enemies may have some supporters in south Korea. In the north, too, there are survivors of the overthrown classes—the landlords, capitalists, and those who collaborated with the Japanese imperialists and with the US imperialists in the past—as well as spies. These elements will support our enemies. But they are small in number, so we have a great number of supporters.

Third, we have support from the peoples of the socialist countries and the revolutionary people around the world.

The US imperialists and their south Korean puppets claim that the socialist camp has broken up and that its members are fighting among themselves. But this is not true. The imperialists want to see the Soviet Union and China fighting against each other. But this will not happen. Our enemies describe the dispute among socialist countries as fighting.

My recent answers to the questions raised by a journalist from the United Arab Republic have been published. I hope you will read them. Socialist countries can unite with each other. There are no antagonisms between socialist countries, antagonisms which emanate from conflicting class interests. The disagreements which now exist between socialist countries are not like those irreconcilable ones which exist between the socialist and capitalist systems. These are only differences in opinions. These differences are due to divergent views on how to judge imperialism, how to fight it, and how to carry out the revolution. With regard to the appraisal of US imperialism, people of some countries say that it is formidable, and people of some countries say that it is a mere nothing. On the question of fighting it, the former propose fighting cautiously, and the latter insist on fighting actively.

Our Party's policy, as was proposed at its Conference, is to let those who want to fight US imperialism actively fight it actively and let those who want to fight it passively do as they please. The point is that they should fight against US imperialism, and that will suffice.

With regard to the national-liberation movement in colonies, there are people who support it actively and people who support it passively. Even passive support is not completely bad. What is passive can become active, and passive elements can develop into active ones.

There are also different ways of building socialism. Each builds it in his own way and in his own fashion. There are such differences, but we do not take issue with other countries about what they are doing, nor do we intend to interfere in their affairs. We stand for noninterference in each other's affairs.

We maintain that we must put aside the differences and launch a

joint battle against US imperialism on condition that there is no interference in each other's affairs. All the countries concerned agreed on this matter. Therefore, if our enemies invade socialist countries, these countries can unite in the fight against US imperialism, in spite of their differences.

The US imperialists want our country to be at odds with other socialist countries. Even though there are differences between the socialist countries, we shall not take issue with what they are doing if they do not force us to follow them and do not interfere in our affairs.

We have our own strength and enjoy support from the socialist countries and the revolutionary people of the world. By contrast, the US imperialists are isolated by the people in their own country, and their domestic situation is unsettled. Moreover, the voice which denounces them from all parts of the world is growing louder and louder.

In this situation, if the US imperialists attack us even tomorrow, we shall destroy them with united forces and emerge victorious without fail.

So far, however, these things have not been explained to the soldiers properly.

If the soldiers clearly understand the essence and content of these problems, they will remain firm, no matter what propaganda the enemy resorts to in order to deceive them.

If we give the soldiers effective politico-ideological education, we shall be able to revolutionize the People's Army quickly. The soldiers lead a collective life during their military service. So if you give them effective education in collectivism, you can speed up the revolutionization of the People's Army and also of the whole of society. The People's Army must intensify communist and collectivist education so that the soldiers will take the lead in the revolutionization of the social members at factories and rural communities after their military service.

Intensifying ideological education is the basic policy of our Party. We must continue to follow this policy in the future, too.

We must make a point of giving priority to political work over all other work.

This is an important policy of our Party. It is the basic principle of our Party work. The People's Army must also adhere to this principle.

If you give priority to political work, the soldiers will perform their military service with a high degree of willingness, for the People's Army is composed of the fine sons and daughters of the workers and peasants.

If you give priority to political work in battle and teach the soldiers clearly what they are fighting for at the risk of their lives, they will fight the enemy courageously, undaunted by any difficulties. If, like a military bureaucrat, you ignore political work and try to move the soldiers by hurling abuse or shouting at them, you will not succeed at all.

If you use coercive methods just as capitalist armies do, you will be unable to win a war. The men of the US imperialist aggressive army and the south Korean puppet army are hired soldiers, so they tend to turn tail on the battlefield if the situation is unfavourable. Then, the officers and military police threaten the men from behind that they will shoot them if they do not move forward. Because these men fight under coercion like this, they are not efficient fighters.

All the facts show that giving priority to political work is the key to success in doing anything. The People's Army must make it a rule to give priority to political work over all other work.

To this end, you must first have a correct opinion about political work.

Some military officers assume that political work is the duty of political workers only. This is the wrong idea of political work.

A large number of people must take part in this work, and this is the way to stir up the broad masses. Therefore, our Party stresses the need for all cadres and other Party members to take an active part in political work. This is also a duty required by the Party Rules. Battalion commanders cannot be an exception to implementing this duty. This is because battalion commanders are also Party members. Since they are officers who direct their battalions and organize and command

combats, the battalion commanders must conduct political work in a more exemplary manner than anyone. A battalion commander who does not know how to do political work is not qualified to be a commanding officer. A battalion commander must consider it an iron rule to give priority to political work in doing anything. When organizing a march, for instance, he must do political work before giving the order to march.

How, then, should he do political work?

Suppose he has found, while inspecting his unit, that weapons are not being well cared for, and that mess halls are not kept clean. In that case, he can ask the deputy company commander in charge of political affairs to call a meeting to solve the problem, instead of taking the company commander or the squad leader to task or simply telling them to correct the shortcomings before he comes back. At the emergency meeting called by the deputy company commander, the battalion commander should say that he has found that the weapons of the unit have become rusty because their maintenance has been neglected, and that the mess hall is dirty. And then, he should say that he proposes as battalion commander and as a member of the battalion primary Party committee that these shortcomings should be rectified. Of course, he can give orders, but it would be better to behave in this modest manner. Then, his subordinates will admit the undesirable situation and say that they will correct it willingly. If he handles the matter like this, no one will complain that the battalion commander is bureaucratic and is running a one-man show. I think there will be no harm in doing so.

In a combat situation, it would be difficult to do this. But even in such a situation, if time permits, you should summon the people concerned and express your opinion and ask their opinions before you give orders. If they agree, you should give orders for them to implement. This is an order in the true sense of the word. If you give priority to political work in this manner, everything will go successfully. You must do political work well bearing in mind that it is the responsibility not only of the political workers but of the battalion

commanders, battalion chiefs of staff, and all other officers.

If they are to do political work well, the officers must maintain contact with the men. The main object of political work is the men. If you want to meet them, you must visit the field where they are in action. If you sit at your desk, instead, and only receive reports from the subordinate units, you cannot understand the situation correctly nor can you do political work properly.

At present, many officers seem to think that they have done political work by giving the men political lessons and summoning them to their offices for talks. This is, of course, necessary, but it is more important to do political work actively in the field where the men are at work. Only then will you be able to learn the merits and shortcomings in work as well as the men's characters, and, if some of them make mistakes, you can clearly understand the reasons, and help them to correct them.

If they are to do political work among the soldiers, political workers must take an active part in military work. If a battalion commander visits the field where a military action is taking place, his deputy in charge of political affairs must go with him; and if a company commander goes there, his deputy for political affairs must do the same. If a deputy regimental commander for political affairs is not in the field when the regimental commander is there, the deputy will not be able to assist the regimental commander on the spot, nor will he be able to do his work in terms of the specific situation. Nevertheless, some political workers do not work in step with military officers.

You must do political work actively among the soldiers.

If a deputy battalion commander for political affairs is at a firing range, he must get the battalion commander to do motivation work before the gathering of the men or he must do it himself. In the case of men who are not good at shooting, he can teach them how to improve their marksmanship or tell them how somebody has hit his target or talk to individual soldiers during the breaks.

If you are to give priority to political work over all other work, you must know how to do it.

Because unsound elements who infiltrated the Party immediately after liberation made a bad start in the training of officials, the method of Party work has not improved much. Particularly in the People's Army, it is not a simple task to correct Party political work because the undesirable elements have misconducted this work in the army for a long time and have not taught the officers the correct method of this work.

Party political work had been neglected in the People's Army up until the Fourth Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth People's Army Party Committee, with the result that, at present, not many officers know the method of Party political work clearly. So the commanding officers of the People's Army must diligently learn the correct way to do this work. The People's Army must get the officers to study for themselves the *Party Work Reader* issued by the Party Central Committee and teach the battalion commanders and their deputies for political affairs the method according to a system.

Time must be made available to do Party political work.

At present, some people try to hold Party meetings during training hours, but training hours must not be used for other purposes.

The eight-hour workday for the working class was enacted into law by the state; it is an inviolable discipline. Training to the soldiers is what labour is to the workers, so the People's Army is obliged to have eight hours of combat and political training a day.

It is now a rule for the state and economic establishments, to say nothing of the Party Central Committee, to study two hours after working eight hours a day. The People's Army has eight hours of daily training and eight hours of sleep, so the remaining eight hours should be used for taking meals, rest and for study.

I think it advisable for the army to give two hours of political lessons each Saturday morning, and then have Party and LSWY meetings. The afternoon hours should be devoted to hygiene.

On Sundays, cultural recreation should be organized. On Sundays, the soldiers can have amateur art activities, sports and film shows. Lecture meetings and officers' meetings can also be held.

4. ON SOME MILITARY TASKS

Since I have spoken a great deal about military affairs, I shall talk about them briefly today.

You must, first of all, strengthen combat training.

If an army is to discharge its mission, it ought to be well prepared militarily. If you are well trained, you can defeat a technically superior enemy, although, for the present, we are not in a position to manufacture better weapons than those of the enemy.

Military training at all units has been increased since the Fourth Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth People's Army Party Committee, and this is a very good thing.

The People's Army must continue to do this, and must improve its quality radically. To all intents and purposes, military training must be organized and conducted by drawing on the experience of the Fatherland Liberation War and to suit the terrain conditions in our country and the weapons and equipment of the People's Army. We need tactics which suit the terrain conditions in our own country, not any foreign tactics. A general knowledge of foreign tactics will do for us. So the People's Army must conduct military training on the basis of the experience of the Fatherland Liberation War and improve its quality.

Efficient mountain warfare training is essential.

The most important factor in a future war will be an ability to fight in the mountains. There are a large number of mountains, but few large plains like the Honam Plain, in our country. In these circumstances, victory in battle depends on efficiency in mountain warfare. If we are good at fighting in the mountains, we can win the war; if not, we cannot. Efficient mountain warfare is important also in view of the enemy's scheme of invading our country. The enemy is having

military exercises almost every day, manoeuvres which are aimed at harassing our rear by flanking attacks from the sea. Even if the enemy were to land at a location where our defence is weak, he could be easily destroyed so long as the People's Army is efficient in mountain warfare.

If you are to be good at fighting in the mountains, you must have weapons and tactics suitable for mountain warfare and you must be skilful in mountain actions. In order to become familiar with military actions in the mountains, you will have to train yourselves a great deal. The units must train the soldiers so that they can increase their ability to march so as to close in on the enemy quickly. The soldiers must also be trained to be good at firing upward and downward in the mountains, to be excellent marksmen who never miss their targets.

You must give them a great deal of combined training in regular and guerrilla warfare.

Many of you know from your experience of advance to the Raktong River that, if the People's Army had combined regular and guerrilla warfare properly at the first stage of the Fatherland Liberation War, it could have continued to attack the enemy without giving him a breathing space and have destroyed more enemy forces and even liberated Pusan. Learning the lesson of the Fatherland Liberation War, we must prepare ourselves well so that we shall be able to combine regular and guerrilla warfare skilfully.

We must intensify night training.

Efficient night actions are important in winning battles. If you fight boldly, taking advantage of the night, you will be able to achieve great success.

A high degree of ability to march at night and good night marksmanship are important for efficient night fighting. It is only when you have solved the problems of night march and night shooting that you will be able to approach the enemy stealthily, strike him by surprise and inflict heavy losses on him.

Training in coastal defence must be intensified.

Our country is bounded by the sea on three sides, so the enemy can

invade not only from the ground but also from the sea. That is why we must be efficient in defence both on the ground and on the coast.

The People's Army should conduct effective training in coastal defence. In particular, it must concentrate on solving the problems of artillery support and shooting methods in coastal defence.

Training in anti-aircraft firing should be intensified.

If you are good at anti-aircraft firing, you can shoot down enemy aircraft without difficulty. You must not think of shooting at enemy aircraft only with anti-aircraft machine guns, but with small arms if they come flying at a low altitude.

You must increase training in fighting against armoured vehicles.

Combatting armour is important in modern warfare. Anti-armour training must also be conducted to meet the requirements of modern warfare and to suit the terrain conditions in our country.

If training is to be intensified to suit our terrain and the weapons and equipment of the People's Army, the commanding officers who give training must improve their role. You must try to provide the combat training hours fully, conduct training actively and improve its quality. You must not conduct training carelessly and waste time. Wasting training hours means deceiving yourselves.

All the commanding officers and political workers who are present at this conference assume a heavy responsibility to the Party, to the country and to the people. The people want the People's Army to protect the country and the socialist system securely and to liberate south Korea without fail. The People's Army must intensify military training and increase its combat efficiency so as to meet the people's expectations.

The army must establish a thorough system of orders and commands.

To this end, you must have a correct understanding of the orders of commanding officers. At present, there is a misunderstanding of these orders.

I was told that some people say that the orders of the Minister of National Defence are the orders of an individual. They are wrong. Of

course, orders for military actions which, for instance, involve movements of large units are issued only by the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee or by the Supreme Commander, not by the Minister of National Defence. But orders about daily routine can be issued by the Defence Minister. His orders which concern daily routine must be obeyed. Referring to the Defence Minister's orders for good maintenance of weapons as orders of an individual is unjustifiable. It is wrong.

The Defence Minister, divisional and regimental commanders and other commanding officers are authorized to give orders.

The orders for military actions can be signed jointly by the Minister of National Defence, the Chief of General Staff and the Director of the General Political Bureau before they are issued. With important orders, similar procedures must be followed by the divisions. But this procedure is unnecessary with orders about daily routine.

Even when they have received orders which have been jointly signed, the commanding officers can give their own verbal orders to implement them. These orders must also be implemented. This does not imply that you should obey bad orders.

You must tighten discipline.

Tightening discipline in the army is very important. An undisciplined army is no army. The People's Army must pay particular attention to establishing discipline and order.

In order to improve discipline, it is necessary to educate the soldiers tirelessly so that they will observe discipline of their own accord. The discipline of the People's Army is based on a voluntary principle, so it can be improved only by education.

If you are to tighten discipline, you must also conduct an ideological struggle among the soldiers. If a violation of discipline continues in spite of education and the ideological campaign, punishment should be meted out. Some people consider that they cannot deal out punishment to violators of discipline, but they are mistaken. Individual commanding officers are not authorized to administer such punishment as dismissing or expelling their

subordinates at random from their units, but they can, for instance, demote or rebuke them as punishment. When a unit commander demotes his subordinate who has violated discipline or who neglects his duty, he must get the approval of the Party committee concerned. The cases of officers who are in important posts must be reported to the Military Commission and the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee for approval, and the cases of low-ranking officers have to be reported to the secretariat of the Party committee concerned for approval.

We must improve counter-intelligence activities.

At present, the enemy is sending many spies into our area, so all soldiers must heighten their vigilance. Not only the People's Army, but everyone must turn out in counter-intelligence work, and everyone must act with a high degree of revolutionary vigilance.

The units must take strict measures to prevent the divulgence of military secrets.

You must prevent all accidents.

To this end, it is necessary to tighten discipline, but it is more important to improve political work.

I always say that, if you give priority to political work, all work will proceed successfully, and also you will be able to prevent accidents. This is the experience I have gained while giving leadership to the army to date since I founded the Korean People's Revolutionary Army.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, when sending small units on reconnaissance missions, commanding officers of the guerrilla army used to organize their activities in concrete terms and warn them: "When you reach a certain place, you will find a log bridge. Across the bridge you will be in danger because there are enemy soldiers there, so you will have to act in such and such a way. There will be a plain somewhere on your route, and there you must take such and such precautionary measures." The commanding officers used to explain the situation in such detail. Then, the men were not involved in accidents. On the other hand, if commanding officers gave their men missions in vague terms simply telling them to go to a certain place to

do something, problems arose almost without exception.

It was the same in the Fatherland Liberation War, too. Accidents were frequent where the commanding officers were not careful about the management of their units.

If you do political work properly, you will be able to prevent accidents without difficulty. This can also be said about motor accidents. When you send your drivers on a mission, you should explain the details of the mission to them and tell them the destination, specifying the precautions to be taken, for instance, when driving over a bridge or when taking a certain bend. You should also check that the vehicles are repaired and maintained properly. If unit commanders do such work correctly, the drivers will not get into trouble. Accidents occur because they simply send their drivers on a mission without doing political work.

Careless work organization on the part of commanding officers and political workers and their neglect of political work, particularly with the soldiers who are working individually, are the cause of accidents. Punishing your men after they have had accidents is useless.

In order to prevent accidents, you must frequently meet the soldiers who are working separately, talk to them and educate them. When you give them an assignment, you must also give them necessary precautions. If you do so, the men will not be involved in an accident.

The problems relating to the work of the LSWY will be dwelt on later when the meeting of the LSWY workers is held. Other problems will be taken up at another opportunity.

At this meeting, you have made many suggestions. Most of them are important and to the point and also deserve consideration.

Among these suggestions, those which are capable of immediate solution should all be settled now, and the outstanding problems will be examined and discussed one by one and resolved gradually.

I should like to stress once more that you must always maintain a high degree of revolutionary vigilance and make full preparations to deal with a war.

Since our home front is stable, victory in war depends completely

on how the People's Army is prepared to fight.

The People's Army must not become indolent and lax on any account; it must prepare itself for war, fighting against time. It must not hesitate or become confused in any complex situation; it must be prepared to crush the enemy to the last man, if he unleashes a war, and reunify the country. The Party trusts you and placed you in charge of battalions.

You must continue to build up your battalions well, and improve their combat readiness with all your talents and energies so as to prove yourselves worthy of the trust the Party places in you.

LET US DEVELOP PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SPORTS ON A MASS BASIS AND PREPARE ALL THE PEOPLE FOR LABOUR AND DEFENCE

Speech at a National Conference of Athletes

November 4, 1969

Comrades,

Today, at this National Conference of Athletes, I highly appraise the great successes you have achieved in the sphere of physical culture and sports. On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I offer my warm thanks to you who are present here—the People's Sportsmen, Merited Sportsmen and the officials in charge of directing physical culture and sports, who have contributed greatly to the development of our physical culture and sports—and, through you, to all the athletes in our country.

It can be said that making all the people healthy and strong through promoting physical culture widely is an important matter which decides the destiny of the country.

The strength of a country is decided largely by the physical and mental strength of its people. The strength of these people largely depends, after all, on the measure of their physical exercise. Regular exercise makes them not only healthy but also strong-minded.

This is borne out by the history of our country.

Historically, our nation was at its strongest in the Koguryo era. The people, during this period, had a strong constitution and will capable of withstanding any hardships because, from childhood, they enjoyed

horse-riding and archery and underwent hard physical training. They were, as a result, able to courageously fight back hundreds of thousands and even millions of invaders, always staunchly defending their country.

From the Ri dynasty the strength of our country began to wane. During the 500 years of the Ri dynasty, the feudal rulers gave prominence to civilian officials only and looked down upon military officers. They neglected horse-riding, archery and other kinds of physical training. At a time when the Japanese marauders were watching for a chance to invade our country, the Ri dynasty neglected the defence of the country. It took no defence measures but idle and incontinent as they were, they wallowed in drinking and chanting poems day and night. On that account, the country was conquered by the Japanese imperialists.

Today, developing physical culture in our country on a large scale is very important in preparing all the working people for labour and defence.

If we are to build a rich and strong, independent and sovereign state, we must develop science and technology. But this alone is not enough. We must also widely develop physical culture so that all the working people can be healthy and strong and devotedly participate in collective labour to accelerate socialist construction. Although science and technology are developed and the people have acquired a high level of technical skill, the country can never become prosperous automatically. It is true, of course, that the nation's productive forces can develop quickly only when the people have acquired a high level of science and technology. However, if they are in bad health or always ill or fail to work well, their scientific knowledge and technical skill, no matter how good these are, will be of no avail and will not serve the country. Moreover, only when their physical conditions are steadily improved in the course of physical training can they advance modern science and technology. It is, of course, the general trend of the development of modern technology to introduce mechanization and automation so as to make work easy and pleasant. Some of the new

scientific and technological fields, however, demand the good physical conditions of the people who operate the machinery. For instance, only very healthy people can pilot spacecraft or supersonic aircraft. After all, unhealthy people would be unable to acquire sophisticated modern techniques nor would they be able to operate modern machinery.

The same can be said of national defence. If our People's Army is to repel any surprise enemy attack at a stroke, it must be well prepared with regard to military techniques and also the soldiers must be physically strong. As we see today, the People's Army has become powerful revolutionary armed forces, each of the soldiers being a match for a hundred foes. This is attributable not only to their excellent marksmanship and tactics but also to the strong physiques of all the soldiers, which are the result of widespread development of physical culture among them. However good at shooting and however adroit in tactics the soldiers are, they will be unable to fight back the enemy and win a battle, after all, unless they are strong in body. If they are to press upon the enemy, surround and destroy him quickly, they must attack him continuously without giving him a breathing space. This requires that they should have strong physiques capable of swift actions in any bad terrain conditions.

In view of the natural and geographical conditions in our country in particular, we have to develop the physical strength of all our people not only so as to speed up socialist construction but also to increase our defence efforts.

Our country is a peninsula with many mountains and rivers and a relatively long coastline. In order to make our country prosperous, we must exploit our mountains which are rich in mineral deposits, and must conquer the sea which abounds in marine resources. Should an emergency arise, we have to fight the enemy and we need a high degree of mobility to traverse mountains, rivers, wet terrains and to surmount other obstacles.

Today, our people have the historic tasks of achieving a complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea by making a greater drive for socialist construction, of driving out the US imperialists from

our country and of reunifying the country by consolidating the revolutionary base in the north and by uniting our efforts with those of the south Korean people. All the people must, therefore, work devotedly on all fronts of socialist construction, keeping themselves more alert and ready than ever, and they must be prepared in every way for a showdown with the US imperialist aggressors, should an emergency arise. We do not want war, but we have to fight because we are in direct confrontation with the US imperialists who are making frantic efforts to engulf our country and are still oppressing and exploiting the south Korean people.

All this urgently requires that all the people, both the people who are committed to civilian efforts and the soldiers who are safeguarding the security of the country, should have strong physiques. All the people—the workers, farmers, soldiers, students, men and women, and young and old—without exception, must participate in physical training and make themselves healthy and strong so that they can overcome any obstacles and ordeals. This is the means to increase our strength as a nation and expedite the great revolutionary event of the reunification of the country.

Moreover, our people who are living in an era of revolution must fight dauntlessly in cooperation with the revolutionary people throughout the world to rid our world of imperialism once and for all and to accomplish the world revolution. Our duty to carry out unflinchingly the cause of the world revolution also requires that we must have strong physiques adequately prepared for defence and labour.

From now on, we must develop physical training in all sectors and at all units in a campaign which involves all the people.

Since the days immediately after liberation, our Party has attached great importance to physical culture and sports and has paid close attention to their development. It has stressed the need to develop physical culture and sports in which all the people participate rather than those oriented to championship.

We gave the students, the soldiers of the People's Army and the socialist working people the task of developing physical strength,

along with deep knowledge, and a lofty communist morality. The attainment of knowledge, morality and sound body is required of everyone engaged in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction. This is an important motto which our Party must uphold until it has built socialism and communism.

Leadership cadres in all sectors must know clearly the great importance of physical training and must first have a correct point of view on this matter. It is a mistake to regard physical culture and sports as mere amusements. Physical culture and sports are not diversions but are sciences. They comprise an important factor of the cultural revolution. Our cultural revolution aims to encourage all the working people to acquire profound knowledge on nature and society and also to develop strong physiques through widespread physical training. Originally, the working class raised first the slogan for an eight-hour workday, eight hours of study and eight hours of rest in their fight against repression and exploitation by capital. The eight hours of study must naturally include the hours for physical training.

In order to develop physical culture and sports in an all-people campaign, schools must be the first to promote physical education extensively.

In our country compulsory secondary education has already been introduced and, on this basis, universal compulsory nine-year technical education is now in force. All children are given free education from kindergarten through middle school.

This will facilitate the development of physical culture and sports among all the people. If we ensure, by taking advantage of nine-year compulsory education for all the younger generation, that the schools throughout the country promote physical education so as to get all the students and pupils to acquire a habit of physical training in their childhood, the problem of developing physical culture and sports on an all-people basis will be solved easily, for they all will take jobs in society after graduation. Therefore, how physical education is given at schools and how people undergo physical training in their school days is the key to developing physical culture and sports among all the people.

Schools, however, are not efficient in physical education at the moment. This is because educationalists do not regard physical education to be as important as other subjects and pay little attention to physical training.

As a result, even some of the school graduates are not in good physical condition when they join the People's Army. The People's Army must naturally recruit young people of strong physique, but at the moment these youngsters start developing their physiques, only after their enlistment. They acquire sturdy build and grow in stature in the course of a few years' service after enlistment. This is not because they are given special food, but because they live under strict discipline and receive intensive physical training.

If schools improve physical education and provide it extensively, all the pupils will have strong physiques before taking up their military service or employment.

We visited the Haeju Revolutionary School several years ago. All its pupils are children of the patriots who fell in battle or were murdered by the enemy. During the war they became orphans or grew up in poverty even if some still had their mothers, with the result that their physiques did not develop as they should have. Therefore, many of the pupils were weak and short of stature. In effect, they were handicapped in one way or another.

Under the circumstances, this school should have begun with the work of building up their physiques after their enrolment. Nevertheless, the school utterly neglected this work.

Therefore, we gave it the task of including physical education in its curriculum as an important subject and intensifying exercises to develop the pupils' structure and bodies harmoniously.

Three years later we visited the Nampho Revolutionary School to celebrate its tenth founding anniversary. The pupils of the Haeju Revolutionary School were also there at the ceremony: their physiques had developed considerably. They were not only in better health but much taller than the pupils from other schools. This was explained by the fact that the Haeju Revolutionary School had in the meantime

stepped up the physical training of its pupils.

All educational institutions from kindergartens, primary schools, middle schools to colleges and universities must draw on this experience and give extensive physical training.

If they are to intensify physical education, schools must allocate appropriate hours in the timetable for this purpose and also devote much time to physical training after school.

It is advisable to give physical training in various forms. Football, volleyball, basketball and similar sports should be organized and gymnastics using iron bar, parallel bars and so on should be widely encouraged. It is simple to put up an iron bar or parallel bars and they are durable. Such apparatus should therefore be arranged in large numbers so that pupils can use them regularly. It is advisable to encourage extensively such national sports as seesawing, swinging and tug of war.

Secondary schools and institutions of higher learning should arrange many mountaineering expeditions in spring and autumn. Nowadays, our students are not fond of climbing mountains. On my way to an inspection tour of Jagang Province this summer, I dropped in at Mt. Myohyang and found only a few student climbers there. We therefore gave the chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Socialist Working Youth a task of organizing frequent mountain-climbing expeditions for the students. Only when students train their bodies, climbing mountains, scaling precipices and fording rivers during their school days, can they cross our steep mountain areas and become more familiar with nature in our country.

Physical training through frequent marches including those by night is also important. The importance of night marches was well proved by the experience of the three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War. Most of the soldiers that strayed during the offensive or the arduous retreat of the People's Army in this war happened to be those who dozed or straggled on the night march.

Swimming in rivers and seas should be widely organized to give physical training to the pupils and students. Swimming is a good sport for physical development and training. Good swimmers are not afraid of

rivers and seas. One cold winter day of a certain year a fishing boat was wrecked in the waters off Rajin and Sosura. At that time it took 20 hours or more to rescue the victims after the SOS was received. But as the fishermen were healthy and good at swimming, none of them drowned.

We must train all the pupils to be good swimmers from their childhood. Only then, can they conquer the sea and come to surmount any hurdles when grown up.

In order to develop physical culture and sports in a campaign involving all the people, not only schools but also all institutions, enterprises and cooperative farms must widely organize physical training.

Factories and enterprises must make it a rule to let their men and office workers take exercises for 20 to 30 minutes in the open after two or three hours of work. This is a good routine which enables the working people to do both work and physical training.

Exercises during intervals of work must be compulsory for the miners working on the face, as well as the workers in underground factories. Since workers have to keep standing to operate machines or work bent over most of the time in factories, their posture is likely to suffer. It is essential, therefore, that they take exercises, walk and run, during the break. This will help to improve blood circulation and relieve fatigue.

It is advisable for factories and enterprises to arrange military-type exercises such as hurdling-races, wall-climbing and running contests frequently on Saturdays or Sundays.

Senior officials in all sectors and at all units of the national economy must appreciate that exercises during a break and physical training in general, are not a waste of time and manpower. Of course, you must not have physical training all the time never doing any work, under the pretext of building up a habit of physical training. To all intents and purposes, you must widely develop physical training in the course of your work.

In addition, physical training should also be encouraged at home.

Each family can be likened to a cell of society. Therefore, cold

rubdown, cold shower and morning exercises at home hold an important place in developing physical culture among all the people.

Everybody in our socialist society is entitled to work, and is free to study and have physical training. Wherever he is, everyone should be encouraged to make time for sports and physical exercises as much as possible according to his aptitude and ability.

We must develop physical culture among the masses and continuously give physical training to all the people in this manner and, on the basis of this, build up the ranks of professional sportsmen and raise the level of every sport.

The development of physical culture and sports on a mass basis and the reinforcement of the ranks of professional sportsmen are interrelated. Development of physical culture and sports among the broad masses can only result in great numbers of skilled and highly qualified sportsmen. Only when professional sportsmen attain a high degree of technical skill, can the level of physical culture and sports for all the people be raised.

If they are to raise the level of every sport and further develop sport techniques, the professional sportsmen must intensify their training.

It is an important duty of the professional sportsmen to the Party and the state to effectively conduct training so as to improve sport techniques and develop physical culture in our country. In order to fulfil their duty they have to exert themselves to the utmost in their training.

We always tell the soldiers of the People's Army that if they have not spared any efforts in combat training they will have the smallest number of casualties in battle. The same is the case with sportsmen. If they are conscientious in their day-to-day training, they will improve their skill to that extent and win their games.

In the past you have trained with unflagging energy sparing no efforts, with a strong will to exalt the honour of the country in full view of the world. As a result, you have scored brilliant results at international contests in field-and-track events, skating, volleyball, football and in many other fields. Sportsmen must not rest content with this in the least but continue to intensify their training.

In order to raise the standard of every sport and win every game, it is also important to evolve Juche-oriented tactics suited to the capabilities of our people.

The success we have so far achieved in developing physical culture and sports is due mainly to the fact that we have established Juche by rejecting flunkeyism and dogmatism. In the past some people failed to establish Juche in physical culture and sports but pursued flunkeyism and dogmatism, and this prevented us from achieving greater successes. We must not practise flunkeyism and dogmatism in any field. During the 500 years of Ri dynasty we Koreans fell victim to flunkeyism, with the result that they lost the sovereignty of their country. Flunkeyism undermines any progress in physical culture and sports, too, and even ends in relegating them to the scrap heap. Foreigners are not particularly better than we are with regard to sport techniques. Whether we can develop sports or not today depends entirely on how our sportsmen and officials in charge of directing physical culture apply the Juche idea of our Party in this work.

All sportsmen must arm themselves firmly with the Juche idea of our Party and solve all problems that arise in this field from an independent standpoint.

If they are to achieve good results in physical culture and sports, it is important for all our sportsmen to develop esprit de corps and display their collective talents.

Today an innovation campaign is spreading widely in all sectors of the national economy, and this is because the socialist working people are displaying mass heroism. If collectivism is given full play in any undertaking, people can multiply their individual capabilities. This is all the more true of sports which require close cooperation. Mass heroism is a sure guarantee for victory in games. Success in sports depends on whether mass heroism is displayed or not. Our football teams defeated every formidable rival in the youth and children's football games of socialist countries held in our country this year, and this was because they showed a high degree of esprit de corps.

We must thoroughly rid sportsmen of fame-seeking and individual

heroism and ceaselessly educate them in collectivism.

We insist on encouraging mass gymnastic performances mainly for the purpose of cultivating collectivism among young students and schoolchildren.

As we always say, mass gymnastics are very important not only in building up the physique of the young students and schoolchildren but also in fostering collectivism among them and in raising their degree of organization and discipline. If one person makes a wrong move, he may disrupt a performance in which tens of thousands of students are taking part. In this way each student strives to fit in with the collective. This is a very important element in educating people.

Since the mass gymnastic performance is an exercise which combines a high level of artistic skill and ideological content, the participants undergo political and ideological training and develop their aesthetic sense in the course of the performance so that they become good at singing and dancing.

In order to give full scope to these advantages we must see to it that mass gymnastic performances are organized widely at all times. If you organize such a large performance all at once, you will need much time and money. But if you give assignments to schools part by part so that they train regularly in a planned manner, you will be able to put their parts together when necessary. Then, you can complete preparations for the performance without having spent much time and funds at one time. I think it is necessary to develop mass gymnastic performances at a high level across the country.

If we are to develop them widely, we have to train a large number of specialists. These specialists are needed not only to develop mass gymnastics in our country but also to help the people of other countries. Foreign visitors to our country who see the performances speak highly of them and make many requests for our specialists to be sent to their countries. At present, many specialists in mass gymnastics are working in foreign countries, but they still number far less than needed, and the demand continues to grow. We must produce great numbers of physical education instructors so as to raise the level of our mass gymnastics and,

at the same time, send many of them to other countries.

The next important task in developing physical culture and sports in our country is to build and provide the facilities and apparatus for physical training in a campaign which involves all the people.

We have paid much attention to the provision of sports facilities, but there still is much that we need to do. Theatres and cinemas have been built in every provincial capital, city and county town but many of these cities and towns do not have a gymnasium. The gymnasiums in Pyongyang and some other cities are not fully equipped.

In future gymnasiums must be built in a mass drive at provincial and municipal centres, county towns, workers' districts, and schools. Schools in particular must all be provided with swimming pools, football fields, volleyball, tennis, baseball, table-tennis and basketball facilities as well as facilities for seesawing, swinging and other national sports events, in addition to gymnastics.

These facilities and apparatus do not cost much money. The question is that senior officials take no heed to physical culture and sports and make no efforts to develop them. From now on officials at provincial, city and county people's committees concerned must have a plan and arrange sports facilities one by one and step by step.

Athletes must acquire a high level of skill, strong physiques, develop a high degree of esprit de corps and should constantly endeavour to raise our physical culture and sports to the front ranks in the world and also become Red sportsmen of our Party who are unpretentious and adhere to lofty communist morality.

To this end, we must intensify ideological education among them so as to root out retrogressive bourgeois ideas and equip them thoroughly with the monolithic ideology of our Party.

Sports in the bourgeois society are a diversion and sportsmen are bought and sold. In such a society they as a matter of course degenerate into hooligans or parasites. But, under the socialist system in our country, the athletes have a mission to raise the level of physical culture and sports among all the people and, as professional sportsmen, exalt the honour of our country and people in full view of the world.

Nevertheless, some of our sportsmen are not fit to be Red athletes in the age of the Workers' Party, not realizing their high mission and honour. I was told that some sportsmen have not yet rid themselves of the habit of fighting with their colleagues. This is intolerable under our socialist system and a deep disgrace to our athletes. People build up their physiques not in order to behave like hooligans but to fight the enemy and subdue nature.

Fights among sportsmen must not recur. It is also advisable for athletes not to drink too much. Alcohol causes people who have little self-discipline to become unruly and it may even damage their health and so render them at a disadvantage.

All athletes must strive to working-classize and revolutionize themselves. Working-classization and revolutionization are our important tasks in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

We are striving to build a communist society where everybody will be happy, not a society in which only a few people thrive. If a communist society is to be built up, everybody should be revolutionized and working-classized, irrespective of his class origin. Many athletes in particular have involved family backgrounds, so they must work harder than anyone else to revolutionize themselves in order to develop in line with the communist society. It is very important in revolutionization to intensify one's study of Party policy in order to equip oneself with the Party's revolutionary ideas and, in particular, play an active part in a revolutionary organization and observe discipline strictly. Party members must be active in the Party organizations, and those who are not Party members must take an active part in the working people's organizations. In this way, all the athletes will become veritable communist sportsmen equipped with the Party spirit, the working-class spirit and popular spirit.

I am convinced that you will carry out with credit our Party's policy on physical culture and sports by developing these in a mass drive with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm.

ON IMPROVING PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL WORK IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

**Speech Delivered upon Dispatching Heads of Organizational
Departments under Political Departments of Field Armies
and Corps of the Korean People's Army**

November 7, 1969

Today, availing myself of this occasion of sending you as heads of the organizational departments under the political departments of field armies and corps of the Korean People's Army, I would like to speak about some questions.

The Party Central Committee has decided to appoint you to these positions in order to improve Party political work and enhance the role of the Party committees in the People's Army.

I am not going to speak at length about the tasks which the heads of the Party organizational departments should carry out because I am sure that you heard my speech delivered to the heads of the provincial Party committees' organizational departments.

The most important element in the work of the Party organizational department is effective guidance on the organizational life of its members. In point of fact, we should call it the department in charge of guiding Party organizational activities. However, to be concise, we call it simply the Party organizational department. In the People's Army, too, this department is in charge of directing the members' organizational activities.

As you all know, our Party is the vanguard of all the organizations

of the working class and the guiding force directing the working people's organizations. If this department effectively guides the organizational life of the Party members, it can stimulate the League of Socialist Working Youth and all other working people's organizations into action. Therefore, the work of this department which consists in galvanizing the Party organizations into action and directing the members' organizational life is very important.

The Party organizational department should not meddle in trivial matters, but efficiently guide the Party members' organizational life.

All the commanders and political workers of the People's Army are affiliated with Party organizations, being Party members. If you guide the Party members' organizational life as you should, you will come to supervise all their activities.

Guiding their organizational activities means directing every aspect of their lives. You are mistaken if you think that organizational life consists merely in holding meetings. Organizational life embraces each Party member's everyday life. Therefore, the Party organizational department should always direct it.

As the vanguard of all the revolutionary organizations, Party members have no greater task than to carry out their revolutionary assignments. Every day from morning till night they follow up their revolutionary missions. Therefore, to guide their organizational life means precisely to direct their revolutionary activities.

Unlike civilians, the soldiers have comparatively simple duties. Ordinarily their main tasks are to carry out combat and political training and stand on sentry. Therefore, it is easier to guide the Party organizational life of soldiers than that of civilians. Moreover, here the collectivist education can also be carried out efficiently because life in the army is collectivist. An important factor in communist education is the training of people in collectivism, in other words, the instilling of a collectivist spirit. It is easy to instil in soldiers a collectivist spirit because life in the army is to all intents and purposes a collective life. However, the political workers in the People's Army do not turn this advantage to any account.

Only when the organizational department effectively directs the members' activities in Party organizations, will the cadres and Party members in the People's Army be sound and all military assignments be fulfilled in the way that they should.

What, then, is the key factor in directing the organizational life of Party members?

It is to give day-to-day direction to and exercise constant control over Party meetings, the Party members' study and their military duties.

On the basis of all that has transpired in the course of their participation in Party meetings and study sessions and the implementation of their revolutionary duties, you should appraise Party members at a meeting or individually and give them new assignments. This is the work which the organizational department should do. To speak more plainly, its key task is to work effectively with cadres, and other Party members and masses. In a nutshell, it must work effectively with people.

The organizational department should also direct the organizations of the LSWY, the reserve of our Party. The People's Army has no other working people's organizations but those of the LSWY. Therefore, work with the masses will be successful if it directs these organizations efficiently.

If they are to guide Party organizational life effectively, heads of the organizational departments should first draw up a meticulous schedule. The schedule should include guidance to be given at meetings and on study, talks with individual Party members, work with the LSWY organizations and officers' families and the like.

In keeping with your schedule, you must give directions to junior officials on how they should conduct meetings and apportion assignments to Party members.

You cannot fulfil all the tasks relating to the supervision of Party organizational life unaided. Therefore, you should prepare the instructors so that they will be able to guide the Party meetings, Party study and the work of the LSWY. When a unit fulfils an important

military assignment, you heads of the organizational departments should visit it and talk with soldiers in the field.

You should not merely deal with documents, take the necessary procedure for admitting people to the Party and register the disciplined Party members in the same way as those who are working in the archives and documents section and in the Party membership registry section. Needless to say, the work of these sections is also vital. In any case, this is nothing but a technical aspect of the work which the organizational department should undertake. It is not a department which deals exclusively with technical matters, but one that supervises the activities of the members in Party organizations. In other words, it is a department which details assignments to all Party members and impels them to action.

If it is to prove its worth, a Party organization should give assignments to its members and see to it that all of them work in line with these. If a Party organization merely requests its members to take part in a meeting after having given them no Party assignment for a whole month, it will become a nominal organization. At present, many Party organizations are not as active as they should be. All that they do is hold the occasional meeting and study session.

Party assignments should be given to all its members and should be suited to their abilities. This is how assignments should be given: someone must talk to a particular comrade on a specific topic; if there is a comrade who is lagging behind in his training, someone must take charge of him and help him so that he proves successful in both drill and shooting; if there is someone who frequently breaks discipline, one comrade must guide him to end this practice; when someone does not understand Party policy, a comrade must make it clear to him, by reference to a book.

In this way, you should see to it that all the Party members have assignments given by their organization, always work in line with them, always keep it informed of their work and receive new assignments once they have fulfilled those already given and so be occupied at all times. If they do so, Party life will be animated, and,

accordingly, the Party organizations will become active. If a Party meeting is held with military exercises just ahead, you should give a detailed assignment to every Party member so that every one of them as well as Party organizations are stimulated to action.

Meetings which are held to ensure the implementation of combat missions should deal with essential matters, rather than take up too many problems. If a march is organized because some battle duty comes to the fore, you should see to it that the political workers of regiments and battalions rouse the Party members to action for its success.

An important duty of the organizational departments and their heads is to rouse all the Party members to action and ensure the success of combat and political training and combat missions by giving effective guidance in Party organizational life.

Heads of corps organizational departments should always direct and help their divisional counterparts so that they come to work well. The latter should be guided by the same purpose and should help the Party organizations of regiments and battalions.

Heads of corps organizational departments should sometimes call on the lower units and participate in the meetings of company Party cells and the Party committees of battalions and regiments. They should instruct junior officials as to how to run meetings and apportion Party assignments, and ensure that they galvanize all the Party members into action by giving them assignments without exception.

It can be said that there are mainly two tasks which the heads of the organizational departments should perform. One is to personally organize and direct Party organizational life and the other is to guide, control and supervise the organizational departments of lower Party organs so that they carry out their work well.

Next, I would like to talk about the need to run the Party committees efficiently.

At present, they say that they cannot convene Party committee meetings when they should because they do not have a quorum. This is because they are hide-bound and not flexible. A meeting of the Party

committee or its executive committee can be convened even when not all the members are in attendance. When there are members who cannot attend the meeting, you should hold it after informing them of the agenda for the meeting and that you will keep them informed of deliberations. If those absent from the meeting have no further opinion on what has been discussed, that is all right. However, if they do raise queries, further discussion on particular items is advisable.

The key to running the Party committee is to anticipate the tasks confronting the units at every stage and to raise these at each meeting in good time.

For instance, if the Party committee discusses the problems relating to the delivery of clothing and other supplies tomorrow at a time when the unit is to launch an assault this evening, it would be inappropriate and in no way assist the commanders. When an attack is imminent, if the Party committee does not discuss the means to ensure its success but instead takes up questions relating to the delivery of food and mowing hay for horses and the like, the commanders will be loath to attend it because they will resent this.

The Party committee should always promptly take up the important and urgent problems confronting its unit. In other words, it should discuss combat and political training, the implementation of combat missions, discipline, ideological training and the like. Only then will the military and political cadres come to take an interest in the items tabled for discussion.

You heads of the organizational departments should always anticipate those problems which will be discussed by the Party committees. After that, you should tell the commanders which matters you are going to raise at the Party committee meeting because you think that they are now pressing matters confronting your unit and must ask their opinions. You then should include these matters in the programme of the Party committee and hold the committee meeting. The Party committee should be convened at fixed periods. If an important problem comes to the fore, it can be discussed at an emergency meeting.

The Party committee should take up and discuss the important tasks facing the unit as well as the problems in hand. It must then give appropriate assignments so that the commanders undertake military problems and administrative work and the Party officials deal with internal Party work.

At present some military commanders say that they lack the authority to give orders and enjoy no independence. They themselves are partly to blame for this, but there are also some shortcomings in the running of the Party committee.

Major and urgent tasks confronting the unit must be discussed by the Party committee, before an order is issued, countersigned by three people—the commanding officer, the political commissar and the chief of staff. However, it will not do if the commanding officer has no right to give orders even on minor problems. Of course, when he tries to move his unit at will and expel his men without due cause, Party officials should stop him from doing so. However, they should help him and make it possible for him to give orders regarding administrative affairs and day-to-day work. They say that when the commanding officer visits the lower unit and orders the men to shift rifles and trucks, some of them reluctantly carry out his instruction, arguing that this order is not valid because it is given by him, acting individually. This is undisciplined behaviour. The heads of organizational departments should strive to eliminate such practices.

The Party committee should not have a hand in administrative work without due reason. It need not treat those problems which can be disposed of quite well by authority of the commanding officer alone. In any case, it must discuss important problems including those related to the general work of the unit.

It is said that there is an argument as to who must make the summation in the Party committee. It does not matter who makes it. Summing up a meeting is nothing out of the ordinary. A summation needs not necessarily be made at the very end of a meeting. Moreover, it is not obligatory. When debate on items on the agenda proves inconclusive, the summation must be made when the meeting is about

to close. However, there is no need for it if there are no differences of opinion and everyone approves of the proposed resolutions. It is a kind of formalism to make a summation when there are no differences of opinion. Over the course of time the summation has come to seem obligatory for meetings. Such formalism, however, must be eliminated.

The question of who makes the summation at a meeting is one which the heads of organizational departments can treat in a flexible way. If the Party committee has discussed the problems of Party work, it can be made by the political commissar; if a military problem was dealt with, the commanding officer can make it. If the heads of organizational departments run meetings proficiently, there will be no argument over who has to make it. It will also then not be necessary to stipulate that the commanding officer sum up military problems and the political commissar political work.

When there are no differences of opinion in the meeting, there is no need for a summing-up. However, when there are differences of opinion and it is necessary to make a summation, it will do if either the commanding officer or political commissar makes it depending on who knows the given problem better. It is because the Party committee is not under the sole jurisdiction of the commanding officer or a particular individual, but consists of equal members, that it does not matter who makes the summation at the meeting. However, some officials indulge in empty talk because they do not appreciate this.

The Party committee should discuss only important matters rather than take up a random assortment of critical and trilling issues. It will do if the political department and the general staff draft and implement the schedule with regard to day-to-day political work and that concerning military and administrative work respectively. If there are differences of opinion on even minor issues, the Party committee should be convened to discuss these. The Party committee need not discuss minor matters on which there are no differences of opinion.

The Party committee should be authoritative and discuss serious

issues, such as how to implement the Party's policy in military and political spheres.

If the organizational department efficiently guides Party life, it will come to know all the problems discussed in Party cell meetings and Party committees and to understand the general operations of the unit.

Heads of organizational departments should work with cadres well.

The heads, deputy heads and instructors of the organizational departments must, respectively, meet and talk with those cadres who come under their jurisdiction. It is essential to meet with not only people who have made errors, but also with those who have not. In particular, you must talk frequently with those who are considered to be apt to make errors. If you work with senior personnel efficiently, all of them will be able to work well without committing faults.

I have on many occasions talked in detail about the Party organizational work and personnel administration. It will do if you work taking into consideration all that I have said on these subjects. I will, therefore, not speak any further on this.

Next, I would like to refer to the work style of Party officials.

Party workers should always be modest. They should not like to be in the limelight. They must assist behind the scenes, and give prominence to commanders. Then the commanders will be pleased.

The Party officials must never stand on their dignity, putting on airs. As I always say, it is futile for them to behave like this. Military cadres will rely on the Party organization of their own accord and respect Party officials, if they carry out political work efficiently and thus see to it that all the Party members of the unit are united and stimulated to action, in other words, if they strengthen their Party organizational life and work efficiently with cadres.

I would now like to speak about the immediate task which you, heads of the organizational departments, must carry out when you arrive at your units.

Above all, you should build up the organizational department well. The part played by this department is as vital as that performed by the heart. If the organizational department efficiently galvanizes the Party

organizations into action, the unit will act properly. Therefore, you should first staff it with good people. The organizational department and the information and publicity department must both be well staffed. The former department makes a diagnosis in much the same way that a doctor does, while the latter dispenses the prescription as a chemist might. The workers of these two departments should always cooperate.

The organizational department should have a good knowledge of cadres.

In the course of forming an assessment of them you should not confine yourselves to checking up their records simply because they had once acted bureaucratically or contrary to the Party's monolithic ideological system. You should find out whether or not the people concerned come from among the basic classes and whether they work well at present or not. Even some of those who are not of basic-class origin may work faithfully after they have reformed and have undergone revolutionization. Therefore, you should not have a blanket animosity towards all people who do not belong to the basic classes, nor should you expel without due reason people who are conscientious workers.

When I say that senior personnel must be examined, I mean that you must check whether they work conscientiously or not. I never imply that you should indiscriminately dismiss anyone. The main factor in arriving at an assessment of them is an appraisal of their level of readiness to cope with an emergency.

A correct assessment is vital in preparations for war. By doing this work efficiently you should fully come to know if they have made thorough political and ideological preparations to counter a war. Some of our officials pay lip service and on the surface appear to manage their units well. However, on such scanty evidence it is difficult to arrive at an assessment of their likely performance in an emergency. It is important to know who among them will stand fast at his position and fight bravely and who will not do so if war breaks out.

Cadres can be correctly assessed on the basis of their organizational

life. If activities in Party and the LSWY organizations are intensified, in other words, if political work is carried out efficiently, we can identify people who support us and those who do not do so, those who will fight on our side and those who will flee as soon as they hear a gun report.

If you carry out efficient political work you can anticipate what people have in mind. However, if you do not do this work and never mix with them, you will never come to know them. You should not threaten people with dismissal, shouting at them nor gather flatterers about you, just as military bureaucrats used to do in the past. Sycophants feign loyalty in peace time. However, they will flee if they find themselves in difficulties during a war.

In order to arrive at a correct assessment of cadres, heads of the organizational departments should always have a keen political sense and never overlook even minor infringements that may crop up among people.

It is very important to thoroughly prepare soldiers both politically and ideologically.

I always emphasize that a characteristic of a revolutionary army is that as a result of its political and ideological superiority it defeats any army that may have the technical superiority. Therefore, the People's Army should do everything to thoroughly arm the servicemen politically and ideologically.

The soldiers should be firmly equipped with our Party's revolutionary idea.

Only then will they be able to fight our enemies as they should. You should carry out ideological work meticulously and arm all the soldiers firmly with the Party's monolithic ideology. In this way, you should see to it that they come to have a full understanding of our Party's policy and military line and follow these through.

You should instruct them to abominate US imperialism, Japanese militarism and class enemies such as landlords and capitalists.

Of late many good films, which help towards revolutionary education, have been produced. A case in point is the feature film *Sea*

of Blood, which by exposing the Japanese imperialists' brutality, convinces viewers of the fact that they have no alternative but to set out on the revolutionary struggle if they are to attain national and class liberation. Through such revolutionary works you must raise the soldiers' resolute opposition to Japanese militarism and US imperialism and raise their class consciousness so as to oppose the landlords and capitalists. In these ways you must thoroughly prepare them so that they will fight the enemies unflinchingly.

Furthermore, you should carry out ideological education efficiently so as to inspire them with confidence in our certain victory in war.

I reiterate that the heads of the organizational departments have to carry out two kinds of tasks if the political and ideological preparations to cope with war are to be fulfilled. One is to strengthen organizational life so as to form an irrefutable assessment of the soldiers, and commanding officers in particular. Another is to conduct effective ideological training and so thoroughly prepare all of them that they detest our enemies and have confidence in our revolutionary victory.

I think that I have covered all the immediate major tasks which you heads of the organizational departments will have to carry out when you go to your respective units.

In order to assist you in your work, from now on the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee will receive frequent reports on the work of the organizational departments under the political departments of all units. By doing so, we intend to keep you informed of any shortcomings in your work and to guide you on what you must do in order to rectify them.

**ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED
BY ALI BALOUT, CORRESPONDENT
OF THE LEBANESE
NEWSPAPER *AL ANWAR***

November 22, 1969

Question: Your Excellency Mr. Premier, you have achieved prodigious successes for the heroic Korean people.

These successes will be immortal and will serve as a beacon for the people who are working out their destinies through their own efforts. They will also serve as a guide for the people who want to build the best society possible.

Your Excellency Mr. Premier, could you tell the Arab people, through the Lebanese newspaper *Al Anwar*, about achievements to be made in the near future under your wise leadership in each of the political, economic, social and cultural domains?

Answer: To begin with, let me express my thanks to you for your deep appreciation of the successes achieved so far by our people.

The Korean people set great store by all the successes they have made in their struggle to build a new society under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea. They have a justified confidence and great pride in them. But no matter how great our victories may be, we are by no means complacent about them. The successes we have already gained in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction are no more than the foundations for advancing the revolution and winning new victories. We are still on the path to revolution. We have more

work ahead, more work than we have already done.

Our people must not only fight for the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea. They must also drive the US imperialists out of south Korea, accomplish the national-liberation revolution and reunify the country. For this purpose, socialist construction in the northern half of Korea must be vigorously pressed forward, and the revolutionary force in the north, which is the base of the Korean revolution, must also be firmly built up into an invincible force in all fields, political, economic, military and cultural. This is a very responsible and complex revolutionary task. However, our people's revolutionary enthusiasm and fighting spirit are very high and they are well able to carry it out. Their confidence in victory, too, is firm. Our people have strong confidence not only in their ideals for the distant future but also in the shining prospects of the years immediately ahead.

In the future, as in the past, all the victories of our people will be achieved by closely following the line of independence, self-support and self-defence—the embodiment of the Juche idea of the Workers' Party of Korea in all fields of state activity.

We shall continue to hold fast to the principle of solving all problems arising in our revolution and construction independently. We shall solve them in conformity with the Juche idea of the Workers' Party of Korea. In particular, we shall pay special attention to arming all the working people firmly with our Party's Juche idea, and to further revolutionizing and working-classizing them so as to rally them closely around the Party and the Government. By doing this we shall transform the political force of our revolution into an invincible power which no force can ever destroy.

The goal we are to achieve during the next few years in socialist economic construction is enormous and inspiring. Our country's economy will develop at a very fast rate, relying on the solid basis of the independent national economy laid by our people during their hard struggle of the past years.

We shall continue to press ahead energetically with the technical

revolution in all branches of the national economy. In the field of industry, we shall strive for complete mechanization and semi-automation and then full automation in the next few years. We shall thus make the labour of the workers easier and more efficient and expand production on a much larger scale.

There will be a great leap forward especially in the development of branches of heavy industry such as the engineering, metal, chemical and mining industries. A radical change will also take place in light industry, including the textile, food and consumer goods industries.

At present our people are making the final efforts to reach the climax of the Seven-Year National Economic Plan, a magnificent programme of socialist construction. When this plan is fulfilled, our country will be transformed from an industrial-agricultural state into a powerful socialist industrial state and will be able to hold its own among the advanced countries of the world.

Our socialist rural economy will also develop very rapidly. We are planning to complete irrigation and electrification in the next few years and introduce extensive mechanization and the wider use of chemicals, and widely adopt advanced farming methods. We shall achieve this by dynamically pressing ahead with the rural technical revolution in line with the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. With the realization of this plan our farmers will be freed to a greater degree from the conditions of arduous and difficult labour under which they have suffered for thousands of years. They will be able to farm in an easy, enjoyable and efficient way with up-to-date farm machines and diverse chemical fertilizers, weed killers, vegetable growth stimulants and other agricultural chemicals. That is not all. With the rapid growth in the output of various agricultural products, including grain and animal products, our country will have a greater abundance of food and will be in a position to supply the working people with sufficient non-staple foodstuffs including meat, eggs and vegetables.

Our science and culture will also advance more rapidly as the nation's political and economic might increases. Scientists and technicians will continue to involve themselves in active research, in

order to solve any scientific and technical problems which arise in the building of a more Juche-oriented industry and a more developed socialist agriculture. The state will adopt measures to enable a far greater number of youths and working people than at present to receive higher education, while, at the same time, consolidating the successes of the compulsory nine-year technical education which has already been introduced. In addition, all the masses will work hard to eliminate once and for all the influence of the decayed reactionary imperialist culture and to make our socialist national culture shine more brilliantly.

When these goals have been achieved in all branches of politics, economy and culture, our country's political and economic power will be augmented incomparably and our science and technology, literature and art will be developed onto a new, higher stage, while our people will enjoy a more prosperous and cultured life.

It is true that the goals which we intend to achieve are very high and we have many difficulties ahead. We are building socialism under difficult circumstances—our territory is divided into north and south and the stratagems of US imperialism and its stooges to unleash a new war are becoming more pronounced every day. Therefore, the building of the economy and culture in our country cannot but be hindered to a certain degree. It will meet with various difficulties.

But our people, who have matured in the trials of the revolutionary struggle and have the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, will courageously surmount all these difficulties and will carry out with credit all their revolutionary assignments, firmly grasping a rifle in one hand and a hammer or sickle in the other.

Question: The friendly Korean people who enjoy your inspiring leadership have clearly proved that the US gangsters cannot deprive them of their national sovereignty or dampen their desire to drive out the colonialists and reunify their country in the near future.

Your Excellency Mr. Premier, do you think that the US imperialists are planning new aggression against the heroic Korean people?

Answer: The aggressive actions of the US imperialists in Korea are already widely known to the world. Out of their brigandish ambition to seize the whole of Korea and use it as a springboard for invading Asia and the socialist countries, the US imperialists have turned south Korea into their complete colony and military base for aggression. They have daily continued their acts of aggression and war ignition against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for more than 20 years, from the first days of their crawling into south Korea until now.

The US imperialists' plans to launch a new war in Korea have been intensified, particularly in the last few years.

The US imperialists already had enormous aggressive military capabilities in south Korea and, of late, have been increasing them still further. They illegally shipped into south Korea large quantities of tactical nuclear weapons, guided missiles and various other types of weapons of mass destruction in gross violation of the Armistice Agreement. Some time ago, they again brought large numbers of fighter-bombers to the military bases in south Korea and even organized what they call the 71st task fleet with scores of warships, including a nuclear aircraft carrier and large battleship, deploying it in the waters off the DPRK.

US imperialism is greatly increasing the numerical strength of the south Korean puppet army and further reinforcing its military technical equipment. In particular, the US imperialists have created the so-called "homeland reserve forces" with the aim of increasing the number of local mercenaries in south Korea. They have press-ganged a vast number of south Korean youths and middle-aged people into them and are rushing to arm them fully.

Various military bases and military installations have also multiplied rapidly in south Korea.

Meanwhile, the US imperialists are perpetrating more reckless armed ignitions against the northern half of Korea. Because of this there is not a single day when firing does not take place along the Military Demarcation Line.

As was fully exposed through the incident of the US imperialists'

armed spy ship *Pueblo* in January last year and the shooting down of their large spy plane *EC-121* in April this year, the US imperialists have perpetrated their espionage activities against our country more and more openly.

Today the US imperialists have established a “wartime structure” throughout south Korea, issued emergency mobilization orders to the occupying US troops and to the south Korean puppet army and went into a state of “special alert” while reinforcing the armed forces along the front line.

All these facts show clearly how furiously the US imperialists are again working to unleash a new war of aggression in Korea.

Owing to the naked aggressive actions of the US imperialists, the situation in Korea is so tense and dangerous that war could break out at any moment.

No military threat by the US imperialists, however, can frighten the Korean people. If, in the end, the US imperialists and their stooges unleash a new war against the DPRK, in defiance of our people’s patient efforts to prevent war and maintain peace and the unanimous condemnation of the peace-loving people of the world, the Korean people will rise as one in a sacred war to protect their beloved country and revolutionary gains. They will completely annihilate the aggressors.

Question: The imperialist and colonialist press and news agencies are trying to harm the good relations which exist between the DPRK and the Soviet Union, and China, claiming that your young country is leaning to one side in the dispute between the two great socialist powers.

What effect do you think the continuance of this dispute will have on the unity of the socialist countries in the struggle against world imperialism?

Answer: As you have correctly pointed out, the imperialists and their reptile press are claiming that our country is on the side of this or that country in the differences between the socialist countries. This is nothing but a foolish trick to create antagonism and drive a wedge

between our country and other socialist countries. There is nothing strange about the fact that this mean trick is employed by the imperialists and reactionaries of all types throughout the world. They hope the differences between the socialist countries will widen, and are perpetrating all kinds of crafty intrigues to weaken and undermine the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and autonomous by nature. Because the communists are fighters who, starting from their faith in Marxism-Leninism, struggle for the emancipation of the working class and other working people in their own countries and for the freedom and liberation of the world's people, they hold fast to their independent conviction and fight on for it unyieldingly, through any adversity. If the communists lost independence and autonomy and followed in the steps of others, they could not maintain principle and consistency in their lines and policies, and this would, in the long run, not only spoil the revolution and work of construction in their own countries, but also impose a great setback on the progress of the international communist movement and world revolution.

Our Party, guided by the Juche idea in its activities, is a revolutionary party which adheres solely to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and determines all its lines and policies independently, to suit the actual conditions in our country. Our Party develops its struggle against imperialism and opportunism of all hues, not blindly on orders or instructions from anyone else, but always on the basis of its own faith. Firmly maintaining independence in our activities in this way, we endeavour to unite with friends fighting for the common goal on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We also strive to learn from their experiences if they are worthy of learning, when they conform to Marxist-Leninist principles and when they suit our own conditions. The fraternal parties also fully understand this position of our Party and consider it correct.

No deceitful intrigues of the imperialists and reactionaries can impair the independent, principled position of our Party and

Government or weaken the unity between our country and other socialist countries.

As for the differences between the socialist countries, they are, in all cases, ideological and theoretical differences existing between class brothers who have the same political and economic basis and fight against imperialism and colonialism for the common goal of building socialism and communism. These differences do not express antagonistic disagreements such as those between the imperialist powers or between nations with differing social systems; they are merely temporary differences which arise from different views on such questions as how to appraise the present times, how to fight imperialism and support the liberation struggle of the peoples. They are rooted in the different historical and geographical conditions of each socialist country, different national duties and different understandings of Marxism-Leninism.

In the course of the joint struggle against imperialism, the peoples of the socialist countries will eventually overcome their differences and march forward shoulder to shoulder in their battle for victory in the common cause of building socialism and communism.

Question: Your Excellency Mr. Premier, you are probably well aware that the Arab people are suffering from the continued aggression of Israel, an aggressive country, and its patron, the United States, and that more than two million Arabs have been driven away from their native land.

Could you please give us your opinion of the Middle East crisis?

Answer: The Middle East crisis has resulted from the aggressive stratagems of the imperialists headed by US imperialism, who, putting up the Zionists as a “shock force”, are trying to suffocate the growing anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle of the Arab people and bring this area under their control. It is entirely because of the brazen aggressive machinations of the Israeli aggressors and their manipulators, the US imperialists, that the crisis has not yet been solved and the situation in the Middle East remains tense.

The anti-US, anti-Israeli struggle waged by the Arab people today is a righteous struggle to safeguard national independence and dignity, to restore the usurped Arab territory and accomplish the Palestinian people's cause of liberation.

The Korean people resolutely condemn the US imperialists and the Zionists for their aggressive actions in the Middle East, fully support the Arab people in their just struggle and express firm solidarity with them.

Question: Your Excellency Mr. Premier, you triumphantly organized and led the guerrilla warfare against the Japanese invaders and fought for 15 long years, thereby bringing a great victory to the Korean people in the end.

Today the Arab people of Palestine have begun their liberation war in the occupied areas following the path you opened up.

Then, what advice could you give the Arab guerrillas from the experience of your glorious struggle?

Answer: The Palestinian people have started the armed guerrilla struggle against the US imperialists and their faithful stooges, the Zionists. This is the correct way of achieving freedom and liberation.

You have asked me to give some advice to the Arab guerrillas, but I would like to tell you briefly about our experience of struggle rather than give advice.

As you know, the fine sons and daughters of the Korean people had waged an arduous anti-Japanese armed struggle for 15 long years under the leadership of the communists and defeated the Japanese imperialist aggressors, thereby accomplishing the historic task of the country's liberation. The Korean people's anti-Japanese armed struggle was the highest form of national-liberation struggle to resist the counter-revolutionary forces with the revolutionary forces. During this struggle we underwent many trials and gained valuable experience.

Our experience shows that the oppressed people must fight resolutely against their oppressors in order to achieve the country's

liberation and national independence, and that armed combat is the most active and the most decisive form of that struggle.

History has not yet seen any example of the imperialists making a gift of independence to colonial peoples, nor any case of a people deprived of their country who received independence from others without waging a struggle themselves. That is why, in order to restore the lost country and achieve genuine national freedom and independence, the oppressed people need to discard all illusions about imperialism. Only by fighting resolutely against imperialism can they advance the revolution and accomplish the cause of liberation.

The imperialists leave no stone unturned in maintaining their colonial rule and, with the approach of their doom, they become all the more desperate. The imperialists cruelly and ruthlessly suppress the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples by using all the machinery of power and violence at their disposal. That is exactly what the Japanese imperialists did in Korea in the past. Therefore, the Korean communists had to take up arms and fight for the restoration of the motherland and we finally won victory after waging a long, arduous armed struggle. Violence must be countered with violence and counter-revolutionary forces must be smashed by revolutionary violence. The experience of the people's liberation struggle shows that a struggle which begins on a small scale develops gradually into a massive struggle and can emerge victorious in the end. We are firmly convinced that the Palestinian people who have embarked on the road to liberation by taking up arms will certainly triumph if they have firm confidence in victory and stubbornly carry on the armed struggle to the last in all areas, whether the scale of the struggle is large or small.

To ensure steady growth of the revolutionary forces is one of the basic conditions for winning victory in the revolutionary struggle. Throughout our anti-Japanese armed struggle, therefore, we set as the most important task the building up of our own revolutionary forces and we persevered energetically to that end.

Our primary concern was directed, first of all, at strengthening the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army politically, ideologically and militarily,

in order to consolidate the revolutionary forces. We endeavoured to ensure the organizational and ideological purity and unity of purpose of the anti-Japanese guerrilla ranks and equip all the guerrillas with the firm consciousness of Juche, ardent patriotism and warm revolutionary comradeship and voluntary discipline. Also, we improved the military equipment of the guerrilla army with weapons captured from the enemy in the course of continuous battles with him. We further expanded and developed the guerrilla ranks.

While strengthening the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, we strove to lay the firm mass basis of revolution and unite all the masses who loved the country and nation, to organize and mobilize them in the revolutionary struggle.

In view of the fact that the armed struggle was being waged in the form of guerrilla warfare, it was very important that we strengthened the ties between the anti-Japanese guerrillas and the mass of the people, induced the people to give every possible support and encouragement to the guerrillas and organized and mobilized them in the anti-Japanese struggle.

Under the motto of “As the fish cannot live without water, so the guerrillas cannot live without the people,” the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army strove for closer kinship with the people everywhere and at all times. They also worked hard to rally all the anti-imperialist forces around the armed struggle and combine this struggle with diverse forms of mass struggle under correct strategical and tactical leadership. The founding on May 5, 1936 of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, the first organization of the anti-Japanese national united front in our country, was an event of epoch-making significance in consolidating the mass basis of revolution. With the founding of the association, the anti-Japanese national united front movement developed in a more organized, systematic and rapid way on a nationwide scale in close combination with the anti-Japanese armed struggle. It became possible to organize and mobilize all the anti-imperialist forces more firmly in the struggle to liberate the country.

The strengthening of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, consolidation of the mass basis of revolution, close combination of the anti-Japanese armed struggle with diverse forms of mass struggle—all these constituted an important factor in our victory in the anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle.

Victory will be hastened if the Palestinian people strengthen their armed guerrilla force organizationally, ideologically and militarily, lay the solid mass basis of the struggle, closely rally all the revolutionary and all the mass organizations so as to cement the unity of the revolutionary forces and, further, vigorously wage the anti-US, anti-Israeli struggle on a nationwide and all-Arab scale in firm unity with all the Arab people.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I sincerely wish the Palestinian people greater victories in their guerrilla struggle for the liberation of their country.

SOME QUESTIONS ON COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF YOUTHS AND CHILDREN

**Concluding Speech at the 20th Enlarged Plenary Meeting
of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

December 5, 1969

Comrades,

At this plenary meeting we have discussed the questions of intensifying the work of the League of Socialist Working Youth and Party guidance of education. These two matters are closely related. Needless to say, there are points where they differ from each other, because the first is a question of the work of a working people's organization and the other is one of school education. Despite this, in the light of the content involved in these two matters they can virtually be regarded as one and the same question because they both aim at communist education of youths and children.

1. ON SOME TASKS OF DEVELOPING SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST EDUCATION

1) ON PERFECTING SOCIALIST PEDAGOGY

As the report and speeches unanimously stressed, marked progress

has so far been made in school education. Until a few years ago, on many occasions our schools, which were infected with dogmatism and trying to copy foreign methods, provided a jumbled education, which was neither communist nor capitalist. In other words, in the past our education had no clear distinction between the working class and the capitalist class, between communism and capitalism and between revolution and counter-revolution. However, thanks to the correct educational policy of the Party, these essential faults have been eliminated gradually in recent years and schools have begun to conduct revolutionary education based on socialist pedagogy, education which has a definite working-class line.

At present schools instruct students in our Party's revolutionary ideas and theories, which constitute revolutionary mental food, in some depth and detail and pass on useful knowledge to them, knowledge which is needed for socialist and communist construction. Educational workers have achieved considerable success both in establishing Juche in education and in improving education in socialist patriotism. In short, it can be said that our educational work has now embarked on the right road to train students to be new men of a communist type, the genuine revolutionary reserves, and can contribute to the cause of socialism and communism.

However, our successes in educational work are merely initial ones. It is true that at present our pedagogy is socialist, unlike the one of the past which was a jumble. And yet we cannot regard it as perfect. We have merely taken the first step in turning pedagogy into something which is truly socialist and communist.

In order to improve educational work to meet the objective requirements of the developing revolution, we must perfect socialist pedagogy by making a closer study of educational theories and methods.

In doing this we must not try to copy other people. Moreover, even if we wanted to do so, there is no example for us to follow. With regard to socialist pedagogy, there is no perfect theory and set example which could be followed. We must not introduce into our country a jumbled

form of pedagogy which lacks a clear-cut working-class line and has no clear distinction between revolution and counter-revolution and between communism and capitalism.

In the field of education, as in all other branches, we should faithfully follow Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles and strictly guard against the infiltration of every kind of opportunism. We must develop socialist and communist pedagogy creatively based on Marxist-Leninist principles and proceeding from the standpoint of Juche.

The main thing in socialist pedagogy is to revolutionize and working-classize all our younger generation and thus arm all of them with the revolutionary ideas of the working class and educate and train them to possess the traits and qualifications of a genuine communist, an ardent revolutionary, who fights devotedly for the victory of the socialist and communist cause.

Rooting out the legacies of old ideas which still linger in the minds of people and revolutionizing and working-classizing the whole of society is a most important revolutionary task confronting a working-class revolutionary party during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism; and socialist pedagogy has an important part to play in implementing this task.

As you know, during this period a number of old ideological vestiges left over from the old society persist in the people's minds. They obstruct socialist and communist construction. Therefore, without ridding the people's minds of them, the revolution cannot be promoted speedily.

It is not easy to fight against the old ideology. This is because it has been rooted deep in the minds of people for a long time, ever since the emergence of the class society based on private ownership.

Reactionary ideas such as elements of capitalism and feudalism are not only found in the minds of people, but also in various survivals of the old society which we continually come across in different spheres of social life. In other words, they are to be found in etiquette, conventions and customs as well as in culture. Needless to say, there

are not only bad things but also good things among the legacies of the old society. Therefore, it is unreasonable to throw away indiscriminately all the legacies inherited from the old society, in the belief that they are bad. If we adopt a wrong opinion and attitude towards them and do not deal with them properly, we may make various mistakes.

Socialist pedagogy should find solutions to diverse complex problems such as ways to eliminate the vestiges of the old ideas which still persist in the people's minds and to convert the bad legacies of the old society into communist ones.

If we are to fight obsolete things in every sphere of social life and build socialism and communism, we have to arm every member of society with the revolutionary world outlook. Our revolutionary situation, in particular, requires that people equip themselves more firmly with this outlook. Under the condition in which our country is divided into the north and the south and we are face to face with US imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction, we should not only build socialism but also accomplish the tasks of the national-liberation revolution and the people's democratic revolution by helping the south Korean people and, furthermore, build socialism and communism on a nationwide scale. If we are to succeed in these difficult and complex revolutionary tasks, we must train a large number of revolutionaries firmly equipped with the revolutionary world outlook.

It is not easy to establish a revolutionary outlook on the world. To this end, people should first be well aware of the reactionary nature of capitalism and the brutality of imperialism, strongly abhor the imperialists and exploiting classes who are engrossed in exploitation and oppression and acquire the revolutionary determination to fight staunchly to destroy the old and corrupt ruling system. If we are to succeed in this, we must develop truly communist and revolutionary pedagogy.

As I have already mentioned, it is, of course, a great triumph that we have solved such fundamental problems of socialist pedagogy as definitely establishing working-class line in education and correctly

fixing its objects. However, we cannot consider that this has settled every one of its problems.

Let me take the children's filial duty to their parents as an example, even though this matter seems to be simple.

From olden times we Koreans have respected and taken care of parents with great devotion, and regarded this as our duty as human beings. Needless to say, it is good. Therefore, we must maintain this good habit so as to train the growing generation to be well-mannered and respect their parents.

However, we should not stress filial duty too much, taking only one side of it into account. If filial piety only is overemphasized in the education of the new generation, it will have undesirable consequences. Filial devotion was greatly stressed in the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius. This doctrine demands that people obey their parents blindly. If we instruct the new generation in terms of this doctrine they will follow their parents even when they behave contrary to revolutionary principles and communist morality. This has no place in the principle of communist education.

On the contrary, it will not do to ignore the question of filial duty in education completely. The complete rejection of this matter will make our rising generation ill-mannered people who do not respect their parents and elders. At present some of our youths and children do not esteem and look after their parents and elders dutifully. This is mainly due to their poor instruction in school.

We should not make the rising generations blind followers of their parents in disregard of revolutionary principles nor ill-bred people who pay no respect to their parents, by mishandling the question of filial duty in education. Educationists should correctly distinguish the good side from the bad side in this and study how they can discard the bad side in the education of the rising generation and develop the good side to meet our revolutionary requirements.

If we are to perfect socialist and communist pedagogy and train the new generation properly we should not neglect a single convention and custom. We must study them all fully from various viewpoints,

discover and develop what is good and drop the bad, and so create new, communist replacements for them. If we set things right one by one in this way, everything that is old and useless, such as feudalistic and capitalistic ones, will finally be eliminated once and for all in all spheres of our life and only socialist and communist ones will be predominant throughout society.

In socialist pedagogy it is also very important to clarify the problem of how we should preserve our national cultural heritage including literary and artistic works of the past. We cannot say that everything has been elucidated with regard to this problem.

As you all know, the “Tale of Chun Hyang” and the “Tale of Sim Chong” have been popular with our people from olden times. Our people know them well either by reading them or by being told of them. However, at present these tales are of no great significance in educating our youngsters, children and other people.

The “Tale of Chun Hyang” deals with how a noble’s son and a humble woman’s daughter fall in love. This tale criticizes social inequality between the rich and the poor, between the nobles and commoners in a feudal society and shows that young people are entitled to love and marry, irrespective of property and social status. We can say that it was a progressive work for that particular time. However, in our age, it is not very progressive and has hardly any educational value.

This is also true of the “Tale of Sim Chong”. The story runs as follows: Sim Chong sells herself for 300 *sok* of rice, the offering to Buddha, to restore her father’s lost eyesight. She drowns herself and then comes back to life. This story is also of hardly any educational value for the present time.

Must we now throw away the “Tale of Chun Hyang” and the “Tale of Sim Chong”? Of course we should not do so. If we throw away all such works, our future generations will not know the history and past life of their people well. Although they have little educational value at present, they can serve as a reference in studying how our people lived in the past, what social inequality existed in feudal days and how

feudal bureaucrats oppressed and exploited the people.

The point is for us to adopt a critical attitude towards the legacies of our national culture and judge them correctly from the viewpoint of socialist pedagogy. In the past our officials often dealt with this matter incorrectly, thus creating various anomalies in preserving and developing the legacies of our national culture.

At one time some scholars overrated the intellect of Jong Ta San and other people belonging to the *Silhak* school, giving them undue prominence. This exerted an undesirable influence on the ideological education of the working people and the instruction of students. A few years ago the Party criticized the overemphasis on the *Silhak* school as being unreasonable. Since then this school has been almost totally ignored. That is also wrong.

Some time ago I saw the newly produced opera *Eight Fairies on Mt. Kumgang*. In this work the old story had been unduly modernized. Originally, this work recounted a legend about fairies who, fascinated by the extraordinary beauty of Mt. Kumgang, came down from the heavens to enjoy themselves. The sole theme of this work is the beautiful scenery of Mt. Kumgang in our country. This piece which sings of the superb beauty of the mountain, cannot be regarded as bad. It is of course a legend that fairies descended from the heavens. However, none of our people will believe the legend in any event. Therefore, it is all right to keep this work intact. However, the new version has added a pointless episode which shows fairies living on Mt. Kumgang and praising it as an earthly paradise. This is wrong. The earthly paradise means our happy socialist system. Therefore, it is an anachronism to say that in the past fairies descended to Mt. Kumgang and sang the praise of an earthly paradise.

In appreciating and dealing with the legacies of our national culture we should oppose the wrong practice of belittling things of the past indiscriminately, labelling all of them bad and, at the same time, strongly guard against the tendency of overvaluing or modernizing them excessively on the pretext of developing national assets. If we throw away everything which belongs to the past, judging them to be

bad, we shall fall into national nihilism. If we compromise with the practice of considering everything from the past to be perfect, or of attaching unnecessary importance to them, we shall return to the past and give up revolutionary principles.

We still have a long way to go before the world revolution is accomplished. It is very important to foster the excellent traditions of national culture properly because revolution and construction proceed with each national state as a unit. The time-honoured national customs, conventions and cultural traditions will remain for a considerable period even after the world revolution triumphs some time in the future. Therefore, we should neither discard those legacies of our national culture which are popular with our people, nor treat them in a nihilistic manner.

For all this, we need not give prominence to and encourage things which are harmful to our revolution and those which have no educational value today, although they were progressive in the past. We should unhesitatingly abandon things which obstruct the revolutionary education of the people and socialist and communist construction.

In order to assist people to adopt a correct understanding of the legacies of our national culture and treat them properly in education, I think it necessary to organize the work of examining and correctly appraising the old-time literary, musical and fine arts pieces and all other cultural legacies in the light of socialist pedagogy.

In addition to what has been mentioned, there are many outstanding problems if we are to perfect this science.

The work of perfecting socialist and communist pedagogy which we have already set out cannot be done overnight. In just the same way that people establish their revolutionary world outlook, socialist and communist pedagogy must be gradually perfected, by way of creating new things and abandoning old things one by one.

We are not idealists but scientific communists. Therefore, we should not look at every problem arising in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction in an unscientific way from the idealistic

point of view, but in a scientific way in the light of materialism. In order to perfect socialist pedagogy, we should settle, on the basis of materialistic dialectic, all problems arising in different spheres of social and natural sciences, literature, art and morality.

It can be said that perfecting socialist pedagogy is far more difficult and complex than economic construction. Economic construction deals with visible objects such as machinery and equipment, raw and other materials. Therefore, we can tell without difficulty whether they are outdated or up-to-date, and it is comparatively easy to replace outdated ones with modern, advanced ones. On the other hand, education is much more complicated. The object of education is the ideological consciousness of people, which is invisible. Therefore, it is very difficult to determine whether it is progressive or backward. Man's ideological consciousness betrays itself only when it is translated into action. No matter to what extent a man retains outmoded ideas in his mind, they cannot be detected unless they are shown up by his actions. This is the reason why our officials find it very difficult to work with people, particularly with cadres, and why they deviate from the right path in many ways in this work. If we are to promote a man to a post of a senior official as we should, we must first be fully aware of what he is thinking. However, this is not very easy. Therefore, the work of perfecting socialist pedagogy should not be carried out by a few people in a subjective way, but all educationalists should carefully settle outstanding problems one by one, pooling their collective wisdom.

The next important factor in socialist pedagogy is to conduct education in socialist patriotism efficiently.

I think that our officials still do not have a correct understanding of socialist patriotism. When they are told to conduct education in socialist patriotism, on many occasions they make a jumble of socialism and patriotism, misinterpreting this instruction for a demand to educate people in both of them. In the past the illustrious generals such as Ulji Mun Dok and Kang Kam Chan and famous Admiral Ri Sun Sin, and Jong Ta San, Pak Ji Won and other scholars of the *Silhak*

school, were treated as important without due consideration and their achievements were unjustifiably overestimated. This can mainly be attributed to the lack of a correct understanding of socialist patriotism. Therefore, I think it is necessary to have a correct understanding of this.

We proposed the question of education in socialist patriotism for the first time at the conference of cadres of the People's Army held after the war. Until that time we had called this kind of education, education in patriotism in general terms. However, we introduced the specific term education in socialist patriotism at that time. This was because our country was divided into north and south and a socialist system free from exploitation and oppression had been established in the northern half of Korea as a result of the rapid promotion of the socialist revolution.

Since the country was partitioned into north and south and different social systems existed in the two parts, we had to educate the people in the love of the socialist motherland instead of vaguely indoctrinating them with love of the country and nation. That was why we stressed the need to intensify the education of soldiers in socialist patriotism instead of simply instructing them in patriotism.

Instead of merely saying patriotism, we add the word *socialist* to it, and thus make clear the class nature of patriotism. This presents itself as a more urgent question because the treasonable clique and traitors to the nation in south Korea are trying to deceive the people under the cloak of patriotism. The south Korean puppet clique talk a great deal about "patriotism" although they have perpetrated the treacherous act of reducing that part of the country to a colony of both US and Japanese imperialists. They pretend to be patriots by holding a memorial service for Ri Sun Sin every year, pretending that they are following his example. By doing this they craftily seek to curry favour with the people and cover up their contemptible nature. We should clarify the difference between the "patriotism" the traitors advocate and the socialist patriotism we maintain so as to expose their deception thoroughly.

In short, socialist patriotism means love for the socialist country where there are socialist gains—the power of proletarian dictatorship, the socialist system and the structures which have been built in the course of socialist construction.

The power of proletarian dictatorship established in our country is the government of workers and peasants. All our state laws and policies serve only the political rights, liberty and material and cultural well-being of the working people. The socialist system set up in the northern half of Korea is a most advanced social system under which everyone works according to his ability and is entitled to be paid for his work and receives free education and medical treatment. Factories, railways, pumping stations, reservoirs, schools, theatres, hospitals and all other wealth in our country have been built by the devoted and creative efforts of our people and constitute valuable assets for the prosperity and development of the country and the happy life of the people.

Educationalists should educate students to champion and defend this advanced socialist system and the power of proletarian dictatorship, take loving care of the property of the country and people and devote themselves to increasing it.

In the past, officials in the ideological sectors did not have a clear understanding of socialist patriotism. Taking advantage of this, the wicked elements tried to mislead education in patriotism and dim the class line of socialist patriotism. We should prevent the recurrence of this.

Having a clear understanding of the class nature of patriotism and intensifying education in socialist patriotism is particularly important because our country is under capitalist influence and confronts US imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction.

Our country lies close to Japan, a reactionary capitalist state. A genuine, independent government of workers and peasants has been set up in the northern half of our country, whereas a reactionary, traitorous puppet regime is to be found in its southern half which has been converted into a colony of US imperialism. In view of this, we

must convince all working people whose interests the government of the Republic advocates and how the people are provided with genuine freedom and democratic rights in the socialist society. In this way we must encourage them to cherish the socialist system, strive to strengthen and develop it and fight devotedly to defend the socialist system and socialist country from the enemy's encroachment.

2) ON ESTABLISHING JUCHE THOROUGHLY IN TECHNICAL EDUCATION

I shall not refer to the need to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system and Juche thoroughly in the field of social science, because I have mentioned it on many occasions.

Today I should like only to draw attention to the need for our educationalists and scientists to establish Juche thoroughly in technical education and make particularly great efforts to develop an independent industry in our country.

By setting up a self-supporting industry we mean to develop our industry mainly with our domestic resources and our own technology.

One of our most important tasks today in increasing the independence of the economy is to create an iron industry sustained by domestic fuel.

As you all know, the output of steel in a country is a major criterion of its economic might and the level of its industrial development as well as its defence power. It is for this reason that those countries which mass-produce steel are regarded as having an advanced industry while those with a small output of steel are considered to be backward in industrial development.

It is true that at present our country produces a larger quantity of steel than it did in the past. However, its output is still not very large.

In order to produce more steel we have to increase the output of iron. However, coking coal has not yet been discovered in our country. Therefore, it is a matter of great concern to our Party and people and an

urgent task for the field of science and technology to study the way to develop the iron industry with little coke by using domestic fuel or totally dispensing with it.

In solving this problem, it is important to produce iron with anthracite and, as a further step, to develop iron manufacture by using electricity. It is not difficult to produce electricity with our coal. Therefore, if this method is introduced, another perspective will be open to develop iron production speedily in our country.

In developing Juche-oriented industry it is also important to exploit our abundant natural resources and exchange them for those foreign raw materials which our country does not have. Although I have mentioned this problem more than once, I should like to draw attention to it once again today.

If we exploit those resources which abound in our country but which other countries do not have, and sell them on the world market, we shall be able to buy whatever quantities we need of those goods which we do not have with the foreign currency we earn.

Let us take magnesite as an example.

Our country has abundant supplies of this mineral. Only a few countries have this mineral, and, into the bargain, it has almost run out in those countries. Therefore, many countries want to import magnesia clinker from us. It is expensive. If we are successful, we can pay for the imported petroleum with the foreign currency which we earn from our exported magnesia clinker. We shall be well able to extract, roast and sell magnesite, if we organize work efficiently.

We should manufacture a wide range of goods with our abundant nonferrous metals and sell them. For example, if we produce small electric motors or cables from copper, we can earn much more foreign currency than if we sell raw copper.

Another important factor in developing an independent industry is to advance the chemical industry. The large-scale development of this industry is a worldwide trend at present. We should develop it and, in the process, obtain by chemical methods the resources which our country does not have.

We should be deeply concerned about automating production processes so as to free the working people completely from labour-consuming work. Automation is very important in laying the solid material and technical foundations of socialism and communism. Only when it is introduced widely can the difference between heavy and light work and between physical and mental labour be eliminated. Educationalists should direct students efficiently so that they will tax their ingenuity and give thought to developing the automation industry and increasing the production of automated equipment for extensive automation in all fields of the national economy and to freeing the working people from burdensome labour.

An important problem in agricultural science is to develop biology. In our country which has a small area of farmland we have to reap a bountiful harvest from this limited land. Therefore, we must develop biology to cultivate those crops which are not grown in our country and make low-yield crops into high-yield ones.

At the same time, it is important to develop land extensively to introduce all-round mechanization and the wider use of chemicals in our agriculture.

Our population is growing larger every year. To feed them, we should effectively develop the existing land to make better use of it, at the same time as reclaiming tidelands to obtain new land. As a matter of fact, if we succeed in this task, we shall be able to lead a good life with the existing land.

Educationalists should establish Juche thoroughly in technical education and thus get students to have the will to develop an independent national economy and solve the scientific and technical problems urgently needed for our economic development and encourage them to give consideration to them and strive to solve them. With this aim in mind you should write textbooks, equip laboratories and carry out scientific research. Only then can schools train competent technicians who will serve our economic construction and technical revolution better.

3) ON REVOLUTIONIZING AND WORKING-CLASSIZING TEACHERS

The revolutionization and working-classization of teachers are particularly important in the light of their significant revolutionary duty.

Teachers are responsible for the most honourable and important revolutionary task of rearing successors to our revolution. Therefore, unless they revolutionize themselves to become staunch communist revolutionary fighters, they cannot train students to be reliable reserves of socialist and communist construction.

Our experience shows that we are fully able to reform any person, however complex his family background is, if we tirelessly educate him.

I will take an episode that happened in the days of the temporary retreat during the Fatherland Liberation War.

At that time there was an intellectual with an involved class origin at a factory. He wanted to follow our Party at any cost. However, the chairman of this factory's Party committee was very narrow-minded and reluctant to take him. He told the intellectual to remain behind because he belonged to the capitalist class. However, the man begged him to take him along, saying that he could not bear living with US imperialists although he was of bourgeois origin. Despite his earnest request, the Party chairman refused to take him. Therefore, the intellectual had no choice but to follow the retreating column of the factory's employees, walking some distance behind them. When they skirted the foot of a hill and were out of sight he resumed his pursuit unnoticed, and when they came into view he stayed where he was until they were out of sight again so as to resume his walking. However, having covered scores of miles, he was at last caught by the Party chairman. Only now did he tell the intellectual to join the column, saying: "If you are so eager to join us, let's go together."

On the other hand, there was also the case of a Party official forcing an intellectual to retreat in spite of his refusal to do so.

There are many similar instances.

Because our Party has educated intellectuals effectively, intellectuals like the second man are also now working sincerely, not to mention the fact that those who are like the first man have worked faithfully until now.

All this shows that all intellectuals can be revolutionized and working-classized if they are properly instructed, although there are different kinds of people among them.

However, at present there are many shortcomings in work with personnel, particularly with intellectuals.

Some of those who are in charge of personnel administration judge people merely by their personal records without having a thorough knowledge of their political and ideological preparedness and totally ignore those who have complex family backgrounds.

I was told that in a certain place a teacher was dismissed because his father had worked as a sub-county clerk in the days of Japanese imperialist rule. This shows that officials in charge of personnel management are extremely narrow-minded. It was not the teacher himself, but his father who worked as a sub-county clerk. This cannot seriously affect his ideological development. We should take along with us even a former sub-county clerk if he wants to make revolution with us. Why then should we expel the man who has grown up under our social system, has been educated by our Party and wants to join us in socialist and communist construction? We should make revolution not only with the son of a former sub-county clerk, but even with that of its head if he sincerely repents of his father's crimes and wants to join us.

There is no point in proposing the question of revolutionizing and working-classizing old-line intellectuals if we are going to expel all those who have a questionable family background, instead of training them efficiently.

Of course, it is not easy to re-educate intellectuals. However,

revolutionary work cannot be carried out smoothly without any difficulty or complication. Even in the past when we had not seized power and so waged an underground battle, we educated intellectuals of capitalist-class origin and encouraged them to join the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, there is no reason for us not to educate and win them over to our side now that we are in power and have a legal Party.

If we are too particular about the class origin of people like some officials we shall eventually arrive at the conclusion that the old intellectuals are good-for-nothing. This is very dangerous. Those who are in charge of personnel administration should not find flaws in people by merely consulting their personal files.

In any case, a personal history is merely a sort of reference to find out how people were influenced ideologically by their parents. Therefore, in personnel administration, you must not only consult people's files, but mainly take into account their ideological preparedness under all circumstances. In other words, people should be judged by whether they think and act in a revolutionary way or not and whether they have a revolutionary attitude towards their work or not. This can be known through direct contact with them and by the way they work and act. Institutes of higher learning have Party organizations of students and teaching staff. Therefore, if we rouse them to action efficiently, we shall be able to know the lecturers' ideological preparedness.

If people with involved social and political backgrounds think and act in a revolutionary way, are armed with our Party's ideas and the revolutionary spirit of the working class and discharge their revolutionary tasks with credit at their workplaces, we should consider them to have been revolutionized and working-classized to a considerable extent and enlist them in our revolutionary cause with faith in them.

With regard to those teachers who retain the remnants of old ideas to a comparatively large extent because of their low level of revolutionization and working-classization, we must guide them efficiently and work with them if they endeavour to remedy their

shortcomings and are determined to carry on the revolutionary work with devotion. Since old-line intellectuals were prosperous and read a number of corrupt bourgeois books in the former society, they may still have the remnants of a great many of the old ideas. However, it will suffice to criticize and correct them promptly whenever they manifest these ideological survivals. It is a different matter if old-line intellectuals oppose the socialist system deliberately or refuse to join us in the cause of revolution. However, we should take them to the communist society if they repent of their past misdeeds sincerely and want to work with us for the final victory of our revolution.

How then should we revolutionize and working-classize teachers?

Some people suggest sending intellectuals to factories or rural villages to do physical labour with a view to revolutionizing them. In my opinion, this is not a very reasonable way. Our country still suffers from a shortage of intellectuals. Therefore, it is not right to engage them in physical labour. Moreover, we need not train them at enormous state expense if we are going to send them to the shop floor to do physical work.

Revolutionizing and working-classizing intellectuals means arming them with the revolutionary spirit of the working class, with communist ideology, so that they will become true communists. The important factor in reforming them on the pattern of the working class is, first of all, to cultivate collectivism, which is the most intrinsic characteristic of this class, amongst them.

At present our working class devote everything to work for the good of society and all the people, instead of working for their own interests. They only consider how they can render better service to the Party and the revolution. People do not necessarily acquire such lofty collectivism through physical labour on the shop floor.

I think that the basic way of revolutionizing and working-classizing intellectuals is to increase organizational and political life amongst them. I am not sure if any better method will be worked out in the future. However, in the light of what we have experienced so far, I think there is no better way than intensifying organizational life.

We should encourage teachers to strengthen revolutionary organizational life.

I am told that some intellectuals still regard collective organizational life as a nuisance and are reluctant to participate in it. This is very dangerous. Unwillingness to take part in collective organizational life is, in the final analysis, an expression of bourgeois licence to act as one pleases. Those who have not renounced this tendency cannot become communist revolutionary fighters.

The participants in the anti-Japanese armed struggle are highly respected by the people today because they are revolutionaries steeled through 15-year-long collective organizational life and hard-fought battles. If they had only read Buddhist scriptures in solitude in the heart of the mountains, shunning collective organizational life, they would not now be called revolutionaries and be esteemed by the people.

At present capitalists in bourgeois societies talk as though there is no liberty in a socialist society, with a view to disparaging the socialist system. I was told that once a south Korean journalist slandered our social system at Panmunjom. He asserted, “We south Korean reporters work if we want to, and don’t when we do not want to. When we write articles and earn some money, we can go to bars and *kisaeng* quarters. However, you north Korean reporters have no freedom because you have to go to work every morning and hold frequent meetings.” However, in south Korean society there are only a few people who, as that rogue said, work if they want to and can go to bars when they wish. The vast majority of the people there are ill-clad and go hungry and roam about the streets in search of work. If there are any who enjoy “liberty” in a bourgeois society like south Korea, they are a handful of the rich. The overwhelming majority of the population have no freedom at all. If the south Korean people have liberty, that is only the “freedom” to starve. And life will not be worthwhile if people only pursue their own interests, as that rogue asserted.

Bourgeois licence has nothing to do with communist ideas; we should resolutely combat such corrupt self-indulgent mentalities.

Party members, members of the League of Socialist Working

Youth and of the trade unions and Women's Union should punctiliously take part in the life of their respective organizations. People acquire the collective spirit through organizational life and, the more it is intensified, the more their revolutionization and working-classization will be expedited.

However, people are not revolutionized of their own accord because they join socio-political organizations and participate in various gatherings. People must take the floor at meetings and study sessions and be active in making self-criticism and mutual criticism. If they take part in meetings unwillingly and remain silent without speaking, they will not receive any education.

Under all circumstances, people should lead their organizational life conscientiously. It is particularly important to be active in making self-criticism and mutual criticism at meetings. Many people are still very afraid of criticism, because they consider it to be invective. They are wrong. In all cases criticism is meant for education. One must correct one's faults as soon as possible through self-criticism and mutual criticism.

From now onwards, Party and working people's organizations should guide teachers effectively to take an active part in organizational life in this way. We think that there is no harm in teachers holding meetings from time to time and having discussions and debates on political and theoretical matters. I am told that lecturers and students of Kim Il Sung University hold frequent debates to get an all-round and correct understanding of Party documents. I think that it is also a good method. We can have debates not only on the social but also on the natural sciences.

Organizational life is imperative not only for those with complex family backgrounds but also for those who have good family backgrounds. Everyone has vestiges of old ideas, though to varying degrees. Even those who have good family backgrounds can commit errors and become corrupt in the long run if they are left untrained and stay outside the control of the organization. Therefore, everyone, irrespective of their family backgrounds, should undergo day-to-day

education and control and take part in organizational life conscientiously.

It will do no harm for teachers to meet once a year to review their lives. If they examine their own hearts and criticize their shortcomings for some 15 days a year, it will contribute to perfecting socialist pedagogy and establishing their revolutionary world outlook.

We should intensify collective organizational life amongst teachers so that they will promptly remedy any shortcomings revealed in their everyday life and style of work and root up surviving outdated ideas as soon as possible.

4) ON MANAGING FACTORY COLLEGES EFFICIENTLY

A great number of technical personnel has so far been trained since the inception of factory colleges which enable the working people to get higher education without being taken away from productive activity. Experience clearly shows that the Party was absolutely correct in setting up factory colleges and that this educational system is a very good one.

We must operate factory colleges efficiently so as to train more technicians.

It is expected that there will be a great strain on the labour situation for some further years to come and consequently the reserve of people to be enrolled at regular universities will decrease. This situation makes it very urgent to improve factory colleges where students learn while working. It will take our country several more years to be able to ease the strain on manpower and admit many people to regular universities. If we remain indolent without taking any measures for several years because of this, we shall be unable to continue to increase the ranks of our own technical cadres as required by the revolution and construction.

Moreover, although the number of young people to be admitted into

regular universities is small at present, it will increase all at once in a few years. Then they will not be able to admit all the applicants. Therefore, if we operate factory colleges efficiently from now onwards, these colleges will greatly assist towards lessening their burdens at that time.

As you can see, the improvement of the work of factory colleges is very important both in tiding over the present difficulties such as the strain on labour and the small number of young people to be admitted to regular universities as well as in view of the country's future development.

We have to extend and develop factory colleges in order to enrol a larger number of youths and other workers.

To this end, I deem it necessary to set up higher technical schools under factory colleges. At present many workers at factories cannot enter factory colleges even if they wish, because they have not graduated from higher technical schools. If these schools are set up under factory colleges, many more workers will be able to become assistant engineers upon graduation from them and study at the colleges.

At the same time, we should start new courses at factory colleges to train managerial personnel.

In our country now the University of National Economy is mainly responsible for the training of managerial staff for factories and enterprises. However, it cannot satisfy the needs of different branches of the national economy on its own. Of course, it would be expedient to set up a correspondence course again at this university to enrol a large number of these people. However, this has some limitations. Moreover, it is better for them to study every evening than for them to attend lectures on this course for a month or two every year. If factory colleges organize courses to train managerial personnel which give lectures on industrial administration and other subjects which are taught at this university, not only will many managerial personnel be trained at the factories and enterprises, but the Taean work system will also be followed more efficiently and their management will improve

as required by the regulations governing the management of socialist industrial enterprises.

It will be difficult for every factory college to start a training course for factory managerial personnel at the same time. Therefore, we should first set it up at large factory colleges such as the Songnim College of Technology, Ryongsong College of Mechanical Engineering, Hungnam College of Technology and Pyongyang College of Technology. Deputy managers, deputy chief engineers, workshop managers and workteam leaders and all other factory managerial persons must have a chance to be admitted.

If we do this, more workmen will be able to study at factory colleges in future. Moreover, they will be able to train technical as well as managerial personnel.

Factory colleges should improve the quality of instruction.

The main shortcoming in their work is that their level of instruction is lower than at regular universities. This is not due to inefficient instruction or poor qualifications of the teachers but to the fact that the students do not fully understand what is being taught.

In order to eliminate this shortcoming, it is advisable to re-examine their educational programme and extend their term by one year or two more than that of regular universities. For instance, if students of factory colleges study for five to six years what is taught to those of regular universities for four years, they will be able to understand lectures better. The length of the training courses for managerial personnel to be set up at factory colleges should be one year or two longer than the three-year course at the University of National Economy.

More textbooks and reference books should be published for the students of factory colleges. As a matter of principle, those who study while working, like students of factory colleges and correspondence courses of regular universities, must be provided with many more of these books than other students. They must read many reference books because they are unable to attend as many lectures as students at regular universities. The Ministry of Higher Education and people in

other spheres concerned should publish more textbooks and reference books for the students of correspondence courses of regular universities and factory colleges. The Ministry of General Education should promptly supply textbooks and other teaching materials to the higher technical schools to be set up under factory colleges.

A well-regulated system of directing factory colleges has to be established.

5) ON LAYING THE SOLID MATERIAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

Our Party has shown great concern for educational work since immediately after liberation and has spared no funds or materials which were needed for the training of the coming generation, no matter how difficult the country's economic situation was.

Our people, too, have always shown great consideration for the education of their children and have made every effort to effect even the slightest improvement in their educational conditions. This year the question of building schools was put forward late and, to make matters worse, every field of the national economy was suffering from the shortage of electricity, the shortage of transport and the inadequate supply of raw materials and other items. In spite of this, our Party members and other working people praiseworthy built the schools through a community-wide, mass campaign.

Thanks to the correct educational policy of our Party and its consistent care for the education of the younger generation, and the fiery patriotic zeal of our people, solid material foundations have been laid and great successes have been achieved in education. Today our pupils and students, who account for one-fourth of the population, are receiving free education at modernly-equipped universities, colleges and schools. Thanks to the universal nine-year compulsory technical education, enforced for the first time in Asia, all our young people and children enjoy compulsory education from school age until they reach

the age when they can work.

In our country a vast army of technicians has been built up, modern factories and enterprises have been erected and are managed with credit by our own cadres and all the state and economic institutions are administered by our own efforts.

Furthermore, the level of our people's general knowledge has been raised throughout. All those who have joined the People's Army in the past few years are at least graduates of secondary schools. This shows that the level of general knowledge of all our People's Army men has been considerably raised.

People of many countries admire and greatly envy these proud successes in education and our fine educational system.

However, we must not be complacent about our achievements and stand still. If we are to provide education for all children of school age and be more successful in training young people and children to become honest workers of the country, we have to construct more school buildings and provide better facilities for experiments and practical work. Needless to say, this is not easy because we have to do all this at the same time as proceeding with economic construction and the build-up of our defences simultaneously.

If our officials disregard such far-sighted work for the country as building schools and providing students with experimental and practical facilities and are niggardly about spending money for this purpose, the consequences may not be serious for the present time. However, in about 10 to 20 years, it will interfere greatly with the country's economic and cultural development. Therefore, officials of state and economic institutions, our Party members and other working people must spare nothing to provide better educational conditions although they endure burden and find it difficult at present.

More schools must be built as a matter of priority. Of course, we have already built a number of schools, with the result that universal nine-year compulsory technical education is proceeding successfully. However, within a few years, hundreds of thousands of children will reach school age and have to enter school every year. This necessitates

the construction of more schools. According to educationalists, 10,000 additional classrooms will have to be built next year.

The state will increase the supply of building materials to ensure the success of this ambitious project. Builders must use materials thriftily and economize in them as far as possible and strive to build more schools using local materials. In particular, an extensive drive should be carried on to build schools without using reinforced concrete blocks.

Schools to be established in cities should have swimming pools. Our country is bounded by the sea on three sides and rivers are to be found everywhere. Therefore, if young people are to conquer the sea, they must learn how to swim from their primary school days. Because cities have very few places suitable for swimming, swimming pools must be built when schools are constructed, so that the students and pupils will be able to practise swimming.

To proceed. Students should be provided with good facilities for laboratory and practical work.

This is of great importance in improving the quality of education. If we do not provide schools with the good facilities needed for experimental and practical work we shall not be able to train our own technical cadres who are equipped with useful knowledge. Then we shall be unable to develop industry, agriculture and culture and increase the defence power of the country.

Providing these facilities must be the concern not only of educationalists but also officials in all branches of the national economy. It is not very difficult to do these for universities and other schools. It can be easily settled provided that the officials are concerned about this matter. If we are to import all these facilities using foreign currency, it may cause some difficulty. However, if our officials are concerned about this matter, we shall be able to produce the equipment ourselves now that we have the foundations of a powerful independent industry with the machine-building industry as its core. If chief Party secretaries of factories and enterprises call upon workers to make this equipment for schools and organize this work,

they will produce a large amount.

Senior officials at state and economic organs should supply up-to-date vessels to the fishing industry universities so that their students can practise deep-sea fishing. They must also provide the universities of agriculture with tractors and other modern farm machines and the first-class machines including bulldozers. In addition, they should supply universities of technology with up-to-date machine tools and equipment so that their students will operate them to produce machines which are even better. As the Party has already decided, every machine-building factory must send one example of each new machine it produces to each university concerned.

Universities should launch a drive to produce their own facilities which they need for experimental and practical work. When they are supplied with equipment from factories, they must design and make more up-to-date models by drawing on the talents and strength of lecturers and students. As regards those outdated experimental facilities which the Academy of Sciences has but which they do not have, they must use them as models by visiting the academy and produce similar ones themselves.

Universities should produce machine tools and other machines and equipment to help higher technical schools to equip their practical workshops.

At the same time, some of the necessary laboratory equipment will have to be imported.

In order to provide good facilities for experimental and practical work, practical workshops and agro-stock farms should be well-appointed. The officials concerned must provide the necessary materials and experimental plots.

Universities and other educational institutions must make good use of the facilities which have been provided to build practical workshops and agro-stock farms themselves. At present our country is suffering from a great shortage of manpower. Therefore, universities should not merely wait for other people to build their workshops. They have designers and a number of technicians working in many spheres.

Therefore, I think that if they rouse lecturers and students to action through efficient political work, they will be able to build well-appointed workshops and agro-stock farms in a short time.

A system should be established to ensure the uniform supply of materials which are needed for managing universities and schools efficiently and for providing the students with satisfactory facilities for experimental and practical work.

At present we have three million pupils and students and a number of universities and higher technical schools. Therefore, educational work will not be successful unless we establish this system.

Because there has been no such system in the past, no one has been responsible for the supply of equipment and materials needed for education. I have been told that when school authorities visit the Agricultural Commission to obtain supplies of fertilizers, agricultural chemicals and similar items needed for the students' practical work, they are told to go to the Ministry of Higher Education or the Ministry of General Education because schools do not fall within their jurisdiction. When they go to these ministries, they, too, do not provide the supplies, merely telling the school authorities to get them from the ministry which deals with them. In this way, they do not even provide the materials needed for practical work, although it is within their power to do so, shifting the responsibility onto each other. Therefore, in the final analysis, it is only the students who suffer from this.

Because there is no educational supply system now, school repairs are not done properly. Every year we build many schools. However, if the existing schools become unsuitable for further use because we neglect to repair them, our efforts to build new ones are of no avail.

School buildings are not repaired at the right time. This is not because the state allots insufficient materials and funds. Every year the state makes it a rule to earmark funds for school repairs out of its budget. However, chairmen of provincial, city and county people's committees use the money and materials meant for school repairs on building noodle houses and hotels which are not included in the plan.

In order to put an end to such incorrect practices as ignoring the

supply of materials needed for education and arbitrarily diverting the funds and materials allotted for school repairs, it is advisable to organize a general bureau which will take responsibility for the uniform supply of educational equipment and materials. It ought not to be under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Higher Education or the Ministry of General Education, but must be placed under the direct authority of the Cabinet. Each province should have a section dealing with educational equipment and materials. This general bureau and these sections should supply equipment and materials needed for experimental and practical work and teaching tools and furniture to universities and schools. They should also be responsible for repairing schools.

6) ON IMPROVING PARTY GUIDANCE IN EDUCATION

As in all other work, the master key to improving educational work is to strengthen Party guidance. No work can succeed without being guided by the Party.

However, Party guidance of school education is not satisfactory at present. Contrary to the intention of the Party Central Committee, some Party organizations and senior officials do not direct their attention to schools and show little concern about education.

We should correct the mistaken attitude of officials to education and comprehensively improve the guidance given to this work by Party organizations.

Intensifying the Party organizations' guidance of education does not merely mean providing classroom accommodation for students and ensuring good facilities for their laboratory and practical work. Of course, Party organizations ought to take care of students so that they will not have any problems or difficulties in their studies and must endeavour to provide them with every necessary facility. However, this is only the basic question.

It is more important in the Party organizations' guidance of

education to arm teachers and other educationalists thoroughly with our Party's revolutionary ideas and give them correct direction and effective help so that they will commendably train our younger generation to be genuine reserves of the revolution, reliable builders of socialism and communism. In other words, the main thing in their guidance is to ensure a high standard of education.

In order to ensure a good quality of education at universities and schools, senior officials of Party and government organs should pay a great deal of attention to education and visit these institutions frequently.

When doing so, they should listen to the opinions of teachers and students, by attending meetings of Party committees and those of teachers and students. In this way they should be able to discover in detail whether the educational programme has been worked out correctly, whether the teachers are lecturing as they should, what the students' enthusiasm for study is and what problems they have in their studies, and they should then promptly settle whatever problems they might have.

Departmental directors of the Party Central Committee, ministers, chief secretaries of provincial Party committees, chairmen of provincial people's committees and other senior officials should set an example in this work ahead of everyone else.

If cadres are to be greatly concerned about education and guide it correctly, it is important for them to remove their fear of educational work, and university work in particular.

At present they neglect education and hesitate to investigate university activities in depth. This is mainly because they regard it as a difficult task. Therefore, they cannot guide universities properly unless they eliminate their fear of this work.

As a matter of fact, there is nothing difficult about university work. However, some cadres who have not graduated from universities are afraid of this work without any reason.

If cadres are to eliminate this fear, it is desirable that all of them attend institutes of higher learning. You can discover the depth of the

stream and its temperature only when you wade it barefooted. Likewise, cadres will only know clearly what universities are like when they attend them.

If cadres study through the correspondence courses of Kim Il Sung University, universities of education and other institutions of higher education for some years to experience university life personally, attending lectures and taking examinations, they will learn that universities are not beyond their understanding. Then they will not hesitate to visit universities to ascertain whether their teaching schedule has been worked out correctly and whether teachers give lectures as they should. If they finish university correspondence courses, they will be able to eliminate their fear of university work once and for all.

I think that a great change will be made in educational work if senior officials of Party and government organs have a correct understanding of this work, pay particular attention to it and direct it energetically and efficiently.

Next, Party organizations at all levels should ensure the prompt communication of the Party's policies to teachers and students.

At this plenary meeting all educational officials suggested that they should be informed of every new Party policy without delay. I think that their request is absolutely reasonable. If one is to be loyal to the Party and revolution, one must first be well versed in our Party's policies. Therefore, it is natural that it has now become the first and foremost concern of every official to try to know the Party's policies earlier than anybody else and more thoroughly than others.

In future Party documents must be sent to all schools without exception. At the same time, Party organizations at all levels should get as many teachers as possible to attend various meetings so that they will be better informed of our Party's policies.

Another important method to acquaint teachers and students with the Party's policies speedily is for senior officials of Party and government organs to give them frequent lectures.

This is not the first time that I have drawn attention to this matter.

We have stressed on many occasions that cadres, including departmental directors of the Party Central Committee and ministers, should visit universities frequently to deliver lectures. However, none of them implements our instructions faithfully.

This is not because they are incapable of delivering lectures. The trouble is not this, but their mistaken belief that education is not an important task.

Leadership officials of Party and government organs should discard their incorrect attitude as soon as possible and visit universities and schools frequently to deliver lectures. Departmental directors of the Party Central Committee should take the lead in this work.

I think that if they make even just a little effort, they will not find it difficult to give one lecture at a university every month. Take an example. The director of the International Department can lecture on the international situation or our Party's policy with regard to the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement in colonies, and directors of economic departments can lecture on our economic situation and the Party's economic policy.

If all cadres visit universities and schools often to deliver lectures, it will not only be possible to arm teachers and students with our Party's policies thoroughly but also helpful in raising their own political and theoretical level.

In addition, Party organizations should pay their attention to encouraging teachers to have a high sense of pride in their work.

Education is a very worthwhile task of training our rising generation and a most honourable revolutionary work. As a matter of principle, the main job of revolutionaries—communists—is to educate and instigate people into action. It is, in fact, through work with people that they continue to change society. Therefore, this is the main task of our Party work. Education is nothing more than work with people and, accordingly, it constitutes an important component of our Party activity.

However, at present many teachers do not have a clear understanding of this and do not feel a sense of pride in their work.

There are two main reasons for this: first, Party organizations at all

levels have not educated teachers efficiently; second, the public do not respect them.

From now onwards, senior officials of Party and government organs should meet teachers frequently and find out how they are working and getting on, solve their difficulties promptly if they have any, and train them well. At the same time, Party organizations should give many Party assignments to teachers to get them to take part in a variety of social and political activities during non-teaching hours. This is very important both in raising their ideological level and in encouraging them to have a pride in their work. Moreover, teachers' levels of knowledge are generally high and they are prepared in many respects. Therefore, the Party organizations will get great help from them in disseminating Party policy and training the masses if they encourage them to participate extensively in public and political activities.

We have a great deal of useful experience of achieving good results by drawing teachers into public and political activities.

When our work of reforming handicraftsmen and private traders and industrialists along socialist lines was in progress, we instructed teachers in Pyongyang to give every assistance in this undertaking by rousing their students to action. They discharged this task with distinction. They brought home to their students the necessity and significance of this work. Then, back at home the students carried out explanatory work with their parents. A student dissuaded his father from trading. He said: "Why have you been engaged in trade instead of becoming a worker like other people? I even have to write down in my records that I am a trader's son. Is that a good thing?" They say that the father approved of what his son said and next day he gave up his business and became a factory worker. At that time many handicraftsmen and private traders and industrialists were reformed in this way thanks to the efforts of teachers and students.

Here is another example.

When we visited Yaksu-ri, Changsong County, North Phyongan Province for the first time, the local farmers' ideological and cultural level was low. Therefore, we instructed teachers of the Yaksu Middle

School that each of them should take charge of five peasant families to explain Party policy to them and teach them Korean letters. They carried out this task with credit. Now the local peasants' ideological and cultural level is incomparably higher than ever before.

In this way, all Party organizations should trust the teachers and train them efficiently by assigning many important Party tasks to them. At the same time, the public must respect teachers and give them every assistance in their work.

To proceed. Party organizations at all levels should take considerable care over recommending people to universities.

The training of our own cadres is a very important undertaking for our revolutionary cause and the lasting prosperity of the country. If we do not train cadres in a far-sighted way now because we have many difficulties, it may greatly hinder the future development of the country.

Even under the difficult conditions of the Fatherland Liberation War our Party evacuated universities to mountain areas and summoned students from the front to resume their studies, thus training them as engineers and experts. As a result, we could carry out ambitious postwar reconstruction on our own in a short time and have the ranks of our own cadres capable of building and running modern factories. If our Party had not taken revolutionary and far-sighted steps at the right time, we would not have trained the ranks of our own cadres which we have today, but have still remained in a backward condition in which we had to rely on others without being self-sufficient.

If we are to train fine cadres, we should begin by recommending good persons to universities.

Managers and Party secretaries of some factories and enterprises are now reluctant to recommend good young people to universities because of the shortage of manpower and difficulties in production. They are mistaken.

In future Party organizations should fight against this practice of only attaching importance to the narrow interests of one's own factory which proceeds from a departmentalist point of view without caring about the long-term prospects of the country. They should recommend

to universities many good people who have been tempered through physical labour or military service. Universities should, as far as possible, admit good young people who show promise of developing as cadres from amongst those who have been steeled for a few years at factories after their graduation from higher technical schools and those who have been tempered in the army. Only then is it possible to improve the composition of university students and train competent cadres who have undergone some hardships and trials, have accumulated experience in social life and are well-informed.

Factories and enterprises as well as the army must recommend people to universities.

If the army conducts political work efficiently when it recommends servicemen to universities, it will favourably influence other army men. If it does some political work, instead of merely sending them to universities, saying, for instance, that it recommends these particular servicemen to universities because they have been faithful in their military service and studied hard, other soldiers will take part in military and political training more sincerely and observe military discipline more willingly. As can be seen, the recommendation of university students should be regarded as an important political work and it is advisable for the organizations of the League of Socialist Working Youth to undertake this job under the guidance of the given Party committees.

2. ON IMPROVING THE FUNCTION AND ROLE OF THE LEAGUE OF SOCIALIST WORKING YOUTH AS A MILITANT RESERVE FORCE OF THE PARTY

On many occasions I have spoken on the work of the LSWY, work with youth and children and assigned many specific tasks with regard

to this. I think that I have spoken about almost all aspects of the work with youth and children. What matters now is for you to tackle the tasks given by the Party and execute them with credit.

Today I should like only to draw attention to some important questions confronting the LSWY organizations in implementing the tasks set forth by the Party.

1) ON MAKING LSWY ORGANIZATIONS REVOLUTIONARY AND ACTIVE

As you all know, the LSWY is a very large organization involving over 2.7 million young people in our country.

The important task confronting the LSWY today is to galvanize this huge organization into action properly. In other words, the most important matter in the work of the LSWY is to make itself a revolutionary organization which carries out Party policy with credit and actively contributes to the revolutionary struggle and construction work and a militant and active organization whose members all work for the revolution.

If you work well and make the LSWY a revolutionary, militant and active body and rouse all its members to action efficiently, you will even be able to level a mountain or carry out any kind of difficult work.

It is only when an organization is active all the time, that it is worthy of its existence and able to discharge its mission to the full. If an organization is so only in name but does not work, it is not a living body but a dead one. Such an organization is utterly worthless and useless.

At present the major shortcoming in the work of the LSWY is that it is not as active as it should be. Although a large organization called the LSWY was formed, its officials do not rouse it to action properly as a revolutionary and living body. This is the main problem which must be solved today in the work of the LSWY.

This is also true of other working people's organizations. Trade

unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People and the Women's Union do not stimulate their organizations to action satisfactorily.

What is the cause of the working people's organizations, and the LSWY organization in particular, being inactive? As we have already said more than once, it can be attributed mainly to two factors. One is that Party organizations do not guide the LSWY as they should. The other is that the officials of the LSWY, who are directly responsible for activating and guiding this organization, do not know how to rouse it to action properly.

In order to turn the LSWY into a revolutionary organization and invigorate it as a living body, Party guidance should be intensified as a matter of priority.

In the past, Party organizations confined their guidance of the LSWY work to delivering general speeches and indicating the directions it should follow. Then they did nothing, hoping that everything would go well. If they work in such a way, the work of the LSWY cannot progress smoothly.

The LSWY is a mass youth organization incorporating young people and students. Man reaches his middle age via childhood and adolescence. Our young people spend their adolescence, a period of transition from childhood to the meridian of life, in the LSWY organization. Therefore, they do not lead LSWY life throughout the whole course of their lives, but only for a given period. Accordingly, members of the LSWY organization are continually replaced by new ones. This is also true of LSWY officials. One cannot work as a LSWY cadre for 10 or 20 years, but only for a limited time before being replaced by a younger one as one grows older. This is all the more true for junior LSWY officials. Therefore, it can be said that the organizational life of LSWY members is transitional.

Because of this peculiar feature of the LSWY, Party guidance is particularly important. Only when this guidance is given constantly and properly, can the LSWY perform its mission and duty to the full as a militant reserve force of the Party.

An important revolutionary task is set before the young people who

will have to shape the future of our country. At present our revolution's internal and external situation is very complicated. This situation also calls for increasing the political and ideological education of young people and Party guidance of the LSWY.

In order to improve Party guidance of LSWY work, work with young people and children in the future, a section in charge of youth work has to be established in the Party Central Committee, in provincial, city and county Party committees, major factory and enterprise Party committees and in the political departments of the People's Army. In this way, Party organizations at all levels should always guide LSWY work, work with youth and children, with a fixed number of people.

In order to rouse the LSWY to action efficiently and intensify its work, the ranks of its own hard cores must be developed at the same time as improving Party guidance of it.

Without hard cores, no organization can become powerful and succeed in its work. Moreover, the LSWY is a mass youth organization involving wide sections of young people of all social levels, so it is important to build up the ranks of its own hard cores.

What kind of young people are qualified as hard cores of the LSWY? Not all young people who have good personal records and a good class origin can become hard cores. We cannot consider that these people are proficient in every kind of work. The question is whether the person concerned is firmly armed with the communist world outlook or not.

Needless to say, by saying this we do not mean that we should establish a separate Young Communist League today. If we were to form this league exclusively with those young people who have a revolutionary world outlook, it might cause the splintering of the youth movement. Therefore, we must not do so. However, the hard-core ranks of the LSWY should include reliable youngsters who are firmly equipped with communist ideas and have a strong revolutionary determination to fight steadfastly for the Party and revolution to the very last.

In order to build up these ranks, all chairmen, vice-chairmen and

members of primary LSWY committees and LSWY activists, as well as officials working in LSWY organizations of all levels, should be made communist youth. Only then can it be said that the LSWY has solid ranks of hard cores.

In order to develop the ranks of communist youth hard cores of the LSWY from now on, the Party organizations should pay particular attention to the education of LSWY officials and the league should get down to this work as its principal task.

There are various ways of training chairmen of primary organizations and other LSWY junior officials politically and ideologically. They may either be given instruction at LSWY schools, or attend short courses in turn, or else mobile training courses. They can also be trained through demonstration lectures. By applying all these methods and means we should arm all LSWY officials thoroughly with our Party's revolutionary ideas and communist world outlook and train them to be competent workers capable of organizing and mobilizing LSWY members and other young people proficiently in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction.

In improving the training of LSWY officials and developing its hard-core ranks it is very important to set up a correct system of training LSWY cadres, junior officials in particular, and to train a large number of new officials of primary LSWY organizations from among the masses of the young.

As I have already said, because LSWY members' organizational life is transitional, its junior officials cannot hold office as long as those of Party organizations and other working people's organizations. One can work as chairman of a primary LSWY organization for some five to six years at the most. Those junior officials who grow older have to leave the LSWY ranks, those who work well are promoted and girls marry. Therefore, the ranks of LSWY junior officials are continually replaced by new ones like a metabolic process. This is an inevitable development which can be ascribed to the peculiarity of the LSWY organization.

It can be said that the situation of the ranks of junior commanding

officers in the People's Army is similar to this. Good soldiers are selected as junior commanding officers. However, they cannot remain in their posts for a long time. They must be replaced by others because some of them enter the military academy after they have served as junior commanding officers for a definite period and others leave the army when their term of service is over or when they get older.

Because of this, the People's Army has established schools to train new junior commanding officers with a view to supplementing and reinforcing their ranks.

In the same way as the army does, the LSWY should train many junior officials according to a system, to keep making up the shortage.

Some time ago we decided to establish county LSWY schools to train its junior officials systematically. Needless to say, this is a far-reaching measure to improve the training of LSWY officials and build up its hardcore ranks. However, these schools alone are not enough for the rapid training of all LSWY junior officials needed in every sphere. In future large factories and enterprises should set up similar schools separately. In order to put them under the guidance and supervision of county Party committees, it is advisable to make them branch schools of county LSWY schools. County LSWY schools should train mainly junior officials for the country areas and local industry factories as well as for those factories and enterprises which have no branch schools, whereas large factories and enterprises should train their own LSWY junior officials in their branch schools.

It will be advisable to fix the course of study of county LSWY schools at six months. If we do this it will enable the officials to learn what they need to learn and improve the level of their qualifications.

In future LSWY organizations must take great pains to manage these schools efficiently. Students should be selected properly, good people must be appointed as teachers and the standard of education and instruction must be radically improved. In this way you must systematically train a number of LSWY junior officials, who are competent and qualified politically and ideologically.

If you do this you will not only be able to build up the ranks of

LSWY hard cores but also solve many difficult problems arising in its personnel affairs.

At present some local LSWY officials ask the central authorities to send cadres to them, complaining that there is nowhere they can get them in their locality. This is because LSWY organizations have so far made a poor showing in personnel affairs and in the training of cadres. If they train junior officials efficiently and systematically, they are quite able to raise as many good cadres as they need.

At the current plenary meeting the chairman of the South Phyongan Provincial LSWY Committee also requested the central authorities to send cadres to them. Where can the central authorities get them? If they are to send cadres to them, they have no alternative but to transfer people from other provinces. Can they transfer them from North Hamgyong Province or from Kangwon Province? It is unreasonable and completely intolerable that this province which has hundreds of thousands of LSWY members is in difficulties because it lacks hundreds of cadres. This shows that you still do not fully understand your own LSWY members. To be a LSWY cadre one must not necessarily become a master or doctor. It is enough to promote good people from among your youngsters. If there are no qualified ones among them, you must promote those who are not yet adequately qualified and train them. Then they will work well.

It is advisable for every locality to select its LSWY cadres from amongst its own young people. The chairmanship of a village primary LSWY organization should be held by one of its youngsters, that of a ri LSWY committee by a good youth chosen from amongst primary committee chairmen or other hard cores in that particular ri and county LSWY officials should be staffed with the LSWY core members from that county. Provincial LSWY committees should also build up the ranks of their own cadres in this way. If each locality selects its LSWY cadres from amongst its core youth, trains them efficiently and promotes them systematically, there will be no need for it to take cadres from other places.

Take this as an example. When LSWY ranks of officials in

Phyongwon County are to be developed the first thing that must be done is to select chairmen of primary committees properly from amongst the young people in that locality. Good young people can be chosen for this post because all the villagers know everything about every one of them. If a young man in a given ri is promoted as its LSWY chairman, all the ri folk will know all about his father's past life and in what family background he has grown up. Then it will do to promote instructors of the county LSWY committee from amongst them. The LSWY should build up the ranks of its cadres in this way. Only then will cadres be able to work efficiently, being completely familiar with the situation in their own localities.

I am told that at present LSWY organizations keep many officials in their posts, although they are too old to be LSWY officials, because they are short of reserves of cadres. This is also attributable to the fact that in the past the LSWY was not successful in personnel affairs and the training of cadres. This problem will also be solved easily if, in future, a large number of good junior officials are trained from amongst the youth masses and are educated efficiently and systematically.

Because the LSWY is a youth organization, you should take into consideration the age of its officials to a certain extent. In principle, it is advisable that young people serve as LSWY workers, as those at junior organs in particular. In the People's Army, too, young people should work as LSWY officials at the regimental and battalion levels in any event. In addition, the posts of chairmen of primary organizations and other junior officials should be held by active young people who are of the same age as the league members. Only then can they mix with youngsters and work in accordance with their characteristics.

From now onwards, those who are too old to work as LSWY officials should be gradually transferred to other posts. I am told that some old LSWY officials are reluctant to mix with youngsters, are not cheerful, put on airs and have no sense of honour in their work with young people. Why then should we retain such people? We should let them leave the

LSWY and train and promote young people in their place.

Some officials are still reluctant to show boldness in promoting young people as cadres. This is because they have a conservative outlook and mistaken ideas. Young people can work better than their elders because they have learned a great deal and are receptive to new ideas. Their sole defect, if any, is that they do not completely understand in what pitiable conditions their parents lived under the former exploiting society. This matter will be solved if class education is improved.

However, by saying this I do not mean that all the older people must be excluded from the ranks of LSWY officials. It is all right for those cadres who work at higher LSWY organs to be a little older. Because they educate and give political guidance to their subordinates, it is not bad for them to be of mature age.

Next, it is important to strengthen the LSWY committees of all levels. Provincial, city and county committees as well as those of factories, enterprises, universities and in the People's Army should be staffed with sound officials and their role should be increased.

You must make a good job of recommending LSWY hard cores and other good members to the Party. From now onwards, the LSWY should recommend for admission to the Party those good members who have firmly established the Party's monolithic ideological system, who devote everything to the country's socialist construction and national reunification and faithfully take part in the league's organizational life.

2) ON IMPROVING THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF SOCIALIST WORKING YOUTH AND CHILDREN'S UNION ORGANIZATIONS IN SCHOOLS

A most important matter in the work of the League of Socialist Working Youth is to improve the work of its organizations and those of the Children's Union in schools.

Universal nine-year compulsory technical education has now been introduced in our country and so the younger generation is all being educated in schools. Our young people spend half their adolescence at schools, and this period is very important in their development. People's personalities and thoughts take shape from their childhood, and the education and ideological influence they receive, particularly in their school years, greatly affect the establishment of their outlook on the world. Since the young people undergo school education before they serve in the People's Army or work in factories, on farms and other sectors of the national economy, their school training has a great effect on public life in general. Good training of youngsters and children in schools is a prerequisite for the strengthening of the People's Army, for the promotion of socialist economic construction and for success in the revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society.

But work among the young students and schoolchildren is not yet meeting the requirements of the Party. The LSWY does not pay proper attention to the work of its organizations or those of the Children's Union in schools, and serious shortcomings are still appearing in work amongst young students and schoolchildren.

After this plenary meeting, we must correct these faults as soon as possible and radically improve the work of LSWY and Children's Union organizations. If we are to train the new generation to be true communists, staunch revolutionaries and active social and political workers, we must improve work among the young people and children in schools, encourage them to lead the life of the CU and LSWY well from childhood and must educate them properly.

In work amongst young students and schoolchildren it is most important to train them politically and ideologically and in a revolutionary manner.

If they are not given this training, they will become political dunces who are not interested in political affairs but regard their knowledge and technical skill as everything; they will become useless individuals who do not know for whom or for which society they should use their

knowledge and skill. It is inevitable that they will become intellectuals who could serve both communism and capitalism.

This was really the case with the intellectuals of the colonial society in the past. All that they chose to do was to earn a living by means of their knowledge and skill, without being interested in politics. Whom they should work for was not a serious question for them; their only concern was whether they could use their knowledge and skill or not. Therefore, intellectuals in a bourgeois society have a dual character in that they can serve both capitalism and socialism.

Unlike the intellectuals in a bourgeois society, the intellectuals who are trained in our society today must not serve anybody. Intellectuals who are outside politics, who know nothing but technology, would be useless, no matter how many we might train. We must train revolutionary intellectuals who know how to devote all their knowledge and skill only to the victory of the cause of our revolution.

The US and other imperialists throughout the world are now directing their main efforts to the fields of science and education in their attempt to carry out their ideological and cultural infiltration of socialist countries. At present, the US imperialists are planning to increase this infiltration under the cloak of “exchange” and “cooperation”, saying that there are no national boundaries in science and that space exploration should be undertaken jointly. They are also resorting to all sorts of tricks to dampen the revolutionary spirit of the peoples of newly independent countries, for instance, by sending “peace corps” to these countries and setting up scientific libraries, exhibition halls and information centres there.

Since the imperialists are stepping up their ideological and cultural infiltration into the fields of science and education in the socialist countries, asserting that in science there is no demarcation line between socialism and capitalism, it is particularly important that schools should intensify the political and ideological education of pupils and students.

Our schools, however, have not been efficient in this branch of education. Some educationalists have gone so far as to obstruct

political and ideological education by arguing that little schoolchildren do not need it and that they only need to be taught what is red and what is green. This can only be construed as an attempt to stain their innocent minds with bourgeois ideas.

Because of inefficient politico-ideological education of our pupils and students in the past, their politico-ideological level now falls short of the standard required by the Party. They do not look at things with a keen political eye; they cannot distinguish clearly between what is beneficial and what is harmful to the revolution. This attests to the low political consciousness of our pupils and students. They must not be trained in this manner.

We must intensify the politico-ideological education of pupils and students still further.

This ought to be the main task of the LSWY and CU organizations in schools. Needless to say, I do not mean that little schoolchildren should be given too many political lectures or should be taught difficult political theories only. Their politico-ideological education should be conducted in different ways to suit their level of knowledge and the requirements of their ages.

A good method of political education is to talk to them regularly and briefly about national affairs and the current situation. Even schoolchildren should not be ignorant of the situation nor should they be indifferent to the affairs of the country. Schools should always keep them informed of the internal and external situation and the affairs of the country. They must be trained to such an extent that they are impatient if they are not informed of the situation every single day just as people feel that their mouths are brackish when they have not brushed their teeth in the morning or as they feel hungry when they have skipped a meal. Thus, they will get into the habit of being interested in national affairs and the situation from childhood and of thinking about our country, our Party and our revolution at all times.

Schools must ensure that all lessons given to their pupils are framed in the context of the policy of our Party. In giving them a lesson on tractors, for example, the teacher must not simply say that a tractor is a

ploughing machine; he must explain clearly that, in response to the call of the Party, our working class has manufactured tractors with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance in order to free the peasants from arduous labour and make work easier.

The frequent organization of political discussion is a good method of politico-ideological education for pupils and students.

Another important task of the LSWY and CU organizations in schools is to improve the life of the pupils and students in these organizations and encourage them to participate widely in various socio-political activities.

In many cases our schools still teach their pupils and students scholarship only and make them useless “locked chests of knowledge” just as the practice was in the old society, instead of encouraging them to participate widely in an organizational life and social activity. Some teachers think that they can fulfil their responsibility by teaching only scholarship and skill, and some of the pupils and students assume that the best thing to do is to learn their lessons by heart and succeed in their examinations. They are all mistaken.

Of course, an examination is a necessary means for making the pupils and students study. Every one of them should, therefore, work hard to become proficient in his studies. We do not mean to say that they may neglect or fail their examinations. They must fight hard against the attitude of disliking study or of being indolent. But, if they do not know how to use their knowledge for the country and their fellow men after finishing their schooling, this knowledge will be useless, no matter how good they were at their examinations.

In order to train them to be ardent revolutionaries, true communists, they should be taught not only to be good at their studies from their early years, but also to acquire the habit of caring about their organizations and of participating faithfully in their organizational life. For this purpose, we must see that their life in the LSWY and CU organizations is improved so as to encourage them to live at all times organizationally and collectively and solve all their problems by relying on their organizations. Not only LSWY members, but also the

little CU members have to be trained to hold meetings of their own accord, without being told to do so by their teachers, and discuss and decide that they should keep their schoolrooms neat by their own efforts, that they should take good care of their desks and chairs, and that they should all work hard to become honour students and pupils, and to implement these decisions without fail.

In this way, they will learn in their childhood that they cannot live outside their organizations, and they will feel and experience in their CU days that their political integrity is more precious than their physical lives. Only when schoolchildren are trained to participate well in their organizational life as members of the Children's Union, can they participate faithfully later in the organizational life of the LSWY, of the trade unions, of the Union of Agricultural Working People, of the Women's Union, or of the Party.

They should also be given many opportunities to participate in various socio-political activities.

Competent Party workers and capable youth workers will not just materialize out of the sky; such workers must emerge from amongst our young students and pupils. If we organize social activities widely among them and train them to be good at socio-political work in their early years, these very people will develop into excellent youth workers, Party workers, and competent political workers.

If the LSWY and CU organizations in schools are properly activated, they will be able to organize very many socio-political activities. After school, students and pupils can meet in a speaking contest or in a storytelling session, explain the Party's policies by making speeches or delivering talks at factories, farm villages or neighbourhood units or by giving artistic performances there.

These activities should be organized not only for the primary schools, middle schools and higher technical schools but also for universities on a wide scale.

At present, people who have graduated from the faculty of social science at university cannot write a good press article proving the validity of Party policy. Even graduates of the journalist course of the

linguistic and literary faculty at university, the course which is designed for special training in writing, are unable to compose a worthwhile travel guide. People who have been trained in a faculty of natural science ought to be able to deliver a good lecture on a scientific or technological subject, but this is seldom the case.

This shows that the quality of our university education is low and that there are a number of shortcomings in this education.

At present, universities only teach their students Marxist-Leninist classics and our Party's documents and let them learn important propositions by heart, but they do not train them to apply them. This is a major shortcoming.

University faculties of social science ought to give their students a good training in writing and encourage them to contribute articles to newspapers and magazines. It is particularly desirable that newspapers like the *Rodong Chongnyon* should carry many articles which have been contributed by university students.

There are innumerable subjects on which university students can write for the press. A student of the faculty of philosophy, for instance, can write about the method of working among the young people or about the ways of giving a strong impetus to the ideological and cultural revolutions. A student of the faculty of economics can write about the validity of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, how it is being implemented or what needs to be done to carry it out. Students can also be given an assignment to prepare a lecture on a specified subject and then, after receiving good advice from their teachers, deliver it to a large audience.

In a bourgeois society, universities do not give their students any assignments for socio-political activity, so progressive students do social work of their own accord. But under our socialist system, the universities must enlist their students in socio-political activities according to a plan. This is one of the advantages of socialist education over bourgeois education.

We have to carry out a critical review of the educational programmes which have been implemented by the universities and

improve them until they are perfect so that the students can be trained as socio-political workers at best during their university years.

The curriculum of the university faculties of social science must set aside a period of approximately six months when the students have an opportunity to participate in socio-political activities so that they can write a great deal for training purposes and visit places to deliver lectures.

I have been told that university students visit neighbourhood units to talk to people. Certainly, it is necessary to do this. But we believe that they should give lectures or talks to an audience which is a little better informed than ordinary people. They can be encouraged to prepare themselves well and give lectures to audiences at different kinds of short courses or to LSWY members or government workers.

Some chairmen of the university committees of the LSWY say that their students have no time to participate in socio-political activities, but this cannot be accepted as an excuse. These activities must not be confined to the times set by the university curricula. If LSWY workers at universities organize work efficiently, the students will have many opportunities to do socio-political work, for instance, after school or when they go to assist rural communities. All this should be a good opportunity for the students to participate in socio-political activities.

Next, we must strengthen the ranks of the chairmen of LSWY committees in schools and the instructors of the Children's Union and increase their role decisively.

I do not think it necessary to give you a lengthy explanation of the importance of increasing their role in improving the work of the LSWY and the CU. But the Party has not so far concentrated as it should have done on the matter of strengthening their ranks and increasing their role. At present, there is no precise system of training them nor are there any regulations or readers which they can refer to in their work.

In future, the chairmen of school LSWY committees and CU instructors should be appointed as full-time workers, and they should receive instruction at specialized training centres. In the future, a

separate school for the training of CU instructors must be established; and for the present, separate CU instructor classes must be organized in the University of the League of Socialist Working Youth and in the teachers training college in each province. It would be a good idea for these classes to enrol good comrades from amongst the graduates of universities of education and of teachers training colleges and give them specialized education for a year. As for the chairmen of school committees of the LSWY, they should be trained in the LSWY schools, as I have already said.

The Central Committee of the LSWY and the training establishments must ensure that the readers and regulations are published soon for use in the training of the school LSWY chairmen and CU instructors and in their work after graduation.

The Party and LSWY organizations at all levels should direct the school LSWY chairmen and CU instructors so as to play their role properly, and give them active assistance in their work.

The student youth departments and the departments for schoolchildren in the LSWY committees at all levels must be developed and their functions and role increased so as to improve the work of the LSWY and CU and the work among student youth and schoolchildren.

3) ON WORKING EFFICIENTLY AMONG THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT CLASSES AND SECTIONS

As you all know, the socio-political composition of our population is very complex on account of the specific features of the historical development of our country. Therefore, the LSWY, the mass organization of the young people of different classes and sections, has many members with complex family backgrounds. So it is very important for the LSWY to work efficiently with these young people.

One of the drawbacks in the work of the LSWY in South Hwanghae Province and many other provinces at present is precisely this

inefficiency in dealing with the children of the people whose socio-political records are complicated. Because LSWY organizations do not deal properly with their affairs, various deviations are apparent amongst these young people.

We must re-educate all of them as well as the young people of the basic class such as industrial workers or farmers and win them over to the side of the revolution and rally them behind the Party.

To this end, we should first refrain from discriminating against the young people with involved family backgrounds and give them opportunities to develop. Many of the deviations now evident amongst the young people are due to discrimination against them. When we were visiting South Hwanghae Province some time ago, we investigated the matter and found that the main problem in dealing with the people of involved socio-political records was that of promoting their children to higher schools and of recruiting them into the People's Army. Over a long period we have given instructions more than once that this problem must be solved and that the young people whose family backgrounds are complex should not be discriminated against. But this matter still does not seem to be dealt with properly. Of course, these young people are now being promoted to university or admitted to the army, but our work with them is still far from satisfactory.

In judging their cases, we must not allow ourselves to be prejudiced against them, because they themselves have all been educated under our socialist system, although their fathers committed offences. We are communists who are fighting to abolish classes and build a classless society. Communists are in duty bound to eliminate all class distinctions gradually by increasing the educational function of the proletarian dictatorship and transforming all members of society on communist lines rather than to create new hostile classes. If the surviving elements of the overthrown exploiting classes work against our system, we shall naturally have to put them down mercilessly. But why can we not educate and reform the people who themselves were not landlords, but have grown up under our system, without having had

anything to do with feudal landownership since they were born?

The landlords as a class were abolished in our country a long time ago. So there is no need for us to produce a hostile class deliberately by insisting on referring to their sons and daughters as people who came from the landowning class.

In particular, we should refrain from regarding as undesirable all the children of the people who during the temporary enemy occupation joined the “peace maintenance corps” and committed crimes. Already, at the time of our return from the temporary retreat during the Fatherland Liberation War, we warned our officials in all seriousness that the Americans had drawn many people into the reactionary organizations by setting them up in many parts of the northern half of our country which they had occupied during our retreat, that this was an enemy trick to put various obstacles in the way of our work by disuniting our people, and that if we made a mistake, being tricked by this sinister scheme, we should lose a large number of people. Subsequent developments show that our warning was completely justified.

In any event we take notice of people’s family backgrounds simply as a reference in judging them. The people whose fathers joined the “peace maintenance corps” may not know about their fathers’ involvement in the reactionary organization nor do they have any serious reasons for being affected by this involvement even if they do know the facts, because they were very young at the time of the Fatherland Liberation War. Their fathers’ involvement in the “peace maintenance corps” during the retreat lasted for only 40 days, not 10 years or 20 years. What serious effect could the 40 days of their fathers’ activities in it have on those who were too young to know the world at that time? Of course, it is a different case, from the class point of view, with the people who, as children of those originally belonging to the hostile class such as landlords or capitalists, were influenced by seeing their fathers’ harsh exploitation of the workers and peasants, and then saw the deliberate offences committed by those involved in the “peace maintenance corps” during our temporary retreat at the time

of the Fatherland Liberation War. But the case of the young people, who came from the basic class which consists of the industrial workers and farmers, is different, even though their fathers were involved in the “peace maintenance corps”. There is no need to be prejudiced against the people of the basic class who, under coercion by the enemy, were involved in the “peace maintenance corps”, following the enemy and doing what they were told to do by him.

This also applies to the children of the people who were village headmen under the rule of Japanese imperialism. In those days, many of the village headmen accepted their appointment as such at the request of the villagers who, suffering from constant oppression by the Japanese imperialists, hoped that their headmen would work for a fair settlement of any issue that might arise. After liberation, therefore, we did not define these people indiscriminately as having collaborated with the Japanese. But, nowadays, you take issue with one man or another, saying that his father or his wife’s brother was a village headman, without even confirming the fact.

In the northern half of Korea we have to fight against the survivals of the hostile classes including the former landlords and capitalists and those pro-Japanese elements who directly repressed our people’s revolutionary struggle by serving as gendarmes, policemen, secret agents and so on at the time of Japanese imperialism and also the spies and subversive elements who serve the US imperialists and their stooges. We must re-educate and win over all the people with the exception of a handful of those surviving elements of the hostile classes and the confirmed collaborators with the US and Japanese imperialists. The people who were middle peasants and even small and middle entrepreneurs in former days as well as workers, hired farm hands and poor peasants all follow us, and we must win over these people.

At present, some officials cannot distinguish clearly between the targets of our struggle and the people to be won over. These officials are probing into people’s family backgrounds needlessly and making them uneasy. This shows that the officials are inefficient in their work among

the people with involved family backgrounds. Certainly, I do not mean to say that you should totally ignore people's family backgrounds. You have to learn about them when necessary. But you must do it for reference only in your work and in the education of people. If somebody's father was a man of heterogeneous origin, for instance, you must study the fact so as to know how much influence the father had on him and to take the necessary measures to re-educate him.

People's ideological compositions are not immutable. They change just as everything else changes. Moreover, we cannot assume that a man of good family origin is necessarily faithful to the Party and the revolution. Experience shows that even a man of good family origin can degenerate and do serious harm to the Party and the revolution unless he works hard for his ideological training, and that even a man of bad family origin can be reformed excellently to be faithful to the Party and the revolution if he works hard to equip himself with the Party's ideology through ceaseless training.

What matters is not a man's family origin, but his class consciousness, his own ideological qualities. Therefore, people should not be judged by whether their family backgrounds are complicated or not, but mainly by whether they work devotedly for the Party and the revolution, for the country and their fellow men. This is an important principle which our Party maintains consistently in dealing with people.

After liberation we met many intellectuals and talked to them. Most of them were sons and daughters of landlords, capitalists and rich farmers and they were prosperous. Their relatives were also people with complex backgrounds. Nevertheless, we told them that, if they were ready to work for the country and their fellow countrymen and for the revolution, we would trust them. They said that they would cooperate with us in building a new country. In spite of their involved family backgrounds, they have been taking an active part in the revolution and construction for more than 20 years. With their cooperation, we built the Party and the working people's organizations and founded the Republic. They participated devotedly in the democratic revolution including agrarian reform and in the arduous

Fatherland Liberation War against US imperialism and in defence of the freedom and independence of the country. In the postwar years, they rendered great service by taking an active part in the revolutionary work of reorganizing the production relations on socialist lines and in the difficult work of reconstruction. In this way, they have been re-educated, tested and transformed into our Party's revolutionary intellectuals through the arduous trials of a long-drawn-out revolutionary struggle.

Let me take the case of Comrade Kang Yong Chang, for example. He was one of the intellectuals we met immediately after liberation. He did a great deal of work in important posts of the Party and of the state. The three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War in our country was an important opportunity for testing people. In the difficult years of the war, he worked hard to increase the output of munitions for the front to the maximum even when it came to manufacturing hand grenades. He worked very hard also in the years of postwar reconstruction. We tested him through practical work and found that he had established a firm revolutionary outlook on the world. Therefore, although the enemy wrote a letter to him in a sinister attempt to make our Party distrust him, we retained our confidence in him to the end.

The cases of the revolutionaries who are fighting against the US imperialists and their stooges in the south also convince us that family origin is not the sole criterion for judging people. Comrade Kim Jong Thae, the late chairman of the Seoul City Committee of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification, who is well known to us, was a fairly affluent man. Nevertheless, he fought well against the US imperialists and their stooges in the cause of the revolution. He was arrested and imprisoned by the enemy. Even behind bars, he upheld his revolutionary honour, fighting unyieldingly until he was killed by the enemy. There are many other revolutionaries in south Korea who are of involved family origin. But they have courageously taken the path of arduous revolution against the US imperialists and their stooges and are fighting bravely, at the risk of their lives.

So you must not suspect and distrust the people who are ready to

devote their lives to the fight for the Party and the revolution, finding fault with their fathers, cousins or uncles simply because their family backgrounds are questionable.

As we have said on many previous occasions, how can a revolutionary be held responsible if any of his family or relations committed a crime while he was waging an armed guerrilla struggle against the Japanese imperialists for 15 long years? You cannot deny the revolutionary struggle of the man himself because of a crime committed by his family or relations, still less suspect him, can you? You can say the same thing about the people who participated in the Fatherland Liberation War. Even if a man's parent committed an offence at home because of lack of revolutionary education while he was away at the front fighting the US imperialist aggressors at the risk of his life, you cannot say that he is responsible for the crime.

The LSWY organizations must unhesitatingly trust the young people of involved family origin and welcome them back magnanimously, instead of suspecting them and shunning them simply because of their family backgrounds. They must be encouraged without discrimination to take part in the life of the LSWY organizations; they must be given many assignments, according to their ability and aptitude, and many opportunities to participate actively in meetings to speak on different subjects, in sports and in artistic performances. In this way, they will be inspired with hope and ambition so that they will participate willingly in the life of the LSWY and in the implementation of the revolutionary tasks. Trusting and testing people in this way is a basic principle which must be observed in revolutionary work.

The LSWY organizations must also educate the young people who have complex family backgrounds in a principled manner. More often than not, our officials hesitate to approach them even when they have made mistakes, instead of talking to them frankly and educating them before it is too late. If any of them has a fault, you must criticize him immediately; if something wrong happens with any of them, you must explain the situation to him honestly and in accordance with principles

so that he can understand properly.

The LSWY organizations must strictly observe the class policy of our Party in dealing with the young people of different classes and sections. We communists make no secret of our class policy; we always demonstrate it. Because our documents which have already been published contain our Party's class policy, everything depends on how it is implemented. The LSWY organizations must know how to deal with these young people properly and educate them correctly, in accordance with the requirements of the Party's class policy.

From now onwards, the Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee and the LSWY Central Committee must organize short courses and model lessons frequently on the subjects of work amongst young people of different classes and sections. In this way, all the LSWY organizations and its officials will work successfully in accordance with the Party's policy, without committing any deviations in dealing with the sons and daughters of the people whose socio-political backgrounds are involved.

In connection with our work among the young people with complex family backgrounds, I should like to add that we must not compile unnecessary personal files and rashly label people as a class or a section having involved backgrounds.

First, I think that the information on the people who were involved in the "peace maintenance corps" is no longer of great importance as material for reference to their influence. So this information should be ignored. This should also be done with information on the people who were village headmen at the time of Japanese imperialism. Of course, it is a different matter with people who were village headmen and acted as secret agents of the Japanese imperialists. But even this fact about such people has to be confirmed in detail. You cannot declare a man to have been a secret agent of the Japanese imperialists simply because somebody says that he was suspicious because the man was a village headman and was seen drinking with a Japanese policeman.

During our past revolutionary struggle, some ultra-"Leftists" mishandled the case of "Minsaengdan" which had been established by

the Japanese imperialists, and persecuted innocent people as “Minsaengdan” members. We took note of the situation before it was too late and had it put right by fighting it out. If we had not done so, all the Korean revolutionaries at the time would have been stigmatized as “Minsaengdan” members, and the anti-“Minsaengdan” struggle could have been disastrous to them. We ought to learn a lesson from this experience and, if you find any mishandled cases, you should reconsider them so that none of them continues to be mishandled.

We must deal with the problems of people correctly so as to provide a wide opportunity for development not only to the people in question but also to all the young people and children who are growing up happily, being well fed, well dressed and given free education, under the care of our Party.

In addition to dealing properly with the children of the people whose socio-political records are complex, the LSWY organizations must make a good job of educating the young people who are unruly.

Even in the difficult years of the Fatherland Liberation War, we were able to educate and reform the orphans who were disturbing social order. Why can we not re-educate a small number of unstable young people in present conditions? If we organize work well, we shall be able to reform them quite easily. Since the LSWY is an organization for ideological education, it must organize its work among these young people carefully and take all possible measures to re-educate them individually.

4) ON THE BROAD EDUCATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND CHILDREN BY MEANS OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKS OF LITERATURE AND ART

We always make a point of saying that, if we are to educate young people and children properly, we have to produce a large number of revolutionary songs and novels and distribute them among these people.

I am told that some of the young people still sing decadent songs. There are two reasons for this. One is that the LSWY organizations do not clearly explain to the young people the harm of decadent songs and they neglect their ideological education. The other is that not many revolutionary songs have been composed and spread abroad.

If we examine their origin, we shall find that the decadent songs have come down from the old society, where they were produced as an instrument of the imperialists, landlords and capitalists to dull the class consciousness of the people, particularly the young people, and make them obedient. These songs make people sad, degenerate and incapable of distinguishing between friend and foe.

In former days, the Japanese imperialists produced and spread many crooners' decadent songs in order to obliterate the national consciousness and anti-Japanese thinking of the young and other Koreans and imbue them with pro-Japanese reactionary ideas. It is obvious that if our young people continue to sing such decadent songs their class consciousness will gradually become dulled and they will not be interested in the struggle against imperialism and the landlord and capitalist classes.

The LSWY organizations must prevent the young people from being affected by the decadent songs and must continue strongly with the work of educating them in revolutionary ideology. For this purpose, they must clearly explain to the young people the harmfulness of the decadent songs and, at the same time, produce many revolutionary songs and spread them amongst the young people.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we eliminated decadent songs and educated people widely by spreading a large number of revolutionary songs. In those days, all the decadent songs were obliterated from the guerrilla zone, all the people there used to sing revolutionary songs, many of which even spread to the enemy-ruled area. In the area ruled by the enemy, underground workers who came from the guerrilla army taught revolutionary songs, and guerrilla units also taught young people and other inhabitants there by taking advantage of the opportunities of marching into villages after

destroying enemy forces. In those days, we also used many revolutionary songs in demoralizing the enemy, and the results were very good. We produced songs by adapting revolutionary words to the tunes of some songs which the soldiers of the “Manchukuo” army used to sing, and then spread them. As a result, enemy soldiers wavered ideologically and realized gradually that it was unnecessary for them to serve in the disgraceful army at the risk of their lives for the landlord and capitalist classes.

We have often stressed the need to produce many revolutionary songs, but we still do not have many of them.

Today, we have all the potential to produce a large number of revolutionary songs. When we were waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we had no composers and no factories to print song-books. At that time, there were only a few university graduates and not many middle-school graduates among the revolutionaries. Nowadays, however, we have many composers and modern printing plants. The anti-Japanese guerrillas produced many excellent revolutionary songs and spread them in such difficult conditions. Why can we not produce and spread good ones under today’s favourable conditions? The answer is that our officials do not try to produce them.

We should not produce only militant marches just because we have to compose revolutionary songs. We should also produce lyrical songs with a revolutionary content. In other words, we must have songs of different kinds and content which are needed to help the people to establish a revolutionary outlook on the world. If we try, we can produce as many revolutionary songs as we need.

We can compose a song, for instance, which tells of the worthwhile work and life of a woman who has become a dignified master of the country today and enjoys equality with men after liberation from double and triple oppression in the past. We can also produce a song about a man who is studying as much as he wishes, at no charge, working and living happily under our system, although he was only a servant of another man, without any access to education in the past. We can also produce a song which deals with the laudable traits of our

working people who, under the communist slogan “One for all and all for one!” are all living, studying and working for society and the collective, for the country and their fellowmen.

We can also compose many songs about socialist patriotism. A song about being fond of working, for instance, can say that we are now working for our country and our own happiness, although the results of our work were appropriated by a handful of landlords and capitalists in the past; that our work is really honourable and worthwhile, and that the theatres, holiday homes, schools and other educational and cultural establishments which we have built are all used by ourselves and our sons and daughters. A song about taking good care of state and social property can contain the words that all socialist communal property has been created by the sweat of our working people’s brows for the good of the entire nation, and that the better we take care of the equipment and the more goods we produce, the more prosperous our country will become, the happier our people will be, and the sooner socialism and communism will be built. If we produce such songs of varying content well, and spread them, we shall be able to help the young people to have a correct understanding of a communist society. In other words, they can understand clearly that communism means a society where everyone works equally hard and enjoys happiness equally.

Many songs can be composed about service in the People’s Army. There is no limit to the subjects on which songs can be composed, for instance, about the need for soldiers to observe military discipline strictly, about becoming good marksmen, about taking good care of weapons, about loving comrades, about the soldiers loving the people and about the people loving and assisting the army.

Revolutionary songs should be composed so as to appeal to the feelings of the people and so that they are easy to understand and sing.

Many of the songs which have been produced so far do not stir people’s feelings, and their tunes are difficult to sing. It is true that many songs have been produced, but most of them are for professional stage singers or for a small number of people who like music and have

an aptitude for it. Few of them have become popular with the people in general. The Party has already said more than once that songs should be composed for the masses to understand and sing easily. But our composers still try to produce only difficult songs. Some of them consider such composers great and well-informed. They are grossly mistaken. I can say that, just as a man who is in the habit of using difficult words which are incomprehensible to his audience is an ignoramus, so a man who composes songs which are not understood by the audience or are difficult for the people to sing is really an ignorant man rather than a well-informed man. We have to produce songs which are liked and sung by everyone. This requires that songs should be simple. Composers ought to work hard to compose a large number of popular and revolutionary songs which can be enjoyed and sung by the young and all other people of our country.

The crooners' songs in former days were easy to sing, although their content was bad. For the purpose of instilling decadent ideas in the minds of the Koreans, young and old, the Japanese imperialists composed tunes which were as easy as possible for the masses to sing. That is why in those days there were few young Koreans who did not know crooners' songs. Simple songs spread quickly amongst the masses.

Since people in general like to sing, well-composed simple revolutionary songs will be hummed even by people with unmusical voices. In the course of this, the people will be educated a great deal ideologically. The *Song of Women's Emancipation* and various other revolutionary songs which were sung by adult people or by Children's Corps members during our revolutionary struggle in the past were all of popular content and were easy to sing, so they could spread quickly amongst the people and educate a large number of them.

If we are to produce a large number of revolutionary songs and popularize them amongst young people, we must improve the role of professional composers and, at the same time, encourage the young people to a vigorous creative mass campaign. There are very many university students and highly educated people and also those of

different abilities among the members of the LSWY of our country. Why, then, should they not be able to compose revolutionary songs? The LSWY organizations must encourage the young people widely to compose as many good revolutionary songs as they can and spread them amongst their contemporaries.

Revolutionary novels and stories are also a powerful means of educating young people and children on communist lines.

Reading novels and stories is an important part of cultural work which is inseparable from the lives of the people, particularly the young people who are very hopeful and ambitious and rich in emotions.

Variety is the requirement of human life, and life is interesting when there are changes. Just as a man can develop a good appetite when he has different meals at breakfast, at lunch and at supper rather than eating the same thing at every meal, so he can also cultivate his emotion and find life interesting when he reads not only books on political affairs but also novels and stories and so on.

Young people in particular need to read many novels and stories. By reading these and other works of literature, they can feel a great deal and acquire a wealth of knowledge which is necessary in life. From novels and stories they can learn how to write to their parents and friends, how to greet their friends and seniors and various other requirements of life, and can broaden and deepen their understanding of social life.

In particular, revolutionary novels and stories are very important in cultivating the revolutionary consciousness of young people. This is clear from our own experience. We read many revolutionary novels and stories during our revolutionary activity in our school years, and we still remember them. Of course, we think that there is nothing special about them when we read them again or see films adapted from them nowadays because we have fought in much more difficult conditions than those which they describe. But when we read them for the first time, they had a great effect on our minds because we had not yet gone through trying conditions at that time. Reading them in those

years, we thought that if we were to make a revolution, we would have to withstand hardships. We can say, after all, that they were a great help in hardening our revolutionary will. Our young people nowadays can also temper their revolutionary will and quickly develop their revolutionary consciousness by reading many revolutionary novels and stories.

By nature, young people are fond of reading. When we obtained an interesting novel in our youth, we used to read it through the night, and the book did not leave our hands until it was finished. Today's young people will do the same as we did. The young people in the army, not to mention civilians, will wish to read similar books in their spare time after training.

We have a great many subjects on which to write novels and stories.

Since the revolutionaries waged the armed struggle against Japanese imperialism, enduring all hardships and trials, for 15 long years, there is a lot of information that should be explored further as well as many subjects on the struggle of the guerrillas, subjects on which to write novels. We should produce many more revolutionary novels and stories which deal with the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

We also need many novels and stories which are based on the struggle of our People's Army and the people during the Fatherland Liberation War. Their fight during this three-year war is a source of material on which to write good novels. We can write about the struggle of the workers and the peasants and a great deal about the heroic battles fought by the young people and children during this war. In order to encourage our young people to fight against the US imperialists and their stooges and work hard for national reunification, we must produce good short stories, medium-length stories and novels about the heroic struggle of our people at the time of the Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialists. Our working people and youths will read them with interest and learn a great deal about how to fight against the US imperialists.

It is also very necessary to write novels and stories which show how our people were oppressed and exploited at the time of Japanese

imperialism. There are very many people who have firsthand experience of being harshly oppressed and exploited by the Japanese imperialists. So we should write many novels and stories by obtaining material from them.

Class struggles in the remote past can also be the subject of novels and stories. There were class struggles in ancient times, too. Both in the slave-owning and the feudal society, class struggle took place between slaves and slave-owners, and between serfs and feudal lords, although the form of class struggle was different from nowadays. It is necessary to write novels and stories which describe these class struggles well. If you are to write a novel which deals with a peasant war, for example, you can give the whole picture of the peasant war and class struggle in that society by describing the struggles of some typical characters rather than simply compiling a catalogue of events as though you were writing a history.

Since we have to carry out the class struggle and the Korean revolution successfully, we must produce a variety of novels and stories which are necessary for increasing the class consciousness of the masses. In particular, we need a large number of novels and stories which will help towards instilling hatred for the US imperialists and their stooges in the minds of our youngsters and people and towards encouraging them to fight against the enemy.

We should also produce many novels and stories which deal with socialist construction in our country.

In the difficult years of reconstruction after the war had reduced everything to debris, our people rose like a phoenix from the ashes. If you describe how they did so, this will make an excellent novel. At present, however, there are few novels which depict this struggle properly. The Hwanghae Iron Works, for example, which had been totally destroyed, had been outstandingly reconstructed by our own efforts. We talk about how it was rebuilt under difficult circumstances, but there is no novel which describes the event. How good it would be if a novel were to be written on this subject! You can also write a good novel by describing skilfully the heroic struggle of the workers to

reconstruct the Kangson Steel Plant, not a brick of which had been left undamaged by the end of the war. I can still see vividly, with my mind's eye, the devastated steel plant the sight of which rent my heart when we visited it a few days after the armistice. When we were planning the reconstruction of this steel plant, nothing—neither manpower nor materials—was available. So we transferred the soldiers from the front and got them to start clearing the site of debris. We also brought back all the workers of the steel plant who had been away at the front and elsewhere and got down to rebuilding it. The struggle for its reconstruction produced innumerable episodes of laudable communistic deeds. When these good episodes are put together skilfully into a novel, our young people and future generations will know what hard work was required to rebuild even an electric furnace, for example, when they are shown it whilst visiting the steel plant.

The construction not only of factories but also of cities deserves to be portrayed in a number of novels. Construction in the Pothong Plain in Pyongyang, apart from anything else, could be a topic for a very good novel. Formerly, there were only hovels in that plain, and the place was notorious for its squalor. Nowadays, however, modern avenues lined with high-rise dwelling houses have been built. The Pothong River which was once filthy is now beautiful. The feelings of writers seem to have become dulled, for they are not moved by this change in our situation, by the reality of Chollima which is vibrant with life, and they do not know how to write about it.

You can also write many novels about construction in our socialist rural communities.

How Lake Yonphung was constructed can be the subject of an excellent novel. When we introduced the idea of building this reservoir, some people doubted it, asking how this colossal project for the transformation of nature could be undertaken when we had only bare fists as implements. But our Party forcefully went ahead with the project, by believing in the unfathomable creative power of the people and by mobilizing the masses. The people who doubted the idea visited the construction site three or four months after the beginning of the

work. They became wide-eyed, unable to hide their amazement at the heroic stamina and the undaunted struggle of our people who were working in soaring spirits, beating drums and gongs and putting up flags around the place and also at the sight of the canals, hundreds of kilometres long, which had already been laid out. Thus, the reservoir was constructed miraculously, beyond foreign imagination, by the heroic struggle of our working people. It now supplies life-giving water to nearly 100,000 hectares of rice fields, where a bumper crop is harvested every year. Therefore, we named it Lake Yonphung (a lake of annual bumper harvest). Before the reservoir was constructed, the people living in the Yoltusamcholli Plain had suffered awful hardship and poverty because of the lack of water. When we had inspected the Sukchon Plain before the war, the farmers there had been dibbling young rice plants by watering them sparingly. Farming had been so hard that they sighed with despair. When we visited there again in the autumn of the same year, they had produced only 500 to 600 kilogrammes of unhusked rice per hectare. Therefore, our Party took the firm decision, and constructed the large artificial lake, Lake Yonphung. Why can you not write a novel based on this marvellous event?

The Ojidon irrigation project can also be a subject on which to write a good novel. In former days, no irrigation was available to the inhabitants of the Pongsan Plain, so they had to depend on the water from melting snow and rain for farming. I was told that when there was only a natural supply of water, the whole plain was flooded, and the people had to move about by means of large wooden coracles, for instance, when going to a fair, and the schoolchildren, too, had to use such coracles when going to school. But nowadays the people there live well by farming without any trouble of that kind thanks to the Ojidon irrigation works. What a good subject this is!

At present, our writers are neglecting these things, although such material can be found in any part of the country areas. If they visit rural communities and study what is going on there, they will be able to find as many good subjects for novels as they need.

They must write novels and stories not only on socialist

construction in the northern half of Korea, but also books about the south Korean revolution. If they produce many literary works which deal with the heroic struggle of the patriots and revolutionaries in south Korea against the US imperialists and their stooges, they will greatly help our young people in making ideological preparations to greet the great revolutionary upheaval which will result in national reunification.

In the production of revolutionary stories and novels, too, we must not depend only on some “great masters”. Young people themselves must write many of them. Some of our people still think that only “great masters” can write novels. They are wrong.

During our former anti-Japanese armed struggle, we had no professional writers, but excellent plays were written and produced. You must have seen the recently produced film *Sea of Blood*. It was adapted from the play *Sea of Blood* which we had produced during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. At that time, the play was written by us, not by any professional writer. Even in the trying conditions, we had written the script, produced a play and performed it in public. It had gripped the hearts of a large number of people and stirred them up to come out against the Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists, and encouraged many young people to volunteer for the guerrilla army.

Today, many of our young people can write stories and novels. We have trained a large number of literary men including those who have been educated in the linguistic and literary faculty at Kim Il Sung University, as well as a very large force of intellectuals, since liberation. If these people are activated, they will be able to write good stories and novels. Stories and novels are not something that can be written only by university graduates. Even young people who have not received university education are able to write good pieces if they are given effective guidance.

Our young people who are sensitive to new things and have a keen sensibility must get down to the production of a large number of revolutionary stories and novels. Not only the young people of civilian communities but also those in the army should write many stories

which deal with army life. If the young soldiers are encouraged to write, many of them will write stories and novels. In future, the heads of political departments in the army must give effective guidance and assistance to the young soldiers so that they can write stories and novels about army life.

At first, the works of young people may be somewhat clumsy, but that is not a big problem. It will suffice if the content of their stories and novels is not contrary to the Party's line and policy, and if it is not politically contradictory. Defects in skill such as the poor composition of sentences will be remedied gradually in the course of writing.

Good foreign stories and novels should be translated and published. We are by no means nationalists; we are communists who fight for the Korean revolution and also for the world revolution. So we should read foreign stories and novels and know how the revolution is conducted in foreign countries and should learn from their valuable experience. From now onwards, revolutionary stories and novels from socialist and other countries must be translated and published, and their revolutionary films should also be imported for our youngsters and other people.

Beside disseminating revolutionary songs amongst the young people and encouraging them to read revolutionary stories and novels, we must provide them with good facilities for their cultural lives.

At present, our young men and women play the role of a shock brigade in all sectors of the national economy in response to the call of the Party. Indeed, they are doing a great deal of work. The young people at the Komdok Mine, for instance, are bearing the brunt of the difficult and labour-consuming work. They have not only quickly recovered the production level which had dropped drastically because of the wicked people in the past, but have also more than doubled the output of ore in comparison with the past. Innovations and miraculous successes are being achieved all the time by young people in other places, too.

The young people are in a good ideological state and are working well in this manner, but we are not providing them with good cultural

conditions to suit their sentiments.

It is an important political work for raising their morale and for educating them to organize their cultural life to suit their sentiments and provide them with all the necessary conditions for their cultural life. It is particularly important to provide cultural conditions for the young people working at coal mines and other mines in the mountains and those who are fishing on the distant sea. If these young people are unable to lead a proper cultural life they will not settle in their work, nor will they find work interesting. Therefore, they will not have a high revolutionary spirit, nor will they think of studying anything or of doing anything creatively. We must pay particular attention to their cultural life as well as their productive activity, and meet all their requirements.

Today, I have talked to you about the tasks of increasing the role of the educational institutions and the LSWY organizations at all levels in training the young people and children to be staunch communist revolutionaries.

I hope that you will bring about a radical change in school education and in the work of the LSWY by working devotedly in the spirit of this plenary meeting.

ON SOME TASKS OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

**Speech Delivered at a Meeting of the Secretariat
of the Party Central Committee**

December 24, 1969

I should like to begin with the need for the officials of the Party Central Committee to study the Party's documents harder.

I went over the new collection of the documents on the management of the socialist economy while inspecting rural communities, staying away from here for about ten days. The collection has so far been edited in three volumes. It contains nearly all the speeches, concluding remarks and reports on the management of the socialist economy which we have delivered during the period from immediately after liberation through the years of postwar reconstruction and the Five-Year Plan until now. We have dealt with all aspects of socialist economic management. We have thrashed out all problems arising in the management of the socialist economy—ranging from industrial, agricultural and financial affairs to labour administration.

But many of the policies which we put forward a long time ago have not been implemented because officials do not study Party documents well. Shortcomings in industry and transport which were pointed out 15 years ago still remain uncorrected, some of the tasks which we gave in our speeches even before the war have not been implemented. Our speeches are not the expression of the will of any

individual person but represent the will and desire of all the Party members and of the masses; they have won the unanimous support and approval of the plenary meetings, and meetings of the Political Committee, of the Party Central Committee. So they constitute Party policy.

Some officials now neglect the study of Party documents, behaving conceitedly because they received a university education or studied abroad in the past. They must not do so. To speak plainly, those who studied abroad learned nothing in particular. Even if they have a little knowledge which they acquired while studying abroad, it does not apply to our situation. Even those who were educated at some universities during Japanese imperialist rule have little working knowledge now, although they display their diplomas. So they must not boast about their university education in the past or about their having studied abroad. They must study our Party's policies hard and regard them as their guide in working.

You, the officials of the Party Central Committee, must take the lead in studying Party policy.

I always say that you must imbue the masses with the Party's policies, organize and supervise their implementation and correctly lead the masses to carry them out. To do this, you yourselves must know the Party's policies more clearly than anyone else.

You must not direct work empirically, without knowing Party policy, in the same way that a taskmaster does. Only when you stir up the people ideologically and encourage them all to work willingly, will production increase and everything go smoothly. Therefore, the officials of the Party Central Committee must regard the study of the Party's policies as an important revolutionary task. From next year onwards, you must study hard two hours every day and digest our Party's policies systematically in chronological order.

First of all, you must study in depth the collection of documents on socialist economic management. It is only when you know the Party's policy on economic management that you can manage the economy properly. All the departments of the Party Central Committee must

study it carefully and carry out those of the Party's policies which concern the sectors in their charge and which have not been implemented.

They must, in addition, study the other policies put forward by the Party, systematically in chronological order, examine them one by one and check whether they have been carried out or not; then they must consider how to implement those which have not been executed, and work out measures needed to carry them out.

Departmental directors of the Party Central Committee should be exemplary in studying Party documents. They should thoroughly eliminate the practice of neglecting study on the pretext of the pressure of work. They must study every document of the Party in depth so that they work firmly guided by the Party's policies.

To proceed. I am going to speak about our tasks in implementing the Party's policies on the economy and education.

We must guide light industry and commerce properly.

When I called at a shop in the township of Anju some time ago, I found that there were few kinds of winter goods on sale—no socks, no gloves, no scarves for women, no winter shoes for farmers and no padded coats for children. There were only some face-cream and several other items of miscellaneous goods. What is worse, the shop was not heated properly, so the saleswomen were working in the cold.

I have pointed out more than once the shortage of necessities on sale at rural shops. I criticized the deputy directors of the departments and higher-ranking officials of the Party Central Committee after my inspection of shops in Taedong and Jungsan Counties three years ago and again after my visit to a shop in Onchon County early this year. But no improvement has been made in this field. That day, on returning from my visit to the Anju general store, I asked the senior officials in charge of the commercial sector the reason, but they did not know the local situation.

A woman's winter muffler lasts for several years, so it should not be out of stock in the shops, even if only a small number of these items are produced every year.

This year you have not taken any steps to produce winter clothes for pupils either, because you supplied them last year. At least a small amount of them must be produced for the market because children like to be adventurous, so last year's supplies may have been worn out or burnt.

Since clothes were supplied to all the pupils last year, approximately 300,000 new suits will do this year. In addition, winter caps should be produced for the schoolchildren. The caps can be made of artificial sealskin or rabbit fur.

Cadres and other officials of the Party Central Committee do not take any measures even when goods are out of stock in rural shops, nor do they worry about it. If you neglect such measures when you know the situation, you will be unable to improve the people's living standards and you will not be able to enhance the leadership authority of our Party. Those who make no efforts to solve such a problem are not qualified to be cadres.

At present, the officials of the Party Central Committee just carry a big stick as though they were administrative officials while neglecting work with ministers, vice-ministers and heads of management bureaus. They ought to explain Party policy to administrative and economic officials, receive reports on their work, criticizing them if they have made any mistakes in their work, listen to the voice of the masses at meetings of ministries and give a personal impetus to the implementation of Party policy when it is not carried out properly. But they do not do this well.

Bureaucratism is now very evident in the work of officials at lower units, and quite a few regulations restrict people needlessly.

I was told that although farmers and office workers ask to deliver their surplus food to the state granary, officials in the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration refuse to receive it on the pretext that they are not supposed to receive it in terms of their regulations. It is a good thing to store people's surplus food in the granary for resupply later, if they want it. What harm is there in doing so? This is entirely due to their wrong attitude: they try to do their work in an easygoing manner

and shirk their responsibility. More often than not, ministries restrict people needlessly by what they call ministerial decrees and regulations and try to shirk their responsibility in doing everything.

Departments of the Party Central Committee must pay proper attention to this practice and correct it. They must quickly rectify the shortcomings which are evident in light industry and commerce.

We must pay attention to construction and transport.

Recently I talked to senior officials in Nyongbyon County, and they said that they had no motor transport enterprise although other counties like Pakchon and Kujang had them. They said that, therefore, they were unable even to transport fertilizer in good time. At present, there is no motor transport enterprise where it is needed and vice versa.

The Construction and Transport Department of the Party Central Committee must get to know this situation clearly and direct the matter properly. In order to solve the problem of motor transport we have set up the Ministry of Land and Marine Transport, but there is no improvement.

People ask for lorries if they are told to do something. Of course, lorries should be supplied where they are needed, but you must first take steps to ensure the rational use of the existing ones.

It is necessary to extend the railway to Nyongbyon so as to solve the problem of transport in and around this district. As the military bureaucrats removed the tracks from the railway which used to lead to Nyongbyon in the past, I criticized them and gave the Ministry of Railways the task of restoring the rails. If this railway is restored, the shortage of transport in this area will be eased to some degree.

We must see to it that modern houses in the rural areas are built properly.

The houses being built in North and South Phyongan Provinces are of a very poor quality. Such sub-standard modern houses now under construction in the country areas will become as dilapidated as the old peasants' huts after two years' use. Then, the project for modern rural housing construction will end in futility, and we shall be unable to transform the rural communities.

We must review the work of rural housing construction next January and adopt measures for its improvement. Since we are going to construct a modern socialist countryside, we must build good modern houses there, not ones like the old mud huts. Farmers can bake roofing tiles and prepare materials for themselves, so they will be able to build good houses in the country areas. Every house to be built in the rural areas should be attractive and serviceable.

We must ensure efficient land development.

Last year I gave the task of re-embanking the Amnok, Tuman, Taedong, Chongchon and Songchon Rivers, but this project is not making good progress.

As all of you know, Anju, Kaechon and the neighbouring areas might suffer from flood unless the Chongchon River is embanked. Since there is a construction enterprise there, the local people can easily build embankments if they are supplied with explosives and the means of transport. But this work is excluded from control and direction.

In the same way that we are planning to build a high speed motor way between Pyongyang and Nampho along the Taedong River, it would be a good idea to construct a highway between Anju and Kaechon by building the embankment of the Chongchon River. For this purpose we must include this embankment project in the land development plan and concentrate our efforts on it.

At the moment, land development is left to no one's care or direction. A self-centred work attitude persists between the Ministry of Land Development and the Ministry of Construction, between ministries and provinces and between different provinces. They even undertake river embankment projects piecemeal, and do not coordinate the use of machinery and equipment. This is not the proper way to carry out the embankment project of a large river. Officials in charge of land development must rectify these shortcomings quickly and give a powerful boost to this work.

Agriculture requires efficient leadership.

The bad crop situation this year is partly due to the bad weather, but

mainly to inefficient leadership on the part of the officials in the agricultural sector.

This year these officials have directed agriculture by dictating to their subordinates out of their subjective desire.

As we cultivate a single crop of maize in our country, we need not plant it too early in spring. However, the senior officials in the agricultural sector gave orders for it to be planted early this year from their subjective desire, so the crop suffered damage from the cold weather in spring. In our country you can plant maize as a second crop at the time of the summer solstice. If you sow it too early, it may be badly affected by cold weather in spring and it will not grow well, resulting in a low yield. Why should you urge the farmers to plant the crop early, and expose it to the cold when we cultivate a single sowing of it? This year's failure in maize farming is totally contrived.

Maize can be planted densely only when it can be fertilized liberally. But the farmers were ordered to plant it densely even though they did not get enough fertilizer, so that many of the maize plants became sterile.

As for rice, the farmers were told to cultivate *Hamnam No. 13* only. I was told that the officials were so particular about the rice strain that the people in Nyongbyon County, for instance, had to visit South Hamgyong Province three times to obtain the seeds of *Hamnam No. 13*. This delayed the transplanting of seedlings and so the crop did not ripen well.

The senior officials in charge of agriculture must not dictate their subjective views to their subordinates in anything. The chairmen of cooperative farm management boards can now manage their own affairs competently. They have taken short courses on advanced farming methods on several occasions and know how to cultivate crops well. Therefore, the senior officials must not order them in a subjective way but give them scientific leadership.

The people in the agricultural sector must review their work correctly and criticize the shortcomings in this year's farming. They must hold a meeting to review agricultural work as soon as possible

and undertake thorough measures to ensure success in next year's farming. Then they will cultivate good crops next year.

The work of grain procurement should be done properly. I have talked to farmers and they said that 240 to 250 kilogrammes per head a year would be enough and that they would deliver 40 kilogrammes per head to the state. The state should buy their surplus food grain in accordance with their request. At the same time, everybody should be encouraged to start a campaign to save food grain.

You must manage personnel affairs properly.

At present, the Party's economic policy is not being implemented successfully, and this is mainly because personnel affairs are not being managed properly. In the units where the ranks of cadres are sound, things are going smoothly; but where they have not been built up or where there are vacancies, the work is being done inefficiently. Everything depends on how the ranks of cadres are built up.

At present Party departments in charge of economic affairs are not efficient in personnel administration. The officials of these departments do not have an in-depth knowledge of the cadres, so that they cannot appoint cadres properly and they do not work efficiently among the cadres on the job. They must build up the ranks of cadres in heavy industry and other branches of the national economy, meet and talk to these cadres regularly, help them to correct any mistakes they might make, before it is too late, and work with them skilfully so as to keep them working well.

The Party departments in charge of economic affairs must also direct labour administration efficiently.

Because of the acute shortage of manpower a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee even discussed the problem of labour administration, but the Party's economic departments are not paying proper attention to this problem.

Some ministries are increasing non-productive labour by rashly organizing art troupes, but no measures have been taken to correct the situation. The Ministries of Railways and Fisheries have organized their art troupes. These should be examined and either disbanded or

reduced in size as the situation requires. The Ministry of Fisheries does not need an art troupe of its own. Occasional touring performances given by other art troupes will meet its requirements. There are not enough artists available if professional art troupes are to be increased in number. So the troupe of the Ministry of Fisheries must be disbanded. It is desirable that the art troupe in the Ministry of Railways should be investigated and reduced to a mobile information troupe of 20 to 30 members or to a small theatrical troupe. The art troupes organized by ministries should be placed under the unified leadership and control of the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee rather than under the direction of the respective departments in charge of economic affairs.

We must improve education.

On my recent visit to Nyongbyon County I talked to teachers there one evening. I learned about the school situation and education from a Children's Union instructor the members of whose family had been killed by the enemy. When I returned to Pyongyang, I had a talk to the teachers of the Changjon Middle School and visited the homes of a few instructors of the Party Central Committee to see how their children were studying and what kind of textbooks they had. In the course of this I have learned that education faces many problems which must be solved.

We must provide the schoolchildren with enough textbooks. Without textbooks, they will not make progress in their studies.

The officials concerned must solve the textbook problem.

The textbooks for primary and middle schools in particular should be produced first. It is important to publish newspapers, but it is more important to provide textbooks for the schoolchildren. These textbooks need comparatively thick and durable covers.

There are three million pupils and students in our country now, and if we are to supply each of them with ten textbooks, we shall have to produce 30 million. This is not a simple matter. But we must not allow ourselves to hinder them in their studies because of the shortage of textbooks in our effort to introduce compulsory education. If this

happens, our compulsory education will be unable to prove its worth. However acute the shortage of paper is in our country, we must make every effort to provide good textbooks for the schoolchildren.

The ranks of teachers have now been built up and their enthusiasm is high. At present, the primary and middle school teachers are paid much more than the instructors of county Party committees or county people's committees. As their living standards have improved, teachers have smartened up their appearance, and they also work with a high sense of honour. This is a very good thing. All we have to do now for the rapid development of education in our country is to supply enough textbooks to the schoolchildren and give proper guidance to school organizations of the Children's Union and the League of Socialist Working Youth.

The pupils must be taught a wide range of practical knowledge.

At present, they do not know much about real conditions. I was told that, until they go to middle school, some pupils in Pyongyang do not know what an ox, a pig or other domestic animal looks like or what a farm village is like. They say that they can see domestic animals when they become middle school pupils and have an opportunity to assist in the country areas. If we go on educating them in this way, they may become people who do not even know where rice, which they eat every day, comes from or how it is produced; they may become "locked chests of knowledge", full of theoretical knowledge which is divorced from reality.

Schools must organize field trips on a large scale. This will give the pupils practical knowledge and train them to be useful workers, not "locked chests of knowledge".

Schoolchildren have one month of holidays each in summer and winter, but it would be preferable to make it 20 days and instead organize ten days of field trips in spring and autumn. It is advisable to arrange the spring trips during the period from April 15th to June and the autumn trips from September to November.

If we were to organize field trips for all the pupils throughout the country at the same time, we would have to solve many problems

including the shortage of railway transport and hotel accommodation. But if we organize them carefully so that they can visit different places in different ways, we shall have no grave difficulty.

Those pupils who live far away from their county town should visit it first. You can arrange for those who live in county towns to visit their own provincial capitals, those who live in provincial capitals to see Pyongyang, and those who live in Pyongyang to visit the provinces. Pyongyang pupils can climb Mt. Ryongak or Mt. Taesong or visit the Kangson Steel Plant or the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant. Field trips can cover long or short distances, and they can last for one day or for several days.

Pyongyang students have many places worth visiting on day trips. They can go to Wonsan by the evening train and spend the whole of the following day there, bathing in the sea or looking around the city before returning by the evening train. They can also make a round trip to and from Hamhung or Huichon in the same way by evening trains. If you organize it well, they can make a round trip to Haeju, Sariwon, Nampho, Kusong or other places in one day.

Field trips should be organized so that pupils can visit as many places as possible. There are many places which deserve visits. They can visit not only factories but also reservoirs or Yoltusamchholli Plain, fruit farms, chicken plants, livestock breeding farms and many others. If the pupils visit these places, they may cultivate an ambition to work there when they grow up.

It is good to show Mt. Myohyang to Pyongyang pupils. The Myohyangsan Holiday Home can accommodate 300 visitors, so it can serve 300 pupils from Pyongyang for about five days at the beginning of the holiday season every year. Or else the pupils can return home after two days' sightseeing at Mt. Myohyang.

The state must organize this work if it is to give the pupils an opportunity to obtain a wide range of knowledge, even though it involves some expense. The state will have to grant a travel allowance to the pupils for their 20-day field trips and provide them with their own hotels and separate railway service for their convenience. It would

be a good idea for the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee to adopt a decision on the matter of pupils' field trips.

Next, I should like to speak briefly about the conduct of work in the departments of the Party Central Committee.

They should organize meetings on a rational basis. I went over their plans for meetings for January next year, and I found that they are going to hold too many meetings, and that some of them are scheduled for the same days. So every department should submit its meeting plans to the Organizational Leadership Department who must examine them carefully and forward an agreed plan.

From next year onwards all the departments must submit their quarterly work plans to the Secretariat. These plans have only to include the items of work which they are going to do in the quarter. By referring to these plans we can call for reports from them or inspect them at any time to see whether or not these have been implemented.

The Organizational Leadership Department must put together the quarterly plans from every department and inform us of what each of them is going to do.

Different departments' suggestions for their foreign activities should be consolidated by the International Department before these are forwarded. All departments must become more involved in foreign activities. The directors of these departments and secretaries in particular must do them. In future many more people from foreign parties will visit us. Many people in other countries ask us to give them lectures on the T'aean work system, and on the Chongsanri spirit and method. They ask for information about our Party's policies on education, national reunification, agriculture, construction, transport, arming all the people, and so on. Even parties of neutral nations ask for information about our Party's method of leadership. All departments must be prepared to give them information, whenever they request it, on all our Party's policies including that of foreign affairs.

The departments of the Party Central Committee must review this year's work well. You must review the implementation of the tasks we have given, checking which have been carried out and which have not.

You must discover the reasons for the failure to implement them and work out proper measures to carry them out.

The main task confronting all the departments of the Party Central Committee next year is to prepare for the Fifth Party Congress. Party organizational work must be concentrated on preparing the Party congress, and its information work must also be concentrated on mobilizing the entire Party membership and all the working people to score great political and labour achievements to greet the congress. The economic departments of the Party must guide all branches of the national economy so that they can carry out the national economic plan for next year without fail. Since they are not entitled to participation in the Fifth Party Congress unless they complete the tasks set out at its Fourth Congress, the officials must fulfil them before the Fifth Congress to be held next year.

On the occasion of the Party congress, we must admit to the Party those who are prepared politically and ideologically and exemplary in their work, write off the penalties of the punished members, who have made tireless efforts to correct their mistakes, and promote members who deserve promotion.

The forthcoming Fifth Party Congress will be a great historic event in the development of our Party and revolution. Therefore, all the Party members and other working people must work hard to greet the Fifth Congress with a high degree of political enthusiasm and brilliant work results.

