

# **KIM JONG IL**

**SELECTED WORKS**

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TO MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*February 4, 1992*

Before long we will be marking, in the presence of the great leader, the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army. There are many countries and armies in the world, but no army other than ours is to celebrate its 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary in the presence of its founder and leader. The 60 years travelled by our People's Army under the leadership of the great leader are adorned with only victory and glory. Having announced its birth in the forests of Mt Paektu, the Korean People's Revolutionary Army defeated the heavily-armed Japanese imperialists and achieved the historic cause of national liberation under the command of the great leader, when he was in his twenties. After liberation it developed rapidly into a regular, revolutionary army, defending the homeland by force of arms. During the grim Fatherland Liberation War, which would be decisive to the destiny of the country, our People's Army defeated the US imperialists, who had boasted of being the "strongest" in the world, by displaying mass heroism and an unrivalled spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of the Party and the leader, the country and the people, and thus safeguarded with honour the achievements of the revolution.

After the war, it thwarted at each step the ceaseless manoeuvres by the US imperialists and their south Korean stooges to unleash a new war, at the same time as making a major contribution to the struggle for restoring the devastated economy and building a strong socialist country that was independent, self-sufficient and self-reliant in national defence. And today, while defending the country, it is performing heroic exploits in grand socialist construction, aimed at achieving the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people. The mass heroism and exploits displayed and achieved by the men and officers of the People's Army will shine forever in our Party's history. For our Party and people, having the ever-victorious People's Army, which is infinitely loyal to the Party and the leader, to the country and the people, is a source of great honour and pride. It is with these feelings that we must celebrate the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Korean People's Army in grand style.

On this occasion, I am planning a grand military parade that is novel in its form and has a unique style of our own. I want the form and style to be original and unique, since this will be the first parade of its kind to be held following my appointment as Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army. Until now, it has been the convention to organize parades in such a way that the infantry columns march first, followed by the mechanized ones. We should, however, free ourselves from this established practice and arrange the parade in keeping with the nature of the People's Army and in a style of our own. The People's Army is the army of our Party, a revolutionary army that has inherited the traditions of the anti-Japanese revolution. In this army today there are anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters who fought bloody battles under the command of the great leader ever since the days of the war against Japan, veterans who braved the fierce flames of the Fatherland Liberation War, and the new generations, their descendants. In order to sustain the nature of the People's Army, we should form the parade of columns of anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters, Fatherland Liberation War veterans, Mangyongdae Revolutionary School students, serving soldiers, Worker-Peasant Red Guards, and Young Red Guards.

The parade should be led by the column of anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans. They are the first generation of our revolution who, looking up to the great leader as the lodestar of the Korean revolution, followed him through bloody battles. It is an obligation incumbent on revolutionaries to value and pay tribute to the first generation of the revolution. Placing the column of anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters at the head of the parade will have a positive influence not only on them, but also on the second and third generations.

After that, the column of veterans from the Fatherland Liberation War should parade. We should see to it that not only generals on active service but also reserve generals and officers, are included in this column. This will please the reserve soldiers working in various sectors of the national economy, who will think that the Party continues to trust and give prominence to them as servicemen of the People's Army, even though they are discharged from active service. We should provide them with new uniforms and confer on them higher military ranks so that they can parade in their new uniforms with new epaulettes. Reserve generals from the provinces should also be enlisted in this column.

Behind the war veterans, students from Mangyongdae Revolutionary School should parade. This is a military school that trains the bereaved children of revolutionaries to become the backbone of national defence, inheriting the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered by the leader. Busy as he was with the work of building the Party, the state and the army after liberation, the leader, ever mindful of his fallen comrades-in-arms, dispatched officials to various places to trace the whereabouts of their children, and had them brought to study at Mangyongdae Revolutionary School, where they were brought up to become reliable workers for the country. At this school today, the bereaved children of revolutionary comrades who worked faithfully for the Party and the leader, for the country and the people in their lifetime, are growing up as trustworthy successors to our revolution. The Mangyongdae Revolutionary School column, by parading behind the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters and war veterans, will show that the revolutionary cause of Juche is being

inherited creditably, and that fine successors to the revolution are being nurtured.

This column should be followed by those of serving soldiers. They will present a grand spectacle of the a-match-for-a-hundred-foe ranks of the People's Army, which, by inheriting the loyalty to the Party and the leader and the indomitable revolutionary spirit cherished by the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters and heroes of the Fatherland Liberation War, instils in our people confidence in certain victory.

The columns of Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards should follow the columns of serving soldiers. The Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards are paramilitary forces organized in line with our Party's policy of arming the entire population. It will be good to include these columns in the parade so that we can demonstrate what our paramilitary forces, as well as our regular army, look like. Only in our country would these forces take part in such a parade. We must do everything in our own way. And we must make it a tradition to organize the parade of the People's Army in our way.

We must strengthen the People's Army and create a social climate in which prominence is given to military affairs.

As I have been emphasizing for a long time, state power is defended by force of arms. This truth has been proved in the course of history. The party is also defended and developed by the army's strength. The leader has said that he strengthened our Party by relying on revolutionary force of arms, adding that we should continue to exert great efforts to strengthen the People's Army. We must consolidate the People's Army and accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche, which was pioneered on Mt Paektu.

The path of revolution is arduous and beset with trials. The theme song, *Song of Comradeship*, from the revolutionary film, *Star of Korea*, contains the lines: *We must take the road of revolution rain or snow/Let us be true to our oath*. This highlights the philosophical truth that the road of revolution is not smooth but littered with severe trials, and that we must brave them at any cost, however hard they

may be. The road of revolution is not smooth, so we must never think of following it in comfort, putting up an umbrella when it rains and wearing an overcoat when it snows. The completion of the revolutionary cause of Juche, which originated on Mt Paektu, requires us, at all times and in all conditions, to channel great efforts into strengthening the People's Army.

Strengthening the People's Army means making it the army of the leader, the army of the Party and the army of the people. To this end, we must consolidate the Party's leadership of the People's Army and train all soldiers into revolutionary soldiers of the Juche type who are infinitely loyal to the Party and the leader. If we firmly establish the system of Party's leadership of the People's Army and prepare all its members to be soldiers who are each a match for a hundred foes, we have nothing to be afraid of.

It is essential in strengthening the People's Army to build up the ranks of its cadres with officers for whom loyalty to the Party and the leader is a matter of faith, conscience, moral obligation and everyday concern. Such officers will never betray themselves, whatever the adversity, and will dedicate their lives without hesitation to the Party and the leader, the country and the people. The cadre ranks of the People's Army must be built up with young and able people. Modern warfare is three-dimensional and employs high-tech weaponry. So, we will emerge victorious from a war against the enemy only when the ranks of cadres of the People's Army are reinforced with young and able people who can deal skilfully with various situations, however complex.

The Party training course for commanding officers of the People's Army must be organized well. With its aim of improving their ability to command and administer their units by placing the main emphasis on training their Party spirit, it is an advantageous system the like of which is found only in our country. So far, this short course has achieved the expected results. We must organize it more effectively to ensure that all commanding officers regard loyalty to the Party and the leader as a matter of faith, conscience, moral obligation and

everyday concern, acquire a revolutionary approach to organization, and cultivate the skills of command and administration of their units.

The General Political Bureau of the People's Army must conduct effective political and ideological education among the soldiers, so that they all discharge their duties as soldiers of the army of the leader, the Party and the people. The superiority of our People's Army over the armed forces of other countries lies in its political and ideological superiority. During the Fatherland Liberation War our People's Army, though young, was able to defeat the militarily and technically superior US imperialists and humble them, because its soldiers fought with a political and ideological determination to devote their lives to the Party and the leader, to the country and the people. The General Political Bureau of the People's Army must further strengthen the soldiers' education in the Juche idea so as to instil in them loyalty, Party policy, revolutionary traditions, class awareness and an understanding of communism.

The role of the political departments of the Ministry of Public Security and other military organs must be enhanced, too. These political departments must conduct efficient political and ideological education among the soldiers so that, in the face of the prevailing situation, they all fulfil their duties as defenders of the Party.

We must create a social climate in which prominence is given to military affairs.

Recently the people's attitude towards the People's Army has been enhanced and more and more examples of fine conduct in assisting the army have been witnessed. It is said that when soldiers leave for and return from their military training, the people living in their neighbourhood come out to cheer them. The relationship between the soldiers and the people is, needless to say, good, and the soldiers' morale is high. Nowadays, many people, happy with my appointment as Supreme Commander, wish to send their sons and daughters to join the People's Army. From this fact alone, we can see how excellent our people are.

Party organizations must praise such examples of good conduct as

giving active assistance to the People's Army and make them public, so that this becomes a climate in society.

In order to create a social climate in which prominence is given to military affairs, it is also necessary to raise the military ranks of members of the reserve. Then, the people will appreciate better the great importance attached by the Party to military affairs. At the moment, there are a large number of reserve soldiers in our country. If they are awarded higher military ranks they will strengthen their determination to devote themselves to the Party and the people. This measure will also ensure greater success in the work with the masses. It is an expression of the Supreme Commander's great trust in and affection for the reserve soldiers. If higher military ranks are conferred on them, their children, to say nothing of the persons concerned, will be very pleased, and this will also be conducive to creating throughout society a climate in which prominence is given to military affairs. As this work is of great significance in every aspect, we must do it in a responsible manner.

We must continue to give full play to the traditional trait of unity between the army and the people. As fish cannot live without water, so the army cannot maintain its existence apart from the people, and the people cannot conceive of their security apart from the army. Therefore, the people must take loving care of the army, as they would their own children, and give active support to it.

Whenever I am told of examples of beautiful conduct by the People's Army soldiers, I have the urge to give them wide publicity; whenever I have something available to give, I also have the urge to send it first to the soldiers. On the occasion of February 16 this year, I am going to ensure that most of my gifts are sent to the army.

I am going to send high-quality fur coats to the People's Army soldiers. If soldiers whose duties involve lying flat even on frozen ground are supplied with them, they will be very pleased. All departments of the Party Central Committee must turn out and give assistance to this work. Some time ago, the director of the Light Industry Department of the Party Central Committee suggested to me

that she would have the People's Army soldiers supplied with fur coats. I told her the idea was laudable and I would make sure she received active assistance. The departments of the Party Central Committee must help her well so that good-quality fur coats can be produced quickly.

We must create a model county in the aspect of unity between the army and the people and generalize it.

At the moment, various model county movements, such as the model law-abiding county movement, model sports county movement and model county movement for August 3 consumer goods production, are being conducted in society. Conducting a model county movement of unity between the army and the people would be a good idea. I think it best to organize the movement in such a way as to create one or two model counties among such frontline counties as Phyonggang and Kosong, which are in direct confrontation with the enemy, and border counties where soldiers are stationed, and generalize the experience. The relevant department of the Party Central Committee, in cooperation with the General Political Bureau of the People's Army, should select a county that deserves to be a model county and give focused guidance to it, so as to create an example.

Secretaries and department heads of the Party Central Committee should read the newspaper *Joson Inmingun* (Korean People's Army-Tr.). It is now being edited to make it a worthy army newspaper. When I read the paper, I feel as if the singing of *Go forward, brave soldiers of the People's Army* is ringing in my ears. The leader also appreciates the newspaper highly.

Every morning I read *Joson Inmingun* before I read *Rodong Sinmun*. The former carries many articles that are not found in the latter. It can be said that this newspaper is fully imbued with the idea of the Supreme Commander. When one reads the newspaper, one can fully appreciate the political and ideological preparedness of the People's Army. At the moment, the political and ideological preparedness of the People's Army soldiers is very good. It is their

unshakeable faith to remain loyal to the leadership of the Supreme Commander and bring the revolutionary cause of Juche to completion. The General Political Bureau of the People's Army must send *Joson Inmingun* to the secretaries and department heads of the Party Central Committee and to the Ministry of Public Security.

*Rodong Chongnyon* (Working Youth-Tr.) must be edited well to suit the characteristics of young people. Currently, it is not edited in such a way as to appeal to young people who are filled with vigour and enthusiasm. It can be called an imitation of *Rodong Sinmun*. Since it is important to give good education to young people, *Rodong Chongnyon* must be edited in such a way as to provide them with political sustenance.

**LET US FURTHER STRENGTHEN OUR SINGLE-  
HEARTED UNITY AND GIVE FULL PLAY  
TO THE KOREAN-NATION-FIRST SPIRIT**

**Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*February 4, 1992*

In recent years a grave situation has been created in some countries that were advancing to socialism: Socialism was frustrated and capitalism was revived by the anti-socialist manoeuvres of the imperialists and modern social democrats. Last year, the Soviet Union, having been in existence for 69 years, was broken up.

The modern social democrats, enthralled by the imperialists' strategy of "peaceful transition," vilified socialism as a bureaucratic society and eulogized capitalism as a society in which freedom and democracy are granted to the people. At present, however, there is no sign of genuine freedom and democracy in the countries that have been restoring capitalism. If there is any freedom in the former Soviet Union and other European countries in which capitalism has been revived, it is only the "freedom" of the rich eating and dressing well and getting richer while the poor are wandering in search of a job to earn the money they need for food, clothing and housing. In these countries the ranks of the unemployed are increasing and the prices of goods skyrocketing, phenomena that were unthinkable in the days of socialism, with the result that the living standards of the people are worse than ever. The people of these countries, ever mindful of their

life during socialist times, are demonstrating in the streets against the policies of their present governments.

The Communist and Workers' parties in capitalist countries are legally entitled to exist and conduct activities, whereas their counterparts in the countries that have abandoned socialism and switched to capitalism are subjected to harsh suppression. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which had a history of 90 years, had its assets confiscated by the renegades of socialism, and collapsed overnight. The Soviet Union, which boasted of being a superpower in the past, has become insignificant as a country, and the East European socialist countries that followed the Soviet Union blindly, have all collapsed, too.

These events prove that one must never abandon the idea and revolutionary principles of socialism. Nevertheless, the imperialists and renegades of socialism are slandering the socialist ideal and rejecting the revolutionary principles of socialism, blustering that building socialism had itself been a mistake. This is reactionary sophistry that disregards the law-governed nature of social and historical development.

In order to deal a blow to the imperialists and modern social democrats and inspire the world's revolutionary people with confidence in socialism, I wrote, on January 3 this year, a work titled, *The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of Our Party*. The leader, having read this work, described it as perfect and said that it should be published.

In the work I conducted an analysis of the fundamental causes of the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and some European countries, and proved the justness of the general line maintained by our Party in building socialism and communism. In socialist society the masses are its masters and it develops by dint of their single-hearted unity. Nevertheless, some countries that were building socialism, dogmatically adhered to outdated theories without paying due attention to the work of strengthening the motive force of socialist society and enhancing its role.

As I have already mentioned, the motive force of the revolution is the integral whole of the leader, the Party and the masses, and its might lies in their single-hearted unity. In guiding the revolution and construction,

our Party has always regarded it as fundamental to consolidate the motive force of the revolution and enhance its role, and has built socialism by dint of the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses. In the future, too, we must carry out our Party's general line by relying on this unity, and add glory to our style of socialism. That is why I emphasized the key issues in further glorifying our style of socialism by dint of single-hearted unity in the work, *Let Us Improve Party Work and Brighten Korean Style Socialism*, which I published last January, as well as in the speech I delivered at a meeting of senior officials of the Organizational Leadership Department and the Information Department of the Party Central Committee. As I emphasized in these works and in *The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of Our Party*, the two departments of the Party Central Committee must keep up the work of further glorifying our style of socialism by dint of single-hearted unity.

An important aspect of consolidating the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses is to rally the main class, the working class, closely behind the Party and the leader. The working class, the main force of our revolution, is resolved to overcome every hardship together with the Party. Our people's standard of living is not so high at present; however, the working class does not complain. Not long ago, so I am told, a senior official from a department of the Party Central Committee, who was working with the workers at the Chollima Steel Complex, asked them if there was anything they needed. They unanimously replied that there was nothing more they needed because they were living under the best socialist system in the world, the system that the great leader had established and our Party was adding brilliance to. Our working class will never vacillate from defending and glorifying socialism. Everything is fine with our working class. But we must not rest content with the preparedness of the working class; we must give them proper political and ideological leadership so that they fulfil their duty as the leading class.

We must continue to channel a major effort into strengthening the work with intellectuals. Intellectuals have little opportunity to train

themselves through labour in a revolutionary way, so they are likely to hesitate or vacillate in the face of hardship. If we work effectively with them, we can encourage them to play a major role in the revolution and construction; if not, they may become disruptive. The work with intellectuals is so important that I have taken every available opportunity to emphasize on directing a great deal of effort to it, and I have placed great trust in our intellectuals by calling them our Party's eternal companions, faithful assistants and excellent advisers. Since we have directed so much effort to this work, our intellectuals are now in a good ideological and mental state. In the future, too, we must give effective education to intellectuals working in the fields of the mass media, the arts, literature, science and education, so that they work faithfully for the Party and the leader, for the country and the people.

We must give full play to the principle of the Korean nation first, the Koryo nation first.

We are a diligent and intelligent nation, and our country is a beautiful land of 3 000 *ri* where it is good to live. We are a homogeneous nation of one blood who have lived from ancient times on the same territory with the same language and culture, and an intelligent nation with a time-honoured history and tradition of 5 000 years. The intelligence of our nation and the beauty of our country have been further glorified since the great leader won back the lost country and established the socialist system on this land. There are no other people in this world like our people who, blessed with the great leader and led by the great Party, are living under the people-centred socialist system that regards the people as the most precious beings and makes everything serve them. Only when the Korean-nation-first idea, the Koryo-nation-first idea, is given full play among our people will they take great national pride in our leader, our Party and our style of socialism being the best, and demonstrate due dignity.

The Koryo-nation-first spirit is necessary for achieving the country's reunification through the great unity of the nation. We must achieve national reunification not with outside help but through a

united effort of our nation. Whether they live in the north, in the south or abroad, Korean people can be united because they cherish the soul of the Koryo nation. In recent years, many overseas compatriots have come to the socialist motherland, into the embrace of the leader. Heartbroken at the nation's division, they are all resolved to devote the rest of their lives to the sacred cause of reunification. This means that, although they may have lived abroad for a long time, the blood of the Koryo nation runs through their veins. The spirit of national independence and the desire for the country's reunification are running high among the south Korean people, too. The south Korean authorities claim that our national character has become heterogeneous because our nation has lived divided into the north and the south for more than 40 years; however, the national character of our people has not become heterogeneous either in their blood relations, or in their behaviour and customs. Today is New Year's Day by the lunar calendar, and many people dressed in traditional Korean clothing can be seen in the streets of Seoul, I am told. Whether they live in the north, in the south or abroad, Korean people who have the soul of the Koryo nation and the desire for national reunification, must unite under the banner of national reunification and devote themselves to the cause of the country's reunification, those with strength giving their strength, those with knowledge dedicating their knowledge and those with money donating their money. When the country is reunified our nation will become a more dignified and powerful nation, and our country will shine in the world as an independent sovereign state with a population of 70 million, a glorious national culture and a powerful economy. By giving full play to the Koryo-nation-first spirit, we must achieve the great unity of the whole nation in the north, in the south and abroad, and realize the country's reunification, the supreme desire of the Korean nation, at the earliest possible date.

We must intensify education in the principle of the Korean nation first, the Koryo nation first, among Party members and other working people, so that they take great national pride and dignity in our leader, our Party and our style of socialism being the best, and value and

preserve the excellent behaviour and customs of our nation.

We must encourage our people to dress in traditional Korean clothing. They cannot always wear Korean dress, but they can do so on public holidays and rest days. If the women are dressed in fine Korean clothes, they look very gracious and elegant, and brighten up the streets. The Light Industry Department of the Party Central Committee reported to me that it would provide a set of traditional Korean clothing to every person. If people wear them only on public holidays and rest days, they will last a long time.

At the height of summer it is best to wear hemp jackets. Nylon or polyester jackets do not feel cool, but those made of hemp do.

Women should be encouraged to wear white rubber shoes with toe caps. This kind of shoes is not produced anywhere now, and no one wears them. Young people do not even know what they look like. So I assigned the task of producing them to the officials concerned. Once they are being produced, I will encourage our artistes to wear them.

Traditional national food should be promoted, too. Since ancient times our people have enjoyed *kimchi* pickle, and on holidays have made various kinds of rice cake to eat. Still today, our people are very fond of *kimchi* and take pride in pickling tasty *kimchi*. Women are very pleased when guests praise them for their *kimchi*. Still today our people feel they have really enjoyed a holiday if they have eaten rice cakes, and they are also delighted to see *kimchi* on the meal table. We must promote *kimchi*, rice cake and various other national foods, and see to it that people have the means to prepare such foods easily and to their taste.

We must encourage and sustain our nation's traditional style of greeting, instead of adopting other styles. Making a bow is our nation's traditional way of offering a greeting. Since ancient times, our people have made a courteous bow when they meet. On New Year's Day younger people would call on their elders and bow to them as a way of paying their respects. As our nation has such a fine style of greeting, it makes no sense to follow anyone else's. We must actively encourage our nation's traditional style of greeting.

## **ON DEVELOPING LIGHT INDUSTRY AND CONDUCTING EFFECTIVE RESEARCH INTO ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT**

**Talk to Senior Officials in the Economic Sector after Inspecting  
Light-Industry Goods Produced for the Occasion of April 15**

*April 4, 1992*

Today I inspected a display of light-industry goods. Generally, they are well-made. The styles and colours of the knitwear to be supplied to kindergarten and primary-school children are varied, and the school uniforms for the boys at primary and secondary school are also good. The school uniforms for the girls have been made particularly well and carefully and are better than the others, apparently because there are many women cadres in the light-industry sector, including the Light Industry Department of the Party Central Committee. The products on display show that the officials and working people in the light-industry sector have worked hard to contribute to the grand celebration of the whole country on the occasion of the 80<sup>th</sup> birthday of the great leader. I am satisfied with the good job they have done for the celebration. Frankly speaking, it is not easy to provide good clothes for all the children and students in the country and a suit of working clothes for every working person, all at the same time. No country in the world, apart from ours, bestows such great benevolence on its people, all at the same time.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I express thanks to all officials and workers in the light-industry sector, who have produced in such a short time the large quantities of excellent light-industry goods

for the children, students and working people across the country for the occasion of the leader's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday.

The officials and working people in the light-industry sector must not rest content with the success they have achieved, but redouble their efforts and produce various high-quality goods in greater quantities.

Great efforts should be made to develop the food industry.

First of all, the production of soy sauce must be modernized, so as to produce a large amount of tasty soy sauce.

Soy sauce contains proteins, carbohydrates and various other nutritional elements that are essential to humans. It is an important food item that is indispensable in our people's diet. At present, however, we are failing to produce tasty soy sauce in large quantities. Large quantities of soy sauce are being produced at local-industry factories where the technical standards are not high. Therefore, the soy sauce produced by some local-industry factories is not good in terms of its taste and colour. I think it would be advisable to build modern centrally-run factories for the production of soy sauce. This will make it possible to use the materials for making soy sauce rationally, and it will also be good for solving the problem of the packaging materials, including bottles.

We should import modern soy sauce factories from abroad. We must build one first in Pyongyang so as to supply tasty soy sauce to its citizens. Supposing Pyongyang consumes 50 000 tons of soy sauce a year, we shall have to import three 20 000-ton-capacity soy sauce factories. If they are good, we should build a similar number of factories in Hamhung and Chongjin, each with the same capacity. Then, more than 150 000 tons of soy sauce will be produced in the three cities. This amount is not sufficient to satisfy the demand for soy sauce on a national scale. Therefore, the soy sauce produced in these factories should be supplied to Pyongyang and the provincial capitals. For the time being, other areas should be supplied with the soy sauce produced by local-industry factories, as before. We should also encourage individual families to make their own soy sauce by fermenting soybeans, as they do now.

Confectionery production must be increased. For this, we must

solve the sugar problem. If we are to produce confectionery of the same quality as that we give to the children as gifts, we must make an accurate calculation of the amount of sugar needed and take steps to import it. In addition, we must increase production capacity. The present capacity is not enough to meet the demands of the people in full. Pyongyang, too, needs to increase its capacity. The production capacity of the Pyongyang Cornstarch Factory is small, and it is also technically backward. We must import a modern cornstarch factory and build it in Pyongyang.

We must produce soya milk for Pyongyang's children at an early date. Soya milk contains proteins, calcium, iron and other minerals, as well as various vitamins, that are conducive to the growth of children. A long time ago the great leader emphasized at a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee that soya milk should be supplied to the children. Our officials, however, have not taken active steps to produce any, and have simply complained about the conditions. Such being the situation, I resolved to ensure that the children of Pyongyang received soya milk first and told the director of the Light Industry Department of the Party Central Committee to import the machinery as a matter of priority, and produce soya milk for them. The light-industry sector has now imported the machinery and is producing soya milk on an experimental basis. The senior officials present here must have tasted the soya milk made by this machinery. Recently, it has been sold to citizens at soft-drinks counters in the city. Their opinion is favourable, I have been told. We must promptly import and install the remainder of the machinery contracted.

Light-industry factories must regulate their production properly. Some light-industry factories carry out production in the manner of a shock campaign every time we are about to greet a national holiday. They must rid themselves of this habit. If they continue their production in such a manner, even after their equipment is modernized, they will be unable to supply consumer goods to the people on a regular basis, and this is not good for many reasons. The

light-industry sector must thoroughly eliminate this practice and ensure a regular and high level of production. In order to ensure normal production at light-industry factories, they must be supplied with raw and other materials promptly and without interruption. To this end, we must carry out the Party's policy of allowing light-industry factories to export part of their output in exchange for raw and other materials. We must solve the problem of the supply of raw and other materials for light-industry factories mainly by relying on our own natural resources and raw materials, while allowing factories to export part of their output and import raw and other materials from abroad. The Administration Council and the Light Industry Commission must organize the economic work effectively so that light-industry factories are operating at full capacity and producing, on a regular basis, various consumer goods for the people.

The quality of light-industry goods must be improved to meet the demands of the developing situation.

The quality of the light-industry goods produced in our country is still low. The acrylic knitwear is not as soft as it should be. The clothes our people are wearing are made of good quality cloth, but in many cases do not look smart. Today our people's demand for light-industry goods is very high. Light-industry factories must wage a powerful struggle to improve the quality of goods and endeavour to ensure that, even if they produce only one product, it is of high quality.

For this purpose, officials in this sector must enhance their sense of responsibility and their role. The poor quality of light-industry goods is attributable to various factors, but the main reason is that officials do their work in a haphazard way. Officials in this sector must redouble their efforts to improve the quality of goods, conscious of being masters and in the spirit of devoted service to the people.

In improving the quality of light-industry goods, a very important role is played by scientists and technicians. Scientists and technicians, including those at the Academy of Light-Industry Science, must cherish the mission and duty they have assumed before the Party and

the revolution, and work responsibly to solve the scientific and technical problems that arise in improving the quality of knitwear and other light-industry goods.

While producing mass consumer goods for ourselves, it would also be advisable to import, using barter trade, those consumer goods that are cheaper to buy from other countries.

By building an independent national economy we do not mean producing for ourselves all the consumer goods the people need in their living. Having built up a solid foundation for an independent national economy, we must make effective use of it, and strive to produce consumer goods by our own efforts. However, it is not advisable to import the raw and other materials needed to produce for ourselves consumer goods that are cheaper to buy from other countries. Moreover, since the power supply in the country is under strain, we will have nothing to gain, and only waste electricity, if we import raw and other materials for the domestic production of low-quality goods, the like of which are cheap and widely available on the world market. In the metal and other key industries we must produce what we need for ourselves and to the best of our ability, even if it means a certain degree of loss; otherwise, our economic lifeline will be in the grip of other countries. However, it would not be bad to import, using barter trade, some types of the consumer goods that are abundant on the world market.

When we say we should import some types of consumer goods, it does not mean that we intend to introduce the capitalist method of economic management. We should learn how to ensure that goods produced by other countries, whatever their method of economic management, serve the interests of our people.

A correct calculation should be made as to which consumer goods are more economical to buy in a finished state than to produce using imported raw and other materials, and if importing the finished goods is more economical, we should do so. The Administration Council, the State Planning Commission and the Light Industry Commission must take steps to import some consumer goods items through barter

trade, at the same time as increasing our own production of mass consumer goods.

Also in Pyongyang, officials should study and organize the work well for importing some consumer goods items needed by its citizens. Pyongyang has a sound light-industry base. If the light-industry factories there maintain steady production and some consumer goods items are imported, the citizens' demands for consumer goods will be satisfied and they will be well-off.

A study must be conducted of the method of managing the economy.

In recent days I have been conducting an in-depth study of some more effective approaches to economic management.

We have built up solid economic foundations and, if we make effective use of them by managing the economy in a scientific and rational way, we can push on with the building of a socialist economy and allow our people to live affluently, with no reason to envy anyone else. Our officials, however, are failing to direct and manage the economy in keeping with the demands of the developing situation. Such being the case, the existing economic foundations are unable to demonstrate their effectiveness to the full.

Senior economic officials do not take cost-effectiveness into account when they organize and direct the economy and run factories and enterprises. They are having consumer goods that are more economical to buy abroad, produced domestically by importing the raw and other materials. In the case of some items, they are giving production assignments to factories and enterprises, even though they are fully aware that economic losses will ensue. Factories and enterprises are also undertaking production without a detailed study of cost-effectiveness. They are concerned only about fulfilling the state plan, and pay no particular attention to how much profit they earn for the state or for themselves. Managers and Party secretaries at some factories and enterprises are fully aware of what factors are hindering production, but do not know the amount of electricity and labour needed or the per-unit cost. Since they are undertaking

production in such a haphazard way without making any detailed cost calculation, they are wasting considerable quantities of electricity and raw and other materials. If we manage the economy in such a way that we import raw and other materials and produce goods without proper planning and without taking into account the unit cost, with the result that we fail to make any profit, we can neither guarantee extended reproduction nor manage the national economy properly.

In guiding and managing the economy, it is very important to calculate cost-effectiveness accurately. It is only by creating greater material wealth with less expenditure through improved cost-effectiveness that we can quickly increase social production, develop the economy at a high rate and constantly improve the people's standard of living. Senior economic officials must pay close attention to calculating cost-effectiveness accurately in the overall planning of the national economy, and in organizing and guiding the production and management activities of factories and enterprises.

When assigning plans to factories and enterprises, it would be advisable to give them not only production quotas but also targets for the profit and foreign currency they should earn. When giving a plan to a machine factory, for example, the plan should specify not only the number of machine tools to be produced, but also the amount of profit and foreign currency it should earn. This will encourage the machine factory to try to develop the technology for producing for sale a hundred high-priced, digitally-controlled machine tools using less materials, instead of manufacturing a thousand low-priced, ordinary ones that use a lot of materials. If quotas for profit and foreign currency earnings are included alongside the production quotas, factories and enterprises will naturally become interested in making a profit, will try to improve the quality of their products and turn out new ones by developing their technology, and will organize production meticulously so as to earn more with less expenditure. The long-term plans given in the past specified the number of machine tools to be produced and the per-worker output value to be achieved. Today, when science and technology are developing rapidly, such

plans are meaningless. Other countries would not buy the kinds of machine tools we have been producing in great numbers hitherto. It is pointless to assign plans for producing large numbers of machine tools that cannot be sold to other countries. An all-round examination should be conducted of the production quotas of items that do not yield a profit for the state, and the situation should be rectified, where needed.

At present, there are many problems in economic guidance and management that require further study if they are to be solved. Studies must also be conducted on how to improve the country's light-industry structure in line with our plan to import some consumer goods from other countries.

The study of the method of economic management must, by all means, be conducted in accordance with socialist principles and the interests of our people, based firmly on the Juche-oriented stand and the country's situation. We must manage our country's economy in our own way at all times.

If we are to manage the economy in our way, based on a detailed study of the socialist economy, we must set up a specialist economic research institute. At present, we have the Economic Policy Commission under the Central People's Committee. Most of the members of the commission are elderly, so it has come up with no particular suggestion for improving economic management. The officials in charge of economic work in the Administration Council are busy with production, so they cannot study this issue in any depth. We should ensure that an institute is set up, where qualified people study effective methods of economic management and come up with solutions to the problems arising in the management of the economy.

**LET US GLORIFY THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS  
OF THE RESPECTED LEADER  
COMRADE KIM IL SUNG**

**Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*April 17, 1992*

We celebrated the 80<sup>th</sup> birthday of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung with great national pride and confidence. Not only the people in the northern half of Korea but also our fellow countrymen in the south and all our compatriots abroad celebrated it as a most auspicious event for the nation.

The celebrations were an unprecedented grand international political festival held amidst the boundless good wishes of the revolutionary people across the world. Present at the celebrations held in Pyongyang, capital of the revolution, were more than 420 delegations from some 130 countries, including those led by heads of state and party, that came to extend warm congratulations to the leader. Colourful celebrations were also organized in many countries of the world. History would never have witnessed such a grand political event as our leader's 80<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary, celebrated as a common festival of mankind.

It was indeed significant to celebrate the birth anniversary of the leader as a great event in human history at a time when the imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to anti-socialist and anti-DPRK schemes. The celebrations demonstrated the greatness of our leader and the superiority of our unique style of people-centred

socialism built by the leader. The grand political festival was a historic event, in that it instilled in our people a sense of glory and joy in having the great leader, and gave revolutionary people all over the world confidence in the victory of socialism.

The greatest fortune for a nation is to have a wise leader. The foreign friends from many countries who participated in the celebrations for the leader's 80<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary unanimously said that it is the greatest fortune for the Korean people to have the great Comrade Kim Il Sung as their leader.

The masses of the people are the masters of their own destiny who shape their destiny by their own efforts, and they are also the makers of history. Nevertheless, it is only when they are led by a wise leader that they can be masters of their destiny and makers of history and play their role as such. In the past, the masses of the people could not become masters of their own destiny because they were not aware of either their demand for independence or their strength, were not rallied into a political force and were not provided with proper leadership. With the appearance of the working class in the arena of history, the masses of the people finally had the leading class that would lead their struggle for independence. But even the working class cannot perform its role as the leading class if it does not have the proper leadership of a political leader. The establishment of the socialist system creates the socio-economic conditions for the masses to occupy their position as masters in society and play their role as such, but it does not mean that they are in a position to shape their destiny for themselves. Even in a socialist society, the masses cannot maintain their position as masters if they are not provided with proper leadership.

That the masses can shape their destiny successfully only if they are led by a wise leader is clearly illustrated by the history of our people's struggle. Ours is a resourceful and courageous nation. We are a homogeneous nation, who have always lived on the same land, creating a shining culture. Nevertheless, when our nation did not have a leader who was capable of leading the country, the people were reduced to colonial slavery, suffering contempt and maltreatment of every description and

failing to add any lustre to the excellent features of their great nation. Since having Comrade Kim Il Sung in the vanguard of the revolution, our people have become a great people who have taken control of their own destiny and exalted the resourcefulness of their nation. The greatness of a people is, in other words, the greatness of their leader. The greatness of a people is not decided by the size of their national territory or population, but by the leader who leads them. The leader is born of the people, but it is not the case that only a strong people produce a great leader. Even a small and weak nation that is exploited and oppressed can produce a great leader. Nevertheless, without a great leader there cannot be a great people. The people can become great only when they have a great leader. The greatness of a people can be exalted throughout the generations only when the leadership of their great leader is inherited throughout the generations.

History records many renowned leaders, but it knows no one as great as Comrade Kim Il Sung. We communists do not believe in God, but we cannot help saying that our leader is a heaven-sent great man. A foreigner once stated that he had never believed in God, but he believed in President Kim Il Sung as he would in God. Our leader is endowed with outstanding qualities. There is no one who can rival his ideo-theoretical intelligence, leadership and virtue. History records many men who are well-known for their outstanding qualities and accomplishments, but none of them has personified such distinguished qualities and accomplishments as our leader has. The respected Comrade Kim Il Sung is a distinguished great man who embodies all the qualities and accomplishments associated with the most elevated of great men. This is why people all over the world praise him highly, calling him the greatest of great men of humanity.

Our leader is a great thinker and theoretician with remarkable ideological and theoretical insight. The history of human thought has never known a great thinker and theoretician like him.

He has shed light on the theoretical and practical problems that arise in all fields of the revolution and construction. His thoughts and theories are literally encyclopaedic. Recently, *Kim Il Sung*

*Encyclopaedia* was published in India, and his works and other books explaining his encyclopaedic thoughts and theories published in many of the world's countries. Our leader gives a clear-cut ideological and theoretical answer to every problem arising in the revolution and construction. Our officials, whenever they hear what he has to say, cannot but admire his remarkable insight, comprehensive understanding, and profound knowledge. Foreigners who meet him, be they statesmen or scholars, are unstinting in their praise of his outstanding wisdom and extensive knowledge.

The thoughts and theories of our leader are not only encyclopaedic but also completely original. He has developed all his thoughts and theories in a creative way. Ever since the early days of his revolutionary struggle, he has rejected dogmatism in the study of ideology and theory and elucidated all thoughts and theories in a new and original light, in keeping with the requirements of the era of independence.

The richness, profundity and originality of his thoughts and theories are inconceivable apart from his distinguished wisdom, unique faculty for inquiry, and great revolutionary practice. He is outstanding not only in his insight and analytical ability, but also in his power of memory. Everyone admires him for his capacity to remember in detail all the events in his lifetime—from his childhood and the early period of his revolutionary activities up to the present when he is 80 years old. His faculty for inquiry is also extraordinary. He never ceases his thinking and inquiry. Though old, he still reads materials on the political situation in various countries of the world, data on science and technology, and even full-length novels our writers have produced. To reduce the burden of reading, I have the full-length novels recorded for him. He reads a lot of data and books, but that does not mean that his thoughts and theories are created in his study. He says that it is useless to inquire into a theory for the sake of learning, divorced from practice. A theory must serve practice, be created in practice and be examined by practice—this is the principle he maintains. The practice of the uniquely comprehensive, great

revolution the leader has conducted throughout his life is the source of his original and profound thoughts and theories. In the course of leading the revolution and construction for some 70 years, he has accumulated the most profound and rich experience and achievements, and by generalizing them, he has formulated the comprehensive system of the thought, theory and method of Juche.

His ideo-theoretical activities are entirely people-oriented. A most important duty of a leader of the revolution is to reflect the demands for independence and interests of the masses accurately, and indicate the correct orientation and means of the struggle. The masses have inexhaustible intelligence, but their demands and interests may develop into a thought or a theory representing their era only when they are analyzed, generalized and systematized. The work of putting forward a scientific thought or theory that can serve as a guideline in the revolution and construction by analyzing the demands and interests of the masses and generalizing the experiences they have accumulated in their struggle, is undertaken by an outstanding leader. Our leader has always conducted his ideological and theoretical activities among the masses. Regarding them as his teacher, he has put forward ideas and theories by reflecting their aspirations and wishes and analyzing and generalizing their experiences in the struggle. His ideas and theories are literally the aspirations and opinions of the masses. As they truly reflect the masses' aspirations and opinions, his thoughts and theories are profound and yet easily comprehensible. People accept them as their own conviction and will. These days our people are living with a firm conviction in his revolutionary ideas alone, and the progressive people of the world are learning from his revolutionary ideas, simply because his ideas and theories most accurately reflect the aspirations and demands of the masses.

Our leader is a great man with outstanding leadership ability.

His is the wisest and most scientific leadership. Looking back through history, it is impossible to find a leader who committed no error in his political career; even leaders who claimed to govern their

countries for the people, to say nothing of the anti-popular rulers, made mistakes. However, our leader has led the revolution and construction along a straight course to victory for nearly 70 years without the slightest error or deviation in his policies. His wise and scientific leadership would be inconceivable without his uniquely far-sighted intelligence. He sets out lines and policies with a vision extending far into the future. The people of the world, considering the staunchness of our country in the present complicated situation, express their admiration for the foresight of President Kim Il Sung, who has put forward the line of independence, self-sufficiency and self-defence and built an independent, socialist power. We have built a fine country and are now administering it successfully by relying on our native cadres. From this fact alone, we can feel once again how wise he was, in the complicated and difficult circumstances immediately after the liberation of the country, to build as a matter of priority Mangyongdae Revolutionary School, Kim Il Sung University and other national cadre training centres.

His wise leadership has reached into every field of the revolution and construction. With his profound knowledge he has sagaciously taken the lead in the political, economic, scientific, educational, military, artistic, literary, and other fields. He is truly a great leader who wields the might of pen and sword combined with versatile talent. The brilliant successes our people have achieved in all fields, including politics, the economy, science, education, art and literature, can be ascribed to his pre-eminent leadership art and skill.

His leadership is great, in that with his iron will and unique leadership ability he transforms adversity into advantage and misfortune into blessing. Our revolution has travelled a path beset with unprecedented difficulties. It has had to experience endless hardship. Our revolution has had to survive the anti-Japanese revolutionary war, the Fatherland Liberation War, post-war reconstruction and other severe trials. However, he has confronted the difficulties with a strong determination that there will be a way out, even if the sky falls in, and with his unique leadership ability, he has

taken the revolution and construction to one upsurge after another. Thanks to his iron will and outstanding leadership, our people have been able to work one world-startling miracle after another in the face of all the ordeals, and hew out their destiny with credit.

His leadership is people-oriented, in that he solves everything by relying on the masses and enlisting them. Since he embarked on the road of revolution in his early years, he has always been among the people, formulating lines and policies that reflect their aspirations and opinions and, by enlisting them, leading the revolution and construction to brilliant victory. Our Party has been able to lead the revolution and construction straight to victory without the slightest error or blunder in its lines and policies because he has mixed with the people, advancing lines and policies that reflect their aspirations and opinions, and leading them to implement these lines and policies fully. His whole life has been spent in the field guiding the people. Having devoted his life to the people, he continues his on-the-spot guidance to the people even now, when he is over 80 years old. That is why our people earnestly wish that he would allow himself some rest, if only for a moment, as reflected in the song that starts *The leader goes on the road of love tonight, too, after sending the people to the cradle of happiness.*

The respected Comrade Kim Il Sung is a genuine people's leader with noble virtue, whose love for the people is boundless. There is no great man in history who can be his equal in virtue.

Since ancient times it has been said that a statesman must be virtuous and must govern the country with benevolence. The exploiting society, however, is not a society governed by benevolence, and its rulers can never embody benevolence. Exploitation and oppression of man by man is incompatible with love for man. Genuinely benevolent politics can only be practised in a socialist society where the people are its masters. Even in a socialist society benevolent politics is not implemented of its own accord. It can be realized only when a man whose love for the people is boundless, is leading the country.

Our leader personifies love for the people at the highest level. He once said that it was a maxim in his family, handed down from his grandfather's time, that one can live without money, but not without humanity. He considers that the traits of kind-heartedness, generosity and virtue that have been handed down through the generations are a source of pride for the Korean nation, so he pursues benevolent politics for the people. His love for the people is noble, in that he shares good times and bad, weal and woe, with them and spares nothing for their good. His boundless love for the people is the motive force for our country's genuinely people-oriented politics. All the people-oriented policies enforced in our country today emanate from his noble love for the people.

His noble humanity finds clear expression in his boundless love for his comrades. He began his revolutionary struggle by winning comrades, holding dear in his heart the words of his father Kim Hyong Jik, that "Only he who will die for his comrades will find good comrades," and has never spared anything for his comrades. Regarding it as the greatest wealth to have many comrades and the greatest happiness to be loved and trusted by his comrades, he has created a beautiful history of revolutionary comradeship. It is thanks to his noble love that our Party's ranks have been built up millions strong, our invincible revolutionary armed forces have been created, and single-hearted unity in our society based on comradely love and revolutionary obligation has been guaranteed.

The leader's love for the people is infinitely benevolent, in that it embraces all the people. Respecting the people as supreme beings, he has devoted his all for the good of the working masses, including the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. He does not judge people by their class status. If someone, though born into the propertied class, mixes with the working masses and fights in defence of their independence, the leader regards him as one of the people and places trust in him as a revolutionary companion. Saying that the criterion for judging a man should be his present ideas, not his origin at birth or past career, he has embraced the masses of all strata and

rallied them firmly. He is lenient even to those who fought against communism in the past or who committed crimes against the nation, if they are determined to serve their nation. This great magnanimity enabled the successful multi-part feature film *The Nation and Destiny*, which is based on true stories, to be produced. His boundlessly deep and warm love enables every member of the nation, whether in the north, in the south or abroad, to turn out for the sacred cause of reunification, irrespective of their ideas, political views, party affiliation, religious belief and political record, upholding him as the great father of the nation. Today our people entrust their destiny entirely to the fatherly leader with the noblest virtue and enjoy a worthwhile, happy life under his care.

A leader enjoys respect and trust from the people not because he is given prominence by others but by dint of his own achievements. Comrade Kim Il Sung enjoys the absolute respect and trust of the people because he has performed immortal feats for the cause of the independence of the masses.

Since embarking on the road of revolution at the age of 14, the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung has achieved immortal exploits by leading to brilliant victory the underground revolutionary struggle, two revolutionary wars, two stages of social revolution and two rounds of reconstruction, as well as several stages of socialist construction. The Korean people, once oppressed and trampled on as a weak and small nation, were able to defeat the strong Japanese and US imperialists, which is a miracle hitherto unknown in the history of national liberation struggles, and, in a short span of time, build on the debris a strong socialist state that is independent, self-sufficient and self-reliant in defence, something that is a shining example in the history of creation and construction. These epoch-making victories and developments would be inconceivable without Comrade Kim Il Sung's wise leadership. As a prominent leader of the international communist movement, he has also achieved undying successes for the cause of global independence. His feats, being so great, have earned tremendous admiration among the world's people.

No leader in any age or country has made such great achievements in his lifetime as our leader has. For his distinguished achievements, he enjoys the world's boundless respect and admiration as the greatest leader in history.

The great leader wrote in his memoirs as follows: "Revolutionaries, believe in the people and rely on them at all times and you shall always emerge victorious; if you are forsaken by them, you will always fail. Let this be your maxim in your life and struggle." This aphorism with philosophical meaning makes clear the secret of his great achievements for the people. Historical experience shows that a leader can guide the socialist cause to victory through any adversity if he believes in the people and relies on them, and that he will fail to defend the gains of socialism if he is forsaken by them. The great leader has performed his exploits together with the people for the benefit of the people, and for this reason they will live on in the minds of the people.

A great achievement made by the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung for the people is the creation of the guiding idea with which the masses can shape their destiny with credit.

Without the guidance of a correct ideology, the masses cannot shape their destiny. Socialist society can be built only when it is guided by a correct ideology. Unlike capitalist society, which is run by money and power, socialist society, which is based on collectivism, cannot take even a step forward without a correct guiding ideology.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, by creating the Juche idea, put forward the most correct guiding ideology with which the masses can successfully shape their destiny. For the first time in history, he developed socialist theory with the masses at the centre of all thought and practice. Aware that the truth was to be found in the aspirations of the masses for independence and in revolutionary practice, not in the propositions of existing theories, he found original solutions to all problems, based on our people's aspirations and the specific situation in our country. By reflecting the aspirations of the masses and by

analyzing their experience in the struggle, he perfected the comprehensive Juche-oriented theory of socialism.

Understanding the demand of the masses to live independently, free from all hues of subordination and social and natural fetters, he elevated them to the place of the masters of the world and of their own destiny. And understanding that they had inexhaustible strength with which to reshape the world and hew out their destiny by their own efforts, he elevated them to the place of transformers of the world and of their destiny. From this, he formulated the viewpoint and attitude that everything should serve the people, the masters of the world and of their destiny, and that every problem should be solved by relying on the creative efforts and wisdom of the people, the transformers of the world and of their destiny.

The Juche idea, which he created, being the most superior ideology, accurately reflects the masses' desire for independence and their creative ability, and our style of socialism, as its embodiment, is displaying tremendous vitality. Our Party and people are vigorously advancing along the road of socialism despite the present complicated circumstances, simply because they are guided by the Juche idea. Holding high as ever the banner of the Juche idea, our Party will accomplish the Juche revolutionary cause he pioneered.

Another great achievement by Comrade Kim Il Sung for the people is the founding of Juche-type political organizations that are responsible for looking after the people's destiny.

For the masses to shape their destiny, they need political organizations that can organize and lead them in the struggle and take care of their life. They cannot carve out their destiny individually, divorced from a political organization. The destiny of the working masses, including the working class, is shaped under the leadership of their leader, who in turn takes care of the destiny of all the members of society through a political party, a power organ and other political organizations. Thus, building up these political organizations into organs that serve the people is key to shaping the destiny of the masses.

Among the political organizations in a socialist society, it is the

party of the working class that is the leading political organization. In socialist society the working-class party assumes the mission of taking responsible care of the destiny of the masses. In order to fulfil this mission, it must occupy the leading position. The responsibility the working-class party assumes for the destiny of the masses cannot be separated from its leadership position. Giving up its leadership position and role is tantamount to the party's self-destruction, and to a treacherous act of abandoning its responsibility.

Comrade Kim Il Sung has led the Workers' Party of Korea to occupy the position of the political guide of society, and has strengthened it continuously. This is a manifestation of his noble love and great sense of responsibility for the destiny of the people. Our people regard the Party as their political guide and entrust their destiny entirely to it.

The working-class party, in order to perform its mission of taking responsibility for the destiny of the masses and leading them in a socialist society, must make defending the interests of the people the supreme principle in its activities. The party should not be supported only by its membership or the working class. It should enjoy the support of all the people. To this end, it must defend the masses' interests to the letter.

Comrade Kim Il Sung put forward the original idea in party building that the working-class party should represent the interests of the broad sections of the masses. In the past a party was viewed as an organized unit of a class, which defended the interests of that class, and as a weapon in the class struggle. Since the needs of the working class coincide with those of all other classes and strata that are interested in social progress, the working-class party ought to represent the interests of the broad sections of the masses. This is all the more so in a socialist society where the masses of all strata have been transformed into socialist working people.

The working-class party, if it is to take responsibility for the destiny of the masses, must be built into a party of the masses with its roots deep among the broad sections of the masses, and the working

masses as its class foundation. This is an intrinsic requirement for building a working-class party that defends the interests of the broad sections of the working masses. In putting forward the original line of building a mass-based party, Comrade Kim Il Sung wisely led our Party to develop into a mass-based party in which the advanced elements of the workers, farmers and working intellectuals are enrolled.

Building a working-class party into a mass-based party that represents the interests of the masses in socialist society does not mean diluting or negating its class and revolutionary character. The party must neither abandon the needs of the working class on the grounds of representing the interests of the broad sections of the masses, nor admit anyone into the party without due consideration, on the grounds that a mass-based party is being built. It should fully embody the needs of the working class while defending the interests of the broad sections of the masses, and admit only progressive elements into its ranks while securing the working masses as its social and class foundation.

Under the wise leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Workers' Party of Korea has developed into a party representing the interests of all Korean people, with its roots deep among the broad sections of the masses, while strictly maintaining its class and revolutionary character as a working-class party.

The state power organ in socialist society plays an important role in taking responsibility for the destiny of the masses. The power organ in socialist society should, to all intents and purposes, be the people's power organ serving the people.

Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out that state power in socialist society should represent the masses' right to independence, cultivate their creativity and organize their activities. He led our people's power organs in defending to the hilt the masses' right to independence, cultivating their creativity and enlisting their inexhaustible creativity. The preceding theories viewed the difference in class character as the essential difference between the power organ

in an exploitative society that oppresses the masses and the power organ in a socialist society that conducts its activities in the interests of the people, and defined state power as the weapon of dictatorship for realizing the rule by a certain class. They went on to state that state power that performs the function of dictatorship would wither in a classless society. Comrade Kim Il Sung for the first time elucidated, based on the Juche idea, that state power is a weapon serving the interests of the class and social collective that hold the position of master in society. State power in an exploitative society is a weapon for ruling over the working masses in the interests of the ruling class, whereas in a socialist society, it is a weapon that serves the interests of the masses, the masters of society. In socialist society each working man or woman exercises his or her political rights, but the right to independence of all the people is represented by the people's government elected by the will of the people. Cultivating the masses' creativity and enlisting it is also possible only by such a powerful political organization as the people's power. The people's government organs in our country established by the masses themselves have been developed ceaselessly into political organizations that staunchly defend their right to independence, effectively cultivate their creativity and skilfully lead them in their creative activities.

Having stated that the state power organ in socialist society should be the master responsible for the livelihood of the people, Comrade Kim Il Sung has led our people's government organs to take responsibility for the material and cultural life of the people. The government in an exploitative society serves as a weapon protecting the exploitation and plunder of the people by the ruling class, without caring whether the people starve to death or not. But in a socialist society, where the people have become the masters of the country, the government takes responsibility for all aspects of their life. Because Comrade Kim Il Sung set the steady improvement of the people's standard of living as the supreme principle in the activities of the state, and has led the people's government organs to make the

people's livelihood their responsibility, our people's government organs have been able to perform their mission and role as servants of the people with credit.

If the party and the people's government organs are to fulfil their mission and role in the service of the people, their officials must possess a proper method and style of work. The masses' support for and trust in the party and the people's government depend largely on the officials' method and style of work. The masses will not follow the party and the government, no matter how correct the lines and policies of the party and the government are, if abuse of power, bureaucracy and other outdated work practices and styles are tolerated among officials, and this will ultimately jeopardize the very existence of the working-class party and the people's government.

From the first days after the founding of our Party and the people's government, Comrade Kim Il Sung made it an important task to reject such practices as the abuse of power and bureaucracy and establish the revolutionary work method and popular style of work. Emphasizing that officials of the Party and the government organs in socialist society should be servants of the people instead of bureaucrats who lord it over them, he led the officials to serve the people faithfully. As a result, our officials could establish the revolutionary work method and popular style of work, and our Party and government organs could perform their mission and role as servants of the people splendidly. Since our Party and the Government of the Republic, founded by Comrade Kim Il Sung, take responsibility for their destiny, our people actively support and place absolute trust in them. In the future, too, we will strengthen our Party and the people's government as true servants of the people and, with them as a weapon, accomplish the people's cause of independence.

An immortal achievement by Comrade Kim Il Sung for the people was the founding of the genuine people's revolutionary armed forces that defend their freedom and happiness.

With a strong sense that the Korean nation must have an army of its own if it was to be saved from the suffering inflicted by the

bayonets of the Japanese imperialists, he launched the cause of founding the army with two pistols he had inherited from his father, and in the forests of Antu 60 years ago, he declared to the whole world the founding of the Anti-Japanese People's Guerrilla Army.

Having put forward the slogan, "As fish cannot live without water, so guerrillas cannot live without the people," he led the soldiers to serve the people faithfully and live in harmony and unity with them. The army's spirit of devoted service to the people and the unity between the army and the people—these are a source of power with which our revolutionary armed forces defeated the powerful Japanese and US imperialists. Thanks to his wise leadership, our revolutionary armed forces have travelled, in company with the people, a road covered with victory and glory, and have grown in strength to the point that they are invincible. Nowadays the US imperialists and their stooges are watching out for a chance to invade our Republic, but our people are able to accelerate socialist construction without vacillation as they have the revolutionary armed forces whose members are each the equal of a hundred foes.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, the founder of our revolutionary armed forces, is an invincible and iron-willed commander who led us to brilliant victory in two revolutionary wars against powerful imperialists, and a military genius who created the Juche-oriented military thought, strategy, tactics and art of war. Recently he was awarded the title of Generalissimo of the DPRK, and this is recognition by our Party and people of the great feats he has accomplished in the building up of the armed forces, and in the revolutionary wars. It is our people's great honour and pride to uphold him as the Generalissimo of the Republic. Our Party will carry forward his cause of army building and further strengthen our revolutionary armed forces into an ever-victorious, invincible army.

Another great achievement he has made for the people is that he has brought them up to be a revolutionary people with a strong sense of independence.

For success to be achieved in shaping the destiny of the people,

the masses must be prepared politically and ideologically. Ideological consciousness plays the decisive role in human activities, and a person's character and value are determined by his or her ideological consciousness. The ideological consciousness that reflects the intrinsic needs of a person, as a social being, is the ideological consciousness of independence. The greatest manifestation of love for the people is to equip them with the consciousness of independence and awaken them ideologically, whereas the worst crime against them is to paralyze their consciousness of independence and debase them ideologically.

From the first days after he embarked on the road of revolution, Comrade Kim Il Sung has directed great efforts to equipping our people with the revolutionary consciousness of independence. His leadership has enabled our people to be awakened to the consciousness of independence, shape their destiny by their own efforts, and exalt their dignity and greatness.

Our people, with their high sense of independence, are rallied rock-solid around the Party and their leader, and thus they have become a great people with a strong sense of independence and invincibility. The strength of the masses is the might of their unity, and the most solid unity is the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses. Their firm determination and strong will to trust their leader and their Party and conduct the revolution rallied behind them is the ideological source of our people's unrivalled unity. The single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses is a term that is found only in our country. Single-hearted unity began to take shape in our country when the Korean revolution was being waged under the banner of the Juche idea with the great Comrade Kim Il Sung as the centre of unity, and it has developed onto a higher plane in a comprehensive way through the struggle to model the whole society on the Juche idea led by our Party. The single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses is the source of the might and invincibility of our socialist system and the essential factor in our socialism winning victory after victory without wavering, whatever

the adversity. The foreign guests who were present at the celebrations of Comrade Kim Il Sung's 80<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary said that the single-hearted unity of our people who are united rock-solid behind the Party and the leader would prove more powerful than nuclear bombs. The brilliant successes our people have achieved in the revolution and construction are also the fruits of their high sense of independence in shaping their destiny by their own efforts. Our people are marching forward aggressively along the road of revolution without the slightest vacillation or hesitation despite the present daunting circumstances, precisely because Comrade Kim Il Sung has devoted such efforts all his life to training them into a revolutionary people with a firm spirit of independence. The whole world is now expressing their admiration at the fact that our people are advancing unwaveringly with a strong sense of independence along the road of socialism that they themselves have chosen. Our Party will, in the future, too, frustrate all the obstructive schemes of the enemy by dint of the high revolutionary spirit of our people, and continue to carry out the revolution.

Another immortal achievement by Comrade Kim Il Sung for the people is that he has built socialism of our own style centred on the masses.

He has built in our country a style of socialism in which the masses' desire for independence is fully realized. By leading the two stages of social revolution with success and dynamically stepping up socialist construction, he has freed our people from exploitation and oppression and provided them with all the conditions necessary for leading a full independent and creative life. Our style of socialism, which he has built through a lifelong arduous struggle, is the cradle of our people's happiness. It is people-centred socialism in which the masses are the masters of everything and everything serves them.

In building socialism, Comrade Kim Il Sung has made it a key policy for the Party and the state to assume responsibility for providing the people with everything they need, from food, clothing and housing to schooling and medical treatment. Thanks to this, our

people are living without any worries. Since the emergence of human society, it is only in our socialist society that all the members of society live without any worries. Needless to say, we cannot say that our people's life is rich in every respect. We are still at the stage of building socialism. But our Party and the Government of the Republic, having identified providing the people with affluent and equitable living conditions as one of their most important tasks, are continuously improving the people's standard of material and cultural living and narrowing the gap in living standards. Recently, measures were adopted to raise the wage ceiling of the working people drastically, particularly for low-income earners, so as to narrow the gap in living standards. No other country in the world would guarantee such substantial equality in the people's material and cultural life. The superiority of a social system lies in whether all its people lead an independent and creative life as befits true masters of society. Capitalist society, in which the differences in the material life between the rich and the poor only grow bigger, the intellectual and cultural life of the people becomes poorer, and the independent right and dignity of the masses are mercilessly trampled upon, can never be called a society for the people. Through their life experience, our people have become keenly aware of how valuable and worthwhile the socialist way of life is, compared with the corrupt and debasing capitalist way of life.

In our style of socialist society our people not only have no worries in their material and cultural life, but also are leading a worthwhile life with their dignity and personality respected to the full by society. No one can be said to be leading a fulfilling life when society disregards his or her dignity and personality. In an exploitative society, the privileges enjoyed by the exploiter class are the main factor infringing on the dignity and personality of the working masses who make up the overwhelming majority in society. Such privileges, if they are tolerated in socialist society, will encroach on the dignity and personality of the people. In our country, social duty and position may differ from person to person, but everyone's

dignity and personality are respected equally as revolutionary comrades. Our people exercise equal rights in state power and lead organizational life in Party and working people's organizations, where there is neither superior nor subordinate, and where they have the same rights and duties. The worth of a person in our society is judged not by power or money, but by the work they have done for the benefit of the people. Those who perform more work and render more distinguished service for the people become heroes and enjoy greater respect of society.

The true nature of our society, as a genuine people's society, can be identified in the fact that all the people are living in harmony, leading and helping one another as the members of a family would do. People living in harmony, cooperating with one another in a comradesly way—this is an essential characteristic of our socialist way of life, which differs from the capitalist way of life in which people feud with one another and fight tooth and nail. The harmonious life of our people is based on the comradesly love and revolutionary obligation between the leader and the members of society and between the members of society, and the source of this is Comrade Kim Il Sung's boundless love for the people. Thanks to the benevolent politics of the leader who dearly loves the people, the relationship between the leader and the members of society constitutes the relationship of noble comradesly love and revolutionary obligation and, on this basis, the members of society are tied to one another by comradesly love and revolutionary obligation. Our people believe there is nothing more worthwhile than to live in harmony, helping and leading one another forward, united rock-solid around the great leader and the great Party. Our Party will defend to the last our style of socialism centred on the masses, whatever the adversity, and bring its advantages into fuller play.

An immortal achievement of Comrade Kim Il Sung for the people is that he has provided a sure guarantee for carrying forward the revolutionary cause of Juche through the generations.

The revolutionary cause of the masses of realizing independence is

not completed in one generation. It continues from one generation to the next. Historical experience shows that the revolutionary cause of the masses advances victoriously when the continuation of leadership is assured; otherwise, the revolution suffers twists and turns and in the end the gains of socialism are lost.

The historical mission of a working-class leader is not only to initiate and advance the masses' cause of independence but also to establish a firm organizational and ideological foundation and leadership system for the revolution to be inherited. The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, with his deep insight into the historical inevitability of the continuation of the revolutionary cause, demonstrated outstanding foresight by making thorough preparations for it long ago, laying a solid organizational and ideological basis and establishing a leadership system for the accomplishment of the revolutionary cause down through the generations. This is a priceless achievement he has recorded for our people.

Truly, our leader's great achievements will shine throughout the generations. It is the firm will of our Party to inherit his immortal exploits in every aspect. Inheriting and developing his revolutionary achievements is a sure guarantee for accomplishing the revolutionary cause of Juche throughout the generations.

It is a great honour and source of happiness for our people to have Comrade Kim Il Sung. In their historical experience and daily life, they keenly feel how honoured and fortunate they are to have him as their leader. Our people, who were deprived of their country and national sovereignty and were forced to lead the bitter life of colonial slaves by the foreign imperialists, have become an honoured and dignified people who shape their destiny with credit, because they held him up and are led by him, the great leader they acclaimed for the first time in their history spanning thousands of years. They feel this honour and happiness more deeply in the light of the recent complicated situation.

Bearing deep in mind our great honour and happiness in having the great leader, we should hold him in high esteem forever with

our loyalty and filial devotion.

It is the ardent desire of our people and the revolutionary people of the world to hold him in high esteem. Many friends from various countries who have recently visited Korea asked our officials to attend to him more carefully, saying this was the unanimous desire of the world's communists and revolutionary people. Because we have the great leader, a veteran leader of the world revolution, our Party enjoys great authority and our socialism is shining brilliantly.

It is our international duty as well as our noble national duty to hold him in high esteem. Bearing deep in mind the mission entrusted to the Korean communists, led by Comrade Kim Il Sung who is respected by the world's people, we must focus all our efforts on holding him in higher esteem.

We should make Party members and other working people fully aware of his greatness and immortal exploits. The ideological desire to hold the leader in high esteem emanates from a deep understanding of his greatness and achievements. In the past we published reference books for studying his revolutionary history and many other books and writings on his greatness and immortal achievements, but we cannot say that all the people are fully aware of them. The people who have read his memoirs that were published recently are struck with wonder by his greatness and eternal exploits. The history of his revolutionary struggle is so great that, although the memoirs are written in a humble way, those who read them are struck with wonder. The memoirs are an eternal asset of our revolution and a priceless textbook of the revolution. We should print them in large quantities so that the entire Korean nation, not least our Party members and other working people, can read them and learn the theories, principles, and method of the revolution and the noble spirit of loving one's homeland, nation, fellow people and revolutionary comrades. We should also have them translated and distributed among the world's people.

We should conduct education in his greatness in various forms and by various means. Even a single piece of educational material on his

greatness and exploits should be prepared with great effort. We should write many books and articles that penetrate the hearts of the people, just as Comrade Kim Il Sung's memoirs do, and inculcate the people with his greatness and achievements in various forms and by various means.

Art and literature play an important role in inspiring the people with his greatness and exploits. In the past the sector of art and literature made a great contribution to imbuing the people with his greatness and achievements by creating artistic and literary works, including films and novels. The sector should, in the future, too, produce excellent artistic and literary works in greater numbers based on his memoirs and newly discovered materials. We should give wide publicity to the legendary tales about his greatness. During the dark period of Japanese rule, the modern information work media we have today were not available, but his greatness spread far and wide in the form of legendary tales that filled our people with hope and belief. The 80 years of his revolutionary career are woven with legendary tales, which will become more precious as time passes. We should unearth more legendary tales that have been handed down among our people from the period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, and give them wide publicity.

The education in loyalty to Comrade Kim Il Sung should be conducted more effectively. It is the will of our Party that loyalty to him should become higher as time passes. The loyalty of the people who braved the tempest of the revolution in support of his guidance, should become intenser as time passes and the revolutionary generation is replaced. It is the lesson of history that socialism will be frustrated when loyalty to the leader is tarnished and degenerates. We should continue to intensify education in loyalty, so as to ensure that loyalty to the leader is carried forward unswervingly through the generations. We should hold up as role models of loyalty to the leader the first generation of the revolution, who blazed the trail of the arduous revolution, and the second generation, who worked hard to build a new society and learn from them down through the

generations. We should also identify role models from among the new generation of the revolution and give wide publicity to them.

Education in loyalty should be conducted in close combination with revolutionary practice in order to persuade all the people to make loyalty to the leader an element of their conviction, conscience and moral obligation, and to display it fully in their daily life. The fact that in some countries some of the people, who used to talk much about their belief in communism and their loyalty to their leaders, became renegades to socialism, shows that they were paying only lip service to loyalty, instead of making it an element of their faith, conscience and morality and their everyday concern. We should educate all Party members and other working masses in loyalty more substantially in various forms and by various means so that they cherish loyalty and filial duty as an element of their revolutionary faith, conscience and moral obligation, which will remain unchanged come what may, and apply them in their work and life.

We should equip Party members and other working people with the Juche idea. This is the way to add lustre to the greatness and achievements of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Juche idea's author.

The Juche idea is the most priceless ideological sustenance for Juche-type communist revolutionaries. The Juche idea, the most scientific and revolutionary outlook on the world, comprehensively elucidates the ideological and moral traits to be possessed by communist revolutionaries. By conducting systematic and effective education in the Juche idea among Party members and other working people, we should make sure that they have a deep understanding of the idea and think and act as it requires.

In order to equip themselves with the Juche idea, Party members and other working people should study Comrade Kim Il Sung's works and Party documents. These, as an encyclopaedia of the Juche idea, comprehensively elucidate the fundamental principles of the idea and the issues that arise in its practical application. Party members and other working people should strengthen their study of Comrade Kim Il Sung's works and Party documents so as to make

the Juche idea an article of their unshakeable faith.

In order to equip Party members and other working people with the Juche idea, we should intensify the study of the Juche idea and give comprehensive publicity to it.

The Juche idea is a new philosophical thought, and all the ideas and theories of our Party are developed on the basis of its philosophical principles. Only someone who has a correct understanding of the essence, content, originality and superiority of the Juche philosophy can clearly understand all the thoughts and theories of our Party, which are developed on its basis. The Juche philosophy is not a philosophy for theory's sake but a philosophy that, centring on the masses, illuminates the way for the masses to shape their destiny. In studying the Juche philosophy, attention should be focused on finding solutions that are of practical benefit for the revolution and construction, instead of indulging in empty talk on issues that are of no practical value.

Study of the ideological theory of Juche should be intensified, too. Here the main emphasis should be on resolving the pressing theoretical and practical issues in the revolutionary practice aimed at accomplishing the socialist cause. Particular efforts should be directed to the study of the theoretical and practical issues arising in consolidating socialism of our own style centred on the masses.

We should give wide publicity to the experience we have gained in the revolution and construction. By applying the Juche idea, we have managed events that have astonished the world and built up a history of great achievements and experience in the revolution and construction. Revolutionary people all over the world are deeply interested in the Juche idea and the accomplishments we have managed by applying it. Giving wide publicity to the experience of our Party and people in their efforts to apply the Juche idea will educate Party members and other working people and inspire the world's revolutionary people in their struggle.

We should redouble our efforts against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism, great-power worship and other

counterrevolutionary ideologies of all hues, which are opposed to the Juche idea.

These days bourgeois ideology is being spread mainly through the ideological and cultural infiltration by the imperialists. It is because they opened the door to the ideological and cultural infiltration by the imperialists that the people in several countries were corrupted by the reactionary bourgeois ideology and disrupted the revolutionary cause pioneered by the leaders of the working class. We must never tolerate any ideological and cultural infiltration by imperialism.

Revisionism is a counterrevolutionary poison that negates the leader's role in the revolutionary struggle of the working class and leads to the abandonment of the revolution. The counterrevolutionary criminal acts of slandering the leaders of the working class in several countries are attributable to the emergence of revisionism. Great-power worshippers in our country once attempted to smuggle revisionist ideas into the country, but our Party resolutely rejected them. History teaches that any tolerance of revisionism in a socialist country will give way to bourgeois liberalization, corrupting the party, poisoning the people ideologically and causing the revolutionary cause pioneered by the leader to be abandoned unfinished. We should thoroughly reject revisionism in the future, too, and thus resolutely defend the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered by Comrade Kim Il Sung through the generations and inherit it with credit. We must reject the bourgeois restorationism that is prevalent in several countries. Bourgeois restorationism is a trend of counterrevolutionary thought that turns socialism back into capitalism. Modern revisionism has now cast off its mask and has been revealed as bourgeois restorationism, which overtly turns socialism back into capitalism. The reality has clearly shown that social disorder, devastation, unemployment, poverty, crime and social evils, and not development and prosperity, prevail if socialism is turned back into capitalism. We should bring home to Party members and other working people the reactionary nature and perniciousness

of bourgeois restorationism so that they exercise great vigilance against it.

We should continue to pay attention to ensuring that great-power worship and dogmatism are not revived among the people. If they are influenced by these maladies, they will not follow their leader and Party, instead dancing to the tune of others, and in the end will disrupt the revolution and fail to defend the nation's independence. Needless to say, great-power worship and dogmatism as ideological trends have been overcome in our country, but their remnants still remain. We should not remain indifferent to even the slightest manifestation of these maladies, and overcome them comprehensively.

We should prepare the younger generation as communist revolutionaries of the Juche type. The first and second generations of the revolution pose no problem to the efforts to accomplish the leader's cause. However, it is another matter with the third generation, who have grown up in a socialist society, free from exploitation and oppression and without experiencing hardship. There is no need to make them suffer exploitation and oppression on purpose or undergo such trials as experienced by their predecessors. The key to raising the younger generation as a revolutionary one that will carry forward the leader's cause is ideological education and training. Education and training in the period of one's childhood and youth have a great influence for the rest of one's life. Being sensitive, young people are susceptible to either good or bad influences in their surroundings. This is why the imperialists and reactionaries are so tenacious in trying to blow the wind of liberalism into the minds of young people and students. The present ideological and spiritual state of our young people and students is laudable. Having seen the grand mass gymnastics performance given by the young people on this occasion, our foreign guests were envious of our excellent youth, saying that many countries had been ruined because their young people had received an improper education. We should feel proud of having such a sound and revolutionary generation. Even so, we should not rest on laurels, but further intensify the revolutionary

education and training of our young people and students. In their education, it is of great importance to teach them properly about the principles of the Juche idea and our revolutionary traditions. The traditions of the anti-Japanese revolution that were established by Comrade Kim Il Sung are the most valuable revolutionary sustenance for the rising generation, who have not experienced the ordeals of the revolution, because these traditions incorporate the noble revolutionary spirit and lofty revolutionary exploits and experiences accumulated during the most arduous struggle. We should educate the younger generation in our revolutionary traditions in various forms and by various means so that they grow up into communist revolutionaries who resolutely fight for the victory of the revolutionary cause of Juche by displaying the same spirit and fortitude as those demonstrated by the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters when they fought on Mt Paektu in support of Comrade Kim Il Sung. We should also encourage them to train themselves continuously through the practical efforts to defend the homeland and tackle the challenging and important tasks for socialist construction, devoting their wisdom and zeal.

We should ensure that officials, Party members and other working people give full play to the revolutionary practice of giving one's all for the benefit of the people. Comrade Kim Il Sung, who has devoted his whole life to the people, feels most satisfied when the work for the benefit of the people is done perfectly so that they are pleased. Devoting oneself to the people is the way to bring pleasure and satisfaction to him and to ensure him a long life in good health.

To work faithfully for the people in our country today is to conduct socialist construction effectively so as to give full play to the advantages of socialism of our own style centred on the masses. Only then can the country be reunified at an early date and the revolutionary cause of Juche be completed as Comrade Kim Il Sung intends.

Socialist construction is an undertaking to implement the lines and policies put forward by the Party and the leader. All officials, Party

members and other working people should bring about an uninterrupted upsurge on all fronts of socialist construction by implementing the Party's lines and policies to the letter.

The Korean people are now filled with a firm conviction and fiery energy to battle forward resolutely along the road of socialism of our own style, displaying unflinching loyalty to the Party and the leader. The key is that officials should organize and guide the work as appropriate to the elevated spirit of the people. Officials should always think and plan their work properly to implement Party policies, and dovetail their organizational and political work so as to rally Party members and other working people to the undertaking.

In mobilizing the people's high revolutionary zeal and creative enthusiasm, it is very important for officials to employ a correct method and style of work.

Our officials should serve the people faithfully, as Comrade Kim Il Sung has said, and make it a rule to go among the people and work by relying on them. To do so, they should have a revolutionary outlook on the masses and enhance their spirit of serving the people. It is also necessary to fight against the abuse of power, bureaucratism and other outmoded work practices and styles that have been revealed among officials. Recently we have achieved a certain degree of success in the struggle to wipe out the abuse of power and bureaucratism and establish a revolutionary work method and people-oriented style of work among them, but we must not rest content. Since the remnants of outdated ideas still remain in the minds of people and the ranks of cadres are constantly being replenished with the new generation who lack revolutionary training, we should conduct the struggle continuously; otherwise, the abuse of power and bureaucratism might revive.

In order to rid officials of their outdated work practices and styles, we should intensify Party organizational life and conduct an ideological campaign. Priority in all work should be given to education, but we must never compromise with any infringement on the interests of the people. If officials encroach on the interests of the

people by misusing their authority, we should take issue with it before it is too late, combat it strongly and apply Party or legal sanctions according to the severity of the case.

In order to establish a revolutionary work method and people-oriented style of work, officials should make it their habit to go among the masses. Only when they work and live by mingling with the masses and listening to them will officials not act in a subjective and bureaucratic manner. Our Party has established a well-regulated system to ensure that officials go among the masses on a regular basis. All officials should, as required by the work system established by the Party, go among the masses, share good times and bad with them, and find prompt solutions to the problems they are facing. “We serve the people!”—this is a consistent slogan of the Party, and it is the Party’s demand that officials should not be separated from the masses even for a moment. It is an obligation for all officials to always go among the masses and serve them faithfully.

It is a noble duty for our officials, Party members and other working people to add lustre to their honour in holding Comrade Kim Il Sung in high esteem through the generations, and herein lies the source of the eternal pride and happiness of our people. All officials, Party members and other working people must hold high the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung with loyalty and filial piety and thus further exalt the pride of the Korean nation and the honour of Juche Korea.

**LET US EFFECT A FRESH TURN IN THE CREATION  
OF ART AND LITERATURE ON THE BASIS  
OF THE SUCCESS IN THE PRODUCTION  
OF THE MULTI-PART FILM  
*THE NATION AND DESTINY***

**Talk to Officials and Creative Workers and Artistes  
in the Sector of Art and Literature**

*May 23, 1992*

Recently we have celebrated, on a grand scale and amid the great joy and heartfelt felicitations of our people and other revolutionary people around the world, the 80<sup>th</sup> birthday of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the heroic Korean People's Army. On these occasions, the might of Juche Korea united single-heartedly behind its Party and leader was demonstrated to an even more remarkable extent.

Our people's spirit and morale are very high at present. By mobilizing and taking full advantage of our people's uplifted revolutionary enthusiasm and the might of our single-hearted unity, we must continue to step up the revolution and construction with vigour. The sector of art and literature is playing a major role in this endeavour.

An important task facing the sector of art and literature at present is to complete the production of the various episodes of *The Nation and Destiny* as monumental masterpieces of our era, and effect a fresh turn in the creation of Juche-oriented art and literature.

Availing myself of this opportunity when I am meeting you, I

would like to review the creative process of this film and refer to a few problems arising in the work of completing the production of its various episodes as future world masterpieces and, on the basis of its success, effecting a fresh turn in the creation of Juche-oriented art and literature.

## **1. THE MULTI-PART FILM *THE NATION AND DESTINY* IS A BRILLIANT FRUIT OF JUCHE-ORIENTED ART AND LITERATURE**

A year has passed since production began of this film, during which time manifold difficulties and challenges have arisen. Yet you have created seven parts of this film and put them on the screen, in a demonstration of great loyalty.

This film is now generating a great response from audiences. After seeing it, not only our people in the homeland but also those abroad are full of praise for it, and struck with wonder. Even foreigners are highly impressed by the film, describing it as a “world masterpiece that could be produced only in Korea.”

If we are to continue the production of more episodes as excellent works of high ideological and artistic quality, we must correctly analyze and review the successes already achieved and draw experience and lessons from them.

### **1) INTEGRATION OF THE SUCCESSES GAINED IN JUCHE-ORIENTED ART AND LITERATURE**

The multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny* is the perfect embodiment of our Party’s Juche-oriented idea and theory on art and literature. In recent years we have channelled our efforts into further developing and enriching this idea and theory on art and literature to

meet the requirement of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea. The Juche-oriented idea and theory on art and literature, as explained in *On the Art of the Cinema* and *On Juche Literature*, comprehensively and concretely set out the principles to be adhered to consistently in the creation and promotion of socialist and communist art and literature, and the ways they should be implemented. Unrestricted by conventional theories and formulae, our Party always solves the problems arising in the creation and promotion of art and literature from the Juche-based standpoint. The problems arising in the creation of *The Nation and Destiny* were no exception. The production of this film raised many problems in its process, like setting ideological principles, devising characterizations, assigning the roles according to the dramatic structure and portraying historical events realistically, weaving the storyline and establishing the proper structure of composition, maintaining a detailed description of life, and in other issues regarding the scenario, directing, acting, filming, fine art and musical interpretation. We solved them all on the basis of the Juche-oriented idea and theory on art and literature. This film can be said to be a typical work that fully embodies our Party's Juche-oriented idea on art and literature, and its Juche-oriented humanics.

The seed, the germ of an idea, of this film is that the destiny of a nation is precisely the destiny of the individuals who comprise it. The destiny of a nation is, in essence, the issue of the independence of the nation. Whether or not a nation has its independence and to which extent it advocates and realizes it, decide its destiny. Independence is the life and soul of a nation guaranteeing its existence and prosperity. In this sense, the seed of this film can also be said to be the issue of the independence of a nation. The key quality of this film is that it conveys a profound description of the issue of national independence through artistic images, on the basis of Juche-oriented humanics.

This film profoundly embodies the requirements of Juche-oriented humanics also in identifying the principal characters and describing them. The episodes of this film that have so far been produced all portray the process by which the principal characters, who have been

writhing and wandering in agony at the crossroads of their destiny, where they must choose between anti-communism or alliance with communism, come to realize deeply that only in the latter lies the path of their genuine life on which they can commit themselves to the sacred cause of advocating and realizing the independence of their nation. While unfolding the tortuous life journeys of the principal characters on the one hand, the film focuses on describing how they rid themselves of their deep-seated servile attitude to the great powers and their anti-communism, and grow and develop into a new type of person who has imbibed the idea of national independence. Its consistent portrayal of the developmental process of the characters' ideological consciousness of independence is the embodiment of the Juche-oriented humanics requiring that the unity of generalization and individualization in characterization should be guaranteed on the basis of independence.

The proper embodiment by this film of the requirements of the Juche-oriented humanics is also expressed in its portrayal of life. The film presents an extensive and varied picture of life over a long historical period, and yet subordinates this life to the in-depth depiction of the inner world of the characters and the course of their growth and development in various aspects. As an in-depth embodiment of the requirements of the Juche-oriented idea and theory on art and literature, including Juche-based humanics, it is indeed a model work.

This film introduces in a comprehensive way the successes gained by previous artistic and literary creation.

Our writers studied and fully accepted the successes achieved by Juche literature in the past and were therefore able to draw up an excellent scenario for *The Nation and Destiny*. An important success of previous literary creation was that the plot of every work was well composed. In the past, when I was guiding the work of adapting the classic masterpieces written personally by the great leader during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle to a variety of artistic and literary forms, such as novels and the cinema, and creating the cycle

of novels *The Immortal History*, as well as various poems and songs, I paid primary attention to ensuring that proper plots were drawn up. Fundamental to composing the plot are the selection of a good seed, the logical maintenance of the principal character's story, and a proper structure of composition. Our literature has gained valuable success in selecting a new and significant seed and, on this basis, by tending the flower of portrayal, creating the image of a truly typical person and building a proper structure of composition.

On the basis of the success and experience gained in previous literary creation, seeds of great weight were selected for the scenario of *The Nation and Destiny* and excellent images of typical human beings who represent different classes and strata have been created. As far as the composition is concerned, the scriptwriters developed many novel approaches, such as showing the past life of the principal character Choe Hyon Dok in a succinct way through just three photographs, and presenting an image of the advantages of our socialist system in a profound manner without actually describing many aspects of life in the homeland. From the ideological point of view, this film is a wonderful embodiment of our Party's idea and will and, in view of its artistic quality, it is a work of perfect depiction.

Another important success of our previous literary creation is its philosophical and realistic in-depth portrayal of the details of human life. When guiding the work of the art and literary sector in person, I took every opportunity to tell the writers that they should produce a good portrayal of the details of life for truthful and philosophical quality of their depiction. The films, dramas and novels adapted from the immortal classics written by the great leader in person during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, as well as the cycle of novels *The Immortal History*, are all excellent pieces that provide a realistic and profound description of the details of life, as intended by our Party. The film *The Nation and Destiny* has not only fully adopted the successes gained by previous artistic and literary works, but also developed them onto a higher level. In appreciating this film I have

said that it is as smart as if it were covered in camellia oil, and that each of its scenes is as handsome as Adonis; indeed, every scene and image is immaculate in its beauty and classic down to its last detail. The scenes in which Choe Hyon Dok counts on his fingers each time he vows vengeance and of his aunt threatening him with a broom when he visits her, and the scene in which Cha Hong Gi crushes his cigarette butt on the back of his hand, unable to control his anger—these details are truly impressive.

This film has also adopted at a high level the successes gained by our cinematic, dramatic and operatic arts. In the past, while adapting the immortal classics created during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle to a variety of artistic and literary forms, we effected a revolution in the production of films, operas, and dramas. In the days when a sweeping revolutionary turn was taking place in film production, the scriptwriting, directing, acting, filming, fine art, music and all other branches of cinematic art were created in our own style; in the days when the operatic and dramatic arts were in the throes of revolutionary change, *Sea of Blood*-style operas and *Mountain Shrine*-style dramas came into existence, resulting in the creation of our style in both these spheres. As a result, our cinema, opera and drama have developed into a new form for the era of independence, a form that is beyond the reach of art in any country.

*The Nation and Destiny* fully incorporates our style of directing and acting, with the former requiring that in creation one should aim high and clearly define the emotions, and the latter requiring that acting should be more innovative, that before playing a role one should understand life, that there should be no affectation in speech or action, and that characterization should be based not on the subconscious but on a world outlook.

Previous achievements made by the sector of musical art, including those of the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble, are also adapted well into the film. The theme songs of this film *Pyongyang Is Best* and *Flocks of Wild Geese Fly* are typical of the pieces created by the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble; their musical form and

interpretational method, being completely unique, have blazed a trail in both our domestic and world musical development. By making use of electronic instruments, which are regarded in capitalist society as low-brow instruments for playing corrupt and frenetic forms of music, and which are, worse still, not even considered to be musical instruments by classical musicians, the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble has created music, true to its literary meaning, that purifies people's minds with clear and clean, elegant and wonderful melodies. Such beautiful and ennobling music can be created only by artistes who cherish a high spirit of creating music solely for the people, music that is fresh and idiomatic. In other parts of the world, electronic bands are now rejected, because they play only frenetic music, whereas our Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble is winning applause from the people at large, because it plays music that touches their heartstrings. *The Nation and Destiny*, by introducing the valuable achievements of our musical art sector, has taken our film music to a new, higher stage.

Throughout the production of this film, the technical skill of the editing has also been raised to a higher level, and great progress has been made in the make-up, costumes and various other areas. Our creative workers and artistes now know how to make a film. I have been making strenuous efforts to raise our cinematic art to the world standard, and these efforts are now being rewarded.

*The Nation and Destiny* is the brilliant fruition of our Party's policy on ensuring speed in the creative process and applying our style of system of guidance to the creative process and system of creation.

While guiding the work of the art and literary sector in the past, I put forward a policy on launching a speed campaign in creative work to meet the requirements of the developing reality and the characteristics of creation, and ensured that this policy was carried out to the letter. The creative process of adapting the immortal classic *The Fate of a Self-defence Corps Man* to the cinema graphically demonstrated that the policy of the speed campaign is fully justified

and has great vitality. This policy was adopted also in the creation of operatic art, resulting in the creation of five revolutionary operas in little more than a year, beginning with *The Sea of Blood*, an adaptation of the immortal classic of the same title, followed by *The Flower Girl*, *Tell O Forest*, *The Story of a Nurse*, and *The Song of Mt Kumgang*. It is also thanks to the vigorous speed campaign that the film *The Nation and Destiny* could be produced so well, with as many as seven parts, in the short period of only a year.

Prior to the creation of *The Nation and Destiny*, I adopted measures for restoring the previous Juche-oriented system for guiding the creative process and system of creation, so that the production of this film could be conducted according to these systems from the outset. The speed campaign could be carried out vigorously throughout the course of production because officials helped the creative workers and led them forward as required by our style of system for guiding the creative process, and because all the creative workers fulfilled their responsibilities and roles as the masters of the creative work and displayed the collectivist spirit to the full under the communist slogan “One for all and all for one,” as required by the Juche-oriented creative system.

## 2) THE FACE OF KOREAN FILM

From the beginning of production of the multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny*, our creative workers and artistes, cherishing the loyalty to the Party and the leader, have made it a typical Korean film, true to the intention of the Party. This film can be described as the epitome of Korean film, the face of Korean film.

This film embodies the soul, spirit and sentiments of Korea in an intensive way.

The soul of Korea it enshrines is precisely the Korean-nation-first spirit characterized by the notion that our leader, our Party, our people and our socialist motherland are the best. A person born into the

Korean nation can lead a genuine and worthwhile life for the country and fellow countrymen and be remembered eternally even in death, only when he or she cherishes the Korean-nation-first spirit. A person who does not have this spirit may betray the country and fellow countrymen and take the path of treachery, succumbing to a tragic fate. *The Nation and Destiny* shows this truth profoundly through its depiction of the destiny of the principal characters, including Choe Hyon Dok and Cha Hong Gi, who have trodden a tortuous path and led a life filled with ups and downs. Subjectively, the characters claim to love their country and nation, but in reality they have taken traitorous paths against the country and nation. Only in the autumn of their life do they feel deep inside that their life has been worthless and take the road of a genuine life for their country and nation in the great embrace of our leader and the benevolent embrace of our Party and socialist motherland. This serious and marvellous dramatic turn in their destiny in the autumn of their life could occur only after they have understood sincerely, through their own life experience, the greatness of our leader, our Party, our people, and our socialist motherland. Through its portrayal of different people who have trodden different paths to their destiny, this film reminds our people once again of how great is the embrace in which they are living, and gives them a deep awareness of how advantageous is our style of socialism centred on the masses, which they have built on this land by their own self-reliance and fortitude, although they are not living an affluent life as yet. The Korean-nation-first spirit—that our leader, our Party, our people, and our socialist motherland are the best—is the idea underlying this film, the idea that is the soul of Korea. The fact that this film embodies the soul of Korea is the very reason why it has emerged as the face of Korean film.

This film highlights the spirit of Korea, which is the heroic spirit with which we defeated two imperialist forces in one generation and built the most advantageous socialism of our style on a land that was once reduced to heaps of ash, and the revolutionary spirit with which we are firmly safeguarding socialism under the unfurled banner of the

Juche idea, without any vacillation, even in the face of the grim situation in which socialism has suffered setbacks and capitalism has revived in some countries due to the manoeuvrings of the imperialists and reactionaries. Even without the tedious depiction of battles during the Fatherland Liberation War, the film still effectively shows, through its portrayal of divisional commander Kang Hun, an anti-Japanese revolutionary veteran, reconnaissance company commander Kwak Tae Sik and his sister, and other men and officers of the People's Army and ordinary people, the political and moral superiority over the enemy of the men and officers of our People's Army and our people, and the heroic spirit with which they defeated the US imperialists. It also presents a fine image of the advantages of our style of people-centred socialism through the scene in which Choe Hyon Dok, on his return home, stands in Ulmil Pavilion enjoying a bird's-eye view of magnificent and wonderful Pyongyang, and the scene in which he visits his birthplace and enjoys an emotional reunion with his long-separated aunt and fellow villagers. In particular, it brings out the true advantages and might of our socialist system, through just the presentation of the aspects requisite to the dramatic life of the characters and without unfolding many images of the reality in the homeland. This is a truly excellent approach to cinematic treatment.

The Korean sentiments, with which this film is redolent, are immaculately clear and clean and emanate from our people's profound spiritual world, from the traditional fine manners and customs of Korea and from the beauty of nature. These sentiments are fully evident in the sumptuous scenes describing various people's personalities and life and the reality the principal characters have encountered in the homeland, as well as in the melodies unfolding naturally the inmost world of the characters. The opening scenes repeated in every part of this film, present an emotional image of the tear-stained lot of our people living in misery, having been deprived of their country by the Japanese imperialist aggressors, and of the wealth of warm feelings among the kith and kin at the time of

separation, when they have little or no promise of ever meeting again. These opening scenes—the raging snowstorm and the pathetic orchestral rendition of *Arirang* that seems to deplore the tragic fate of the wandering people, followed by Mt Paektu, the sacred mountain of revolution, looming large and high, dispelling the dark clouds over the country, with a bright star symbolizing General Kim Il Sung shining on top of it, and the song *Pyongyang Is Best* played by the orchestra—are a truly immaculate portrayal of the Korean style, in terms of both the life and emotions it contains and the quality of representation. Thanks to the heavy Korean sentiments emanating from its entire imagery, this film touches the heartstrings of audiences with great emotional power to appeal and inspire. Whoever sees this film will witness a higher stage and the true features of Korean art.

### 3) A WORLD MASTERPIECE

The multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny* is without doubt a world masterpiece, in that it raises an issue of international importance and finds a profound philosophical solution to it.

As its title reveals, this film raises the issue of the destiny of our nation. The national issue facing our country is one that was created long ago by the aggression of the Japanese imperialists and has been compounded by the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists; it is a historical task that should be addressed without fail by our generation. The national issue is a fundamental issue not just for our country, but one that is common to the former colonies and those countries that oppose foreign intervention and are taking the road to independence. In this sense, it is common to mankind, and can be said to assume global significance.

However, the art and literary sector has failed up until now to address the national issue properly. In not only the world history of cinematic art but also the human history of art and literature covering several thousand years, few works have brought the issue of national

destiny to the fore. Previously, world art and literature considered maternal affection, love between man and woman, conflict between good and evil, and moral conscience as the main subjects of common interest for mankind. It was not until socialist realism emerged in the sphere of art and literature that the question of class emancipation was raised. However, all the questions pertaining to human being raised by the preceding art and literature based on socialist realism are only a part of the overall national issue. As classes and strata both constitute elements of a nation and the destiny of the individual is closely related to that of the nation, the question of class emancipation is inconceivable apart from the national issue and from the issue of achieving the independence of the nation.

*The Nation and Destiny* raises the fundamental issue of deciding the destiny of the nation and provides a profound artistic solution to it. Previous artistic and literary works, however, failed to find a correct answer to the question of the nation's destiny because, when they did address it, no correct philosophy existed for defining the national issue properly. Since we have the Juche philosophy, which regards independence as the life and soul of a human being and of a country and nation, this film has been able to bring this issue, which is vital to the nation, to the fore and provide a correct artistic solution to it.

In the early days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, the great leader brought to the fore, in *An Jung Gun Shoots Ito Hirobumi*, *Blood at an International Conference*, *The Flower Girl*, *The Sea of Blood*, and *The Fate of a Self-defence Corps Man*, immortal classics he wrote in person, the issue of the destiny of our nation, which was downtrodden by the Japanese imperialists, and provided a profound solution to it artistically. *The Nation and Destiny*, by following this brilliant tradition, fully embodies our Juche-oriented outlook on the nation, according to which independence is its life and soul and all fellow countrymen should unite to advocate and realize national independence and achieve the nation's common prosperity. Herein lies precisely a reason why this film has become a world masterpiece.

Having seen this film, many of our fellow countrymen on a visit to the homeland from abroad to celebrate the 80<sup>th</sup> birthday of the great leader, unanimously expressed their unbounded appreciation of it, saying that the title is good, it raises an issue of world significance, and it has its unique philosophy.

This film is a world masterpiece in terms of not only the great significance in human history of its thematic subject but also its content and scale and the profound solution it provides to the key issue it addresses. In the world history of cinematic art, there are quite a number of multi-part films with dozens of individual stories, but seldom, in fact never, has there been such a film as *The Nation and Destiny* that has portrayed the history of national suffering and national prosperity, covering the whole of a century on a vast scale, through the depiction of a group of persons from all walks of life as its principal characters, people who agonized over the destiny of their nation and experienced twists and turns in the course of their struggle to help forge it. In fact, a work such as one that takes a person like Choe Hyon Dok, who once stood in the forefront of the forces confronting the nation and communism and then discarded his lifelong “conviction” and underwent an ideological transformation in the autumn of his life, as its principal character, is rarely found in the conventional history of art and literature.

This film, while unfolding an historical process spanning several decades not only in the homeland but also in various other countries in a diverse and expansive manner, condenses the process dramatically so as to ensure that in both breadth and depth, the representation is at a high level.

Even in the acting and all the other forms of interpretation, this film has, without doubt, reached the level of a world masterpiece. The actors and actresses cast in this film, through their idiomatic and individualistic acting, sustain the personalities of the characters impressively, unfolding the various images of people who are typical of different times and different social strata, and have thus made a major contribution to improving the overall level of interpretation. A

major success is that they have created truly human images by adhering to the principle that requires them to make their acting as lifelike as if in the reality and not merely on the screen. Another success is that by displaying a high creative spirit they have discovered new and idiomatic details of action that ensure impressive individuality in their characterization and at the same time reveal the characters' complex and intricate inner world delicately and profoundly, and portrayed them truthfully in conformity with their personalities and life and yet in a refined and appropriate manner. All this can be called the brilliant fruition of the Juche-oriented system and method of acting.

The music in all seven parts of this film comprises excellent pieces that meet the demands of the times and the aspirations of the people, and conform to the life depicted in every scene. The creators have used such fine pieces of music as the theme song *Pyongyang Is Best* and the other songs, *Flocks of Wild Geese Fly* and *At the Crossroads of Destiny*, in the film's scenes, and have created excellent musical interpretation of the folk song *Arirang* and other modern folk songs and ballads that were popular in the 1930s, and made the best use of them to cater to the aesthetic tastes of the times. Such musical pieces play a major role in improving the ideological and artistic quality of the film and enhancing its emotional influence. The theme song *Pyongyang Is Best*, which runs through all the parts of the film to express different moods, is an excellent piece that is pure and simple and yet meaningful and overflowing with emotion, heavy with national sentiments and catering to the aesthetic tastes of the modern times; it expresses the seed and thematic idea of the film in an intensive way. The song *Flocks of Wild Geese Fly*, which touches the hearts of audiences with its profound philosophical quality and rich sentiments, presents an emotional description of the inner world of the characters in distant foreign lands, tortured by their love and nostalgia for the homeland they have left behind, and of their dramatic life experiences. The film *The Nation and Destiny* shows clearly how great is the emotional influence of an excellent piece of

music that meets the demands of the times and the aspirations of the people, and proves that even an outstanding piece of music can prove its worth only when it is used appropriately.

This film has also reached a high standard and opened up new prospects in directing, filming and fine art. None of its sumptuous scenes and the realism and appeal of their development, which present a visually impressive expression of the significant idea unfolding within the flow of rich emotions through an entire image that integrates all forms of expression harmoniously while focusing on the characterization, would be conceivable without the success of the directing, filming and fine art.

*The Nation and Destiny* is, indeed, an immaculate, monumental world masterpiece, and a shining fruit, in its ideological content and artistic interpretation, of Juche-oriented art and literature.

## **2. LET US EFFECT A FRESH TURN IN THE CREATION OF JUCHE-ORIENTED ART AND LITERATURE THROUGH A VIGOROUS REVOLUTION IN ART AND LITERATURE**

The revolution in art and literature should be continued without interruption until all realms of art and literature have been transformed completely as required by the Juche idea. The revolution was conducted not only in the past; it is continuing still today and will also continue in the future. Because some creative workers and artistes think that the revolution in art and literature was over in the 1970s, the art and literary sector is at a standstill, and is failing to achieve a fresh upsurge in its creative work. Proceeding from this situation, I arranged the work of producing *The Nation and Destiny* and put efforts into it, in order to spur the revolution in art and literature.

*The Nation and Destiny* should play the role of standard-bearer in the creation of Juche-oriented art and literature. Creative workers and artistes must spread the successes gained in the production of this film to all realms of art and literature, including literature itself, the cinema, opera, drama, music, dance, fine art, and acrobatics, so as to effect another fresh turn in the creation of Juche-oriented art and literature.

### 1) AN ARTISTIC SOLUTION TO THE ISSUE OF THE NATION'S DESTINY

The most pressing task facing us at present is to resolve the issue of our nation's destiny by realizing national reunification as soon as possible. The national issue is an urgent historical task, the solution of which brooks no further delay in our country, which is suffering from the tragedy of artificial national division.

For the almost half a century up until now since the country was divided by foreign forces, the great leader has never spent a day without reflecting on the misery and suffering of our nation, and thinking about national reunification. He has always said that the greatest gift he could present to our people would be national reunification; we must reunify the country at the earliest date possible to relieve him of his worry. This is precisely the way for us to practise our utmost loyalty and devotion to him. We must reunify the country in his lifetime without fail.

What is essential in national reunification is to achieve the great unity of our nation. Uniting all the fellow countrymen in the north, in the south and abroad would not be possible only through a political campaign and political information work. In moving people and touching their hearts, art and literature play a major role. Art and literature can penetrate where it is hard for politics to break through, and achieve what rifles and guns struggle to obtain. The multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny* must be a model of how art and

literature can contribute to the struggle for national reunification. It must take the lead in guiding the people in the north and the south as well as our overseas compatriots along the road of great national unity, the road of national reunification.

If works of art and literature are to render an active contribution to resolving the issue of the nation's destiny, they should fully embody the Juche-oriented outlook on the revolution and nation. The general mission of art and literature is to contribute to training all members of society into genuine revolutionaries of the Juche type and transforming society as required by the Juche idea. Therefore, all artistic and literary works should necessarily be permeated with the Juche-oriented outlook on the revolution and nation. *The Nation and Destiny* in particular should embody it more fully because it is a work the seed of which I myself have selected and which has been and will be produced according to my design and intention.

It is important for artistic and literary works to embody the revolutionary outlook on the leader in a philosophically profound way, the outlook which is the starting-point of our people's every thought and action and the core of their ideas and ideals. One cannot speak of the revolutionary outlook on the leader apart from one's own attitude towards holding the great leader in high esteem, ensuring his absolute authority, and implementing his ideas and intentions unconditionally. No country in the world has a leader as great as ours who, from the day he embarked on the revolutionary road, has given his all throughout his whole life solely for the benefit of the people. Ours is the greatest leader—this is the rock-solid conviction of our people; to hold him in high esteem, following him forever, is the unshakeable creed and will of our people.

We must achieve national reunification by virtue of the unrivalled prestige of the leader. If we rely on his high prestige, nothing will be impossible for us. Numerous people who once turned their backs on communism are now working hand in hand with us, because they have been attracted by our leader's unqualified prestige and greatness. It is precisely the high prestige of our leader that has given

rise to the great dignity enjoyed by our people in the world and that ensures that the ranks of the supporters of and sympathizers with our revolution are expanding with each passing day.

Creative workers and artistes must channel their efforts into bringing home to people the unrivalled prestige of our leader as a great thinker, an outstanding statesman, and an extraordinary strategist, and cultivating their boundless respect and reverence for the leader, through their artistic and literary works.

The various episodes of *The Nation and Destiny* may deal with the destiny of not only communists but also people who have taken different life journeys, including nationalists, conscientious religious believers and businessmen, among whom there may be some who were preoccupied in the past with their own pleasure and personal distinction, in disregard of the destiny of their country and nation, and some who may have committed unpardonable sins against the country and nation. No matter what course they may have taken in the past, if they repent of their wrongdoing from the bottom of their hearts and stand alongside the country and nation, determined to travel with us, we do not inquire into their past. While depicting different characters who have taken different life journeys, the episodes should take the direction of bringing the leader's greatness into bold relief. Through the presentation of such characters' life experiences, which are full of twists and turns, it should highlight the truth that wherever one goes in the world, one will never meet a leader as great as ours, and only in the embrace of our leader can the destiny of the nation be saved and can one lead a worthwhile life.

It is important for artistic and literary works in embodying a proper revolutionary outlook on the leader to give profound elucidation of the idea that the leader assumes absolute authority and plays the decisive role in the revolution and construction. The leader's position and role in historical development cannot be superseded by anyone else. The leader is not an individual but the top brain in the revolution and construction and the centre of unity and cohesion. Some foreign artistic and literary works portray the leader

merely as an individual. For this reason, quite a few of them merely unfold the leader's private affairs, which are no different from those of ordinary individuals, or present details of his life that detract from his noble character, on the pretext of showing his real life. When a leader is depicted as an individual, it is impossible to clarify the idea that the leader assumes the absolute position and plays the key role in the revolutionary struggle and historical development, and there will be no difference between the leader and ordinary individuals in the interpretation, resulting in a failure to reproduce the leader's life and struggle properly. It may also result in misleading the people about the leader. Our works must never follow this pattern in the depiction of the leader. Our artistic and literary works should portray the leader as the top brain in the revolution and construction, as the centre of unity and cohesion, and thus help all the people to hold him in high esteem.

Embodying the revolutionary outlook on the leader is not an issue that is confined to a few works portraying the leader or the multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny*. The revolutionary outlook on the leader should be embodied comprehensively and profoundly in all our artistic and literary works. Even works that do not portray the leader directly should also highlight the fact that our entire revolutionary struggle and all our construction work are associated with the leader's great revolutionary ideas, wise leadership, and noble virtue, and give prominence to the notion that any cause we are undertaking and the people's happiness would be inconceivable without the leader.

Creative workers and artistes must properly embody in their artistic and literary works the Juche-oriented philosophical outlook on the world and life. Our philosophical outlook on the world regards the masses as the most valuable and powerful beings in the world, while our outlook on life considers life to be service for the people, and devotion to the people. From the day he embarked on the revolutionary road, the great leader has taken the idea "The people are my God" and "My God is the people" as his life's motto, and this is precisely our unshakeable creed in life. Carrying forward this idea

of the leader, who has devoted his whole life for the benefit of the people by regarding them as his God, we are now striving for the complete victory of our style of socialism that is centred on the masses. *The Nation and Destiny* and other artistic and literary works should explain the Juche-oriented philosophical outlook on the world and life profoundly, through the vivid presentation of the advantages of our style of people-centred socialism.

Through its depiction of the life experiences of the principal characters such as Choe Hyon Dok, Yun Sang Min and Cha Hong Gi, *The Nation and Destiny* unfolds a truthful picture of the advantages of our socialist system, which defends the fundamental interests of the working class and other working people most thoroughly, in contrast with the true features and reactionary nature of south Korean society and the capitalist system, which it glaringly exposes as a decadent and morbid society governed by the law of the jungle. Similarly, in showing the advantages of our socialist system, artistic and literary works should focus close attention on presenting the validity and vitality of the people-oriented policies of our Party and our Government, which value people most and make everything serve the masses, rather than on various material relations. In addition, they should present, through the portrayal of positive principal characters, a good picture of the happiness and might of the single-hearted unity of our people, which constitutes a powerful driving force for the revolution, united behind the Party and the leader rock-solid as a single socio-political organism.

If artistic and literary works are to embody the Juche-oriented philosophical outlook on the world and life, they should analyze, assess and find solutions to all the problems of human life from the people-centred viewpoint and attitude; that is, they should highlight the idea that the most valuable and powerful beings in the world are none other than the masses of the people. The people-centred viewpoint and attitude should also be expressed not only in the ideological content but also in the study of artistic form. The masses' aspirations and demands are the basic criterion for evaluating works.

Only works that are appreciated by the masses can be marked as excellent, whereas those that are unpopular with the masses cannot be assessed as good. Therefore, our creative workers and artistes must pay primary attention to reflecting the masses' aspirations and demands in all aspects of the ideological content and artistic form.

Artistic and literary works should profoundly embody revolutionary optimism, which is the indefatigable revolutionary spirit of not compromising one's principles, whatever the difficulties, with a firm belief in the historic mission of the working class and in the validity and inevitable victory of the revolutionary cause, and the noble ideological feeling of always living and working optimistically, looking towards a bright future.

The situation today is tense and complications keep cropping up, but we have firm confidence in the validity and victory of our cause. There is no need for us to despair over the recent frustration of socialism and the revival of capitalism in some countries. Whatever wind may blow, our future is bright and optimistic. A considerable number of people in many countries around the world are now striving to rebuild the socialist movement, firmly resolved to take the road to socialism, looking up at our country as their beacon of hope. All this substantiates how right we are and how proud we should be to be pioneering and defending our style of socialism as dictated by our own convictions and determination, no matter what others are doing and saying. Today all honest people, whoever they may be, accept that the road we have taken is correct. As the words of a certain song say, socialism means victory once it is defended, and death, when forsaken. We must not fail to defend and maintain our style of socialism, which we have chosen and pioneered. No enemy can ever frighten us or force us to yield. Our conviction and will with regard to the validity and victory of the revolutionary cause of Juche are unshakable. Creative workers and artistes must reflect this optimism and conviction profoundly in their artistic and creative works.

One can have revolutionary optimism only when one has

confidence in the justness and victory of one's cause. Works of art and literature should clearly show the truth that in our era, the era of independence, only the road indicated by the Juche idea leads to victory after victory, and that we are sure to emerge victorious only when we follow our own way. Besides this, they should also accurately reflect our firm confidence in our own might. Without belief in one's own strength, it is impossible to push ahead with the revolution and construction in the way one believes in, and the result will be hesitation and wavering in the face of the slightest difficulty. Ours is the might of the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses, which can be challenged by no one in the world. Creative workers and artistes must produce many works of art and literature that are overflowing with confidence in our own strength, and thus encourage our people to work with complete courage.

Our works of art and literature should clearly reflect the indomitable will and revolutionary principle with which our Juche-based revolutionary conviction and the banner of socialism can be defended without fail, whatever storm may be blowing. In this way, they should implant deep in our people's minds the unshakeable conviction that we will defend socialism to the end even if traitors to the revolution may abandon it.

Creative workers and artistes must properly embody in their works the Juche-oriented outlooks on aesthetics and on art and literature.

We regard that which is liked by the masses and accords with the sentiments of our nation, as the most beautiful. The Juche-oriented outlook on aesthetics is the Juche-oriented viewpoint of and attitude towards what is beautiful; it provides, for the first time in history, a perfect explanation of the essence and criterion of beauty. What is beautiful refers to a thing or phenomenon that meets people's demand and aspiration for independence and that is understood emotionally by them; its criterion is the aspirations and demands of the masses. Something that accords with the aspirations and demands of the masses assumes the quality of beauty, whereas anything that fails to agree with them does not become beautiful. By thoroughly

embodying the Juche-oriented outlook on aesthetics in their practical work, creative workers and artistes must produce revolutionary and popular artistic and literary works that meet the aspirations and demands of our people and our nation.

The Juche-oriented outlook on art and literature is an outlook that is centred on people. Art and literature should become a humanistic portrayal of living people and serve them; the genuine art and literature of our era should be humanics based on the Juche idea.

What is most important in embodying the requirements of Juche-based humanics is to put forward a new and significant seed containing a profound human issue. We have presented the seed as the basic requirement of humanics because the objective of creating artistic and literary works is not to come up with something as a pastime or pleasure but to teach people the essence of life clearly and educate them ideologically and emotionally. The seed is precisely the kernel of ideo-emotional sustenance for the people; only with a seed is it possible to make the ideo-aesthetical intention of a work clear and ensure the philosophical depth of the interpretation.

If our art and literature are to be genuine humanics, they should attach greater importance to characterization than to events. Events can be described in works. However, all the events should unfold centring on the characterization, and develop as the outcome of the interaction between the personalities of the characters. Not too much should be made of showing the events; instead the focus should be on exploring the personalities of the characters, most importantly, their inner world.

Creative workers and artistes must embody in their artistic and literary works the Juche-oriented outlook on the leader, a philosophical outlook on the world, an outlook on life, revolutionary optimism, an outlook on aesthetics and an outlook on art and literature within the unity of a close relationship, in such a way as to imbue all their artistic and literary works with our Party's idea, the Juche idea. Thus, a sweeping revolution will be effected in the sphere of art and literature.

## 2) A STUDY OF THE CONTENT AND FORM OF ART AND LITERATURE

Our present reality is filled with numerous innovations and miracles that are unprecedented in any other historical period. In our country, where the leader, the Party and the masses constitute a single socio-political organism, the masses' struggle to accomplish the cause of independence is developing onto a new, higher stage. We have been able to consolidate and develop socialism constantly, in the face of the grim trials of history, precisely because the leader, the Party and the masses have formed a solid socio-political organism that is sealed by blood. In our country socialism will be defended and maintained and its final victory will be accomplished by dint of the might of the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses, which is the source of an inexhaustible strength that can never be broken, not even by an atomic bomb.

The reality of our country based on the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses requires the sector of art and literature to boldly discard every manner of outdated viewpoint and formula and to effect fresh innovations in content and form. Juche-oriented art and literature should clearly reflect the true features of our country in which the leader and the people have formed a relationship as close as the blood relationship between a father and his children, and the people are united solidly as a single family based on revolutionary obligation and comradeship.

Our artistic and literary works should approach and depict the reality on the basis of the idea of the organism of the leader, the Party and the masses. That a work deals with the leader, the Party and the masses does not necessarily mean that it portrays the socio-political organism. Artistic and literary works must portray the leader, the Party and the masses with an attitude that the three form a single organism that is united solidly in ideology and purpose. In short, they

should view and portray people and life based on the principle that the leader, the Party and the masses form a trinity. Even though a work may not portray the Party and the leader directly, by describing the life and struggle of its main character unfolding within his or her inseparable blood ties with the Party and the leader, it can still reflect the socio-political organism.

In forthcoming episodes of *The Nation and Destiny* the principal characters may be described as having relations with characters living in the socialist homeland. In that case, the life of the latter should be described properly, in keeping with the principle of describing the socio-political organism. As for people living in our socialist homeland, no one is outside the socio-political organism. They should be presented on the screen as typical members of the leader-Party-masses organism. In other words, the film should show clearly that our people, if placed outside the benevolent care of their leader, the grateful embrace of their Party and the warm love of their collective and comrades, cannot live even for a moment and will be deprived of their proud past and their bright future. Only then can the film present the personalities and life of our people as in the reality and can the principal characters who were living either in the south or abroad before entering the embrace of the Republic, fully understand the essential features of our society through the life of its members.

Creative workers and artistes must strive to describe the ideological qualities of our contemporaries more vividly and profoundly. While portraying these contemporaries as the principal characters, creative workers and artistes should focus the portrayal on their independence, creativity and consciousness which are brought into full play. They should portray people's independence, creativity and consciousness not as abstract concepts but as concrete phenomena that are displayed in their thoughts and actions every day and every moment. To this end, they should explore life deeply. They should not express independence, creativity and consciousness, the essential qualities of a human being, in a direct and formal manner, but naturally by exploring the life of the new human beings who are

living and working as required by the times and reality.

The form of art and literature should be improved continually in keeping with the renewal of the content.

In renewing the content and form of art and literature to suit the new reality it is important for creative workers and artistes to adopt a proper method of and attitude towards creation.

Because they stick to the same old creative methods and attitudes, some creative workers are failing to portray the independence, creativity and consciousness of the principal characters of our era faithfully. They are still not going beyond past formulae, not even in creating typical images. Picking a characteristic from a certain person and another from another person, both of whom belong to the same era and the same class, and focusing them on a certain fixed character in the work and then holding him or her up as a typical image—this is a worn-out approach. These days, characters are described in such a way that all the good attributes of positive persons are collected and attached to a positive character, while all the bad qualities of negative persons are gathered and added to a negative character, as if they were all inherent qualities. For this reason, most positive characters are idealized, while the negative characters are caricatured. In our present reality the positive hold sway. Even a minor investigation of the reality can discover heart-stirring, beautiful and heroic feats all around. To think that you can create a typical image only by making something up, instead of trying to delve deep into the noble spiritual world of our contemporaries in the reality, is an outdated approach towards creative work. In their writing, some creative workers are also revealing a tendency towards stilted mannerisms, in which they fix a certain problem first and then fit the personalities of the characters and their life mechanically into it. Others, instead of trying to write as they have been carried away by a certain appealing person or life at the composition stage, come up with a certain idea first and then squeeze the materials about the reality into it. Such approaches entail giving priority in the work to the subjective viewpoint of the writer, followed by the interpretation, and this results in the presentation of an inadequate interpretation. The writer, who fails to hold

up a certain personality for interpretation and discover a vivid life, cannot write a good work however excellent his or her ideological intentions may be. If artistic and literary works are to make a deep impression on audiences, they should unfold a person and his life as truthfully as they appear in reality, and in the course of this reveal the writers' ideas naturally.

The old form in the creation of artistic and literary works finds expression also in the excessive use of speech. Speeches are now used more than necessary in both fiction, which is the so-called descriptive literature, and films, the art of action. Most current novels are drab because they contain too many speeches, whereas their descriptions lack emotion and depth. For this reason people, when reading them, tend to skip the descriptive parts and instead only read the speeches, so I have been told. Any novel that is full of speeches and lacks description cannot be called a novel in its entirety. The case is the same with films. Any film that proceeds with only conversation, instead of exploring the psychological feelings of the characters and the world of their activities, can only give people the feeling that they are seeing a drama. Creative workers may fear that they cannot express their intentions if there are too few speeches in a film; they have no need to worry about this. In the past, when silent films were in vogue, there were some good ones that produced a great effect on audiences even without a single speech. Needless to say, it is true that speech does play an important role in both clarifying the thematic idea of a work and presenting the inner world of the characters. However, one should not attempt to overuse speeches in a film. The more sparingly both novels and films use speech, the more they can sustain their respective characteristics and move audiences. Art that employs speech as the basic means of interpretation is drama. Novels employ description, while films have such inherent means of expression as movement. This notwithstanding, novelists and scriptwriters are clinging to speech as a form of interpretation, simply because they are preoccupied with their subjective desire to express their own ideas and psychological feelings of the characters and because they regard writing speeches as easier

than writing descriptive passages.

Creative workers and artistes must discard the outdated creative methods and attitudes and fully embody our unique approach to creative work, Juche-based realism, which is the most correct method of art and literature in our era. Only when we rely fully on this method can we develop art and literature of our own style and bring about a fresh advance in all realms of art and literature to meet the requirements of the times.

In order to refresh the content and form of art and literature, creative workers and artistes must acquaint themselves with our people's cultural and emotional demands. The angle from which our contemporaries view artistic and literary works these days is different from that of the past. Nowadays our people demand works of great philosophical quality and a high intellectual standard and are concerned more with characterization than with the development of events. Creative workers and artistes must create such works and focus on producing profound characterization. However interesting events may be, they cannot evoke the sentiments of a contemporary audience unless they are subordinated to sustaining the personalities of the principal and other characters. People today are extremely concerned about the question of human destiny. Therefore, when artistic and literary works raise the fundamental issue that is decisive to human destiny, they will rouse the people's interest. As far as works of art and literature are concerned, audiences are more interested in the inner world of the characters than in their superficial movements, and they want to know facts more than they do what has been invented by the creative worker. True-to-life literature and the biographies of great people are now popular worldwide, and this is because people want to know facts rather than fiction. Some time ago, publication began of the great leader's memoirs *With the Century*, which aroused a storm of interest among not only our people but also people around the world. This is by no means a matter of chance. *With the Century* touches the hearts of the people and moves them powerfully, because it records the glorious history of the struggle of

the leader who has blazed the trail of revolution, breaking through a thorny path, with the exact facts and without the slightest embellishment or exaggeration. Creative workers and artistes must refrain from portraying the characters in their works with the main emphasis on their outward actions, or by painstakingly inventing something. Instead, they should pay attention to showing the inner world of the characters deeply on the basis of the facts, and thus cater to the new aesthetic tastes of our contemporaries. The film *The Nation and Destiny* portrays real people as its principal characters and, therefore, it should rely on prototypes and factual materials more than any other work.

I wish that you will make continuous innovations, particularly in the production of the various episodes of *The Nation and Destiny* so as to perfect them as masterpieces that are wholly different from any other conventional artistic and literary works and that are a credit to the world. The creative workers in all sectors of art and literature should conduct a close study of how *The Nation and Destiny* embodies Juche-based realism and how it has boldly opened up something new, and learn eagerly from its example.

### 3) A NEW UPSURGE IN THE CREATION OF ARTISTIC AND LITERARY WORKS

In order to effect a fresh turn in the creation of art and literature, it is important to press on with the production of *The Nation and Destiny*, at the same time as leading all the sectors of art and literature to accept the successes and experiences gained in the course of producing it, so as to effect a fresh upsurge in creative work.

The cinematic art sector should take the lead in effecting a fresh turn in the creation of art and literature. The cinema is a comprehensive art that embraces several realms of art and literature. If you set cinematic art as an example on a priority basis, the other realms of art and literature will follow suit, and develop in a fresh

way. Cinematic art, I can say, is the key to effecting a fresh turn in the creation of art and literature. Just as we pushed ahead with the work of the cinematic art sector as an example when we were effecting a revolution in art and literature in the 1960s and 1970s, so you must also give priority to the cinematic art sector in bringing about a fresh turn in the production of art and literature.

In the immediate future, the cinematic art sector must push on and produce more episodes of *The Nation and Destiny* as world masterpieces. The creative team of *The Nation and Destiny* are riding very high in their creative enthusiasm and morale, seething with mettle that is capable of moving mountains or filling up the sea with earth, out of their unfailing loyalty to the Party, and all united solidly as one. They must not allow their present uplifted spirits to slacken in the slightest; instead, they must continue to make innovations and progress.

Another major task for the cinematic art sector to deal with as a matter of urgency is to produce new revolutionary films that reflect the revolutionary history of the great leader. Now that publication has begun of his memoirs *With the Century*, evoking a huge response, you must study whether or not you should continue producing revolutionary films in the same way as before. Revolutionary films, if they are produced by the same methods as before, may not move audiences as deeply as the memoirs do. In order to provide a systematic portrayal of the glorious revolutionary history of the great leader, you should base the production of revolutionary films on his memoirs. In my opinion, it would be a good idea to begin the creation of revolutionary films devoted to the leader's revolutionary history with films based on his memoirs.

The cinematic art sector should also pay due attention to producing films that are bright in mood, about the advantages of our style of people-centred socialism and about history, the military and anti-espionage work.

All sectors of art and literature must launch a vigorous campaign

to emulate the manner and creative climate in which the creative team of *The Nation and Destiny* worked, so as to effect a new upsurge in creation.

In order to bring about a fresh turn in the building of Juche-oriented art and literature, it is important to introduce innovations in the sector of literature, which can be described as the precursor of art.

The present situation in the literary sector is far from what the Party intends. In fact, aside from the lengthy novels that are sequels to the cycle *Immortal History*, and a few other novels, several poems such as the lyric work *Mother* and a few songs, there is nothing particular to read. In the past, when well-qualified veteran writers were alive, the standard of works was good, but nowadays it is generally low. The literary sector cannot ensure the flowering of Juche literature unless it organizes its work down to the last detail. And only when the literary sector flourishes can the arts as a whole flourish.

If we set out with determination, there will be nothing that is impossible for us to deal with. In the early days when I was giving guidance to the sector of art and literature, it was generally inanimate. However, despite the difficult situation at the time we effected a revolution in film, opera and drama, and opened up the golden age of Juche art. Once the officials and writers in the sector of literature are braced, they can scale any peak, however high. Since the direction and way in which the literary sector should advance have been clearly indicated and the loyalty of writers is high, there is no doubt that a new change can be made in literary creation.

The primary task facing the literary sector at present is to thoroughly embody the Juche-oriented idea and theory on art and literature, as clarified in *On Juche Literature*, so as to effect a new upsurge in the creation of literature. *On Juche Literature* deals fully with the matters of principle arising in the development of literature as required by Juche. Once they have conducted a close study of it, writers will fully understand all the issues in the creation of Juche literature—what sort of outlook on art and literature they should

acquire, what attitude they should adopt towards the heritage and traditions of art and literature, what kind of creative method they should employ to represent the reality, how they should deal with the interrelationship between the socio-political organism and literature, what sort of practical requirements they should embody in their creative work, what they should do to demonstrate their loyalty to the Party's leadership of literary creation, and so on. The Central Committee of the Korean Writers' Union and literary creation organs must adopt measures to implement the tasks set out in *On Juche Literature* and inspire writers forcefully to struggle to this end.

We must make innovations also in the work of the sector of stage art.

The particular area into which the stage art sector should channel special efforts, is opera. Two decades have passed since we produced five revolutionary operas, but no new praiseworthy operas have been created since. The people are now yearning to see the past prosperity return to the opera stage. We must channel efforts into the creation of operas so that opera theatres become lively and filled with audiences. The sector of operatic art should set itself an ambitious goal and produce more than five new operas in the 1990s, a task that is quite possible if the creative workers and artistes set about it with determination. If they display, in and out of work, the mettle and spirit with which they once finished the production of the revolutionary opera *Tell, O Forest* within 40 days, they can produce even ten operas, instead of merely five, in this period. The sector of operatic art should make endeavours to produce five new operas so as to create a new era of opera in the 1990s. I have been told that the creative workers and artistes in the sector of operatic art are now producing an opera about an actual man, Jin Ung Won, for the occasion of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of victory in the Fatherland Liberation War; they should make it a masterpiece with high ideological and artistic qualities so that it becomes the first gunshot in an opera revolution in the 1990s. They should make it a revolutionary opera overflowing with the spirit of the Chollima era, with the heroic

mettle of Chollima Korea, and with revolutionary optimism.

We must effect a new turn also in dramatic art. Considerable time has elapsed since the beginning of the revolution in drama, and yet this sector has not produced anything special, apart from staging immortal classics adapted from the original. Many of our people are not going to the theatre. Even though the *Mountain Shrine*-style dramas are liked by all the people, this sector is losing its audience to either the cinema or television. Needless to say, things are different nowadays, compared to the past when the people used to only go to the theatre, because TV broadcasting and various other popular and modern visual means are now widespread. However, there is no doubt that we can still draw people back to the theatre if we produce new, excellent *Mountain Shrine*-style dramatic pieces that cater to the aesthetic tastes of our contemporaries. It is high time the creative workers and artistes in this sector made a commitment. I have said that the sector of operatic art should produce five operas in the 1990s; the dramatic art sector should also produce five new dramas, through a redoubled effort. If both the operatic art and the dramatic art sectors produce five pieces each, our theatre stages will be as lively again as they were in the 1970s.

The musical art sector, too, should effect a change in its work. In order to ensure the production of many revolutionary songs that are popular with the people, I am listening to several songs and giving my opinions on them almost every week, and have set up the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble, guiding it in the creation of new national and modern songs of our own style. Since the emergence of this ensemble, musical art has gained great popularity. The works created by this ensemble are truly immaculate, and would be considered as such in any country in the world, not just ours. However, the musical art sector as a whole, with the exception of the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble and Wangjaesan Light Music Band, is producing nothing special. Most of the recent songs are similar to one another in their melodies, and contain nothing new. I used to tell our poets that only good words could produce good songs. In fact, words

are important in creating songs, as a matter of course. However, whether or not a song is good, and whether or not it is popular with the people, depends largely on the melody created by the composer. All things considered, the melody should be good; if it is bad, a song will be no good however fine its words may be. It is no exaggeration to say that the words account for 20 per cent and the melody for 80 per cent, in deciding the fate of a song. However, composers are now composing melodies in a slapdash manner. The songs played on the TV and radio seem so similar in their melodies that it is difficult to distinguish between them. The songs composed by Ri Myon Sang and Kim Ok Song are so outstanding that people like humming the melodies to themselves. More of such excellent songs should be produced by the musical art sector. What is important is to produce fine songs, even if only a few a year, which people will want to hum to themselves. The musical art sector should, at the same time as focusing on the creation of songs, also produce symphonies and other forms of instrumental music.

Our dance art should focus its efforts on creating cheerful and romantic dance pieces that reflect real life under socialism.

Many songs are currently being produced about the life of the working people engaged in the implementation of the Party's lines and policies, whereas there are few new dance pieces that make a lasting impression on the people. Dance pieces such as *The Snow Is Falling* and *Azaleas in the Homeland*, produced in the past on the basis of fine music, are still impressive, which means that it is certainly a good idea to create dances on the basis of excellent musical pieces. The Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble has been creating quite a few fine musical pieces, but choreographers have given no thought to producing dances based on them. It is necessary to create dance pieces based on the fine songs, such as *Pyongyang Is Best* and *Flocks of Wild Geese Fly*, produced by the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble.

We must also produce more of the dance dramas, which disappeared from our theatrical stage long ago. There is no need to

think of them as something mysterious. With scripts based either on historical events or on the current reality, choreographers can surely produce excellent dance dramas. I have been told that the dance art sector is now producing a dance drama, *Pongsonhwa* (Touch-me-not-Tr.) based on a legend; they would do well to make it a model dance drama by pooling their collective wisdom and efforts.

We must also work effectively to reinterpret folk dances so that they cater to the aesthetic tastes of our contemporaries, work that is of great significance in discovering the hidden national dance patterns that can enrich the cultural heritage of our nation and developing it down through the generations. Now that the trend towards national reunification is mounting, the number of overseas Korean artistes visiting the homeland to participate in the April Spring Friendship Art Festival is increasing, and we are anticipating artistic exchanges between the north and the south, so we must work effectively to develop the cultural heritage of our nation. Quite a few of our overseas artistes think that they can maintain our national traditions and defend the nation's soul simply by reproducing the old; of course, we naturally understand their desire to defend our national things while living overseas. However, since the south is staging the musty old things from the remotest past as they are and in doing so, claiming to be alone in maintaining our national traditions while we are slighting them, it is important for us to reinterpret many folk dances beautifully so that they appeal to the aesthetic tastes of the times, and stage them. In this work we must guard against the tendency to return to the past and properly combine the principles of fidelity to historical facts and modernity.

The fine art sector must further develop various styles and forms, with the main emphasis on Korean painting that caters to our people's feelings and sentiments in life, and continue to push ahead with the creation of monumental art. To develop fine art with the main emphasis on Korean painting is the consistent policy of our Party. Artists must pave the way for the further development of a variety of techniques, including the one-stroke method, and maintain the

excellent qualities of Korean painting so as to give the fullest possible play to the advantages of this form of fine art that is unique to our country. They must also continue their efforts to develop oil painting as appropriate to the aesthetic tastes and sentiments of our people, as well as sculpture, graphic art, woodcut printing, cinematic and stage arts, industrial art, and craftsmanship. In particular, they must create a monument to be erected for the occasion of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, making it so immaculate that it is worthy to be handed down through the generations.

We must also channel efforts into the creation of acrobatic routines so as to develop our Juche-oriented acrobatics onto a higher stage. The main component of our acrobatics is physical skill. The creators of acrobatic routines should mainly develop a variety of physical acrobatics that is conducive to the cultural and emotional education of the people, and take magic and animal performances to a higher level.

#### 4) THE EMBODIMENT OF OUR OWN STYLE OF SYSTEM OF GUIDANCE TO THE CREATIVE PROCESS AND SYSTEM OF CREATION

In order to effect a fresh turn in the creation of Juche-oriented art and literature, we must fully embody our own style of system for guiding the creative process and system of creation.

While guiding the work of the cinematic art sector, I determined to fully ensure the Party's leadership over art and literature, to break without hesitation the old system and framework that remained in the sector of art and literature, and to develop art and literature as required by Juche, in order to create Juche-oriented art and literature that accord with the requirements of the times. Subsequently I kindled the flames of revolution in art and literature and established our own style of system of guidance to the creative process and system of creation, which have proved their validity and vitality in the actual

creative process. As a result, during the days when the torchlight of revolution in cinematic art was beginning to flare, a film version of the immortal classic *The Fate of a Self-defence Corps Man* was produced in the short span of only 40 days, which struck wonder into the people, and afterwards the fine film *The Girl Barber* was made in only 20 days, which again astonished the people.

In recent years, however, the cinematic art sector has, by organizing permanent production units under various names, including the Wolmido Production Unit, making each of them adopt a self-accounting system, and leading them to produce films in competition with one another, made a mess of the system of guidance to the creative process and the system of creation, which were the outcome of painstaking efforts. Since the emergence of these permanent production units, senior officials of film studios have found it impossible to give unified guidance to film production, while creative workers and artistes have paid little attention to improving the ideological and artistic qualities of their films and instead become concerned only with establishing a large turnover in their creative work by fulfilling their film production plan only in terms of quantity. Several of these permanent production units have cut themselves off and are working independently, thus giving rise to self-centredness in film production and making it impossible to mobilize creative forces and the material and technical means in a coordinated and efficient manner, even though an urgent task in creation may have been raised. Such dispersion and self-centredness in film production will, in the long run, become obstacles to establishing a revolutionary climate of creation and life within film studios. For this reason, last year I initiated the production of *The Nation and Destiny* and restored the system of guidance to the creative process and the system of creation in the cinematic art sector, thus prompting a revolutionary upsurge in film production. By displaying the collectivist approach to creation and embodying the principle of the speed campaign with the same spirit and mettle they had displayed

at the inception of the revolution in film-making, true to the Party's policy, the creative team of *The Nation and Destiny* worked a miracle—producing seven parts of the film as world masterpieces, completing the scenarios and director's scripts for 15 parts, and drawing up stories for as many as 50 parts, all in less than a year. In particular, they organized a strong team for the production of the film from the first part to the fourth, completing them quickly in just a month. This proves the might of the style of the system of guidance to the creative process and system of creation we established during the days when the revolution in film-making was taking place. The revolutionary spirit of creation displayed in the cinematic art sector is an expression of the working manner of our people in resolutely defending the banner of socialism and advancing victoriously despite the current complicated situation, an expression of the revolutionary atmosphere across the country. The experience of producing *The Nation and Destiny* serves as clear proof that the Party's policy on restoring the Juche-oriented system of guidance to the creative process and system of creation, is absolutely correct.

We still have a long way to go and difficulties to overcome in completing *The Nation and Destiny* through to the final, 50<sup>th</sup> part. We have so far been working successfully at full gallop, but we may yet encounter difficulties and hardships. All the officials, creative workers and artistes in the sector of art and literature, including the creative team of *The Nation and Destiny*, must, whatever the difficulties and challenges, work and conduct their creative activities as required by the Juche-oriented system of guidance to the creative process and system of creation, the advantages and vitality of which have already been proven quite clearly.

The Juche-oriented system of guidance to the creative process means the system of leading all creative workers and artistes to fulfil their revolutionary tasks with the attitude of masters, by embodying the revolutionary mass line in the guidance of art and literature, under the monolithic leadership of the Party, while the Juche-oriented

system of creation is the system of organizing and standardizing in our own way the whole process of creating artistic and literary works.

What is important in embodying the former is to adhere to the principle of the trinity of the Party, art and literary administration organs, and the General Federation of the Unions of Art and Literature, in guiding the work of the sector of art and literature. In the early days our Party put forward a policy that the Party, art and literary administration organs and the General Federation of the Unions of Art and Literature should form a trinity to guide and support the work of the sector of art and literature. Even today, needless to say, if the Party gives the order "Forward!" the Ministry of Culture and Art and other art and literary administration organs, as well as the Central Committee of the General Federation of the Unions of Art and Literature, too, issue the order "Forward!" These days, the deviation evident in the past, of art and literary organs acting independently from one another, has disappeared. These organs, however, have not yet completely broken with the habit of merely relaying Party policy to their subordinates. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee, the Ministry of Culture and Art and its subordinate art and literary administration organs, as well as the Central Committee of the General Federation of the Unions of Art and Literature, should hold serious discussions among themselves with a view to setting a general objective for the struggle to effect a fresh turn in the creation of art and literature, and on this basis, work out dynamic plans that accord with their respective functions and characteristics. They should play their role in ensuring the successful production of *The Nation and Destiny* and effecting a new turn in the creation of Juche-oriented art and literature.

The evaluation of artistic and literary works should be conducted in accordance with the principles laid down by the Party. This is not merely a matter of routine, but work to embody the requirements of Party policy in creative work, and an important lever with which to realize the Party's leadership over art and literature.

If we are to ensure that the system for evaluating artistic and

literary works proves its worth, we must improve the qualifications of the evaluators. Some creative workers are guilty of the shortcoming of being reluctant about the work of the organs concerned with the evaluation of works, and this is largely due to the evaluators' qualifications. The varying opinions with regard to the work of the organs engaged in the evaluation work are not caused by the system of evaluation established by the Party, but by the fact that the level of the evaluators' qualifications is not as high as it should be. Even though the system of evaluation of works is good, if the evaluators offer preposterous opinions because they are not sufficiently qualified to guide the creative workers, it will, in fact, disrupt the creative work. The sector of art and literature should raise the qualifications of evaluators decisively so that they make an active contribution to creating excellent works that are in accord with the Party's intentions.

The State Evaluation Commission for Artistic and Literary Works should adhere to the principles and methods that have already been established. The fact is, it has not been doing so. It should not be swayed in its work by individual opinions; it should never tolerate individual officials quibbling over works that have already been evaluated and passed collectively, and making haphazard corrections.

All sectors of art and literature should firmly maintain the Juche-oriented system of creation and bring its advantage into the fullest possible play.

It is important in creating artistic and literary works to hold fast to the principle of taking the great leader's instructions and the Party's policies as the basis of creation, as the guideline in the whole process of creation, and as the criterion for reviewing creation. Studying the leader's instructions and the Party's policies and, with them as the criterion, conducting creative activities, is a principle that must be adhered to at all times in the process of all creative work.

A long time ago we institutionalized the review of creation by holding seminars on the Juche-oriented idea on art and literature, but these are conducted nowadays only for form's sake. The subjects of the seminars are merely commonsense and general matters, so

creative workers and artistes play hardly any active role, regarding participation as an onerous obligation. These are meetings of creative workers and artistes; therefore, they should be encouraged to offer sharp criticisms of anything that is wrong and to unburden themselves of all their thoughts, so long as they are not contrary to the Party's Juche-oriented idea on art and literature.

All creative workers and artistes engaged in the creation of artistic and literary works should fulfil their duties responsibly at their posts, as required explicitly by the fundamental principles of our own style of system of creation. Every artistic and literary work goes through the hands of several people prior to its completion. A film can be completed only by many people—scriptwriter, director, cameramen, actors and actresses, fine artists, composer, producer and so on—performing their respective roles in a responsible manner.

The principle of collectivism should be properly embodied in the creation of artistic and literary works. In the creation of work, such as cinematic art, that is produced by the wisdom and efforts of several people, any tolerance of arbitrary behaviour and subjectivity by an individual can ruin the whole work. The principle of collectivism should be embodied properly to meet the specific situation in other art and literary sectors.

We must establish a strict order by which all the processes of creating works of art and literature are observed properly. We must establish strong discipline so that a required process is not skipped or a procedure is not changed arbitrarily. In particular, we must not tolerate the practice of ignoring the process of subjecting a work to evaluation or of revising without approval a work that has already been passed.

The principle of the speed campaign should be fully embodied in the production of artistic and literary works. The speed campaign is a principled requirement to be met without fail in the production of all works. But there is no unit other than the creative team of *The Nation and Destiny* that is actually conducting the speed campaign; it is only being paid lip service nowadays. In the future we must establish the

revolutionary habit of working out a plan for the creative process, down to the minutest detail and on the basis of the speed campaign, and of dealing with all the processes in the creative effort on the basis of the speed campaign.

The regulations and principles of our style of system for guiding the creative process and the system of creation, which we have established in the art and literary sector, are an inviolable iron rule. The officials, creative workers and artistes in the sector of art and literature must firmly maintain our style of system of guidance to the creative process and system of creation, as established by the Party, so as to effect an upsurge in the creation of artistic and literary works.

#### 5) THE HIGH POLITICAL QUALIFICATIONS AND ABILITY OF CREATIVE WORKERS AND ARTISTES

In order to complete all the episodes of *The Nation and Destiny* as world masterpieces and effect a fresh turn in the creation of Juche-oriented art and literature, it is important for creative workers and artistes to improve their politico-practical qualifications decisively. It is only when they are highly qualified that creative workers and artistes can be loyal to the Party and the leader and produce works that are loved by the people.

Their qualifications are their political knowledge plus their creative ability.

They must make strenuous efforts to equip themselves with great political knowledge and broad political vision. The level of our people's political knowledge is very high at present. The political vision with which our people, ranging from schoolchildren to the elderly, analyze social phenomena has expanded beyond any comparison with the past. Creative workers and artistes should think over whether or not the political knowledge and vision they are equipped with is sufficiently high to educate the people, and make efforts to achieve an improvement.

Creative workers and artistes must steadily improve their creative ability. They are contributing to the revolution with their own unique talents, which can be called their lifeblood. They should reveal themselves through their expertise and should not concern themselves with unnecessary matters. An actor's technical ability is by no means based on a good appearance. The actors and actresses cast as the principal characters in *The Nation and Destiny* are popular with audiences not because they look more handsome than others. An actor should create his art with his brains, not with his face. Only he who thinks and uses his brains well can achieve distinction. At present the acting of our actresses is at a low level in general, largely because they try to play their roles with their faces and bodies, instead of thinking deeply and using their brains to come up with the characterization. An actor can be said to have succeeded in his work only when his acting is as natural as the actions of a real person, without giving the audience the impression that the acting is taking place on stage. I am now thinking about how to help our actors and actresses to act as truthfully as real people do in their life, without creating the impression that they are acting on stage. For actors and actresses to attain such a level, they must rack their brains. If not, they will be unable to produce excellent acting.

Writers should be ahead of others in improving their artistic qualifications. Some of them, however, are not studying hard enough. For this reason, they lack a profound knowledge of literature and its sister arts, particularly philosophy concerned with life. Writers should be philosophers and erudite people who explore life deeply. In order to guide writers and artistes in enriching their knowledge, I have ensured that they can visit foreign countries and read many foreign artistic and literary works. They should not confine themselves only to competing among themselves but think about challenging the world level. If our art and literature is to make an impact on the world, creative workers and artistes must establish an international reputation as leading creative workers and artistes.

Besides high qualifications, creative workers and artistes must also

cherish the pure conscience that befits creative artistes. The issue of conscience is a pressing matter that creative workers and artistes should deal with in improving themselves. All the people are now talking a great deal about being loyal to the Party and the leader, and doing their best to this end, in and out of work. Now that education in loyalty to the Party and the leader has reached such a high stage, a pressing problem is making loyalty one's own conviction, an issue of conscience, a moral obligation and everyday practice, the solution of which should be, as a matter of course, the focus in the creation of artistic and literary works dealing with the current reality. To this end, creative workers and artistes should prepare themselves thoroughly as the incarnation of a clear and pure conscience for the Party, before anyone else.

One's conscience for the Party finds expression in one's loyalty to the Party and the leader. Creative workers and artistes must regard it as their duty and obligation to work loyally to prove themselves worthy of the benevolence of the Party and the leader, who have trained and put them forward. Conscience for the Party should find concrete expression in the creation of artistic and literary works. They represent the times and the conscience of the masses of the people. Our creative workers and artistes, as they have emerged from among the people and are living among them, can fully understand the people's current demands. However, there appear some cases in which, in their writing, they fabricate something unreal in defiance of the opinions and life of the people, despite being so familiar with them. Just as fish cannot live without water, so creative workers and artistes cannot create revolutionary and people-oriented works, divorced from the people. They must always be sincere and honest with the people and direct all their wisdom and energy to mirroring in their works the people's aspirations and demands.

If they are to possess the pure conscience of creative artistes, they should improve their human qualities. I have been told that some creative workers, when criticism is made of their work either in critiques or at seminars on the Juche-oriented idea on art and

literature, regard it as being directed at them personally, a fact that is entirely due to their lack of personal cultivation as creative workers. Creative workers and artistes should make more efforts than others to become genuine men and women. Only those who have improved their human qualities perfectly can be perfect creators of humanics.

The members of the creative team of *The Nation and Destiny* should become model creative workers and artistes in terms of both their qualifications and their conscience as creative artistes. As a result, through their practical example, they should teach all other creative workers and artistes what they need to do to become eternal companions, faithful assistants and good advisers to the Party, and ardent champions and thoroughgoing implementers of the Party's policies.

#### 6) THE MILITANT FUNCTIONS AND ROLE OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Effecting a fresh turn in the creation of Juche-oriented art and literature is by no means easy; all officials, creative workers and artistes in this field must turn out as one to achieve it. Rousing all our creative workers and artistes to join a creative campaign would be inconceivable, without the work of enhancing the militant functions and role of the Party organizations in this sector. Our Party is the General Staff of our revolution, and its leadership is ensured through Party organizations at all levels. Whether or not the work of a certain unit is conducted properly as intended and required by the Party depends entirely on the work of its Party organization.

The most important aspect of the work of Party organizations in the sector of art and literature in enhancing their functions and role, is to conduct Party work substantially so as to meet the compositional and occupational characteristics of creative workers and artistes. Most creative workers and artistes have not been trained through manual work and are working virtually on their own. For this reason, they

may be affected by obsolete ideas and degenerate, unless they are given revolutionary education and subjected to organizational control; a fact proved by historical experience.

Party organizations in this sector should bear in mind that the main focus of their work is the creative workers and artistes, and they should work in line with their characteristics. In particular, they must intensify the work among creative workers and artistes to train their Party spirit, which is loyalty to the Party and the leader, as expressed in fulfilling with credit the tasks given them by the Party and the leader. They should step up their guidance to the Party life of creative workers and artistes so that they carry out the assignments entrusted to them by the Party and the leader on time and at the highest level, staunchly defend the Party's lines and policies and launch an uncompromising struggle against any deviations from them. There can be no fixed formula in Party work. Creative workers and artistes are all different from one another in their preparedness, personalities and interests. Therefore, the Party organizations in this sector should not work with them in a stereotyped manner but strive to accommodate their characteristics, so as to train them all into revolutionary creative workers and artistes who give their all for the implementation of their revolutionary tasks.

Party officials should become political educators who help and lead the creative workers and artistes forward. They should not prefer to show off but should always put creative workers and artistes forward instead, and put their own shoulders to the wheel before anyone else in doing difficult work. The Party officials in the sector of art and literature should display profound knowledge and expertise, and not work in the way of enforcing random opinions. If they lack expertise, it will be impossible for them to establish their authority in their work, to have a say on any matter and to give effective guidance to creative workers and artistes in their Party life. They must be adequately prepared to do their Party work relating to artistic affairs with due authority and guide the work of creative workers and artistes. Their authority over work matters can be

ensured only when they have built up their authority over artistic affairs, which is experience I have gained in the course of guiding the work of the sector of art and literature up until now. To tell you the truth, at the outset when I took charge of the guidance over the work of this sector, I was young and had no particular experience to speak of. In those days, there were quite a few veteran writers and talented directors in this sector who had gained a reputation as virtuosos, and they were full of their own importance. Worse still, the master-apprentice relationship was so dominant that the opinions of ordinary men and women would be turned down as irrelevant. It was by no means easy for me to work with such people. Some time later these self-important people who had practised the master-apprentice relationship began to follow me. They probably agreed with me when I found basic faults in some orchestral music I had heard or in rush films I had seen, and formulated plans for revising them. Had I attempted to guide them by relying on the Party's authority from the outset, they would not have trusted and followed me. They trusted and followed me, not because they were daunted by my authority or out of any sense of obligation. As I demonstrated expertise from the first, I was able to work properly, building up my authority in guiding the work of the art and literary sector, which had previously been beset with complications and difficulties. Officials must build up their authority among the masses by dint of their noble personalities and qualifications, and then lead them forward.

I call upon Party officials, particularly senior officials, in the sector of art and literature, to embody our Party's revolutionary work method fully and carry out their Party work relating to artistic affairs with due authority.

Another important aspect of enhancing the functions and role of Party organizations is to step up the collective guidance of Party committees. The Party committee is the supreme leadership organ in a unit and, therefore, the work of administration in the arts must be conducted under its collective guidance. The work of administration in the arts should not be swayed by the interests or demands of a few

individuals. The Party committee should collectively discuss all the problems in administering the arts, before adopting correct decisions that reflect to the full the requirements of our Party's policy and the creative opinions of the masses, giving assignments as appropriate and carrying them out. Party officials should not take the administration of the arts upon themselves; they should always guide this work according to the Party way, by political methods. Party organizations in the sector of art and literature should conduct Party work, work with the people, substantially so that creative workers and artistes can brace themselves for artistic creation, full of confidence and courage. They should not put too much stress on dealing with the pressing problems that require immediate solutions, but pay close attention to implementing the Party's policies consistently and steadily. Work that should be done in the form of a shock campaign may arise continually, but Party organizations should not involve themselves in it to the extent that they are dealing with their main tasks haphazardly; instead, they should pay due attention to implementing each and every Party policy that has been put forward. To this end, they should frequently familiarize themselves with the implementation of the Party's policies, render assistance so that they are implemented correctly, and deal effectively with the work of reviewing the situation regularly and arrange their implementation repeatedly.

Party organizations must pay close attention to making the system of guidance to the creative process and the system of creation established in the sector of art and literature in the past, highly rewarding. This is a way of defending and maintaining the achievements made by our Party and the attitude of supporting the Party. Thanks to the leadership of the Party, our art and literature has developed into Juche-oriented art and literature, revolutionary and people-oriented art and literature, that truly serve the Party and revolution, the country and the people; new ideas and theories on art and literature have been defined and systematized to serve as the definitive guiding principles in developing our art and literature into

Juche-oriented art and literature that lasts forever. There were produced in the 1970s and 1980s the theories contained in *On the Art of the Cinema*, *On the Art of Opera* and *On the Art of Drama*, followed by *On the Art of Dance*, *On the Art of Music*, *On Fine Art* and *On Juche Literature* in the 1990s, which are key assets for developing our art and literature onto a new, higher stage. The sector of art and literature should defend and maintain the valuable successes and experience gained by our Party in the course of guiding its work, and add lustre to them. In the future I think I will not be able to guide the work of this sector directly as I have done up until now. For this reason, while guiding the creation of *The Nation and Destiny*, I have given concrete instructions on the directions and ways of creating Juche-oriented art and literature and have ensured that the system of guidance to the creative process and the system of creation that were already established, are restored. The sector of art and literature must staunchly defend and maintain the achievements made by the Party, and add lustre to them.

True to the intention and plan of the Party, the officials, creative workers and artistes in the sector of art and literature must effect a fresh turn in the creation of Juche-oriented art and literature, on the basis of the success gained in the creation of the multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny*.

## **SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN IMPROVING PUBLIC HEALTH**

**Talk to Senior Officials in the Sector of Public Health**

*July 22, 1992*

Public health is a vitally important sector that is geared to promoting the health of the people. In a steady endeavour to improve public health, our Party has introduced important policies in each period and taken steps to solve the problems arising in this sector on a priority basis.

Our country's socialist health service system established by the great leader is the best of its kind in the world. There is no other country in the world that holds itself responsible for taking care of the health of all the people, from the children and mothers of babies to the elderly, and that offers them medical services that are entirely free of charge. However, in recent years the public health sector has failed to keep abreast of the requirements of the developing situation, and this is due to the scant concern shown by officials. We should channel great efforts into the sector so as to effect a drastic improvement in the prevention and treatment of illness.

Hygiene and anti-epidemic work should be carried out in an all-out, nationwide movement.

Primary attention should be directed to the prevention of infectious diseases.

Combating viral hepatitis, serum hepatitis in particular, has emerged as a worldwide concern. Data show that most cases of viral hepatitis are serum hepatitis, divided into hepatitis B and hepatitis C

according to the virus type, which, without timely treatment, is likely to develop into chronic hepatitis, cirrhosis or cancer of the liver. Preventive measures to combat viral hepatitis should be introduced that are infallible. Particular attention needs to be directed to the measures against hepatitis B and hepatitis C, which are infections carried in the blood.

Thoroughgoing steps should be taken to prevent hepatitis being transmitted through blood transfusions. If a healthy person is given a transfusion of blood from a carrier of the hepatitis B or hepatitis C virus, he or she is likely to be infected. Such an occurrence would be so grave as to be little short of criminal. The health sector should build up the blood-supply institutions and establish a well-ordered system of testing, collecting, storing and disinfecting blood.

Instances of hepatitis being transmitted by syringes should be eliminated. I hear there are quite a few such instances. In order to prevent their occurrence, it is essential to sterilize syringes and to use them on an individual basis. The Ministry of Public Health should take prompt, revolutionary steps to produce disposable syringes and supply them to all the health institutions across the country. This step alone will go a long way to preventing contagious diseases.

A strict system for sterilizing needles for acupuncture should be in place. From what I have heard, some doctors use needles on different people randomly, without ever sterilizing them properly. Cleaning a needle with a piece of sanitary cotton once or twice is not the way to disinfect it properly.

Drastic measures should be adopted for the disinfection of medical equipment, since serum hepatitis is passed on mostly in the course of treatment in hospitals.

Measures must be adopted to ensure the correct diagnosis of and screening for infectious diseases. In particular, it is imperative to adopt proper methods of diagnosis and to improve the standard of screening for the symptoms of hepatitis C and other forms of hepatitis.

Infectious gastrointestinal diseases, including paratyphoid fever, must be curbed by improving prevention and treatment. To this end, it

is essential that steps be taken to disinfect the water supply and sewage systems and improve hygiene conditions, and that strict discipline be established in the quarantine service. We should prevent cases of infection by redoubling the efforts we put into medical services.

The effective prevention and treatment of infectious diseases requires the mass production of a range of preventive medicines. Some of the vaccines currently being produced in our country are low in quality. We should improve the quality and increase the variety of preventive medicines.

It is necessary to build up the material and technical foundations of our hygiene-service and anti-epidemic centres, enhance their role and ensure the prompt supply of sterilizing materials to them.

It is important to devote close concern to promoting the health of women.

Since the inauguration of the modern Pyongyang Maternity Hospital, considerable achievements have been made in health care for women and babies. The hospital is now extremely popular with the public. A dozen years have passed since it was opened, and it must continue to be run efficiently. The Ministry of Public Health should improve its equipment under a yearly plan, and provide it with sufficient quantities of a wide variety of spare parts, hygiene equipment and materials, along with medicines. It will be impossible for the hospital to operate properly if we fail to build on its initial facilities. We should also improve maternity hospitals in the provinces, the obstetrics and gynaecology departments at hospitals and the delivery rooms in ri people's hospitals in order to guarantee effective care during childbirth, and take care to ensure that women do not contract any erosive or other diseases.

A variety of the equipment and materials needed in the care of women's health should be produced and supplied in large quantities. The Party has adopted the relevant measures, but leading officials have abandoned their implementation halfway on one pretext or another. This is glaring evidence of officials' poor regard for women. They should correct their approach, apply their minds to the issue of

women's health and ensure the regular supply of the items needed.

Children's health is another area of vital concern. Bringing up children with strong bodies is a highly important matter that has a bearing on the future of the nation. We intend to start work soon on building a modern central children's hospital in Pyongyang. Once open, it will make a major contribution to caring for the health of our country's children. Measures are also needed to reinforce the prevention and treatment institutions for children and the nurseries and kindergartens in local areas, and to take proper care of children's hygiene and nutrition while they are growing up. In particular, a strict approach should be adopted by nurseries and kindergartens in their disinfection and anti-epidemic work for the prevention of contagious diseases.

A boost in the development of dental care is required.

Dental care is now a matter of great public concern. Strong teeth are vital for eating a hearty meal and working hard with a healthy body. Unhealthy teeth can cause digestion problems because food is not chewed properly, and result in discomfort.

We plan to attach a dental hospital to the central children's hospital to be built in Pyongyang, and this will make it possible to provide better dental care, both preventive and curative, for children. Proper dental hygiene should be observed from childhood; otherwise, oral diseases may be contracted in childhood that cause lifelong discomfort.

Propagation of information about oral hygiene should be intensified among children and adults so that people always keep their teeth clean. Keeping the teeth clean is the way to prevent tooth decay and various dental diseases, including pyorrhoea.

It is necessary to reinforce the material and technical standards of dental-care centres and drastically improve the technical levels and skills of dentists and prosthetic surgeons. Special emphasis must be laid on raising technical levels in the area of prosthetics and the skills of prosthetic surgeons. The supply of the necessary equipment and materials for dental care is important, for this sector, more than any

other area of medical care, requires a wide variety of gadgets and materials. The Ministry of Public Health should adopt measures to supply good quality items in sufficient quantities, after drawing up detailed plans for what is to be produced domestically and what is to be imported.

Great efforts must be directed to the prevention and treatment of cancerous diseases.

Tackling such diseases is proving a tough challenge around the world. They take a huge death toll every year.

In order to prevent cancer, it is important to take care of one's dietary life and take regular physical exercise.

The high incidence of lung cancer among Europeans is, reportedly, caused mainly by heavy smoking. Also their diet, consisting largely of meat, produces a great many cases of constipation and cancer of the colon. Meat-rich meals are not good for the health. The many cases of cardiovascular disease among Europeans are also due to an excessive intake of animal fat.

Koreans have eaten mainly vegetables and fish since olden times. Our country is abundant in vegetables that contain a variety of nutritive substances, as well as in fish resources, since it is bordered by the sea on three sides. Fish is rich in protein and unsaturated fatty acids, which are good for the health. Our people's dietary traditions are basically sound. People should refrain from eating salty, hot or too much food.

Self-centredness should be eliminated in developing the network of hospitals.

Industrial establishments, the army, public security organs, the railways and other sectors are currently intent on setting up their own hospitals, on the pretext of something or other to do with their peculiar situation. This is a wrong approach. Setting up a succession of hospitals without any detailed plans for managing them will lead to no good, and only serve to make the medical care system irrational and complicated.

In order to develop public health, it is essential to produce

medicines, medical equipment and sanitary materials for hospitals on an intensive basis. It would be a good idea for the Ministry of Public Health to produce large amounts of good quality medicines the effectiveness of which our country is familiar with, and export some of them, as this will yield sufficient foreign currency for importing the medicines and equipment we need. Drastic steps must be taken to improve the quality of domestically produced medical instruments.

We must also adopt measures to make good use in medical treatment of such natural resources as mineral water, hot springs and mud, which are rich in our country.

The Ministry of Public Health should channel great efforts into developing medical science and technology and improving the technical levels and skills of health workers, so as to raise the country's medicine up to the world standard as quickly as possible.

In order to improve public health, the Ministry of Public Health should enhance its role, and provincial, city and county administrative and economic committees should provide effective guidance to this sector. The ministry must work out well-considered plans for improving health services and encourage its officials to work with revolutionary drive and enterprise. The Administration Council and local administrative and economic committees should adopt the attitude of masters in this sector and find prompt solutions to its problems, including the modernization of hospitals and the provision of the foreign currency needed for improving prevention and treatment.

By concentrating on the development of public health, we can give full scope to the superiority of our socialist health-care system.

# **ON STICKING FAST TO REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY STAND**

**Speech to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*July 23, 1992*

The great leader recently stressed the need to hold fast to revolutionary principles in order to cope with the current complicated situation. He said in the following vein: The imperialists are now intent on moves to shift our country to the track of capitalism; we must not give up socialism, abandoning our revolutionary principles; we must never concede our revolutionary principles but continue to build socialism under the banner of Juche; nor must we make any compromise on our revolutionary principles in the struggle to reunify the country.

Firmly maintaining our country's revolutionary principles today is extremely important in carrying the revolutionary cause of Juche through to completion. For us to defend our revolutionary principles is the only way to achieve the independent reunification of the country and build socialism and communism. This is all the more important, since the imperialists and other reactionaries have been turning the spearhead of their attack against our country after the collapse of socialism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and East European countries.

We must take to heart the leader's emphasis on revolutionary principles and ensure that all officials, Party members and other working people fight staunchly to achieve independent national reunification and

accomplish the cause of socialism, upholding the banner of Juche.

If we are to defend our revolutionary principles and complete the socialist cause, we must hold the great leader in high esteem and faithfully uphold his guidance.

That the people acclaim an outstanding leader and loyally follow his guidance is the fundamental guarantee for successfully sealing the historic cause of independence. Otherwise, they will not be able to accomplish this cause, nor will they be able to defend the revolutionary achievements they have already made. This is the historical lesson to be learned from the collapse of socialism and the revival of capitalism in the Soviet Union and East European countries and from the present situation in the international communist movement. We must heed this lesson, hold the great leader in even higher esteem and support his guidance faithfully, down through the generations.

The respected Comrade Kim Il Sung is the great leader of our Party and people who authored the Juche idea, the guiding philosophy of the age of independence, and is leading the Korean revolution along the road to victory, as well as a pre-eminent leader who is indicating the road ahead for mankind. Nowhere in the world has there ever been such a great leader of the people who has led the people's cause of revolution to victory over such a long period of time. The great leader is the veteran of veterans of the world revolution.

Our people acclaimed Comrade Kim Il Sung as their leader and have always been faithful to his guidance.

During the grim period of Japanese colonial rule, the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters found in the great leader the sun of the nation, and they followed his guidance faithfully. Kim Chaek set a brilliant example in this respect. Immediately after the country's liberation, he pressed for the composition of a hymn to the great leader, despite the latter's protests; by personally enlisting the creative personnel, he ensured that the immortal revolutionary song *Song of General Kim Il Sung* was composed and that it was disseminated widely among the people.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, the soldiers of our People's Army demonstrated loyalty to the leader to a high degree. This is evident, for example, from a letter of pledge to the leader from the participants in the 1953 National Meeting of War Heroes. Several days ago, I was looking through some documents relating to the meeting and I found the letter, which vividly reflected the soldiers' fervent loyalty to the leader. This was well before the phrase "Party's monolithic ideological system" was first coined, yet the letter fully expresses the loyalty implicit in the phrase.

The south Korean revolutionaries were also fired with loyalty to the leader. One of them, Kim Jong Thae, was the first to praise him as the "greatest hero who ever lived."

By following the leader as the sun of the nation and supporting his guidance, our people achieved the historic cause of national liberation, defended their national freedom and independence with honour in the face of the aggression of the US imperialists, and have built a socialist country that is independent in politics, self-sufficient in the economy and self-reliant in defence.

Our people should remain unwavering in their loyalty to the leader. This is the only way to achieve the independent reunification of the country and the ultimate victory of socialism, and accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered by him. We should ensure that all officials, Party members and other working people continue to be faithful to his guidance by accepting his authority as undisputed and defending and carrying forward his revolutionary exploits.

Cadres must be steadfast in their revolutionary stand.

As the leading personnel of the revolution, they should adhere to a solid revolutionary stand; only by doing so can they stick firmly to their revolutionary principles whatever the adversity and enlist the people in the revolutionary struggle.

Our cadres are now staunchly revolutionary in their mentality. This I was satisfied to confirm not long ago when I sent an article from a foreign newspaper for senior officials of the Party Central

Committee and of the mass media to read, and was then informed of what they had to say about it.

Most of our cadres have received a university education in our country. In the tough years following the country's liberation, the great leader took steps to found Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and Kim Il Sung University, which would turn out native cadres. Even in the trying years of the Fatherland Liberation War, he made provisions for Kim Il Sung University and other universities and institutions training Party officials to continue operating without interruption. In April 1952, at the height of the war, he visited Kim Il Sung University, which had been evacuated to Paeksong-ri, and met the students, who had been recalled from frontline service. He explained to them what the country would be like after victory in the war, advised them how to achieve a brilliant academic performance, and inquired into and provided for their study and living needs. He called at a number of schools where bereaved children and disabled soldiers were studying, showing great concern for how the students were living. The history of warfare, ancient or modern, Eastern or Western, chronicles no such instance of the leader of a country visiting institutions of learning that had been evacuated to the mountains away from the fighting, in order to take care of the students' living conditions. Those who graduated from our universities under such care are now working with revolutionary integrity at important posts. This is why we are particularly fond of graduates from our country's own universities, and especially Mangyongdae Revolutionary School and Kim Il Sung University.

The vast majority of our cadres are unwavering in their revolutionary stand, but some of them are not. A lacklustre revolutionary stand may, in the event of hardship and complexity in the situation, reduce them to Rightist capitulationism at the expense of their revolutionary principles. All cadres should become uncompromising in their revolutionary stand and principles, without revealing the slightest vacillation, however difficult and complicated the developments may be.

Intellectuals should be encouraged to maintain their revolutionary stand.

The revolutionary stand of intellectuals is an important guarantee of their lifelong contribution to the cause of the independence of the masses, including the working class. It enables them to work with devotion for the good of the people and for the cause of their independence, however trying and complex the circumstances.

Our Party has adopted a correct policy towards intellectuals, rallying them around it and leading them to be faithful to the revolutionary cause of the working class. When he founded the Party immediately after liberation, the leader identified the intelligentsia as one of its components and had the Party emblem include a writing brush, together with a hammer and sickle. This was a genuine feat worthy only of our Party, founded and led by him. At the time, some people were opposed to the inclusion of the writing brush, but the leader insisted on it, as a symbol that our intellectuals were regarded as a main force of the revolution. This proved to be a very wise measure.

Our intellectuals have done their utmost for the revolution and construction, upholding the Party's leadership. Even at times when the revolution and construction were facing ordeals, they staunchly defended the Party and the leader, faithful to the Party's revolutionary cause. They continue to play a leading role in the endeavours to build socialism, rallied closely behind the Party and the leader. In this sense, I have described them as the eternal companions, faithful assistants and excellent advisers of our Party, and ardent advocates and thorough implementers of Party policy. Because they are united around the Party and the leader and dedicated to socialist construction, the enemy dismiss any idea of trying to influence them.

This does not mean that we can be relaxed in our work with intellectuals. If we neglect this work and fail to promote their ideological education, they may tend to lose their revolutionary stand, which, in turn, may cause them to give up their devoted service for the good of the people and induce them, when developments are

complex, to vacillate or even betray the revolution. Intellectuals in the Soviet Union and East European countries, with their lacklustre revolutionary stand, were at the forefront of the moves to oppose the party and overthrow the socialist system when temporary difficulties occurred in socialist construction. We should learn lessons from this and work effectively with our intellectuals in such a way that they maintain their revolutionary stand and remain loyal to the cause of socialism to the last.

In my opinion, it would be a good idea to hold a conference of intellectuals. This conference would be the first of its kind, although many conferences have been convened in other fields. A conference of scientists was once held, but it failed to embrace the full scope of intellectuals as symbolized by the writing brush in our Party's emblem. Any gathering of intellectuals must take this symbol to heart. Only our Party, which embraces intellectuals, will be credited with such a gathering; scarcely any other party in any other country would be able to arrange it.

The conference of intellectuals should be grand in its scale and style, for our country has a huge army of intellectuals, 1.6 million strong. Such a grand event, held against the backdrop of the current complex situation, would create a great stir in terms of its political significance. It will prove effective both in influencing our intellectuals and in impressing foreigners with the loyalty of Korea's intellectuals to the Party. We should arrange this event effectively so as to enhance its political significance.

It would be good to call it the Conference of Korean Intellectuals, since it would embrace intellectuals in all fields, and not any specific field, true to the symbolism of the writing brush in the Party's emblem.

This conference should focus mainly on demonstrating that Korean intellectuals, in their involvement in the revolution, are not seeking personal comfort or fame. It should be properly directed so as to allow the intellectuals to commit themselves to working for the good of the Party and the revolution, the country and the people, and

not for personal reward or fame, just like the information workers and underground operatives of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, and to defending and developing Korean socialism centred on the people.

A high-profile political slogan should also be created for the conference. An appropriate slogan should run along the lines that Korean intellectuals must become the eternal companions, faithful assistants and excellent advisers of our Party and the ardent advocates and thorough implementers of Party policy. When our intellectuals at the conference express their firm resolve to uphold this slogan and defend and exalt our people-centred socialism, it will mark their response to the intellectuals in those countries that have overthrown socialism and reverted to capitalism.

It would be good to hold the conference of intellectuals in the coming autumn at the February 8 House of Culture or Pyongyang Indoor Stadium. It should be grand in its scale, all the more so because no Party Congress is scheduled for this year. The leader will be pleased to hear about it, and it is likely that he will want to attend it.

Media reports about the conference should be as enthusiastic as they would be about a Party Congress.

The delegates to the conference must be selected very carefully. It would be good for the writers of political editorials for *Rodong Sinmun* to be included among them.

The Organizational Leadership Department, the Information and Publicity Department and the Department of Science and Education of the Party Central Committee should organize the preparations of the Conference of Korean Intellectuals effectively.

It would be advisable also to convene a conference of the Journalists Union.

The rising generation should be given revolutionary education.

The first and second generations of the revolution adhere to a staunch revolutionary stand. They were subjected to exploitation by the landlords and capitalists in the exploiter society and became engaged in the revolution and construction, fighting against difficult

odds; through these experiences they confirmed their faith in socialism and their revolutionary will to defend and develop the socialist system. By contrast, the third and fourth generations of the revolution have grown up living in comfort and without worries, under the socialist system built by the sweat and blood of the preceding generations; they are off-hand about the world, taking it just as they see it, and they are inferior to the previous generations in their ideological commitment to the defence and development of socialism. Some of them prefer to live in indolence and luxury rather than working hard for the good of the Party and the revolution, the country and the people. If we fail to work for the revolutionary education of the younger generation, they may be susceptible to abandoning the principles of socialism and restoring capitalism, beguiled by its “material civilization.” In a number of former socialist countries, a lack of education among the rising generations resulted in the third and fourth generations of the revolution seeking an idle and luxurious lifestyle; it came to such a pass that, mesmerized by capitalism, they worked to overthrow the socialist system and restore capitalism. The US imperialists expect the same of our country; that the third and fourth generations of the revolution will degenerate to the point of renouncing our revolutionary principles.

We should always bear in mind the sinister counterrevolutionary designs of the US imperialists and bolster the education of the third and fourth generations so that they can carry the revolutionary cause of Juche through to the end from one generation to the next. Party-wide efforts must be channelled into this revolutionary education. All cadres, including those of you present here—senior officials of the Party Central Committee—should work actively to this end.

Our revolutionary principles should be honoured in the creation of works of art and literature, which play an important role in the people’s ideological and aesthetic education. We should make sure that all such works are geared to the revolutionary education of the people. Recently, however, when I saw a televised performance of a new work by an art troupe, I found that its representation fell short of

the Party's intention. We should make all art works instrumental to the revolutionary education of the people—works that are revolutionary in content and that, in their form, right down to the stage costumes, are oriented to the revolutionary and national sentiments of our people. Our cadres, when they assess any art work, should determine whether it is in line with our Party's intentions and our people's revolutionary demands, and if they find any deviations, they should point them out, so that they can be corrected.

## **ON FURTHER DEVELOPING FORESTRY INDUSTRY**

**Letter to Officials and Workers in the Forestry Sector  
Nationwide on the 30<sup>th</sup> Forestry Workers' Day**

*August 10, 1992*

We are currently celebrating the 30<sup>th</sup> Forestry Workers' Day, which falls in this significant year, the year in which we have celebrated the 80<sup>th</sup> birthday of the great leader as the greatest national event and as a high-profile international political celebration.

All officials and workers in the forestry sector have made notable contributions to socialist construction and national prosperity through their dynamic endeavours to implement our Party's Juche-oriented policy for this sector. This sector has made major innovations in timber production by upholding the policy of cyclic felling put forward by the great leader, and thus satisfied the needs of various sectors of socialist construction. The all-out efforts made by the technicians and workers in this sector to carry out the Party's policy on the technical revolution have strengthened the material and technical foundations of the sector and the level of its modernization, reinforced our wood-processing and wood-chemical industries, and brought about fresh improvements in the planting and protection of forests. Our country's forestry industry, which was hopelessly backward under Japanese colonial rule, has now developed into an independent, modern industry that relies on its own forest resources and is equipped with the latest technology.

The achievements made by our people in socialist construction and

the multitude of monumental edifices of the era of the Workers' Party built on this land, are associated with the tireless efforts of forestry officials and workers, who have supplied vast quantities of timber and a wide variety of wood products. In this sector there are many people who, though their contributions have not been publicized, have devoted themselves to increasing timber production and tending the country's green forests by working among the mountains far away from the towns and plains, exposed to the rain and snow all year round, as well as a great number of young people who have followed in the footsteps of previous generations and done this work by displaying boundless loyalty to the Party and the leader. Our forestry officials and workers are devoting their entire lives to the good of the Party and the leader, the country and the people, seeking no fame or reward and constantly scaling the mountains where primordial forests lie. They are unassuming heroes and genuine patriots of our times.

On the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> Forestry Workers' Day, I speak highly of the successes so far achieved by this sector, and I would like, on behalf of the Party Central Committee and on my own behalf, to offer deep gratitude to all forestry officials and workers across the country for the tremendous good they have done for the country's forestry industry by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude.

The forestry industry, an extractive industry, produces the timber and other forest products that are badly needed for the development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's living standards.

The forestry industry is one of the vanguard sectors of the national economy, responsible for a primary process in social production. The bulk production of timber creates the conditions for the normal output of coal and ores at mines, the construction of monumental edifices and better housing for the people, and the increased production of textiles and paper. The Party's policy on effecting a revolution in furniture production, as an element of the policy to provide the people with better living conditions, will also be successful only when sufficient supplies of wood are guaranteed.

Maintaining smooth supplies of timber and wood products for the

various branches of the national economy through the development of the forestry industry is a highly important undertaking in the effort to bring out the advantages of Korean-style socialism centred on the masses by accelerating production and construction and improving the people's living standards.

Promoting forestry industry is extremely important in our mountainous country. Ours is an independent, socialist national economy that relies on domestic resources and raw materials. By turning the mountains to good account in an exhaustive manner, we should produce the forestry products our economy needs by relying on our domestic forestry resources. Our country is blessed with favourable conditions for the development of the forestry industry. It has many mountain ranges, high and low, including Paektu and Rangnim, as well as vast expanses of thick and primordial forests. By making effective use of the whole range of our abundance of forest resources, we should produce a wide variety and large quantities of wood products and turn the country into a land of beauty and bliss.

The present state of forestry sector calls for a fresh advance in its development. Despite making sustainable progress, the sector is failing to keep abreast of the developing situation. It rarely manages to satisfy the needs of the national economy for forestry products, including timber, and the quality of raw and processed timber is not up to standard. Because of low level of modernization of its equipment, it is still plagued by work that is backbreaking and labour-intensive.

All forestry officials and workers should be deeply aware of the importance of their sector and strive to open up a fresh phase in its development.

Drastic steps are needed to increase the production of timber.

The major task facing this sector is to increase timber production steadily so as to ensure the smooth supply needed for the development of the socialist economy.

Key to increasing timber output is to carry out our Party's policy of cyclic felling.

This policy is a unique, Juche-oriented policy for this specific industry, which the great leader put forward, based on his keen insight into country's natural and geographical conditions and the characteristics of its forest resources. Implementing it is the only way to make effective use of the country's forest resources while expanding them steadily, and to achieve a continuous increase in the output of forestry products through the effective employment of manpower, equipment and funds. It will also make it possible to provide forestry workers with settled living conditions and to cultivate their sense of responsibility towards the country's forest resources. The industry should do away with the practice of conducting random felling in prime areas, and stick to the plans for felling and planting trees so as to display the superiority and vitality of the Party's policy of cyclic felling.

A proper survey of forest resources is the first part of the effort geared towards the implementation of this policy. It will make it possible to work out a long-term master plan for cyclic felling and to make substantial preparations for technical development and production by the forestry sector. The sector should give priority to conducting this survey and adopt scientific methods to ensure that it is done promptly and accurately.

On the basis of the results of the survey, it is important to draw up a well-thought-out master plan for cyclic felling in line with the requirements of the developing reality. In doing so, it is necessary to make a proper distinction between the regions for cyclic felling and the areas for felling in these regions, and to establish in a scientific way a proper order of technical processes for timber production. The master plan should detail steps to plant and tend trees in the felled areas, measures for making comprehensive use of the timber, the size and location of tree-fellers' villages, and the construction of supply-service bases.

Definite priority must be given to the technical arrangements and preparations for production covering the designated regions and areas. A main target of forestry industry is trees on mountains where

the terrain is varied; if priority is not given to scientific and technical calculations and to making preparations for production based on them, the intensive, uninterrupted production of timber will be impossible. The forestry sector should strictly observe the principle of making technical arrangements for timber production a year and a half in advance and preparations for production a year in advance.

If timber production is to be increased, a full-scale winter campaign must be carried out. Winter is a favourable time for the felling and transport of trees, because at this time of the year the trees lose much of their sap, the forests are not lush and the mountains are covered with snow. The forestry sector must designate suitable winter felling areas, prepare them properly in advance and concentrate all its manpower and equipment on the winter campaign.

In timber production, doing plenty of felling is a matter of course, but the timely transport of the felled trees is more important.

Rafting is the most effective and productive method of transporting timber. It is a practical method everywhere in the country where there are many rivers and streams. It facilitates the transport by carrying large quantities of timber easily and quickly using a relatively small amount of fuel, materials and manpower. The forestry sector should make rafting widespread, improve waterways, reinforce dams, increase the duration of the rafting season and reduce round-trip times.

Forest railways are an effective means of transport that is impervious to the vagaries of the seasons. Attention should be focused on building these railways, since small- and medium-sized hydroelectric power stations are being built, leaving fewer waterways available that are suitable for rafting. Felling stations should regularly maintain the railways and keep the engines and wagons in a good state of repair so as to improve their rate of use. Railways should be laid with a long-term view to the future, and the switchover to electric traction should be accelerated.

Cableways are not affected by topographical or seasonal conditions and are easily installed or removed. Collecting and

carrying timber by this means should be adopted in real earnest.

In transporting timber, the rate of operation of lorries and tractors should be increased, and draught cattle should be made widely available through mass breeding.

Many more timber production bases must be built. More tree-felling areas should be developed and the number of felling stations and sub-stations increased. Our country has many potential tree-felling areas that are yet to be developed in Ryanggang, Jagang and other provinces. Survey and planning work should be speeded up for this, and steps taken to ensure the provision of buildings for production, labour and equipment.

Overseas-based forestry enterprises should lend their full support to increasing timber production. Currently, they account for a large share of the country's timber output. They must never fail to fulfil their production plans in terms of all variety and size indices, and they must take timely steps to transport the felled trees to the homeland. The forestry industry must stage brisk external activities based on a Juche-oriented stand, and build more tree-felling bases abroad.

Wood must be used comprehensively and effectively.

This is an important requirement to be met if the country's needs for wood are to be fully satisfied by making the most of the country's limited forest resources. It is also the only way to secure a sound balance between wood production and processing, build an independent, modern and multi-faceted forestry industry, make economic use of wood and increase the production of good-quality wood products. With the national economy progressing at a rapid pace and its needs for wood increasing, the issue of making exhaustive and efficient use of wood is growing in importance.

The actual extraction rate in timber production and wood processing must be raised to the maximum. The forestry sector should prevent any waste of wood by felling trees as close as possible to the base and sawing and chopping them accurately. Greater accuracy will lead to a higher extraction rate in the sawing process. In sawing trees,

thin-blade saw should be used and such advanced methods as sawing the endoplasm should be introduced. The workers responsible for this process should handle and process the wood as carefully as they would do silk fabrics. A single wrong move in sawing, which is the first step in wood processing, can ruin something precious—the tree.

It is necessary to use all wood by-products without anything being discarded. The forestry sector must use all by-products, such as the crowns, roots, chips of wood and sawdust, for the production of a variety of processed goods and wood-chemical materials.

The use of wood should be geared to specific purposes. This is the way to use wood effectively and economically. The officials in all fields that make use of wood should establish strict discipline whereby woods of different sizes and qualities are used for specific purposes. They must do away with any practice of using high-quality wood in wood-processing and the wood-chemical industry, as firewood or in any other wasteful manner.

The comprehensive, effective use of wood requires modern, all-purpose bases to be established for the wood-processing industry. These bases will be able to make good use of the by-products of timber production and any wood deemed worthless in forest transformation for the output of various types of plywood, chipboards and fibre boards and bedclothes chests, wardrobes, kitchen cupboards, desks, chairs and other items of furniture to be supplied to the people. Such bases can be established either by importing modern equipment or by gradually upgrading their existing equipment. The timber-processing equipment at felling stations and locally-run wood processing mills should also be updated.

Our wood-chemical bases must also be built on modern lines. They will then be able to make effective use of the roots and leaves, to say nothing of the sawdust and bark, for the production of various kinds of wood-chemical materials. In future, such bases should be built well so as to produce large quantities of alcohol from sawdust, as well as tannin, essential oils, benzene, paints, medicines and suchlike from the bark, roots and leaves.

The forestry sector should produce plenty of resin by organizing workteams for this specific purpose at felling stations and collecting it in a mass movement.

It is necessary to determine proper norms for wood consumption and to launch a nationwide drive to economize in the use of wood. The state planning sector and all the sectors that consume wood should define these norms in detailed and concrete terms and gradually lower them in line with the development of wood-processing technology and the improvement of the technical levels and skills of the workers. In order to make savings in the use of wood, everyone who handles or consumes wood should take the utmost care not to waste a single piece. In addition, it is necessary to keep regular track of wood consumption by units and, if they are found to have used wood for improper purposes or above the norms, to impose administrative and legal sanctions against them.

Wood should be supplied in a coordinated manner according to a unified plan. Supply work must be conducted on the principle of priority being given to branches of major state concern and to projects that are of vital importance for the development of the national economy. Delivery must be based on plans drawn up, based on a detailed calculation of the norms of wood consumption in the given unit and the quality and size of the various product types.

Afforestation and forest conservation work should be undertaken effectively.

This is a highly important area of work that is geared towards boosting the country's forest resources, preserving them as our lasting wealth and building up forestry bases so as to speed up the development of the socialist economy and improve the people's living standards steadily. Smooth progress in this field is the way to develop the country into a land of bliss that is clad in luxuriant forests, and to make the people better-off by using the rich forest resources to good effect. Tending the forests properly will protect the mountains and soil from flood damage and create a good ecological environment. Lush forests represent a major asset for the country.

The forestry sector should direct enormous efforts to afforestation and forest conservation work so as to make the country thickly-wooded and maintain our forest resources as our lasting wealth.

Afforestation must be carried out on a substantial basis.

To this end, a well-thought-out plan should be drawn up that accords with the topographical conditions and specific situations. This is the only way to promote afforestation with a view to the future. Officials should go out into the field and help draw up an afforestation plan in a realistic and scientific way by minutely calculating the size of areas for tree-planting and the topographical conditions.

On the basis of such a plan, saplings should be raised in large numbers. The nurseries should put in place a proper system of seed selection and cultivation and raise fast-growing and good-quality saplings on a planned basis. Felling stations and forestry reserves should build nurseries in their cyclic felling areas and in the core areas of the reserves, improve the fertility of the soil and place cultivation on a scientific and technical basis so as to grow large numbers of sturdy and strong saplings. The afforestation stations and workteams under the forestry sector must be built up and their role enhanced.

The principle of felling one tree and planting ten must be strictly observed. Long ago the great leader put forward the policy of cyclic felling, and made the key suggestion of planting ten trees for one felled. If we were intent solely on felling, we would be left with nothing but naked mountains and we would be unable to develop the forestry industry by relying on our domestic forest resources. Planting ten trees for one felled is the only way to sustain the density of the country's forests and maintain the felling cycle in timber production. "Plant ten trees for one felled!" is an important slogan that we must always uphold.

The momentum must be maintained for a mass tree-planting campaign. In our mountainous country, it would be beyond the powers of forestry workers alone to carry out afforestation

satisfactorily. The country's forest resources are our people's asset, and expanding them is an undertaking for the country's prosperity and the welfare of the generations to come. A true patriot plants, values and tends as many trees as possible out of a desire to increase the country's forest resources and build the country into a land of bliss that is richly covered with forests. Ardent patriotism is a concrete idea and sentiment that is manifested in taking loving care of every blade of grass or tree that grows in one's native country. When I pass through or see lush forests on my way to factories, construction sites and military posts in the remote parts of the country, I feel refreshed and jubilant, and my mind naturally turns to the ardent patriotism of the people who have worked unnoticed to tend the woods. We must make sure that the whole country is pervaded with a climate of planting and carefully tending trees and valuing them. We must encourage all the people to take an active part in this campaign on every Tree-planting Day and in every Tree-planting Month. The working people, young people and students should also be led in a brisk campaign to plant commemorative forests, League of Socialist Working Youth forests, and Children's Union forests, as well as to take up the duties of greenery guards. Careful arrangements should be made for institutions and enterprises to take charge of specific places where trees can be planted and tended.

Trees, once planted, must be fertilized and tended in a proper manner. Weeding must be done and fertilizer applied, and sick and worthless trees must be thinned out promptly. After trees are planted, they must be tended properly so as to keep as many of them alive as possible.

We must push forward the long-term transformation of forests. The transformation of less useful forests into more useful ones is the only way to ensure that timber-producing, oil-bearing, protective and ornamental forests are planted in sufficient quantities to meet the ever-growing demands of the national economy and the requirements of land administration. The proper transformation of the forests in our mountainous country will enable us to satisfy the demands for timber

in economic development, export it and find a more satisfactory solution to the problem of food, clothing and housing for the people. We must cover the mountains across the country with thick woods, in other words turn them into gold mountains and treasure mountains that are a source of food and clothing. The transformation of the forests is also necessary if we are to hand down to posterity a beautiful country that is abundant in forest resources. The forestry sector must throw its weight behind this transformation by employing a variety of methods to suit the local topographical features. In planting new forests in cleared felling areas, felling stations must remove all the undergrowth and plant trees at the required distance from one another and in the proper space.

Forests must be protected in a responsible manner.

What is important in the protection of the forests is to prevent, by all possible means, forest fires and damage by pests. Measures should be adopted to prevent forest fires and damage by such harmful insects as pine caterpillars, and firebreaks should be created in fire-prone wooded areas, including areas adjacent to the railways.

The random felling of trees must be forbidden. Felling must be confined to designated forest areas. Strict discipline must be enforced against the arbitrary felling of even a single tree without permission from the appropriate organ. The forests at revolutionary battlefields and sites and primordial forests designated for academic purposes must be preserved in such a way as to prevent damage to even a single tree or blade of grass. Obtaining new land should never be used as a pretext for harming forests.

The ranks of forest rangers must be strengthened and their role enhanced. And all officials and workers engaged in the forestry sector must take part in the protection of forests as befits masters.

The conservation of forests must be conducted in a mass movement. Extensive education in this should be conducted among the working people, youth and students, and effective supervision and control should be exercised so that the forest conservation regulations are strictly observed.

Enhancing the sense of responsibility and role of the officials and workers in the forestry sector is fundamental to success in the tasks facing this sector.

These officials and workers are in direct charge of the industry's development and output. No one else can replace them in solving the problems facing the development of the industry. Of course, state provisions and public assistance are important, but the main requirement is for the masters to play their proper part. If this requirement is not met, forestry officials and workers will be failing to carry out Party policy for this industry and to develop the industry smoothly.

All forestry officials and workers must display a high spirit of being masters. The awareness and fortitude of a master is essential if they are to perform their responsibilities and role with credit. Only when they are conscious of being responsible for the country's forests will they be conscientious about felling, planting and tending trees. Since afforestation and forest conservation are patriotic undertakings aimed at creating eternal wealth for the nation, they cannot be done without the attitude of masters or without due concern for the future.

They should express their awareness and habit of being masters in solving, on their own, the problems that arise in the implementation of Party policy on forestry. They should take their cue from our working class during the period of the Chollima upsurge and display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude in building everything anew from the ground up and overcoming the obstacles and hardship by their own efforts. During the Chollima upsurge, the workers never complained about the lack of anything or a shortage of supplies, but relied entirely on their own strength to solve every problem, in the firm belief that, although they would do better if they were given what they needed, they would still prevail even if there was a lack of supplies from higher units. If forestry officials and workers endeavour with the same faith and commitment as displayed by those workers, they will find that no difficulty is insurmountable and no fortress is beyond their reach. Officials should rid themselves

completely of the habit of taking things easy for days at a time, complaining about shortages, and live and work in a revolutionary and militant manner for the sake of the rapid development of the country's forestry industry.

The officials and workers in this sector should improve their levels of scientific knowledge, their technical levels and their skills. Stout ideological resolve can yield tremendous material achievements only when backed up by a rich store of scientific and technological knowledge, high technical levels, and skills. They must study assiduously to obtain a command of scientific and technological know-how relating to forestry and steadily improve their levels of technology and skills in their field activities. It is also necessary to arrange regular technical sessions for them and to enrol outstanding people in university correspondence courses.

The officials should make scrupulous arrangements and provide able direction for production. Otherwise, it will be impossible to give full scope to the inexhaustible strength of the producer masses. The officials should properly combine their political guidance with direction over administrative, technical and organizational affairs in all work as required by the T'ae'an work system, and they should arrange in minute detail for the planned distribution of manpower, equipment and materials in the production process.

The modernization of forestry industry should be stepped up as an all-out effort.

This is an important task in increasing the output of forestry products and relieving the workers of arduous labour. In tackling it, close concern must be paid to liberating the workers from arduous and backbreaking labour, guaranteeing work safety and achieving the increased output of forestry products with a reduced amount of manpower and investment.

The modernization should be in line with the natural and geographical conditions of our country's forests and the specific situation in the units concerned. The introduction of advanced technology and experience from abroad should also be conducted in

such a way as to suit these conditions.

The forestry sector should establish a proper order of priority for technical-upgrading projects, once a detailed analysis of them has been conducted, and then carry them out one after another in an effective manner. It would be advisable in the modernization of the forestry industry to establish a model unit in an area with good prospects and favourable conditions for production and which is likely to yield early rewards from investment, and to popularize its experience.

Our goal in this modernization is to adopt mechanization, comprehensive mechanization, automation and the use of robots throughout the whole process of the production of forestry products. In the mechanization and automation of forestry operations, emphasis should be placed on carrying out, as if on a production line, all aspects of the felling, trimming, collecting, initial conveyance and final transport, as well as the work at the timber yard by means of machines. Felling is the first phase of forestry production, and transporting the timber is the most labour-intensive operation. It is essential to produce in larger numbers and deliver to the felling stations a variety of the high-performance machinery that is needed in felling and transporting trees.

The introduction of automation and the use of robots at wood-processing facilities should also be speeded up so as to produce good-quality wooden articles in greater quantities and with a smaller amount of manpower and materials. The machine-building plants of this industry should vigorously pursue the technical revolution and turn out in larger numbers a range of modern wood-processing machines and equipment—automatic and robotized—including sawing machines, pressure processors and assembly devices.

The modernization of forestry industry boils down to the modernization of its machinery. Until the forestry machine-building plants are modernized, it will be impossible to produce a wide range of high-performance machines in large quantities. These plants should produce in larger numbers various, high-performance

machines that conform with the country's topographical conditions by committing themselves to replacing their backward technology with advanced technology. Reliable bases for repairing machinery should also be established at felling stations and sub-stations.

Construction should be undertaken to meet the needs of the modernization of the forestry industry. Otherwise, the modern machinery, in whatever quantities it is supplied, will not be used to good effect. The sector should work out a proper master plan for construction, build timber-transport roads, bridges and a variety of other facilities and structures up to the standard required in the plan for each project, and manage them with care.

The forestry sector should launch an all-out mass technical-upgrading campaign. Officials in this sector should take charge of the campaign. Only when they assiduously enlist the inexhaustible intelligence and creativity of the technicians and workers, can they put forward a large number of technical-upgrading proposals, inventions and improvement plans that will benefit the modernization of the industry. The sector should give free rein to the revolutionary zeal and creative initiative of the masses so as to instigate a larger flow of ingenious proposals, and should strengthen the creative cooperation among the scientists, technicians and producer masses.

It is necessary to improve scientific research in this industry. The scientists should step up their research in order to develop forestry engineering and science further and solve the scientific and technological issues relating to the modernization of the country's forestry. For their research to be effective, they should be provided with good working conditions.

Fine scientists and technicians capable of developing the country's forestry should be produced through effective training.

We should adopt the latest forestry technology from abroad in a prudent manner. This is important if we are to raise the country's forestry up to the world standard as quickly as possible. The officials, scientists and technicians engaged in this sector should have a ready command of world trends in forestry development and step up

scientific and technological exchange with the developed countries so that the latest achievements can be widely introduced in conformity with the needs of modernization in our country.

This sector should improve its labour administration.

The sector operates in nature, and production in this sector is arduous and backbreaking work. With an eye on these characteristics, the sector should improve its labour administration; in this way, a strong force of officials and workers will be built up who will be able to apply their wisdom and talents to the full in production.

The organization and management of the workforce should be scrupulous.

Large numbers of young and middle-aged people, including demobilized soldiers and senior middle school leavers, should be assigned to work in such frontline areas as felling and rafting. These labour-intensive jobs should be done by young and middle-aged people. Though arduous and toilsome, forestry operations, which involve conquering the forests and tending them so that they become luxuriant, are a rewarding undertaking for national prosperity and the welfare of future generations. So forestry work is a worthy challenge for young people. Senior middle school leavers have volunteered to work in this industry and are now pouring their youthful hopes into the cause of supporting the Party through timber production. This is a good thing. In the future as well, the young people should strike out into the mountains, the stage for their youthful activities, for the generations to come and work heart and soul to build a rich and powerful country. The labour administration sector should establish a strict system for annually providing a supplementary force of demobilized soldiers, senior middle school leavers and other young people for the forestry sector, so as to raise the proportion of young and middle-aged people in the workforce of this industry.

The practice of transferring forestry workers to other economic branches and arbitrarily diverting them to other jobs should be curbed. Forestry workers should be settled in their jobs so that they become highly proficient at them.

Labour discipline and regulations should be observed voluntarily. This is a matter of great importance in eliminating the waste of manpower and improving labour efficiency. The forestry sector should establish strict discipline in keeping to the 480-minute workday and ensuring that daily production quotas are met without fail. It should institute proper work norms, implement them unconditionally, and strictly observe the working hour schedule, the discipline of summing up work results, and the routine of conducting daily reviews of production and financial affairs.

Proper work safety and labour protection measures should be enforced. Good education should be given to prevent even the slightest accident in the course of such forestry work as felling and transport. The timely supply of work safety gear should be guaranteed for forestry workers. Such items as padded coats and footwear and rubber overalls should be supplied to the tree fellers, rafters and others in the primary production sector, in the same way as uniforms are supplied to soldiers. Raw materials and other supplies should be delivered to garment and footwear factories so that they can produce working clothes and shoes for the forestry sector in good time.

It is necessary to ensure that supplies and services reach the forestry workers efficiently.

These people, who work in the remote mountains, will, when their material and cultural needs are adequately met through an improved supply service, be overcome by the benevolence of the Party and the true superiority of our socialist system, and this will, in turn, prompt them to display a high degree of revolutionary zeal and creative initiative in producing timber and wood products and planting forests. As I always say, the supply of material comforts is an important aspect of political work, rather than simply a matter of technical concern.

Adequate supplies of non-staple foodstuffs must reach the forestry workers. A variety of vegetables must be produced and supplied to them. Felling stations must, following discussions with the organs concerned, claim new land where extensive areas of vegetable fields

can be laid out. Greenhouses must be built so that fresh vegetables can be supplied to the forestry workers even in winter. They must also be provided with meat. Felling stations must scrupulously organize the work of solving the meat problem by their own efforts. They must build stockbreeding bases, including cattle farms, and breed large numbers of domestic animals such as cows, goats, sheep, rabbits and pigs. Breeding domestic animals by allowing them to graze, on the principle of exchanging grass for meat, makes it possible to produce plenty of meat from only a little grain feed. A fish farm must be built in each tree-fellers' village where large quantities of fish can be bred. In the future it will be a good idea to build reliable supply bases at felling stations, which are the forestry workers' production and living units, to ensure the provision of vegetables, meat, eggs, fish and the like by their own efforts. It is also important to take steps to supply marine products such as fish, seaweed and kelp to the forestry workers. A system must be established for regularly supplying them with marine products, and the supply work must be conducted in a responsible manner.

Tree-fellers' villages should be kept neat and tidy and maintain a proper standard of culture and hygiene. If they do so, the workers living there will be able to work and live without envying the working people in the city. It is imperative to build better homes in greater numbers, as well as fine public buildings and cultural and welfare facilities such as nurseries, kindergartens, schools, hospitals, bathhouses and barber's shops, which should operate on a regular basis. Hostels in the remote mountains that are some way away from the tree-fellers' villages must be meticulously maintained. These hostels are a cradle of life where the forestry workers live and work. Quilts and various household appliances must be provided for the workers there, and transistor radios, musical instruments, publications and the like must be sent to them on a preferential basis.

The tree-fellers' villages must solve the electricity supply problem for themselves. The forestry sector must undertake the large-scale construction of small- and medium-sized power stations to guarantee

lighting and heating for the forestry villages and make it possible for each family to listen to the radio and watch TV.

Commuter buses for the forestry workers and school buses and school trains for the pupils in the tree-fellers' villages must be well manufactured and supplied.

It is extremely important to enhance the role of the Ministry of Forestry, which organizes and commands the work of implementing Party policy in the forestry sector. The Ministry of Forestry must see to it that all the officials organize their economic work well with boundless loyalty to the Party and the leader and that they rouse the producer masses by setting personal examples. In addition, the Ministry of Forestry and the enterprises under it must establish strict administrative discipline in carrying out, unconditionally and without any complaint about the conditions, the revolutionary tasks assigned to them.

Party organizations in the forestry sector must enhance their role.

The Party organization is the political General Staff that takes hold of and guides all the work arising in the given unit in a unified way, and the political guardian that looks after and leads the Party members and other working people so that they can add lustre to their political integrity. Only when the Party organizations in the forestry sector perform their role with credit, can all the work in the forestry sector be done well and the Party members and other working people add lustre to their whole life through the worthwhile effort to implement Party policy on forestry.

The officials and working people in the forestry sector work, scattered over the mountains, moving from one mountain field to another. It is important for the Party organizations in the forestry sector to conduct Party work meticulously in keeping with the characteristics of forestry work.

The Party organizations in this sector must always hold fast to the work of carrying out Party policy on forestry as their primary task. The work of explaining in time Party policy on forestry among Party members and other working people and of implementing it must be

organized meticulously. The Party organizations in the forestry sector must review the state of implementation of Party policy regularly, make the necessary measures again and solve knotty problems so as to carry it out to the last. It is necessary creditably to organize political work among the Party members and other working people in the forestry sector so that they turn out positively to implement Party policy on forestry with high revolutionary zeal and creative initiative. The innovations and achievements gained in the forestry sector must be widely publicized through newspapers, magazines and broadcasts, and large numbers of artistic and literary works such as novels, poems, songs and films dealing with the worthwhile life of the working people in the forestry sector, must be created.

The Party organizations in the forestry sector should conduct education in loyalty among the officials and working people and thus unite them firmly around the Party and the leader. They must see to it that all the officials and working people live and work with loyalty to the Party and the leader, in staunchly defending the Party's forestry front whatever the adversity by making loyalty their faith, conscience, moral obligation and daily practice.

The Party organizations in this sector must ensure that officials always go among the masses, carrying knapsacks on their backs, and live and work together with them. The Party organizations must see to it that the officials regularly go to the mountains where the forestry workers are working, even though they may have to take a long and rugged road, as well as to the places where the rafters are working, and fell trees and raft together with them, so that they become acquainted with their work and life and can solve their problems, and by doing so rouse them to perform feats of labour.

The ranks of the officials in the forestry sector must be built up. Since the officials and working people in the forestry sector are doing arduous work in felling trees and tending the forests, disregarding the snow and rain in the remote mountains, they must embrace loyalty and patriotism more than anybody else. The Party organizations in the forestry sector must pay special attention to building up the ranks of

primary-level officials. They must be formed of people who are firmly committed to devoting their whole lives to the Party and the motherland in the forests, whether their efforts are noticed or not.

The Party organizations in the forestry sector must organize scrupulously the work to enhance the functions and role of the primary Party organizations in line with the characteristics of the situation in production. The primary Party organizations must be built firmly and the Party cells strengthened. The Party organizations in the forestry sector must work effectively to expand the ranks of loyal Party cells. The Party organizations must lead the veteran Party members who have firmly defended the country on the forestry front and supported the Party unwaveringly for many years, to play a part in turning the young Party members and young people into the Party's reliable forestry workers who work in the mountain fields down through the generations.

It is my firm belief that the forestry officials and working people throughout the country will bring about a fresh change in the forestry sector by carrying out Party policy on forestry thoroughly, with high loyalty and patriotic devotion to the Party and the leader.

# **LET US FURTHER IMPROVE CITY MANAGEMENT IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEVELOPING SITUATION**

**Letter to Those Attending the National Short  
Course for City Management Officials**

*September 4, 1992*

Thirty years have passed since the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung published the classic work *On Improving City Management*.

His Juche-based policy on city management has been pursued with vigour over the past decades, bringing about a great advance in establishing a well-regulated system of city management, in laying solid material and technical foundations for it, in protecting and managing buildings and facilities in urban and rural areas, and in keeping streets, villages, parks and pleasure grounds cultured and healthy. Today our cities, full of modern buildings and amenities, provide an environment in which people can lead a cultured lifestyle, and the modern houses that have been built in large numbers in the countryside, create full conditions for leading a happy life there.

The past successes achieved in city management are permeated with the unassuming efforts of the officials and working people in the city management sector, who have worked by devoting all their wisdom and energies in the spirit of unflinching loyalty to the Party, the leader, the country and the people.

Availing myself of the opportunity offered by this short course, I

would like to extend, on behalf of the Party Central Committee and on my own behalf, warm thanks to the officials and working people in the city management sector nationwide, who have worked sincerely for the thorough implementation of our Party's policy on city management in their posts, whether they are sanitary or not and whether they are seen or not sparing no effort.

The present situation, in which socialist construction is developing at a new, higher level and the standard of living of the people is continuing to rise, requires further improvements in city management.

This short course will serve as an important occasion for further improving city management in conformity with the requirements of the developing situation.

City management in socialist society is a welfare service for the people, which enables them to lead an independent and creative life. In capitalist society, where all buildings and facilities are under private ownership, city management serves as a means for the privileged to pursue pleasure, accumulate wealth and exploit the masses of the people, whereas in socialist society, where the masses are the masters of everything, it is geared to providing them with the conditions and environment for leading an independent and creative life. In our country prime consideration is given to the people's convenience when building even a single house or road, and also in managing it. The essential characteristics and superiority of socialist city management lie in the fact that it is a welfare service designed to provide the people with the environment and the cultured and healthy conditions they need in their living.

City management is worthwhile work to protect and manage a precious wealth of the country carefully so that it can be handed down to posterity. The modern buildings and facilities that have been built in our urban and rural areas are a precious wealth that is associated not only with the great leader's lifelong efforts for the people's happiness and with the Party's leadership, but also with the sweat of our people's brow; they are also priceless assets to be handed down through the generations to ensure the people's

happiness. City management should be undertaken effectively so as to ensure that the precious wealth gained under the sagacious leadership of the Party and the leader is managed and used effectively for the prosperity of the country and for the happiness of all the generations to come.

Improvements are essential in city management if the people are to be guaranteed an independent and creative life. The people's aspirations and demands regarding their living conditions and environment are constantly growing as society progresses. Convenience and culture in the people's living conditions and environment are ensured in the large part by city management. When city management, which is geared to protecting and managing buildings and facilities that play a direct role in the people's life, is undertaken properly, modern houses and public facilities are provided that can better serve the independent and creative life of the people. It is the unwavering policy of our Party and state, and a major superiority of our style of socialism, that city management should be carried out properly so as to make the people's living conditions and environment more affluent and cultured for them to lead an independent and creative life.

Through proper city management, we can put buildings and facilities, which are the common property of society and people, to more effective use in socialist construction, and make the working people more keenly aware of the superiority and preciousness of the socialist system so that they work with devotion for the victory of the cause of socialism. In this sense, it can be said that city management is an important supply service and political work for socialist construction.

Effective city management is also necessary for us to display the superiority of our style of socialism that is centred on the masses. If all the cities, rural areas, parks and pleasure grounds across the country are kept neat and tidy through effective city management, the people will keenly feel the superiority and might of the socialist system that is centred on the masses.

We must fully incorporate the aspirations and demands of the masses in city management, in conformity with the intrinsic nature of socialist

city management. Only when we fully incorporate the aspirations and demands of the masses in city management will it become a true welfare service for the masses and can it develop quickly in keeping with the reality in the country by relying on the people's strength. Incorporating the aspirations and demands of the masses fully in city management is the fundamental principle in socialist city management.

The proper management of buildings and other facilities is an important undertaking that should be tackled in city management on a priority basis.

Buildings and facilities are the basic physical elements of a city, and they provide the conditions and environment for the people's ideological, spiritual and material life. The proper management of buildings and facilities can ensure that the people's ideological, spiritual and material life is satisfactory.

Under the sagacious leadership of the Party, our people have erected bronze statues of the great leader in the prime locations in city centres; they have also built grand monuments and laid out many historic buildings, through which his revolutionary exploits can be handed down for centuries to come. This reflects the noble ideological feelings and unanimous desire of our people, who are determined to honour the leader of the revolution for eternity and to follow him to the last, enjoying a genuine life and true happiness in his embrace. The grand monuments and revolutionary historic buildings that are associated with the immortal revolutionary history of the leader, who has devoted his all to the people, are a precious wealth of our Party and people and schools where people can be trained to be true revolutionaries who are unfailingly faithful to the leader. Managing these grand monuments and historic buildings is a noble undertaking, the purpose of which is to preserve them from one generation to the next and to exalt the brilliance of the leader's great exploits. The officials in charge of managing them should perform this revolutionary task responsibly with a high sense of loyalty, looking after them at the highest level with feelings of great respect, so that visitors are immersed in solemn and ennobling ideological

sentiments. They should preserve them in their original state, in such a way that they will last forever. These monuments and historic buildings should be preserved to look just as they did when they were first built.

Their houses are the foundations of people's living. Only if they are living in fine houses will the people lead a cultured and happy life, rest fully and devote all their strength and wisdom to performing their revolutionary tasks. Thanks to the people-oriented policy of the Party and the state, our people are provided with modern houses free of charge and live in them free of charge. They do not know what house rent is. Our country has erected modern public buildings to ensure that the people can pursue independent and creative activities. The city management sector should manage houses and public buildings properly, thereby creating the conditions and environment for the people to pursue independent and creative activities.

The main thing in managing houses and public buildings is to repair them regularly.

Houses and public buildings should be repaired on a regular basis. Otherwise they will soon deteriorate, and this will cause the people inconvenience. The city management sector should register each and every house and public building, keep up-to-date with its technical condition through regular inspections, and establish a system of planned preventive repair in accordance with a repair schedule.

Houses and public buildings should be repaired properly. Buildings that are repaired carelessly soon deteriorate again and require another round of repair, which is a waste of materials and manpower. Quality, therefore, equates to economy and productivity. Those engaged in the maintenance of houses and public buildings should ensure the quality of their work by raising their sense of responsibility and observing the technical regulations.

If houses and public buildings are to be maintained properly, their quality must be guaranteed when they are transferred to the city management sector. With such buildings, such a tendency as repairing them not long after they are built will be eliminated, and

the sense of responsibility of those in the construction sector will be enhanced. City management officials should undertake an inspection of the building process at the moment the ground is broken, conduct inspections during the course of the project, putting promptly to rights any defects revealed in the construction, and, upon its completion, undertake a comprehensive inspection to ensure that the optimum quality has been achieved. A strict responsibility system should be enforced in construction; if a defect is revealed in building work after the completion of a project, it should be put to rights by the builders.

The city management sector must maintain the lifts installed in high-rise blocks of flats and public buildings to ensure that they operate properly.

Housing should be distributed in such a way that the working people share the benefits of the people-oriented policy of our Party. Houses should be allocated on the principle of locating people close to their workplaces.

Water supply and sewage systems are vitally important. Providing the people with water is essential if they are to lead a cultured and healthy life.

In managing the water supply, primary attention should be paid to providing drinking water to the people so that they experience not the slightest inconvenience. For this, the supply capacity should conform with the volume required by the inhabitants of a given area, and the equipment should be regularly maintained. A system of rotating inspections and planned maintenance should be established, and the technical regulations should be observed in managing the equipment. Strict regulations for the use of water in the cities should be enforced to prevent any waste or improper use for industrial purposes. Hygiene requirements should be met in producing city water, that is, in purifying and disinfecting it. The quality of city water is very important, in that it relates to the people's health. Hygiene districts should be defined around a water catchment basin or reservoir in order to prevent water from being contaminated, and the materials

needed for purifying and disinfecting water must be produced and supplied promptly.

In managing the sewage system, attention should be paid to disposing of sewage and rainwater. The disposal facilities should be improved and regular inspections and maintenance should be carried out of the entire sewage network, from houses and public buildings to treatment plants, so that sewage and rainwater are drained properly. Sewage must be purified and then treated. The principle must be adopted in urban construction of giving priority to the construction of sewage systems and treatment plants, along with water-works. County seats and rural villages should also introduce the latest treatment technology so as to prevent environmental pollution, and factories and enterprises should purify their discharge so as to prevent the contamination of cities and rivers.

Inspections, repairs and technical maintenance should be carried out of heating facilities. Boilers and heating networks should undergo regular maintenance and pipes should be well insulated, to ensure the efficient supply of heating and reduce to the minimum any loss of heat in transit.

A central heating system should be introduced in all houses. This project should be undertaken first in the provincial seats and should spread gradually to the county seats and rural villages. Houses should be heated mainly by using the heat from thermal power plants; they can be heated, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, by harnessing waste heat, hot springs, solar energy, geothermal heat and biogas, in keeping with the specific features of the locality. Where not sufficient coal is available and there are rich hydropower resources, small- and medium-sized hydroelectric power stations should be built to generate electricity for heating.

Its roads are a yardstick by which a country's level of economic development and civilization can be measured. Well-maintained and well-tended roads give cities and villages a beautiful, neat appearance. Therefore, roads should be well maintained and kept clean.

A revolution should be instigated in road-building, so that all our

roads look modern, are maintained to the highest standards of culture and durability, and offer every convenience for transport and the people's living.

It is important, if roads are to be cultured and durable, for them to be paved properly. The technical regulations and standard working rules should be strictly observed in road-paving, and road-paving work should be put on a mechanized and modern footing. Trunk roads and urban streets should be paved first, followed by roads in the countryside. Paving should be done again on sections of low-quality streets in urban areas, including Pyongyang, followed by the roads surrounding the cities, and then those connecting county seats and rural ri. Pedestrian and bicycle lanes in the cities and county seats should have modern paving. Pavements can be surfaced with asphalt, cement, cement blocks or stones.

Roads should be remodelled so that they are pleasing to the eye and convenient for traffic, and decent facilities should be installed along them. Narrow sections of road should be widened, twisting sections should be straightened as far as possible, curb-stones, boundary stones, guard stones and signs should be laid out properly, and underpasses or flyovers should be built at crossroads. Lampposts should suit the roads where they are installed.

The roads should be properly maintained. They should be repaired promptly and cleaned regularly. Bridges should also be kept in a good state of repair so that they remain cultured and durable.

The public transport problem in urban areas should be solved by introducing trams and trolley-buses. This is an ideal solution in many respects, not least because it can prevent air pollution and economize on fuel.

River management is important in protecting urban and rural areas and cropland from flood damage and making the scenery in cities and villages more beautiful. Embankments should be well built along rivers, trees and grass planted on them to make them stronger, anti-erosion and landslide control structures built, and rivers desilted promptly. The areas bordering rivers where they flow through urban

centres should be turned into parks and pleasure grounds with promenades, swimming areas, boating grounds and lawns.

Sprucing up urban areas is an important revolutionary task for the city management sector to make the cities beautiful and clean. When their streets, residential districts, houses and workplaces are neat and tidy, the urban areas will look more cultured and a civilized approach to production and living will be established.

Communities should be well arranged. The areas surrounding houses and public buildings should be arranged neatly; where necessary, they should be paved, ditches should be dug neatly, and fences should be erected in keeping with the nearby buildings and streets, and modern storehouses, refuse collection points and public toilets should be built and properly managed. No buildings that are not directly associated with people's living should be built in residential areas. These areas should be surrounded by gardens planted with various kinds of trees, flowers and grass. There should also be playgrounds with basic sports and play equipment for both children and adults.

Buildings should be kept clean. The walls of buildings should be repaired and painted regularly, and windows should be cleaned frequently so that they shine. Families should arrange their furniture well and keep their bathrooms hygienic.

Buildings and public facilities that do not accord with modern aesthetic tastes should be restructured. The technical state of such buildings should be examined, and they should be given a facelift, where necessary, by having the number of their storeys increased and their structures transformed. Chimneys and TV antennas on their roofs should be properly arranged, and their various signboards, notices and slogans given a more cultured appearance.

Greening is important work for surrounding urban areas with parks of trees and flowers. It makes urban areas look more beautiful and cultured and provides the people with an environment conducive to leading a cultural and emotional life. The city management sector should lay out Pyongyang and all other cities and villages so that they are surrounded by verdant parks.

The greenery should suit the environment and appearance of the urban area. The city management sector should formulate greening plans in conformity with the scale and terrain of the given area, planting a variety of trees in large numbers, lay out well-designed lawns and flower beds and tend them well.

The trees that are planted along streets and in parks and pleasure grounds should be special. The trees lining streets should look good, be not too high and be insect-free, for example they could be dawn redwoods, ginkgoes, walnut trees, willows, pink acacias and apricot trees. The city management sector should prune the trees lining streets on a regular basis. Fir trees, pine-nut trees, deodars and other evergreen trees must be planted in combination with broad-leaved trees along streets and in parks and pleasure grounds. Zelkovas are also perfect for these places. Various kinds of flowering plants and fruit-bearing trees that our people are fond of should also be planted there. The magnolia is our national flower and our people love it best. Magnolias should be planted in large numbers at revolutionary historic sites and battlefields, around statues of President Kim Il Sung and the monuments at revolutionary sites, along streets, in parks, around the buildings of institutions and enterprises, and at schools. A green belt should be created around urban areas through a combination of evergreen trees, broad-leaved trees and fruit trees.

Lawns should be laid out so that no bare earth is visible in urban areas. They should be created on empty land alongside roads, around buildings, in parks and pleasure grounds and beside rivers. In sunny places “golden” turf and the like should be planted, and in the shade, grasses and plantain lilies, which grow well in such places. Individual flower beds should be created along streets and in villages, parks and pleasure grounds, and they should be well maintained, so that they are always full of flowers. Perennial flowers should be planted alongside annual flowers in these flower beds, so that they are in bloom in all seasons. Institutions and enterprises should surround themselves with trees.

Tree, flower and grass nurseries should be properly run. The city

management sector must organize the work of producing the tree seedlings and flower and grass seeds that are needed for greening urban areas, with the main focus on trees, flowers and grasses that are native to our country. Provinces, cities and counties should also build such nurseries, and produce a variety of good tree seedlings and flower and grass seeds on a planned basis.

Parks and pleasure grounds are places where people pursue cultural and emotional activities, and where they rest. In step with the improved standard of our people's cultural and emotional life, their demands for parks and pleasure grounds are increasing with each passing day. This requires that the existing parks and pleasure grounds be well maintained, and new ones built.

Parks and pleasure grounds should be built in the Korean style. Such parks and pleasure grounds should reflect the beautiful scenery of the country and the sentiments of the cultural and emotional life that is unique to our people. In the parks and pleasure grounds, flower gardens should be built, beautiful natural scenery created, and resting places and amusement and recreational facilities appropriate to the national customs of our people and the aesthetic sense of the era, installed. Parks and pleasure grounds should be established everywhere, and streets, houses and suburban areas should be covered with trees, so that the cities are in parks and the houses are in gardens.

Good zoos and botanical gardens should also be laid out and managed in a cultured and healthy way. These are not places merely for visiting; they are places for cultural recreation where people can learn about animals and plants and cultivate the spirit of socialist patriotism. The zoos and botanical gardens should be built along modern lines, in the manner of a park. They should be established in cities and counties, as well as in the provinces. The zoos and botanical gardens in local areas should display mainly the animals and plants that are abundant in our country. They can be comprehensively established with the animals and plants of our country. Depending on the local conditions, provinces, cities and counties should build zoos and botanical gardens on either a large or

a small scale. The Ogasan Botanical Garden is a world-famous, large nature museum. Mt Oga is covered with primordial forests and is home to rare animals and plants. Not a single tree or blade of grass on the mountain should be harmed.

Conducting city management on a unified and planned basis is an important way of ensuring the unified and consistent implementation of Party policy on city management and of regulating city management.

It is an advantageous approach, in that it suits the features of a socialist society and of the proper management of streets and villages. Unified and planned city management in a socialist society makes it possible to manage cities and villages, to preserve and manage buildings and facilities in conformity with our Party's ideology and intentions, and to ensure that Party and state care for the people reaches them equitably and when needed.

In unified city management, it is important to establish a well-organized system of city management from the centre to the provinces, cities and counties. Such a system is a prerequisite for ensuring the centralized guidance of a socialist state over city management. The system should be established in such a way that the creativity of the lower units can be displayed to the maximum, while central administrative guidance and control is strengthened, with the result that our Party policy on city management is implemented in units at every level. It is necessary to enhance the functions and role of the central city management organ and the city management sections of the provincial, city and county administrative and economic committees, and to establish non-standing city management committees in the centre, provinces, cities and counties and convene them regularly to discuss the major issues arising in carrying out Party policy on city management so that steps can be taken to implement it.

In city management it is important to implement the policy on unified and detailed planning. In accordance with this policy, the city management sector should formulate a long-term plan and a plan for

the immediate period ahead. When formulating the latter, the technical state of buildings and facilities and the sprucing up of urban areas should be taken into detailed account for each project, and the plan should be implemented without fail. The plan should be followed up with good supply work. Labour administration should be undertaken down to the last detail, and the technical preparations and materials supply should be given priority. A proper system and order for supplying the equipment and materials needed by the city management sector as envisaged in the state plan should be established. Meanwhile, the city management sector should strive to produce materials, equipment and spare parts for itself, instead of looking to the state to supply them.

The scientific and technical levels of city management should be raised constantly. Only then will it be possible to free the working people who are engaged in city management from arduous and difficult labour, and to modernize city management.

The sector should introduce the latest scientific and technological breakthroughs in city management, as appropriate to the specific conditions. Having gained experience by doing so, it should popularize this experience. It should establish a well-regulated system of technical guidance from the centre to provinces, cities and counties, and introduce the latest achievements in science and technology into city management on a planned, long-term basis. The sector should also introduce modern scientific and technological approaches to city management from other countries, as appropriate to the actual conditions in our country and the requirements of our people.

The technical equipment of the city management sector should be improved. A variety of the most effective technical means needed for city management should be produced in greater numbers and modern technical equipment should be imported. Bases for repairing technical equipment should be built for the city management sector.

Research into the science and technology of city management should be strengthened. The scientists and technicians in the city

management sector should direct a major effort to conducting research into the scientific and technical problems, the solution of which is essential if city management is to be improved in the present situation, such as the management of buildings and facilities, the production and supply of drinking water, the purification of sewage, central heating in urban areas, afforestation, and the sprucing up of urban areas. The scientists and technicians should radically improve their qualifications, and be provided with all the conditions they need for their work and life. They should strengthen their creative cooperation with the workers, and the workers should be inspired to make technical innovations.

The training of technical personnel for the city management sector should be improved. The institutions for training scientists, technicians and skilled workers in this sector should be built up and the quality of their education improved, so that highly qualified city management workers are nurtured in a systematic way. Officials and technicians in the city management sector should also be reeducated.

City management should be conducted as a mass movement. In socialist society, where everything serves the people, city management is not just an undertaking for the people but an undertaking by the people. If people who use buildings and facilities are careless about how they use and look after them, the hard work on the part of the city management officials and workers will be of no avail.

The people should be educated to undertake city management properly. Such education should be conducted in various forms and by various methods so that the people, as befits masters, look after all public buildings and facilities and keep them clean, not to mention the streets and villages where they live.

People should be enlisted to city management. Urban areas should be managed mainly with the residential district as the unit and also with the institution or enterprise as the unit. These units should be given proper assignments, the role of dong and neighbourhood units

should be enhanced, and administrative control should be strengthened.

Various mass movements must be conducted to promote successful city management. The model city (or county) management movement is aimed at bringing about collective innovations in city management by organizing and enlisting the broad masses of the people. Cities, districts and counties should encourage the broad masses to take part in the movement, so that they keep the urban areas clean and tidy. Residents should be encouraged to participate in the model household movement and the red-flag dong and red-flag people's neighbourhood unit movements, and schoolchildren should be encouraged to take part in various good-deeds movements to keep their streets and villages clean, such as the activities of the love-the-home-village guards.

Supervision and control over city management should be strengthened. The relevant organs should exercise supervision and control on a regular basis so that institutions, enterprises and residents look after and manage their buildings and facilities properly, spruce up the urban areas and make proper use of the materials and funds allocated for repairs. Supervision and control should be exercised both intensively and regularly, based on the opinions put forward by the masses and on scientific data. This work should be geared to solving the problems arising in the work of the units concerned and in the living of the working people, and to rendering assistance to ensure the proper implementation of Party policy on city management. The city management sector should establish a proper system of supervision from the centre to provinces, cities and counties and build up the ranks of the supervisory workers with people who are well prepared.

Party guidance over city management should be intensified.

What is important in this is to conduct organizational and political work so that Party policy on city management can be carried out to the letter and on time. Only then will city management meet the aspirations and demands of the masses, and the people be provided

with better living conditions and a better living environment. Party organizations, whenever the Party puts forward a policy related to city management, should discuss it collectively, take the appropriate steps, and rouse the officials and working people to implement it. They should keep abreast of the state of its implementation and follow up with additional measures to solve any problems promptly.

Party organizations should enhance the sense of responsibility and role of the officials and working people in the city management sector, who are directly responsible for city management across the country. Whether city management is done properly or not depends on how they work.

Party organizations should intensify education in loyalty among the officials and working people in the city management sector, so that they cherish loyalty as an article of their faith, their conscience, their moral obligation and their everyday concern. This education should be conducted in various forms and by various methods so as to prepare all the officials and working people in this sector to support the Party and the leader with loyalty and filial piety, and consistently under any circumstances. They should reveal their loyalty by implementing Party policy on city management to the letter. Party organizations should conduct education in loyalty among the officials and working people in the city management sector by closely combining it with their practical work, and thus encourage them to turn out proactively in implementing Party policy on city management.

The officials and working people in the city management sector can display their sense of responsibility and play their role at the highest level only when they cherish the spirit of devoted service to the people, and derive honour and pride from their work. In our society nothing is more honourable and worthwhile than to serve the people faithfully and devote one's life to the happiness of the people. Party organizations should help and encourage all the officials and working people in this sector to take honour and pride in their work and fulfil their mission and role as true servants of the people.

Party organizations must equip the officials and working people in the city management sector with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, so that they solve all the problems that arise in city management by their own efforts.

It is important to give prominence to the working people in this sector, as this encourages them to take honour and pride in their work and to perform their responsibilities and role. In socialist society, where the masses are the masters, those who do a lot of laudable work for the good of the people are deserving of distinction. Today our people owe their happy life free from any inconvenience to the city management workers who remain faithful to their work day and night all year round. Among them are many patriotic workers who are devoting their lives to providing more convenient and cultured living conditions for the people, without complaint and without claiming any fame or reward. Party organizations should discover these unassuming patriotic workers and give wide publicity to them. They should also ensure that the workers in this sector are respected and honoured by society.

Party organizations should build up the ranks of city management workers and work with them in line with the characteristics of city management.

These ranks should be built up with people who are faithful to the Party and the leader and equipped with excellent qualifications and practical skills.

Party organizations must conduct their work with the workers in this sector in conformity with the fact that their job involves working unnoticed in scattered locations, and thus train them into faithful servants of the people and patriots who work sincerely and conscientiously, regardless of whether they are appreciated or not, with the attitude befitting masters and with the spirit of devoted service to the people.

Party organizations in the city management sector should, in order to enhance the vanguard role of Party members, scrupulously organize the work of training all Party cells to be loyal.

City management is honourable and worthwhile work for the good of the people, and the Party and the people expect a great deal from the officials in this sector.

I am convinced that the officials and working people in the city management sector will carry out Party policy on city management, cherishing the trust and expectations of the Party and the people, and thus bring about a fresh change in city management as required by the developing situation.

# **ON THE FUNDAMENTALS OF REVOLUTIONARY PARTY BUILDING**

**Treatise Written on the Occasion of the 47<sup>th</sup> Anniversary  
of the Founding of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*October 10, 1992*

Safeguarding and developing the socialist cause is the most important task now facing revolutionary parties and peoples. Although it is undergoing trials, socialism is as ever the objective of the struggle of revolutionary parties as well as the aspiration of progressive people. This is shown clearly by the fact that many revolutionary parties throughout the world have signed the declaration which was adopted in Pyongyang in April this year, the declaration for safeguarding and promoting the socialist cause.

How the socialist cause is promoted depends on how the party which leads this cause is built and how its leading role is enhanced. The history of the struggle for socialism can be called the history of building the working-class party and of its activities. The whole course of the bloody struggle of the working class and other sections of the working masses for socialism shows that the key to victory lies in party building and party activities and that the failure has its causes in party building and party activities.

Now that revolutionary parties have adopted the Pyongyang Declaration as their common fighting programme and are undertaking a fresh struggle for socialism, it is extremely important to conduct a correct review of the historical experience and lessons of party

building. Such a review is also a pressing matter in enabling our officials and Party members to heighten their vigilance against all the attempts of the class enemies who are bent on destroying the revolutionary party of the working class, to strengthen the party steadily, to enhance its leading role and thus to continue to promote the socialist cause vigorously.

## **1. THE HISTORICAL LESSONS IN BUILDING A GOVERNMENT PARTY UNDER SOCIALISM**

The setback faced by socialism in a number of countries is a serious lesson for us. Here it is particularly important for us to understand clearly why parties that had guided the socialist cause through arduous struggles for many decades collapsed so quickly. That is important because party leadership is vital to the socialist cause.

A socialist society is an advanced society that represents the masses' desire for independence, and humanity's advance towards socialism is the trend of historical development. The tide of human history towards socialism is guided by the working-class party, and the progress of socialist society requires that the working-class party should be developed and strengthened steadily. The collapse of socialist ruling parties and socialism's return to capitalism in some countries in recent years can be considered as abnormal, passing phenomena in the light of the general trend of human history.

The collapse of parties which had been building socialism was an abnormal occurrence also in view of the circumstances and conditions for party building and party activities. The circumstances and conditions for party building and party activities in socialist society are incomparably superior to those in capitalist society. In socialist society there are no socio-economic and class conditions restricting the building and activities of the working-class party, the party's social and

class foundations are broad, and the party has greater possibilities for winning the support and confidence of the masses through the implementation of people-oriented policies. The collapse of socialist ruling parties in spite of this is explained by the fact that party building and party activities were not conducted properly.

The most important factor in party building and party activities is to strengthen the party's organizational and ideological bases.

The working-class party is a political organization that has been formed on the basis of the working-class ideology, and as such how its organizational and ideological bases are built is a basic factor that is essential to its existence. The working-class party must lay and strengthen its organizational and ideological foundations in the whole process of preparing its foundation and development. The strengthening of its organizational and ideological foundations is particularly important when the inheritance of the party leadership is an issue, because at that moment the class enemies at home and abroad and schemers and ambitious elements who are greedy for power manoeuvre more overtly than ever.

If its organizational and ideological bases are solid, the socialist ruling party can thwart all the schemes of the imperialists and class enemies to undermine the party. Treachery within the party is a greater danger to the existence of the party than destructive moves from outside, but whether or not treachery can be prevented depends on the solidity of its organizational and ideological foundations. If the party adheres to revolutionary principles and has durable organizational and ideological foundations, its leadership will not fall into the hands of traitors to the revolution, and should the leadership fall into their hands, the traitors will find it difficult to impose their counterrevolutionary line upon the party organizations and party members. But the organizational and ideological foundations of several parties were weakened because of a trend towards bourgeois liberalism that had infiltrated them. Taking advantage of this weakness, the traitors to the revolution were able to dictate their counterrevolutionary line to their subordinates openly. In particular the body of cadres, the backbone of

the organizational and ideological foundations of the party, was not built up well and ideological degeneration was evident among them. Therefore, many cadres failed to distinguish between the revolution and counterrevolution clearly and, even when the counterrevolutionary nature of the traitors was identified, they ideologically sympathized with them and followed them blindly or flattered them submissively, for the purpose of self-protection in preference. Of course, the staunch communists preserved their conscience of party membership and fought to defend the party and socialism. But their struggle could not halt the adverse current of counterrevolution that had emerged due to the long-term degeneration of the party.

Another important matter in the building and activities of the working-class party is the fortification of its mass foundation.

It is an essential condition for the existence of the working-class party that represents the interests of the masses to strike root among the masses. Without the support of the masses the working-class party cannot maintain its existence.

For the socialist ruling party to consolidate its mass base it is essential for it to build socialism successfully so as to display the advantages of the socialist system to the full and, at the same time, to work well with the masses and equip them fully with the socialist ideology. Fundamentally speaking, the working-class party is a party of the masses themselves which fights in defence of their interests. Therefore, if the working masses oppose the working-class party it means that they are opposing themselves. But if the socialist ruling party fails to bring the superiority of the socialist system into full play because of the inefficient organization and leadership of socialist construction, and if it fails to overcome bureaucracy and other outmoded work methods and styles, and bribery and other forms of irregularities and corruption, within the party, it may become divorced from the masses. As for bureaucracy, it was in evidence in the early days of the building of socialism. It was more or less inevitable that officials should employ outmoded work methods and styles because they retained the remnants of outmoded ideas and had

no experience of the management of socialist society. But the officials' outmoded work methods and styles at that time did not result in such a serious consequence as jeopardizing the revolutionary achievements, because the workers and peasants were giving strong support to the working-class party and the socialist power that has freed them from exploitation and oppression. With the passage of time, however, the people's class awareness dulled and their demands increased, whereas bureaucratic practices grew more serious as the cadres were replaced by members of the new generation that lacked revolutionary training and, worse still, irregularities and corruption which had been a minor problem in the early period of building socialism increased to a considerable extent. These evils do not emanate from the nature of the working-class party and the socialist society, but from outmoded ideological remnants and bourgeois ideology. So they can be overcome if the party strengthens its organizational and ideological work and combats them. But, many parties paid no due attention to the organizational and ideological work of the party. As a result, they were unable to eliminate such unsound elements as bureaucracy, irregularities and corruption. Meanwhile, they neglected the work of educating the masses in the socialist ideology and tolerated ideological and cultural infiltration by the imperialists. Consequently, the political consciousness of many people dulled and they were deceived by the anti-socialist manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries. Renegade socialists and reactionaries, talking about "democracy" and "glasnost," used the shortcomings revealed in the socialist ruling parties as a means of misleading public opinion. But, if the masses had been fully armed with the socialist ideology, many people would not have been fooled by the counterrevolutionaries and would not have opposed their parties and governments.

The degeneration within socialist government parties which resulted in the frustration of socialism began with their discarding the revolutionary principles for building a working-class party. The revolutionary principles for building a working-class party were put

forward in Marxism-Leninism. The founders of Marxism, who believed that a vanguard for the working class was needed to lead its revolutionary struggle to victory, formed the Communist Union, the political organization of the working class, and founded the First International, and they worked hard to develop the international communist movement under the party's leadership. In the course of this, a number of party-building principles were established by the founders of Marxism. Lenin, upholding Marxist principles for party building, developed the theory of party building in accordance with the historical conditions in which the proletarian revolution became necessary with capitalism's transition to the stage of imperialism. He defined the poor peasantry, along with the working class, as the motive force of the revolution and, on that new class basis, founded a revolutionary party. With the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia under the leadership of Lenin's Party, Marxist-Leninist principles for party building became the universal principles for party building recognized by the communist and workers' parties.

The new era of independence in which the masses shape their destiny independently and creatively required a fresh development in party-building theories. As a theory in the period of the struggle of the working-class party for the seizure of power, the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building did not clarify the details of how the working-class party in power should develop itself and conduct its activities. Many new theoretical and practical problems occurred in the building and activities of the party as the leading political organization of society after its seizure of power and the establishment of the socialist system. But several parties followed Marxism-Leninism dogmatically, claiming that it was their guiding principle. As a result they did not develop a party-building theory as required by the situation in which socialism was being built. Therefore, they failed to find correct solutions to such new problems as those of strengthening their ranks organizationally and ideologically and consolidating their mass foundations to suit their ruling position. When the limitations of the Marxist-Leninist theory

of party building were revealed, the modern revisionists, taking advantage of them, led the working-class parties to degeneration. Under the pretext of developing the Marxist-Leninist party-building theory in accordance with the changed circumstances and conditions, the modern revisionists emasculated the theory's revolutionary essence, weakened their parties systematically and paralysed their leadership functions.

A socialist society requires that the working-class party should be strengthened steadily and its leadership role enhanced. Socialist society, which is based on collectivism, can neither maintain itself nor blaze a trail successfully towards socialism and communism without the correct political leadership of the party. In the course of many years of living in comfort in socialist society, the revolutionary spirit may gradually disappear and idle and easy-going practices come to prevail among the new generation and other people who have not experienced exploitation, oppression and hardship. All this requires the strengthening of the party and the improvement of its leading role, as well as a more positive effort to educate party members and other people in the revolutionary spirit. But, many socialist ruling parties neglected to strengthen themselves and to provide party members and the people with revolutionary education, believing that everything would go well merely if they built the economy after the establishment of the socialist system. Economic construction is an important task for socialist ruling parties after the establishment of the socialist system. But, if they emphasize only economic construction and neglect to strengthen themselves and to educate party members and the people in the revolutionary spirit, they cannot build even the economy successfully and may lose the gains of the socialist revolution.

The socialist government parties and the socialist systems collapsed in many countries, not just a few, because they had failed to establish Juche in their development and activities.

Establishing Juche is the fundamental requirement in the building and the activities of a revolutionary party. The revolutionary party of

the working class is an independent political organization which combats domination and subordination in all forms and struggles to realize the independence of the working masses. Therefore the revolutionary party must resolve all the problems that arise in its building and activities with its own ideas and by its own efforts. Of course, in the early days of the international communist movement the guidance and assistance of the international centre was necessary for the countries whose communist hard core was not sufficiently prepared to carry out the cause of party building.

As history developed and the revolution progressed, a communist hard core and revolutionary forces grew up in different countries and every party became able to conduct the revolution independently in keeping with the specific conditions in its own country. In this historical situation it was not realistic for an international centre to guide the parties and revolutionary movements of different countries in a uniform way, so the Comintern ceased to exist.

But even after the Comintern had been dissolved, old practices lasted for a long time in the relations between communist and workers' parties, practices expressed in their dogmatic acceptance of the party lines and policies of a major country which had carried out the socialist revolution earlier. The good experience of others should be adopted, but in such a case it should be assimilated creatively to suit the specific situation in the country concerned. Since the specific conditions vary with the country, socialism cannot be built successfully if foreign experience is adopted dogmatically. Nevertheless, many parties, being in the habit of copying the lines and policies of the party of another country, followed the other when it abandoned socialist principles and pursued revisionism. They even accepted the counterrevolutionary lines which the traitors to socialism dictated to them. This resulted in the collapse of the socialist government parties in the Soviet Union and east European countries and in the almost simultaneous collapse of the socialist systems in these countries. If the socialist government parties had resolved all the problems arising in their development and activities from their

own point of view, with an attitude befitting masters who are responsible for the revolution in their own country, and to meet the requirements of their own people and the situation in their own country, the socialist government parties and socialist systems in these countries would not have collapsed.

The process of the disintegration of parties that had seized power after an arduous revolutionary struggle and had spent decades building socialism, and of the destruction of the socialist systems is a serious lesson.

The historical lesson from the collapse of the socialist ruling parties and of the socialist systems in many countries is that the purity of the socialist idea must be maintained firmly if the cause of socialism is to be completed.

Historical experience shows that when people's ideology degenerates, both the working-class party and the socialist system will also become degenerate and cease to exist. The emergence of renegades from the party, the organizational and ideological disintegration of the party and the change in public feelings all started from degeneration in ideology. If ideology degenerates, even great economic and military powers will collapse and the socialist system that has been developed for decades will inevitably be destroyed.

The most dangerous ideological trend which undermines socialism is that of revisionism, dogmatism and flunkeyism.

The idea which is directly antagonistic to the socialist idea is the bourgeois idea, but the bourgeois idea cannot prevent the attraction of the socialist idea. The bourgeois idea, that reflects the avaricious demands of the exploiter classes, cannot conceal its reactionary nature, no matter what hypocrisy is used to embellish it. It is natural that the working masses should accept the socialist idea which reflects their demand for independence instead of the bourgeois idea which reflects the demands of the exploiter classes that infringe upon their independence. Therefore, the imperialists and capitalists have used revisionism, which is the revision of the socialist idea, to cater to their desires, as an ideological instrument. As it was in the past, so at

present, too, revisionism is the main threat to the accomplishment of the socialist cause. Being the reflection of the bourgeois idea which emerged in the communist movement, revisionism has prevented revolutionary transition to socialism in capitalist countries and has been used by the imperialists as their ideological instrument in their strategy of “peaceful transition,” by opening the road to the return to capitalism in socialist countries. But no matter how carefully modern revisionism may disguise itself, we must identify its reactionary nature and categorically oppose and reject it.

Dogmatism and flunkeyism are also dangerous ideological elements in the accomplishment of the cause of socialism. Dogmatism and flunkeyism prevent the socialist idea from displaying its full vitality. Those who are steeped in dogmatism and sycophancy will dance to the tune of others instead of acting in accordance with their own beliefs, will adopt revisionism if others practice revisionism and, ultimately, will harbour illusions about the developed capitalist countries and recklessly introduce capitalist methods. We must not tolerate even the slightest expression of dogmatism and sycophancy and must solve all problems to meet the requirements of our people and the situation in our country, maintaining our own beliefs at all times.

Another historical lesson to be learned from the collapse of the socialist ruling parties and of the socialist systems in some countries is that continuity of leadership must be ensured if one is to complete the cause of socialism.

We cannot regard the responsibility for the disintegration of the socialist ruling parties as resting with ordinary party members. In any of those countries ordinary party members have faithfully supported the cause of the working-class party and grieved at its collapse. The problem was that the continuity of revolutionary leadership was not ensured.

The destiny of the cause of socialism which emerges in the fierce struggle against the class enemies depends on how leadership of it is ensured. The struggle for socialism has developed in many countries

over a long historical period, but correct leadership for it has not always been ensured. Leadership of the cause of socialism can be ensured only when an outstanding leader stands at its centre. There is no greater fortune for people than being guided by a leader who enjoys their absolute trust for his brilliant wisdom, outstanding leadership ability and noble virtue as well as for his lasting achievements. This does not mean that people who have no such great leader cannot carry out the cause of socialism. The most valuable of the traits of a leader who leads the cause of socialism is his loyalty to this cause and to the people. A leader derives wisdom, leadership ability and virtue from the masses. The people are teachers, and there cannot be a prominent leader who is isolated from the people. Correct leadership will be ensured when the leader mixes with the masses at all times, listens to their opinions and solves everything by relying on their strength, and the leader who has such people-oriented leadership qualities is a true leader of the people. Disregarding the opinions of the people and not believing in their strength are the traits of a renegade. If such a renegade holds power, the misfortune the people will suffer will be immeasurable. The greatest misery for people is to have the wrong leader.

If continuity of leadership is to be ensured in a socialist society, the party should be strong. In general, the personality and qualities of the leader of a communist movement are formed through a process in which he is tempered and tested in a fierce class struggle. But the personality and qualities of the leader of the new generation in a socialist society are shaped in the course of his being tempered and seasoned through a party life and the practical work of building socialism. If an admirable leader is to come forward, a leader who has been tempered and tested through a party life and revolutionary practice in a socialist society, the party should be powerful. Historical experience shows that it is quite possible for an excellent leader to come forward who is faithful to the cause of socialism and the people and is well-qualified and can carry forward the cause of socialism successfully if the problem of continuity of leadership is solved in a

foresighted way on the basis of strengthening the party organizationally and ideologically and observing party principles.

The collapse of the socialist ruling parties and the destruction of the socialist systems in many countries are a great loss to the cause of independence for the masses. But if one learns a lesson from one's failure and opens up the revolutionary path of party building independently and creatively, one will be able to build a more revolutionary and militant party and continually promote the cause of socialism under the leadership of the party.

## **2. THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE BUILDING OF A JUCHE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

The bitter experience of the collapse of the socialist ruling parties and the destruction of the socialist systems in many countries demands that we should recognize more clearly the validity of our Party's line of building a Juche party and work still harder to implement it.

Our Party has always solved in its own way, proceeding from a Juche stand, all the problems which have been raised in the building of the Party and in its activities. Had our Party followed others in the building of the Party and in its activities, it would have been harmed. In the history of our Party, too, there were at one time pressure from outside forces and schemes by factionalists infected with flunkeyism who demanded that we should follow others. But, our Party did not move even a single step from its Juche line. Because we have built our Party and conducted its activities in our own way, our Party is leading the revolution and construction energetically as a militant detachment which is united in one mind, even in today's complex situation.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung has created a Juche

theory on party building and comprehensively systematized it after founding a Juche-based revolutionary party which he has led on the basis of the Juche idea, and has also performed immortal exploits and accumulated valuable experience in party building. This is a great achievement and a sure guarantee for continually strengthening and developing our Party as a revolutionary party of the Juche type.

The Juche idea is the sole guiding idea of our Party.

The guiding idea of a party is its fundamental idea which clarifies the goal of its struggle as well as the principles and ways for achieving that goal. The character of the party and the basic direction of its building and activities are defined by its guiding idea. The party is a political organization of people with the same idea. Therefore, a scientific and revolutionary guiding idea for the party should be established before anything else in party building. It is only when the party has a scientific and revolutionary guiding idea that it will be able to convince its members and other people of the validity of its cause and give them confidence in victory, to achieve the unity and cohesion of the party and the revolutionary ranks in ideology and will and to lead the revolution and construction to victory based upon a correct strategy and proper tactics.

The guiding ideas of the revolutionary parties of the working class share common ground in that they reflect the desire of the masses, the driving force of the revolution, for independence, and their interests. Nevertheless, they have their own specific features because the situation in every country is different. In the past it was stressed that the parties of all countries should have one guiding idea which was approved by all. But the fact that the party of each country should work independently, with its own guiding idea, and that it should develop its guiding idea creatively, was neglected. This was an obstacle for every country in building the party and making the revolution independently to suit its own situation. It is only when a correct guiding idea is created and developed from an independent and creative stand that a party can be built independently and the

revolution and construction be conducted successfully, taking the idea as its guiding principle.

Because a party has to create a guiding idea to keep abreast of the changing circumstances and its own situation, it should not renounce the revolutionary principles that should be maintained invariably in the building of the party and in its activities. The conditions under which the party works, as well as its duties, change in the course of accomplishing the cause of socialism; therefore, the theoretical and practical problems arising in the building of the party and in its activities should be solved creatively to conform with this. But, revolutionary principles should invariably be maintained because the class character of the party and its historical mission cannot change. Renouncing revolutionary principles because of changes in the circumstances and conditions means destroying the revolutionary party and betraying the revolutionary cause of the masses.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung created the Juche idea and thus found a brilliant way of providing a guiding ideology for the Party to meet the requirements of the times and the situation in our country. The validity and vitality of a revolutionary idea are defined by how correctly the idea reflects the masses' desire for independence and their interests and how scientifically it explains the way to meet them. The Juche idea accurately reflects the fundamental requirements of the working class and the other working masses and explains the way it should be implemented in an absolutely scientific manner. The fundamental demand of the working class and the other working people is to end exploitation and oppression of man by man and to enjoy an independent and creative life as masters of the state and society. Because it mirrors the masses' desire for independence and explains the way in which it should be implemented in a comprehensive manner, the Juche idea is a perfect revolutionary ideology of the working class which reflects the new age in which the masses have emerged in the arena of history as masters of their destiny. It is only when party building and its activities are guided by the Juche idea that the party can consolidate and develop itself

steadily and conduct the revolution and construction with success. This has been proved in our revolutionary practice.

Developing our Party into a mass party of the working people is a basic policy of building it.

Formerly a party was regarded as a political organization of a class, representing and defending the class's interests, and as a weapon in the class struggle. The party is the vanguard of a class which fights to realize the demands and aspirations of that class. But, if it is built into a party for that class alone, it is impossible for it to perform its duties properly as a revolutionary party or to win the support of the broad masses of the people. The situation now, in which the broad masses of the people have emerged as the masters of their destiny, requires that the working-class party be developed into a mass party which represents the interests of all the people and embraces progressive elements from all classes and sections of the working population. In socialist society in which all strata of the masses have become socialist working people and the social and class composition is becoming more and more homogeneous, it is all the more necessary to develop the working-class party into a mass party.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, displaying scientific insight into the requirements of our times and the specific situation of our revolution, put forward the theory of building a mass party, thus paving a new way for the building of a revolutionary party. The theory on building a mass party evolved by the great leader is based on the Juche revolutionary principle that the masses are the masters and the motive force of the revolution and construction. The cause of socialism is an undertaking by the people and for the people. Today, when the broad masses of the people are aspiring to socialism and the social and class foundations of socialism have been expanded as never before, the party which fights for the cause of socialism must naturally be developed into a mass party which represents the interests of all the people and strikes root among the broad working masses.

The party's development into a mass party must not result in the

weakening or alternation of its revolutionary and working-class character. The class character of the party is defined by its guiding ideology and fighting objectives; its revolutionary character is manifested in its loyalty to the revolutionary ideology of the working class and to the socialist cause. The cause of the working class conforms to the interests of all the people, and the working class can achieve the socialist cause successfully only when it rallies broad strata of the population behind it. It is, therefore, a legitimate requirement in building the revolutionary party to develop it into a mass party which champions the interests of all the people and comprises farmers and intellectuals as well as the working class. Experience shows that when it fails to become a mass party of the working people, a party may be reduced to a political minority of communists when faced with difficulties in the revolution. Only when it is built as a mass party which thoroughly champions the masses' desire for independence and their interests and strikes root among wide sections of the working people, can the party maintain unbreakable ties with the masses and succeed in the socialist cause by relying on the inexhaustible energies of the people who are rallied behind it.

The great leader, on the basis of the line of building a mass party, built a revolutionary Party of Juche which consists of advanced elements of the workers, farmers and working intellectuals and champions the interests of the masses, and thus set a brilliant example in the building of a mass party. He had not only a hammer and sickle symbolizing the workers and farmers but also a brush symbolizing the working intellectuals form the Party's emblem, to suit the characteristics of our Party, a mass party, and has led the Party to form a harmonious whole with the masses and render loyal service to all the people so as to provide them with an independent and creative life. Our Party has developed into an unconquerable revolutionary party which enjoys the unqualified support and trust of the masses. It has become a powerful motive force for the revolution by welding itself with the masses into a socio-political organism which shares a

common destiny. This is an excellent fruition of the great leader's line of building a mass party, and it ensures all our victories.

Firmly establishing monolithic ideology and leadership within the Party is a fundamental principle in the building of our Party.

The durability and vitality of a revolutionary party is ensured by its monolithic ideology and leadership. Monolithic ideology and leadership is essential for the unity of idea and purpose within the party and for its effective leadership of the revolution and construction.

Monolithic ideology and leadership in a party is best achieved when the party is guided by a distinguished leader. A leader who is endowed with great intelligence, outstanding leadership ability and noble virtue can formulate lines and policies which reflect the masses' desire for independence and their interests accurately and organize and guide their creative activities successfully. A party which does not support its leader's ideology and guidance or does not inherit his cause cannot be called a revolutionary party.

Monolithic ideology and leadership in a party is guaranteed by centralist discipline, and can be ensured only when the party has established a centralist work system and order by which all party organizations and all its members obligatorily implement its lines and policies, and by which its entire membership acts as one in accordance with the instructions of its central committee.

The establishment of monolithic ideology and leadership in a party does not conflict with democracy, but provides a sure guarantee for genuine democracy. When no such ideology and leadership is established and unprincipled democracy is permitted within the party, democracy may be suppressed by bureaucracy and arbitrariness manifested among officials who lack in party discipline, and the unity and cohesion of the party may be broken and division encouraged by undesirable elements hidden in the party. The occurrence of undisciplined practices and disorder and the emergence of factions in some parties over recent years, which led finally to their disintegration and collapse, were due in no small measure to the

failure to ensure their monolithic ideology and leadership, resulting from undue emphasis on “democracy.” It is only when monolithic ideology and leadership are combined properly with democracy in a party that true comradely unity is achieved among party members, the unity of superiors and subordinates is guaranteed, and its lines and policies are implemented with success. Making it the basic principle in Party building to maintain monolithic ideology and leadership, our Party has established the monolithic ideological and leadership system firmly among its entire membership and thus has been able to develop and strengthen itself into an unbreakable, militant organization which thinks and acts as one under the guidance of the leader. Our experience in Party building shows that democracy based on unshakable, monolithic ideology and leadership makes it possible for a party to promote the revolution and construction forcefully by uniting all its members firmly with one ideology and purpose.

It is our main task in Party building to strengthen the Party’s unity and cohesion.

The unity and cohesion of the party is its lifeblood and the source of its might. The party whose unity and cohesion is disrupted cannot maintain its existence. The unity and cohesion of the party is a prerequisite for achieving the political and ideological unity of the whole society. The unity of the broad masses behind the party and the leader in their struggle constitutes the major driving force in the rapid development of socialist society and is the source of its unconquerable might. The political and ideological unity of the whole society is inconceivable without the unity and cohesion of the party. The party is the hard core joining the masses with the leader organizationally and ideologically. In order to achieve the political and ideological unity of the whole society by rallying the masses firmly behind the leader, it is essential, before all else, to achieve the unity and cohesion of the party’s ranks, the hard core.

The unity and cohesion of the party behind the leader in ideology and purpose, as well as in morality and loyalty, is the most durable of unity and cohesion. An association which is based on a mere sense of

duty or on business routine cannot last long, nor can it withstand the severe trials of the revolution. Only solid, single-hearted unity behind the leader which is based on one ideology and purpose and on loyalty to the revolution can be unbreakable unity and cohesion that is capable of overcoming all hardships and trials.

The work of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the party must be steadily intensified. If we, resting content with the unity and cohesion of the Party that has been achieved, do not make continued efforts to consolidate it, the unity and cohesion may be gradually weakened and, in the long run, destroyed. It is important to launch an effective struggle to preserve the unity and cohesion of the party, especially when one revolutionary generation is replaced by another and when the situation, internal and external, is complex. Historical experience shows that in such a situation, ambitious elements and renegades appear and try to wreck the unity and cohesion of the party.

The struggle to maintain the unity and cohesion of the party is, in the final analysis, a fight against heterogeneous ideological trends that are detrimental to the unity and cohesion of the party. The most dangerous of the ideological trends that undermine the party's unity and cohesion is factionalism and other counterrevolutionary ideological trends. If we tolerate counterrevolutionary ideological trends within the party, anti-party groups will be formed on their basis and will destroy the party. In order to maintain the unity and cohesion of the party, it is also necessary to guard against parochialism, nepotism and other unsound ideological elements. Parochialism and nepotism are seeds of factions and, if they are connived at, may grow into factions and break the unity and cohesion of the party. We must remember that heterogeneous ideological elements that are harmful to the Party's unity and cohesion can germinate from the remnants of outmoded ideas or infiltrate from outside, and we must always be vigilant.

Historical experience shows that, if we neglect the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the party, in the belief that the unity and cohesion of the party will not be destroyed in socialist society, factional forces may appear in the party and challenge the party, in

collusion with counterrevolutionary forces outside the party, and this will incur grave consequences. Only when we develop the work of consolidating the unity and cohesion of the party, regarding it as the main task in party building, can we strengthen and develop its unity and cohesion down through the generations.

Our Party achieved solid unity and cohesion a long time ago. Not resting content with this, however, it has continued to work hard to strengthen the single-hearted unity of the whole Party around the leader, so that it maintains unbreakable unity and cohesion, without any vacillation even in the present complex situation.

It is the consistent policy of our Party to stress ideology in party building.

A party is a political organization of people who are united by a common ideology. Therefore, its ranks should be strengthened with the main stress on ideology. This means that the party's ranks should be made up of people who are loyal to the cause of socialism, judged mainly by how strong a belief they have in the party's ideology. Only when the party's ranks are strengthened with people who have a high level of ideological consciousness and are loyal to the cause of socialism, is it possible to ensure the party's solid unity in ideology and purpose and its strong revolutionary character and enhance the vanguard role of party members in the revolutionary struggle and construction work. Therefore, it is essential in building up the party's ranks to judge people mainly and always by their ideological level and their loyalty to the cause of socialism, while taking into account their socio-class position and background. Even in a society where the hostile class has been eliminated and all the members of society have become socialist working people, the principle of giving priority to ideology in building up the party's ranks must not be violated. In a socialist society, too, some people who are not prepared politically and ideologically may possibly attempt to join the party in pursuit of selfish interests and fame. But such people are not qualified for party membership and, if they are admitted to the party, the dignity

and prestige of the party may be damaged and the party itself be weakened.

In building a party by judging people's ideological criteria, it is extremely important to form the ranks of cadres with officials who are infinitely loyal to the party, the leader and the revolution. Cadres are the backbone of the party; they educate the masses and direct the revolution. The strength of the party depends largely on the quality of its cadres. Cadres need to be competent but, more importantly, should have a sound ideology. Loyalty to the party, the leader and the revolution is the first criterion of a cadre. To form the cadre ranks mainly on the criterion of loyalty to the party, the leader and the revolution is a fundamental matter that has a bearing on the future of the party. The major obstacle to forming the cadre ranks with the main stress on ideology is the violation of party principles because of favouritism, personal acquaintance and the like in the work of personnel administration. If party principles are disregarded in personnel administration, unqualified people may be admitted to the ranks of cadres or even alien elements may worm their way into them.

With a view to ensuring the purity of the ranks of cadres, our Party has established strict procedures for the appointment, the dismissal and the ratification of cadres and has ensured that cadres are selected and appointed on the basis of collective discussion by the Party committee and on the principle of unanimous approval. Thus, only those whose loyalty and ability have been verified in revolutionary practice have been selected and appointed as cadres. The experience of our Party shows that only when the ranks of cadres are built up mainly on ideological criteria can the Party be strengthened organizationally and ideologically and, on this basis, the cause of the Party be accomplished down through the generations.

Establishing a monolithic ideology is the major task of our Party.

The building of socialism and communism is the process of modelling the whole society on the revolutionary ideology of the working class. Our Party set the ultimate objective of our revolution

to be the modelling of the whole society on the Juche idea and has worked hard to occupy the ideological and material fortresses of socialism and communism by transforming our ideology, technology and culture to meet the requirements of Juche.

The main aspect of modelling the whole society on one ideology is to instil our monolithic ideology in all the members of society. People are the masters of society and a person's value and quality are defined, and all his activities are regulated, by his ideological consciousness. Therefore, in order to transform the whole of society on a single ideology, it is essential, above all else, to educate people and transform their ideology.

People not only transform nature and society but also reform themselves. The ideological transformation of people is also influenced by changes and developments in the objective conditions of society. In particular, the change and development of the social system exert a great influence on the change and development of ideological consciousness. But a change in the objective conditions does not bring about that of people's ideological consciousness spontaneously. Ideological consciousness is consciousness which reflects the demands and interests of people and it has relative solidity. Unless people work to remould their ideological consciousness, regardless of changes in the objective circumstances and conditions, their ideological consciousness will not be transformed. If we believe that people will acquire the socialist ideology automatically after the establishment of the socialist system and neglect their ideological transformation, old ideologies may revive. The transformation of people's ideological consciousness is more difficult than the reform of the social relations and the development of the forces of production. The remnants of old ideologies are very conservative and revive whenever the possibility arises. Ideological transformation, particularly in confrontation with imperialism, is accompanied by a serious class struggle. Therefore, we must direct greater efforts to ideological transformation and give definite priority to it over all other work.

The ideology with which we should equip the members of society should be an excellent one. There cannot be a vacuum in people's ideological consciousness. Unless we have a good ideology that is superior to the old ideologies we cannot succeed in ideological transformation.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung originated the Juche idea and, while leading the arduous revolutionary struggle for nearly 70 years, has produced a full clarification of how a revolutionary should live and struggle, setting a fine example in doing so, and thus providing us with good ideo-spiritual wealth for ideological transformation. The revolutionary ideology of the great leader and the history of his revolutionary struggle are an invaluable textbook and example for imbuing the whole society with an ideology. The loyalty to the Party and the leader of our anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners, the heroic soldiers who fought in the Fatherland Liberation War and the heroes of socialist revolution and construction and their devoted service to the country and the people are also a priceless asset in ideological transformation.

An old ideology does not give way to a good, new one of its own accord. A good ideology, needless to say, is very attractive. But, since the imperialists and the reactionaries are playing many tricks in an attempt to slur the socialist ideology and beautify and embellish the bourgeois ideology, it is not easy for people to accept an advanced ideology. Only through a struggle to oppose the reactionary bourgeois ideology and equip the people with the advanced socialist ideology can they be educated and reformed along revolutionary lines. It is the most important task for the parties building socialism to carry out vigorous ideological work to prevent the penetration of the reactionary bourgeois ideology and equip people with the socialist ideology. Only when the revolutionary parties conduct good ideological work to overcome the reactionary bourgeois ideas of all hues and arm people with the advanced socialist ideology can they firmly guarantee the victory of the socialist ideology and succeed in imbuing the whole society with it.

For the ideological transformation of the whole society the party must give priority to the ideological education of its members. In other words, a party must educate its members first and then make them educate the hard core of the masses who, in turn, will educate the broad masses. The education of the hard core of the masses by party members and the education of the broad masses by the hard core of the masses is an effective method of educating and transforming all the members of society, with one person educating ten people, ten people a hundred, a hundred people a thousand, and a thousand people ten thousand. A party member is a political activist by nature and it is the duty of a party member to conduct political work to educate and transform the masses. When a party refuses to give precedence to the ideological education of its members they cannot do their duty as political activists and may degenerate ideologically. It cannot be said that the traitors to the revolution who appeared in some socialist ruling parties were anti-socialist from the first. The parties neglected the revolutionary education and tempering of their cadres and members, with the result that some people gradually degenerated and became traitors. In the light of this lesson we must always pay primary attention to the revolutionary education and tempering of cadres and Party members.

In order to succeed in the ideological tempering of Party members we must lead them to live a good Party life. A Party life is a furnace for ideological tempering. When party members fail to lead a party life and leave the control of their party organizations they may become liberal and degenerate ideologically. Proceeding from their need of political integrity party members must participate voluntarily in a party life. Our Party has established a well-regulated system for a Party life which enables its members to raise their political integrity and fulfil their duties through leading a Party life. Our Party has led all its organizations to guarantee proper organization and guidance so that their members lead a Party life consciously and faithfully in compliance with Party rules, having a correct view of their Party organization, and temper themselves

steadily in a revolutionary way through leading a Party life.

Ideology is reformed through ideological education and an ideological struggle. Ideological education is work to equip people with revolutionary ideas; it requires a certain system and definite forms and methods. Our Party has established a well-knit system of ideological education within itself and has run it regularly. It has steadily improved the forms and methods of ideological education as required by the developing situation. The ideological struggle is an important form of ideological transformation that is performed through criticism; criticism is a tonic for preventing ideological sickness. Our Party has established a sound atmosphere for criticism within itself so that an ideological struggle is conducted through criticism to temper the cadres and its members on revolutionary lines.

For the ideological transformation of the whole society the party must also educate the masses responsibly. The greatest love for the people is manifested by equipping them with the consciousness of independence and awakening them ideologically, and the most serious crime against the people is to paralyze their consciousness of independence and make them ideologically degenerate. The responsible education of the masses by a party is an expression of its boundless love for them.

Party organizations should guide all its cadres and members to conduct political work widely among the masses, while at the same time educating the masses through working people's organizations. Conducting work with the masses through working people's organizations is our Party's principle in guiding the masses. The proper guidance of those organizations is an important duty of the socialist ruling party which is the political leadership organization of society. Working people's organizations must work independently, but they should not be left without the guidance of the working-class party. It is the working-class party that represents the interests of the masses most thoroughly in socialist society. So the working people's organizations must always conduct their activities in accordance with the party's lines and policies. The "independence" of the working

people's organizations that means freedom from the leadership of the party eventually reduces the working people's organizations to a tool for the counterrevolutionary forces. The socialist ruling party must give correct guidance to the working people's organizations so that they conduct the work of educating and reforming the masses of all strata independently, creatively and skilfully, in accordance with their duties and character as organizations for ideological education. The party's norms for an organizational and ideological life should serve as an example of the organizational and ideological life in the working people's organizations. But, unlike the party that is composed of advanced elements of the working people, the working people's organizations are mass organizations which embrace the broad masses. As every working people's organization has its own characteristics, its organizational and ideological life should be arranged accordingly.

The fundamental method of mass education is explanation and persuasion. People's ideology cannot be reformed by administrative orders or by coercive methods. People should be encouraged to accept the ideology as their faith through explanation and persuasion. Officials should always explain to the masses and try to persuade them steadily and patiently. Influencing people by positive examples is an effective method of educating them. The affirmative is the progressive and beautiful things that meet the demands of people for independence, so they exert a great influence on people. Support for the affirmative is a criticism of the negative, and shows people the ways of overcoming the negative. Our Party's experience shows that there is no one who cannot be educated and reformed if we conduct explanation and persuasion and influence people properly by positive examples in education.

Great efforts should be directed particularly to the education of the younger generation in the education of the masses. The older generation of the revolution should pass down to the younger generation great revolutionary spirit and creative ability. Of course, material wealth should be handed down to the younger generation,

but however much material wealth they may inherit, they will misuse it if they lack revolutionary spirit and creative ability. In those countries where capitalism has revived, many young people took the lead in opposing socialism. This was due to their parties' failure to guide them properly. It is an important duty for socialist ruling parties to educate the younger generation on revolutionary lines so that they firmly defend the socialist system and continue to work for the revolution and accomplish the cause. Historical lesson shows clearly that when the younger generation are not educated in a revolutionary way the revolutionary gains achieved at the cost of blood are lost.

Today in our country the young people are working with devotion to develop socialism further under the leadership of the Party, and all the young people and children are growing up as dependable successors to the revolution. This shows that the leadership of our Party, which has put great efforts into the education of the rising generation, is absolutely correct. But we should not rest content with the successes which have been achieved in the education of the younger generation; we should train them more as revolutionaries of a Juche type.

It is the basic mission of our Party to guarantee its political leadership of the whole society.

The revolutionary working-class party in socialist society is charged with the mission of assuming responsibility for the destiny of the people, forging it and providing independent and creative lives for them. If the party is to fulfil its mission it should ensure its political leadership in politics, the economy, culture, national defence and all other spheres. The party's responsibility for the destiny of the people is inseparable from its leading position. The revolutionary party's renunciation of its leading position and role is the evasion of its responsibility for the destiny of the people. It is the fundamental direction in the building of a socialist ruling party to enhance the leading position and role of the party so that it can fully ensure its political leadership over the whole society.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung wisely guided our Party to

strengthen its position as the political leader of society and enhance its role as such. Our people recognize only the Workers' Party of Korea as their political leader and entrust their destiny entirely to the Party, and they are full of a firm determination to complete the revolutionary cause of Juche under the leadership of the Party.

The leadership of a revolutionary party to the revolution and construction should be political leadership.

First of all, the party should draw up correct policies. The lines and policies of a revolutionary party should accurately reflect the masses' desire for independence and their interests and, to this end, the party should heed their aspirations and demands. Our Party has believed in the masses as its teacher, always mixed with the masses, listened to them and shaped its policies to reflect their demands and interests. As a result, our Party has been able to avoid deviations to right or left in framing its lines and policies, and our Party's policies have commanded the full support of the masses. The party should not only draw up correct policies but also lead its organizations to carry out its policies thoroughly. An important duty for party organizations at all levels is to organize, control and guide the execution of party policies. When party organizations implement party policies correctly, they can translate them into reality so as to promote the revolution and construction.

The party should give priority to political work in all its activities so as to give full play to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability of the masses. It is an intrinsic demand of socialist society to give precedence to political work in all activities. The revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability of the working people who are masters of state and society can be brought into full play only by political methods. The capitalist method of motivating people by coercion or money, which is contrary to the intrinsic nature of socialist society, not only cannot give full play to their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability but also results in the degeneration of the socialist system itself. Only the method of giving full rein to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability of the masses by giving

priority to political work is a revolutionary method of strengthening the socialist system and giving full play to its advantages. By giving precedence to political work in all its activities our Party has been able to promote the revolution and construction dynamically in reliance on the high revolutionary enthusiasm and creative ability of the masses, and to give full play to the advantages of the socialism of our own style which is centred on the masses.

The embodiment of the revolutionary mass line is the consistent policy of our Party in its leadership of the revolution and construction.

The revolutionary mass line is a principle of activity, based on the view that the driving force of the revolution and construction is the masses. The fundamental demand of the revolutionary mass line is to ensure that the masses hold the position of masters of the revolution and construction and fulfil their role as such. The revolutionary party which represents the interests of the masses and serves them must make the revolutionary mass line the fundamental principle of its activities and thoroughly implement the revolutionary mass line throughout the whole course of the struggle for socialism.

If the revolutionary mass line is to be implemented thoroughly in the activities of the party, the method and style of work of officials should be improved steadily. The connection between the party and the masses is established by officials, and the masses' support for and trust in the party largely depend on the officials' method and style of work. In socialist society some ill-prepared officials may throw their weight about and act bureaucratically. Essentially, wielding power and acting bureaucratically is a ruling method of the old society for oppressing and exploiting the people. As experience shows, if officials abuse their power and resort to bureaucracy, they will cause the divorce of the party and the masses, and may finally bring the party to ruin. To struggle uncompromisingly against the abuse of power and bureaucracy is important work which the socialist ruling party should not neglect even for a moment.

Since changes of generation take place in the ranks of cadres and

the proportion of officials who are not amply tempered in the revolution increases, we have continued to pay great attention to the elimination of outmoded work methods and styles. Under the slogan, "We serve the people!" our Party has guided all our officials to serve the people faithfully and strengthen their kindred relations with the masses. As a consequence, our officials have established the revolutionary work method and popular work style whereby they defend the interests of the masses, go among them and work in reliance on them, share good time and bad with them, and lead the masses by setting them examples. Our people's strong support for and faith in our Party is the fruition of its revolutionary mass line that it has implemented thoroughly in its activities, and of its unremitting efforts to ensure that officials establish the revolutionary work method and the popular work style.

We must apply more thoroughly the Juche theory on the building of the Party, whose validity and vitality have been demonstrated fully in practice, and thus constantly strengthen our Party and complete the revolutionary cause of Juche under its leadership.

### **3. THE INTERNATIONALIST UNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES**

Strengthening internationalist unity and solidarity with revolutionary parties is an important demand for our Party in discharging its national and internationalist duties.

The basic task of a revolutionary party is to provide independence for the masses. Their cause for independence is not only national but also the common cause of humanity, and the struggle to realize the independence of the masses in each country is closely related to the struggle to make the whole world independent. An independent world is a world which is free from domination and subjugation and

intervention and pressure and in which all countries and nations exercise complete sovereignty as the masters of their destiny. With the promotion of global independence a favourable international climate is created for the independent development of all countries and nations. Meanwhile, victory in the struggle for the independence of the masses in each country reinforces the independent forces of the world and thus accelerates global independence. In league with one another, the imperialists and the reactionary forces of all shades are impeding the fulfilment of the independent cause of the masses, and the internationally united reactionary forces are challenging it. This makes it absolutely necessary for all the revolutionary parties and people aspiring after independence to unite and fight against them.

The people of the world are joining the common struggle because they share the same goal and task of struggling for independence. "People of the world advocating independence, unite!"—this is the slogan to be held up by all the people of our era.

If all the people advocating independence are to unite and wage a struggle, first of all the internationalist unity and solidarity of the revolutionary parties, their hard core, should be strengthened.

Strengthening internationalist unity and solidarity in the fulfilment of the cause of independence for the masses is an important factor in its triumph. The struggle for the victory of this cause is now going through an ordeal. But if they strengthen their solidarity with one another, unite in a comradely manner and fight on, the revolutionary parties of the world will be able to check and frustrate the counterrevolutionary offensive by the imperialists and reactionaries who are opposed to independence, and to pave the way to victory.

The internationalist unity and solidarity of the revolutionary parties should be realized on the basis of the socialist ideal. A revolutionary party that is devoid of the socialist ideal is inconceivable and unity and solidarity between the parties that are not based on the socialist idea cannot be called genuinely revolutionary unity and solidarity. The aim of strengthening the internationalist unity and solidarity is not self-serving; it is to achieve in a combined

effort the common cause of socialism. It is a bounden duty for revolutionary parties to unite firmly on the basis of the socialist idea.

The Pyongyang Declaration reflects a firm determination to defend and promote the cause of socialism. Its publication is of epochal significance in strengthening the internationalist unity and solidarity of the revolutionary parties and in promoting the socialist cause.

The Pyongyang Declaration has affirmed that socialism is the ideal of mankind and that socialist society is a society which represents the future of mankind and a genuine society for the people. Although the socialist idea is the ideology of the working class, it does not represent the interests of one class alone; it is a universal idea for humanity which reflects the social nature of human beings. Socialism is not only an idea for class emancipation but also an idea for national and human liberation which reflects the desire for independence of all nations and the whole of humanity. Only when they advance along the road of socialism where the masses are the masters of everything and everything serves them, can all the people lead a free, equitable and dignified life that is suited to the independent nature of human beings and can all countries and nations free themselves from domination and subjugation, achieve independent development and ensure lasting peace and security in the world, thus guaranteeing the survival and progress of humanity.

By confirming the veracity and validity of the cause of socialism and the inevitability of its final victory, the Pyongyang Declaration is infusing the revolutionary people of the world who aspire after independence with confidence in victory and a revolutionary fighting spirit, while representing a serious setback for the imperialists and reactionaries who are waging a frantic anti-socialist campaign, talking about the “end” of socialism.

The fact that well over a hundred parties have signed the Pyongyang Declaration and that the revolutionary people around the world are responding to it proves irrefutably that the socialist idea contained in the Pyongyang Declaration reflects the desires and

aspirations of progressive humanity. The revolutionary parties will be able to strengthen their internationalist unity and solidarity based on the common idea and dynamically promote the cause of socialism when they wage a struggle with the Pyongyang Declaration as their common fighting programme.

The internationalist unity and solidarity of the revolutionary parties must be achieved on the basis of independence. There is no need to establish an international centre of leadership since each country is conducting the revolution under different circumstances and conditions and the party of each country is acting independently. The revolutionary parties will achieve genuinely internationalist unity only when they establish a comradely relationship on the basis of independence and equality instead of a relationship in which one is higher and the other lower and one dictates and the other is dictated to. It is impermissible in their relationship for revolutionary parties to interfere in the affairs of others and to force their opinions on the others, contrary to the principles of independence and internationalism.

An urgent, common task facing the revolutionary parties at present is to defend socialism from the counterrevolutionary offensive of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The imperialists and reactionaries are now engaged in vicious manoeuvres against socialism, but they are destined to be a failure. The revolutionary parties and people the world over are turning out in a new struggle, overcoming the temporary confusion. It is inevitable for the masses of people to fight against a force if it represses their independence, and the cause of socialism emerges victorious through this struggle. This is a law governing historical development. The imperialists are now behaving arrogantly, but they are in a serious crisis. As the monopolies grow, the reactionary, anti-popular character of modern imperialism becomes more evident and the discontent of the working people with the corrupt and ailing capitalist society grows as the days go by. The desire to build an independent, new world under the ideal of independence, peace and friendship is

becoming more intense among the progressive people of the world. Although socialism is undergoing an ordeal, these people can change a disadvantageous situation into a favourable one and turn misfortune into a blessing, if they counter the counterrevolutionary offensive of the imperialists and reactionaries with a revolutionary offensive, full of confidence in victory.

Now that the imperialists and reactionaries are concentrating the spearhead of their attack on the socialist countries which are faithful to revolutionary principles, it is very important for all the revolutionary parties and people to unite and strengthen their internationalist support for and solidarity with the socialist countries. Frustrating the criminal manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries to isolate, blockade and invade the socialist countries is a common, urgent task for the revolutionary parties and people in their struggle to safeguard socialism.

The imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to every manner of trickery to prevent socialism from reviving in the former socialist countries. This is a scheme to bring the people of these countries under the yoke of domination and subjugation for ever. A catastrophic crisis has been created in the countries where capitalism has revived owing to the criminal moves of the imperialists and reactionaries. The crisis these countries are now faced with is not a crisis of socialism but a crisis of revived capitalism, and it shows the irrelevance of the idea of bourgeois revival. The resurgence of socialism is the only way out of the political, economic, ideological and moral confusion and crisis which are becoming more serious with every passing day in the countries where capitalism has revived.

The imperialists are resorting to every conceivable heinous plot to hold in check the advance towards socialism of the people of those countries which were subjected to national oppression and exploitation in the past and which have now embarked on the building of a new society. This is aimed at preventing them from taking the road to independence. Fighting against the imperialists' moves for trampling down their rights to independence and for

strengthening neo-colonial exploitation and plunder of them is an important link in the whole chain of the common struggle for socialism.

In the developed capitalist countries, bipolarization, the rich getting ever richer and the poor ever poorer, is intensifying and confrontation is growing, with the social evil becoming more serious owing to the strengthening of monopolies. Accordingly, the oppressed working masses are turning out in the struggle, lifting up their voices calling for the rights to existence, democracy and independence.

The victorious advance of the common cause of socialism will be further accelerated when the revolutionary parties and peoples give active support and encouragement to those parties and peoples that are waging an undaunted struggle for socialism under various circumstances and conditions.

It is an important task for the revolutionary parties to form a united front with the democratic political parties and organizations in the struggle to accomplish the cause of socialism. In the implementation of the socialist cause of opposing exploitation and oppression and realizing the independence of the masses, the revolutionary parties, and democratic parties and organizations share similar demands and interests. The socialist cause will be promoted if the revolutionary parties strengthen their unity with all the democratic parties and organizations and cooperate with them actively on the principle of mutual respect in the joint struggle for the independence of the masses in opposition to exploitation and oppression.

If the independence of the masses is to be realized, a dynamic anti-imperialist struggle should be launched. The main target of the struggle to defend socialism and achieve global independence is the US and other imperialist reactionary forces. Taking advantage of the destruction of the balance of power in the international arena, the modern imperialists are scheming more viciously than ever before to realize world domination by use of force. Without a struggle against imperialism, it is impossible to realize the aspirations to and desire

for independence of the progressive peoples of the world who are opposed to domination and subjugation and aggression and war. Struggling against imperialist domination and subjugation and aggression and war is a natural demand of the cause for independence of the masses, and compromising with the imperialist policy of domination is the betrayal of their cause of independence. To maintain a principled stand against imperialism is the bounden duty of revolutionary parties. The revolutionary parties and progressive forces will be able to check and frustrate the imperialists' moves for aggression and war if they regard the struggle against imperialism as their common duty and fight resolutely against it.

The driving force of the struggle to make the whole world independent is the combined anti-imperialist, independent forces. The anti-imperialist, independent forces must unite so as to put an end to domination and subordination and interference and pressure by the imperialists, to establish a fair international order based on independence, to eliminate aggression and war and to ensure world peace and security. The imperialists are using all sorts of crafty manoeuvres to divide the anti-imperialist, independent forces and set them at variance with one another. The anti-imperialist, independent forces can frustrate the imperialists' manoeuvres for division and alienation and emerge victorious only when they counter their schemes with the strategy of unity. The anti-imperialist, independent forces can unite, transcending differences in social systems, political views, ideas and religious beliefs, nations and races because they have a common desire for independence, peace and friendship.

Should all the anti-imperialist, independent forces, including the socialist countries, the international communist and working-class movements, the national-liberation movement, the Non-aligned Movement and the world peace movement, unite in the struggle they can put an end to imperialist domination and interference and build an independent, new world.

The cause of independence, the cause of socialism, of the masses is a sacred one for making the ideal of humanity the reality. To unite

and struggle for the victory of the cause of independence, the cause of socialism, of the masses is the revolutionary parties' honourable duty to history and their people. The current complex and difficult situation makes it necessary for the revolutionary parties to fight resolutely in firm unity, filled with a conviction in victory and an indefatigable revolutionary spirit.

Our Party will, as ever, unite firmly and cooperate actively with the revolutionary parties across the world for the victory of the cause of independence, the cause of socialism, of the masses, and will discharge its noble mission and responsibility for the Korean revolution and the world revolution.

## **ON SOME PROBLEMS ARISING IN PARTY, STATE AND ECONOMIC WORK**

**Speech to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*November 12, 1992*

The present situation for our country is highly complex and extremely tense. Now that socialism has been frustrated and capitalism revived in several countries, the US imperialists are directing the spearhead of their anti-socialist moves against our country. The US imperialists and south Korean reactionaries have ceaselessly been staging a number of military exercises under various titles, aimed at an invasion of the northern half of Korea. Given the present situation, if we are to defend and add lustre to our socialism, we must channel great efforts into internal Party work, so as to unite all the people behind the Party and the leader and give fuller play to the might of our single-hearted unity.

Our Party has achieved steel-like unity and cohesion centred on the great leader, something that no other party anywhere in the world has ever managed. We must, however, never rest content with this, but continue our push to consolidate the single-hearted unity of the whole society. Moreover, given the current complex and strained situation, if Party organizations allow themselves to become preoccupied with economic work, without concentrating their efforts on intensifying internal Party work, it will be impossible to strengthen the Party and enhance its leadership role and develop the single-

hearted unity of the whole society so that it is rock-solid. Needless to say, Party organizations should step up Party guidance to economic work in order to develop the national economy quickly. However, economic work is the responsibility of the Administration Council, the economic headquarters, and the Administration Council should be strengthened so that it can deal with economic work on its full responsibility. In the future, I intend to recall the Party guidance teams that have been dispatched to various sectors of the national economy, such as the fertilizer, coal-mining and metal industries, in order to concentrate on stepping up internal Party work.

Substantial efforts should be focused on Party ideological work in stepping up internal Party work to meet the present situation.

Current Party ideological work is not sufficiently effective to cope with the present situation. As I said at a recent meeting of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, Party ideological work reveals quite a few instances of formalism, which manifest themselves in ineffective ideological education, such as embellishing and beautifying the reality and making exaggerated claims about how smoothly work is going. Ideological education should be done truthfully, without any exaggeration, beautification or self-praise about the reality. Ineffective and formalistic ideological education can give rise to very serious results.

As a result of ideological education being formalistic in the past, there have arisen many instances of our officials lacking in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. Some of them simply expect their superiors to resolve issues that they themselves could certainly deal with if they were to work with sufficient care and energy. Potential is hidden everywhere and if it is all discovered and tapped, it will be possible to solve any number of problems. Currently paper is in short supply. Even this problem can surely be solved by making use of locally-available raw and other materials. Previously the counties produced large quantities of paper from maize stalks and rice straw. In 1966 I accompanied the leader to Chosan County in Jagang Province, where I found it producing paper by making use of raw materials

available locally. Even the problem of sulphuric acid can be solved to a considerable extent, by making use of domestic resources. Sulphuric acid can be made from the ore dust that is piled up at ore mines. The February Ore Mine has numerous heaps of ore dust containing iron sulphide, with which it is possible to produce sulphuric acid by flotation processing. Instead of thinking about using it, however, our leading economic officials are complaining about a lack of iron sulphide. Recently, economic work has not been going smoothly, largely due to the fact that officials are not organizing it down to the last detail with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. When they organize economic work scrupulously by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, it is possible to develop the national economy quickly.

By dealing with ideological education in a formalistic manner, the Party may be digging its own grave. Bearing this in mind, Party organizations must conduct substantial ideological education for cadres, Party members and other working people.

We must teach Party members and other working people to hold their leaders in high esteem and follow them whole-heartedly.

The leader is the destiny of a country and nation and the symbol of all happiness. Only under his leadership can the masses achieve the eternal prosperity of their country and nation and lead an independent and creative life to their heart's content as the masters of the state and society. People without the guidance of an outstanding leader are like orphaned children. The greatest joy for people lies in having an outstanding leader and enjoying his leadership, whereas their greatest misery is the failure to have a leader, a fact that is clearly proved by our people's miserable life in the past and their happy life at present. In the past our people were long subjected to every manner of exploitation and oppression as the colonial slaves of the Japanese imperialists, because they lacked a leader. It was only when they held the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung in high esteem as their great leader that they could win the independence and sovereignty of the country and enjoy a genuine human life as the dignified masters of

the state and society. Our leader is the people's great father who has devoted his whole life solely for their sake.

Since they have felt deeply and personally that the leader is precisely the destiny and happiness of the country and nation, our people always trust and follow their leaders alone. As I have said on several occasions, after the war, when our revolution was going through grim trials, an elderly woman living in Thaesong-ri spoke to the leader when he visited her village, stating her conviction: "Dear Premier! You look so thin. Please do not worry too much. No matter what the factionalists say about the living conditions of the people, we are all living in comfort. So, do not worry. Anyhow, it is we, not the factionalists, who will win in the end, is it not? You may rest assured that we support you, dear Premier." These words expressed the unanimous feelings of all our people who were willing to trust and follow the leader to the end no matter what anyone said. Recalling that time frequently still today, the leader always says that the old woman gave him great encouragement in the most trying times.

Our people send me many letters in which they express their determination and preparedness to trust and follow the Party and accomplish the Juche revolutionary cause without fail no matter what sort of trial may confront them, saying that our socialism, because it is guided correctly by the Party, remains unperturbed even in the present grim days when the world has been brought to the crossroads between socialism and capitalism by the manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries. Recently Pak Yong Chol and his seven brothers, all officers in the Korean People's Army, sent me a letter that has inspired me with courage. In the post-war period when our revolution was going through trials, the elderly woman in Thaesong-ri inspired the leader with confidence and courage, while today in the 1990s many of our people are following her example by giving me confidence and strength. Today our people often sing *We Have Waited for You*, a song that is a source of encouragement for me. The song reflects the heartfelt loyalty of our people who place their unqualified trust in the Party and give their all for the Party's cause. Our people are truly excellent. Whenever I hear our

people singing this song, I am always reminded more deeply of my responsibility to the country and nation as a son of the people, and make a firm resolve to work heart and soul for the people.

Respecting, revering and holding their leaders in high esteem wholeheartedly is the proud tradition of our people, which we must maintain constantly so that all the people hold their leaders in high esteem and remain loyal to them from one generation to the next, whatever the adversity.

We must ensure that Party members and other working people are fully confident in their certain victory in the revolution and possess a firm determination to carry it out.

The revolution is arduous and complicated. The masses' struggle to achieve their independence is beset with manifold, unimaginable challenges and trials. Life-threatening hunger and cold or imprisonment may be waiting along the way. The progress of the revolution is a process of forging oneself through one challenge after another. Moreover, our revolution is incomparably more complicated and arduous than that of any other country, for it has to pave an untrodden path, beset by every manner of move by the imperialists to provoke aggression and create temptation. If we are to frustrate all the attempts of the imperialists and reactionaries and defend and consummate the masses' cause of independence, the socialist cause, to the end, we are required to have a stronger conviction and will than ever before. Long ago, Kim Hyong Jik said that if one is to make revolution, one should be prepared for three contingencies, namely, death from starvation, death from beating, and death from the freezing cold, and it is precisely this that our officials must take as their guiding motto.

We must have the determination and will to share our lot, in life or death, and never to turn traitor or yield. To betray the revolution and surrender means death, and it is a mistake to beg for the enemy's pardon—a truth that can be drawn from the lesson of those countries in which socialism has been frustrated and capitalism revived. Many former socialist countries have gone to ruin because their people degenerated ideologically and surrendered to the enemy. We must

never surrender to the enemy or seek their pardon, but harden our confidence and will regarding victory in the revolution.

If we are to persuade Party members and other working people to have a firm conviction and strong will, we must teach them the profound truth that as long as they have their Party and leader, our revolution is sure to emerge victorious.

If a revolutionary is to follow the road of revolution he has chosen without any deviation, he must have a spiritual mainstay, without which he may vacillate in the face of even the slightest difficulty and end up betraying the revolution. The spiritual mainstay of our people is precisely the great leader and the great Party.

Old as he is, the great leader is leading our revolution energetically. Carrying forward his revolutionary cause, I have been dealing with the work of the Party and the army as well as of many other fields, in the course of which I sometimes have to go through hard and trying times. However, I never waver; I always work, full of confidence and optimism.

As long as there is leadership by the Party and the leader, our revolution is sure to emerge victorious—this is the truth that became the iron conviction of the anti-Japanese revolutionary martyrs by which a woman among them was able to shout at the top of her voice, even after her eyes had been gouged out by the enemy, that she could still see the victory of the revolution, and by which a man cut out his own tongue in order to protect the Headquarters, and by doing so struck terror into the hearts of the enemy.

It is the same case with the old man Ri In Mo, a former war correspondent with the Korean People's Army and an unconverted long-term prisoner, who is widely known around the world. He is a man of firm conviction and strong will, an incarnation of conviction and will. There can be no other person anywhere in the world with such strength of conviction and will as Ri In Mo. If he had written a simple declaration of conversion, he would not have undergone such hardships in prison for so long; but he refused to take that road. What was it that allowed him to stick resolutely to his principles as a revolutionary,

without yielding in the slightest in the face of all the suffering heaped on him by the enemy for all those decades? It was his belief that as long as we have the Party and the leader, our revolution will emerge victorious and the country will be reunified for certain. He is a communist to the core. He witnessed the raid on a police sub-station in Phabal-ri by Kim Hyong Gwon, was influenced by the anti-Japanese armed struggle and, after liberation, witnessed a happy life of the farmers who had benefited from the distribution of the land thanks to the benevolent care of the leader. These experiences no doubt had a great ideological influence on him. In his memoirs he clearly demonstrates that conviction and will are not formed of their own accord but produced and consolidated by ideological influence and accumulation. Both conviction and will assume the character of ideological continuity. Ri In Mo worked, after liberation, as the director of the information department of a county Party committee; I do not know how many directors of the information departments of county Party committees today share Ri In Mo's strength of conviction and will. It is a source of great pride for our Party to have had such a man as Ri In Mo, the incarnation of conviction and will, in the ranks of its officials. Ri In Mo is now an international figure. Hero Ri Su Bok is well known among our people, while Ri In Mo is widely known among the world public.

We must bring home to Party members and other working people the truth that they are certain to emerge victorious as long as they have their great leader and great Party, so that they will fight staunchly to accomplish the Juche revolutionary cause, the socialist cause, without yielding to any adversity, just as genuine revolutionaries have always done.

In particular, we must educate the younger generation of the revolution effectively, so that they carry forward the revolution reliably with firm confidence and a strong will to achieve victory in our revolution. It is important to educate the third and fourth generations of the revolution effectively, because they have experienced neither trials nor suffering. We must get them to drink the syrup made from the

blueberries of Mt Paektu, not Coca-Cola. In other words, we must imbue them thoroughly with the revolutionary ideology of our Party so that they are not swayed in the slightest by the wind of bourgeois liberalization. It is extremely important to educate the young people effectively. For this reason, I have frequently stressed the youth issue recently, and have ensured that the Eighth Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth is held next February.

Recently, Ri In Mo's memoirs have come to light. We should publish them in the newspapers. His memoirs, if carried in the newspapers, will serve as a very good material for educating our people, the young people in particular.

The cinematic art sector has recently produced the eleventh and twelfth parts of the multi-part film *The Nation and Destiny*, which are the story of Ri Jong Mo, a character who is based on Ri In Mo. To date, many films have been produced, containing scenes of the principal characters in prison, but none is as good as those devoted to Ri Jong Mo. *The Nation and Destiny*, in the parts devoted to Yun Sang Min, also contains scenes about the principal character's time in prison, but they are inferior to such scenes devoted to Ri Jong Mo. I can say that, of all the films describing the time spent in prison by the principal characters, the parts of *The Nation and Destiny* devoted to Ri Jong Mo, are the best. At first, these parts were not so good, and I had them revised as many as three times.

We must encourage officials to give full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude.

The revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude is the traditional fighting spirit of our Party and our people. By giving full play to this spirit, our Party has braved the most challenging difficulties and hardships in every period and at every stage of the developing revolution. Our revolutionary task at present and the current situation require us to give fuller play to this spirit. Displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude at a high level is the key to accelerating the revolution and construction and improving the people's living standards.

Many of our officials are making painstaking efforts to solve the difficult problems in economic work by themselves and to improve the people's living conditions. Some county Party chief secretaries have been running their local-industry factories effectively and providing their inhabitants with good quality clothes. The chief Party secretary of Kungang County has ensured that many houses are built, light-industry bases developed and pigs raised extensively. The chief Party secretaries who are working in counties where the economic conditions are extremely bad and yet have raised the standard of living of their inhabitants significantly by displaying the spirit of self-reliance and fortitude are heroes. Pyongyang, where the economic conditions are favourable, is a different matter. But it is by no means easy in places where the economic conditions are disadvantageous, to improve the people's living standards by dint of self-reliance and fortitude.

We must conduct effective education among Party members and other working people, teaching them to give full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, so that they can forge ahead through the difficulties and hardships that beset them with the firm determination that they would welcome assistance from their superiors, but will still do whatever they can by their own efforts even if their superiors supply them with nothing.

We must teach Party officials in particular to display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude at a high level. Among our Party officials there are just a few who are doing their utmost to clear the bottlenecks in economic work. Party officials should pay due attention to providing the Party's guidance to economic work. Party work that is separated from economic work is inconceivable. Party officials must step up the Party's guidance to economic work so as to play their proper role in developing the national economy. A contemporary loyalist is the person who resolves the difficult problems facing economic work. Our officials' loyalty to the Party and the leader should find expression in clearing the bottlenecks in economic work. By working hard for a few years,

we can develop the national economy at a high level.

A major problem requiring immediate solution in economic work is the supply of fertilizer and coal, which is an extremely pressing issue. We must channel great efforts into the production of fertilizer so as to supply without fail the fertilizer needed for next year's farming.

The Organizational Leadership Department and Information Department of the Party Central Committee must work out an effective plan for encouraging officials to display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude to the full.

We must provide Party members and other working people with effective education in class consciousness. Now that the situation is so complicated, it is important to conduct efficient class education among Party members and other working people to raise their class consciousness. However, class education is not being conducted effectively at present. Unless we conduct effective class education, the people may forget the past when they were subjected to exploitation and oppression and, content with their present happy life, succumb to the numbing of their class consciousness. The happier life our people enjoy, the more Party organizations should intensify class education so that Party members and other working people do not forget their class origin and so that they hold fast to the revolutionary principle of the working class in all circumstances.

We must instil into the minds of Party members and other working people the Korean-nation-first spirit.

The Korean-nation-first spirit is the pride and dignity of our people in having their great leader and the leadership of the great Party, the pride and dignity that would be inconceivable apart from the greatness of the leader and the Party that are leading the country and nation. Our people, who were exploited and oppressed, maltreated and humiliated in the past, now command worldwide admiration and envy, because they have the great leader and the leadership of the great Party. Never before have our people ever been as proud as they are now. While the people of those countries where

socialism has suffered setbacks and capitalism has been revived have become outcasts and vagrants, our people are leading an independent and creative life to their heart's content under the most advantageous socialist system, as the genuine masters of the state and society; ours are, truly, a happy and proud people.

We must bring the greatness of the leader and the Party home to Party members and other working people so that they understand deep in their hearts that our leader, our Party and our socialist system are the best.

It would be a good idea to compose and make popular many songs about the Korean-nation-first spirit. *Don't Advance, Night of Pyongyang*, which is now popular among our people, is a good song that rings with the great emotion of the Korean-nation-first spirit. This song fully reflects the great national pride and dignity of our people and the attachment they feel to the wonderful night in Pyongyang as it advances, carrying, along with the promise of a bright future, their unforgettable memories of the feats that have been achieved by pure-hearted loyalty and devoted service, and of the youthful dreams that have become reality. Implanted deep in the minds of our people, who nurture unbounded love for Pyongyang, the capital of the revolution and the residence of our leader and the Party Centre, is the Korean-nation-first spirit. In the future, we must popularize this song so widely that everyone is singing it.

We must step up the struggle among Party members and other working people against dogmatism and a servile attitude towards the great powers.

The most harmful ideological trends in defending the cause of socialism and establishing Juche are dogmatism and a servile attitude towards the great powers. Those who are enthralled by dogmatism and a servile attitude towards the great powers will not believe in their own strength and will look up to others, following them blindly. A long time ago, the leader taught our officials: When a man indulges in a servile attitude towards the great powers, he becomes a fool; when a nation adopts this attitude, the country will come to ruin; and

when a party adopts it, it will make a mess of the revolution and construction. In the early period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, the leader authored the Juche idea and firmly established Juche in the Korean revolution. As a result, during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, not the slightest expression of servility and dogmatism was tolerated within the Korean People's Revolutionary Army. We must imbue Party members and other working people with the Juche idea so that they stick to the Korean way in and out of work on the one hand, and on the other, launch an immediate struggle against the slightest expression of servility and dogmatism and get rid of them.

Comparative ideological education that makes use of comparative facts is effective. It enables the people to understand the essence of the subject easily and has a great influence on them, because it allows them to see or hear at first hand what is good and bad. For instance, if we analyze and compile the prices of rice, soy sauce, bean paste and other essential goods in our country, where they are cheaper than they are abroad, and make them public by means of oral information work in local communities and on the radio, the people will fully understand how good our socialist system is. However, this method of education is not being promoted actively, with the result that the rising generation are not well-informed about how our socialist system was created and how good it is, and are behaving like the children of a wealthy family. Comparative ideological education is not being conducted effectively at present, probably because the writers and editors who are engaged in producing educational materials do not understand the relevance of counterfactuals and have not themselves experienced hardship.

Comparative education, if it is to be effective, requires substantial counterfactuals to be prepared. The current situation for the people of those countries in which socialism has been frustrated and capitalism revived, will probably serve as good material for comparative education. In our country there is not a single person who is unemployed, whereas in those countries there are hordes of jobless

people, a fact that, if used in comparative education, will have a positive effect on our people. We must compile good materials about the miserable living conditions of the people of those countries, and conduct comparative education by making use of them, so that our people understand clearly that socialism means victory when it is defended, and death, once forsaken.

We must properly organize mass debates, a form of ideological education that involves educating several people by criticizing one person. The basic aim of such a debate is to ensure that those attending draw a lesson from the fault under criticism and are educated through the process. Mass debates should not follow the same way as a trial by comrades. They should be conducted in a logical and educative manner. They must be properly organized according to an appropriate methodology, as intended by the Party.

We must further strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship.

The people's democratic dictatorship is a weapon with which to hold political sway over society so as to meet the will and demands of the masses. It is based on the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses. Only when it is strengthened is it possible to protect the interests of the masses from the various manoeuvres by hostile elements, provide them with genuine political freedom and rights, and rally them more firmly around the Party and the leader. Strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship is an essential requirement for a working-class party to realize its full political leadership over society, develop the functions of the state, and guarantee the masses their independence. If we do not strengthen it, and instead begin to compromise our revolutionary principles, the result may be that we give the class enemies room to manoeuvre.

It is essential, in building up the people's democratic dictatorship, to strengthen democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is a principle that should be observed by the working-class party, state and working people's organizations in their activities. In building up democratic centralism, we must hold fast to the principle of ensuring both democracy and centralism, while emphasizing the latter. The

enemy are asserting that our democratic centralism is administrative and commanding, while they prattle about “democracy,” which is nothing more than sophistry to cover up their reactionary nature. The “democracy” they are advertising is “democracy” for only a handful of the privileged class and dictatorship against the broad sections of the masses.

In order to strengthen the people’s democratic dictatorship, we must build up the Party and the people’s power.

Thoroughly establishing the monolithic leadership system of the Party is highly important in strengthening the Party. If we fail in this work in such a complicated period as today, it may lead to the collapse of the Party and the ruin of the country. Long ago I put forward the policy of establishing the Party’s monolithic leadership system, and I have translated it fully into the reality. This notwithstanding, we must on no account neglect this work. Party organizations must channel great efforts into establishing the Party’s monolithic leadership system more firmly so that all officials are loyal to the Party’s leadership. In particular, they must establish strict discipline whereby they deal with important issues of principle according to the decisions of the Party Centre.

We must also tighten the discipline of abiding by state laws. State laws are inviolable. All the people within the territory of our Republic, whoever they may be, must observe the discipline of abiding by state laws, and those who violate them should be strictly punished.

We must strengthen the organs of public security. It is impossible to protect public security and the people’s lives and property unless the organs of public security are operating properly. We must lead these organs so that they perform their duties as they should.

We must further strengthen the People’s Army.

The People’s Army is the revolutionary armed forces of our Party and the defender of the Juche revolutionary cause. It is only when we strengthen it that it is possible to defend the people’s power and socialist system and guarantee our people’s struggle to accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche, all by force of arms.

If a working-class party is to make the revolution, it should take the army in hand. We must keep the People's Army under our full control and strengthen it continuously. Since the present situation is very complicated internally and externally, we must increase the strength of the People's Army all the more. No matter how frantically the imperialists and class enemies may work, we will have no problem, provided that the People's Army is strong. As the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, I will defend socialism at all times, by maintaining control over both the Party and the People's Army.

If we are to strengthen the People's Army, we must ensure that the soldiers are fully prepared in terms of both their political ideology and their grasp of military technology.

The ideological and mental qualities of the soldiers of our People's Army are very good now; this is evident in the letter addressed to me by Pak Yong Chol and his seven brothers, all officers in the Korean People's Army. In their letter they write that it is their will and pledge to become eight human rifles and eight human bombs in defending their respected Supreme Commander. Such people as these, who, though not raising a cheer, are fully determined to fight even at the cost of their lives in support of the Party, are true loyalists to the core. Their letter moved me to reply with the following: "Invincible is our Party, since it has such soldiers as you comrades who are unfailingly loyal to the Party and the cause of revolution." Our exchange of letters is currently causing great excitement among the soldiers and people, as evidence of the existence in our country of an integral whole between the Party, the army and the people. Such unity is nowhere to be seen, other than in our country. As long as the Party, the army and the people form an integral whole, no one will dare challenge us. Pak Yong Chol and his seven brothers have pledged to become eight human rifles and eight human bombs to defend their Supreme Commander; should future circumstances require it, all our 20 million people will become 20 million human rifles and 20 million human bombs to defend the Party and the leader

even at the cost of their lives. No one on earth can break the strength of such an army and people that are united solidly behind their Party and leader. With them, we can defeat any enemy.

We must further intensify education in loyalty and monolithic ideology among the soldiers of the People's Army so that they are all willing to lay down their lives without hesitation for their Party and leader, just like Pak Yong Chol and his seven brothers.

If we are to strengthen the People's Army, we must also make the soldiers engage in training so hard as to prepare themselves fully in military technology. Military training is preparation for battle and, therefore, its intensity must be very high. If the soldiers are to go through highly-intensive training and become matchless warriors, they must be fed well. Feeding generates energy; unless the soldiers are fed well, they cannot use their energy to the full, and consequently they cannot train properly. The leader has given instructions on several occasions that the soldiers of the People's Army must be well fed. We must on all accounts ensure that they are properly nourished. It is important to assist the People's Army substantially in deeds, and not just in words.

We must show deep concern for improving the people's living standards.

Improving the standard of living of the people steadily is the supreme principle of our Party in its activities. Our Party leads the revolution and construction for the building of socialism and communism in order to provide the people with a more independent and creative life. It is inconceivable that our Party's activities could be divorced from the people's living.

Whenever the occasion arises, the great leader says to our officials that they should work vigorously to improve the people's living standards so that the people can eat rice and meat soup, dress in silk and live in tile-roofed houses. However, our officials have as yet failed to implement this instruction. We must on all accounts work hard to translate the leader's ideas into reality as soon as possible. In his recent meeting with a foreign party delegation on a visit to our country, the

leader said that he is now working as an adviser, while I am in full charge of all the affairs of the Party, the state and the army. I will work hard to ensure that our people always eat rice, so as to prove myself worthy of the leader's great trust in and expectations of me.

I intend to have some of the norms governing food supplies to the people revised on the principle of increasing, as of next year, the proportion of rice. My plan is for all the citizens of Pyongyang to be supplied with rice for every meal. However, our officials are not working true to the Party's intention. Recently I assigned the Administration Council the task of taking steps with regard to the food supply, but it has not yet been carried out. When the Party puts forward a new policy for improving the people's living standards, officials must implement it without fail so that the Party's people-oriented policy benefits the people promptly and exactly as intended. Officials must implement without condition the current measures adopted by the Party for supplying the people with rice. Supplying rice to the people is the plan of the leader and the intention of the Party. One ton of rice costs 200 US dollars on the international market; if the rice produced in our country is insufficient to supply to all the people, we may possibly import the additional quantities we need. The foreign currency with which to import rice can be earned by producing more lead and zinc and exporting them. In the future, when we are producing large quantities of food grain by farming efficiently as required by the Juche farming method, it is entirely possible that we will be able to feed the people with rice, even without the need to import any.

We must adopt measures for supplying the people with meat. To this end, we must develop stockbreeding. We must do our best to solve the meat problem, so that the people can be supplied with meat on a regular basis.

We must continue to put efforts into the construction of housing.

Previously we built many modern multi-storey and other dwellings, thus solving the problem of people's housing to a considerable extent. In recent years in particular, we have constructed Kwangbok and Thongil

streets in Pyongyang, thus improving the appearance of the capital and going a long way towards solving the problem of housing for its citizens. Once the on-going construction of 30 000 flats in Pyongyang is finished, it seems to me that the problem of housing for the citizens will be solved in the main.

We must quickly finish the construction of the houses in Samsok District, which are houses that are designed to use biogas as fuel and geothermal and solar power for under-floor heating. The construction work is not progressing smoothly at present. The Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee should render active assistance so that the construction is finished quickly. Members of the department should familiarize themselves with the problems in this construction project and adopt appropriate measures for pushing ahead with it forcefully.

We must adopt measures for improving the capacities of the urban utility facilities in Pyongyang.

The present capacities of Pyongyang's public utility facilities are in general low. Recently, as envisaged by the Party's long-term urban construction plan, extensive streets, modern housing and public buildings have been constructed in Pyongyang, turning it into a wonderful city that is famous worldwide; yet, the public utility facilities are falling short of the standard. The public heating facilities in Pyongyang are poor in quality. Some time ago, when I visited a certain central institution, I found its rooms were very cold because of a lack of heating. When offices are cold, officials will be unable either to work properly or relax during their breaks. I have been told that the houses in Pyongyang, too, are not adequately heated. Modern Kwangbok Street has been constructed thanks to the efforts of the Party, but the people living there are made uncomfortable by the inadequate heating and water supplies, caused by the inefficiency of city management. That the heating in houses in modern streets such as Kwangbok, Thongil and An Sang ThaeK streets is inadequate, is intolerable. One boiler at the East Pyongyang Thermal Power Station supplies heating to Thongil Street; we must set up more boilers at this

power station as envisaged by the plan for the future and thus improve the capacities of Pyongyang's public heating utilities. As a follow-up to the construction of 30 000 flats that is now under way, we must adopt measures for increasing and perfecting the capacities of all the public utility facilities in Pyongyang.

We must actively promote the introduction of the insulated thermal tube, a brand new invention in our country and a major breakthrough in the scientific and technological sphere. The thermal tube is of great economic value, in that it makes significant economies in coal consumption, while improving the convenience for people in their living. The invention of this thermal tube represents a revolution in solving a problem that is key to people's living, that of fuel. The housewives who have already introduced this thermal tube in the kitchen find it very convenient, while those that have not yet acquired one are said to be very eager to do so, and are vying with one another to obtain one. Party organizations must push ahead with the work of introducing this thermal tube.

To this end, we must promote it on a mass scale. The present approach, by which a certain unit specializes in the manufacture of the thermal tube and distributes it to individual households, cannot bring this work to early completion. We must teach families the relevant technical regulations and data so that the masses can make the thermal tube for themselves. Through a mass campaign, we should ensure that not only households but also nurseries, kindergartens, schools, restaurants and dormitories, as well as institutions and enterprises that burn coal, all introduce this thermal tube.

We must establish a strict earthquake warning system.

This morning an earthquake of magnitude five to six shook Pyongyang; the inhabitants were taken completely by surprise, because they had not been warned about it beforehand. Since they were unprepared for the earthquake, they were naturally shocked by the sudden deep sound and the trembling of their buildings.

As things stand, it is impossible to protect the people and their property from earthquake damage. We must establish a strict

earthquake warning system by which to inform people promptly of any signs that an earthquake might occur. If we issue a warning beforehand about a possible earthquake, on either the radio or the television, it will be possible to reduce the damage, should the earthquake actually occur. If we are to perform this task effectively, we must supply the necessary equipment to the Seismological Research Institute, staff it with qualified personnel and adopt measures for ensuring prompt communication.

We must ensure that contractual or equity joint ventures with foreign companies are conducted effectively.

Joint ventures with foreign companies are currently being conducted in a haphazard way, without any proper calculation of the economic results. I have been told that existing joint ventures with foreign countries involving companies, factories, restaurants, shops and the like, are not being obliged to pay charges for electricity and water, or a reasonable price for the labour. This is a mistake. For instance, if they have used electricity at a time when supplies have been strained, we must make a correct calculation of the price they should pay, and insist on receiving it. In particular, we must settle accounts with the capitalist countries to the last penny and receive everything we are due.

Contractual or equity joint ventures should, in principle, be conducted between countries, and between our enterprises and foreign companies. It is not a good idea to promote those involving individuals from capitalist countries. If we fail to handle joint ventures properly, it may create a lever for capitalist ideas to infiltrate, resulting in us failing to defend and maintain socialism. In the future, we must acquaint ourselves with the general affairs of joint-venture enterprises and foreign-exchange restaurants and shops, and make the necessary adjustments.

The system of Party officials gaining a month of field experience as Party cell secretaries needs further study.

A few years ago the Party started seeing to it that Party officials visited subordinate units once a year to work as Party cell secretaries for a month. This policy has been in operation for about two years so

far. In the course of their month-long field experience as Party cell secretaries, Party officials have educated Party members and other working people and rallied them more firmly around the Party, helped the Party to strike root deeper among the masses, and rendered great contributions to strengthening the Party cells. In addition they have gained a clearer understanding of the reality in their work and trained themselves in a revolutionary way. This is proof of the validity of the Party's policy that requires Party officials to experience life as Party cell secretaries in the field for a month once a year.

However, there is scope for further study as to whether or not Party officials need to continue to visit factories, enterprises and the countryside to work as Party cell secretaries for a month, as they do at present. For officials of the Party Central Committee to go down to factories, enterprises and the countryside and gain experience in the field as Party cell secretaries for a month would be good for strengthening the Party cells and for the officials themselves to learn the method of working with people, the method of Party work, but it is limited in terms of improving the economic management method and economic work. All Party officials have so far gone through this experience more than once, but few of them have come up with any constructive initiatives for developing the national economy and solving the problems facing the people in their living.

In my opinion, it would be a good idea in the future to let officials of the Party Central Committee go down to the subordinate units to work not as Party cell secretaries but as managers of factories and enterprises, like locally-run factories. In other words, they should be made to gain experience in the field not as Party cell secretaries but as commanding officers. When they work as factory and enterprise managers down in their subordinate units, they will find themselves working with the workers, studying and living alongside them, consolidating their revolutionary identity, assimilate themselves to the working class, forming an understanding of what it really means to work in the spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, and striving to strengthen their work units. Besides, since they will understand the

reality more concretely and learn the economic management method in the course of it, it will benefit them considerably in their future Party guidance to economic work. Sending officials of the Party Central Committee down to factories and enterprises, like locally-run factories, as managers to gain field experience as commanding officers may be far better than letting them study on the six-month reeducation course at Kim Il Sung Higher Party School.

By making officials of the Party Central Committee work as managers of factories and enterprises, like locally-run factories, we can better understand their working ability. The leader taught us that the ability of a cadre manifests itself only in the course of his or her working as a leading official at a production unit. It is necessary for us to make officials of the Party Central Committee take the reins of a swift steed, so as to examine how they ride it. When sending them down to lower units as managers, we must see that they go to the most backward locally-run factories and other factories and enterprises. Moreover, once they have strengthened the units they are assigned to take charge of, they can be recalled, but if they fail to do so, they must be made to remain in the field until they have made the necessary improvements.

It is no easy job to manage and operate a factory properly. Even officials who are known to be effective, if they are asked to put certain local-industry factories on a regular footing on their full responsibility, may find it difficult to do so. It would not be undesirable in the future to allocate a local-industry factory each to the officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the International Relations Department of the Party Central Committee, so that they can undertake, on their full responsibility, the production of the consumer goods that are essential for people's living.

# **SOCIALISM IS THE LIFELINE OF OUR PEOPLE**

## **Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*November 14, 1992*

At present the imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to every conceivable scheme in attempting to stifle the uninterrupted advance being made by our country under the guidance of the Party and the leader and under the unwavering banner of socialism. The more desperate the enemy become in their moves, the higher we must hold the banner of socialism, so that we can frustrate their counterrevolutionary offensive with a revolutionary offensive.

Despite their frenzied attempts to wipe out socialism on this planet, it remains enshrined in the hearts of the world's revolutionary-minded people and continues to advance in its orbit. Socialism is the ideal of mankind, and its eventual triumph is a law of historical development. Try as the imperialists and reactionaries might to stamp out socialism, they can never turn back the tide of history. Today the revolutionary people the world over are waging a courageous struggle to defend and advance the cause of socialism under the banner of the Pyongyang Declaration. The advance towards socialism is having a powerful impact in the capitalist countries, as well as in those countries where this cause has collapsed. There is not a shadow of doubt that because of the struggle of the revolutionary parties and people around the world, the manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries will be doomed to frustration and socialism will continue to advance and will achieve ultimate victory.

Armed with a staunch faith in the victory of socialism, we should be optimistic about the current situation and resolutely defend the cause of socialism.

Socialism is our people's lifeblood. Whether they survive or die, in other words, the option either to enjoy an independent and creative life as masters of the state and society or to suffer humiliation and contempt as slaves, in the long run hinges on their successful defence of socialism. As the song has it, the defence of socialism leads to victory, and its abandonment to death. Whatever difficulty or ordeal we may be facing, we should on no account abandon the building of socialism, the cause that we have chosen.

Defending and advancing the socialist cause demands that the Juche idea be fully applied in all fields of the revolution and construction.

The Juche idea is the ideological foundation of socialism and our sole guideline in the revolution and construction. Korean-style socialism that is centred on the people resolves itself into Juche-oriented socialism based on and embodying the Juche idea. Socialism, if it lacks an ideological foundation and a correct guideline, cannot rightly be claimed to be genuine socialism; such socialism may crumble under the crushing weight of the anti-socialist moves on the part of the imperialists and reactionaries. This is well evidenced by the lessons of those countries where socialism gave way to capitalism.

Our socialism is advancing victoriously, undeterred by the unmitigated, nefarious manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries, because it is based on and guided by the Juche idea. Socialism is the lifeline of our people, while the Juche idea is the lifeline of our socialism.

We should resolutely defend the Juche idea against every manner of bourgeois, reactionary trend in ideology, continue to enrich it in scope and depth and thoroughly apply it in all fields of the revolution and construction.

The building of socialism is the process of applying the Juche idea, and a socialist, communist society is precisely a society modelled on this idea.

The great leader long ago authored the Juche idea and has applied it in full measure in all fields of the revolution and construction. He himself adheres to our own way both in promoting the revolution and construction and in his everyday life. An episode concerning the colour of his suit provides eloquent proof of how resolute is his Juche-based standpoint: Once some officials recommended cloth of a certain colour for his suit, explaining that the colour was in fashion, but he answered that fashion should follow him, and not the other way round.

We should accept the Juche idea as our inherent faith and fully apply it in all fields of the revolution and construction so that we can add lustre to Juche-oriented socialism, which is Korean-style socialism that is centred on the people.

In order to defend and glorify socialism, it is imperative further to consolidate the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses.

These three entities make up a single organism sharing a common destiny. Their close unity in ideology, purpose and moral obligation is a guarantee for the eventual triumph of socialism. We should continue to strengthen this unity by rallying all the people more closely behind the Party and the leader.

In safeguarding socialism at the present juncture, it is vitally important to frustrate all the abuse directed at socialism by the imperialists and bourgeois revivalists and to bring home to Party members and other working people the validity and superiority of the socialist cause.

The imperialists and bourgeois revivalists are firing a broadside at socialism by labelling it “totalitarian,” “barracks-like” and “administrative and commanding.” This is nothing but reactionary sophistry, untenable in the face of reason and devoid of any theoretical basis. What are these revivalists who revile socialism, doing now? Having disbanded the Communist Party by presidential decree, they are imposing by force all the measures they have adopted.

In the face of this vicious, slanderous “theory” any failure to expose its reactionary nature could cause certain people who lack

ideological integrity to develop misgivings about socialism. We should bring to light the reactionary implications of the “theory” and equip Party members and other working people more closely with socialist ideology.

I intend to publish an article refuting the accusations that socialism is “totalitarian,” “barracks-like” and “administrative and commanding.” The theory and information sector should come up with a lot of writings that reveal the reactionary nature of the arguments against socialism and explain the truthfulness and superiority of the socialist idea and theory. Our Party has found solutions to all the theoretical and practical problems arising in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, such as that of the three revolutions, ideological, technological and cultural, that of forging the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the people, and that of combining centralism properly with democracy and strengthening the democratic dictatorship of the people. If, proceeding from our Party’s idea and theory on the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, we reveal the reactionary nature of the accusations against socialism, it will be an immense encouragement to the people in their struggle to frustrate the moves of the imperialists and reactionaries and safeguard socialism.

It is also necessary to compile good writings on the shortcomings of the classical theories of the past, so that Party members and other working people can have a clear grasp of the originality and superiority of the socialist idea and theory evolved by our Party.

Marxism-Leninism is a revolutionary idea that emerged as a reflection of the exigencies of the revolutionary practice of the working class during the periods of pre-monopoly capitalism and imperialism. History has since advanced a long way and the times have changed. The present era is a new age of independence in which the masses of the people are the masters in creating history and their own destiny in an independent and creative way. The authors of Marxism were never engaged in the actual building of socialism, and the same was the case with Lenin. Because of the limitations of the

contemporary conditions and practical experience, the socialist theory advanced by the founders of Marxism-Leninism never went, in quite a few cases, beyond the bounds of prediction and assumption.

The consideration of any shortcomings in Marxist-Leninist theory must not permit a nihilistic approach to or abuse of its founders. We should acknowledge the feats that Marx, Engels and Lenin performed on behalf of mankind, and maintain a high regard for them. The founding of Marxism-Leninism transformed socialist theory from a Utopian ideal to science, provided the working class with its own guiding idea, the first of its kind in history, and enabled it to wage a dynamic struggle against capital and for class emancipation, national liberation and socialism. Respect for the authors of Marxism-Leninism is, in fact, a moral obligation of a revolutionary to his seniors in the revolution.

The writings on the shortcomings of Marxist-Leninist theory should also mention the exploits of its authors. This is the only way to provide people with a correct understanding of it and puncture the accusations made against it by the reactionaries and bourgeois revivalists.

Producing well-balanced writing on the shortcomings of Marxist-Leninist theory requires a good knowledge of the originality and superiority of the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of our Party. The Juche idea is a unique idea and the ideal revolutionary theory of communism, which was advanced by the great leader as a reflection of the demands of the era of independence, a new historical age. A creditable explanation of its originality and superiority will naturally lead to a revelation of the shortcomings of Marxism-Leninism. The workers in the theory and information sector should conduct a profound study of the Juche idea and grasp its originality and superiority, at the same time as delving into such classics as *Das Kapital* in order to gain a good command of Marxism-Leninism.

A lot of songs should be produced with high ideological value and artistic merit. Such songs inspire the people with confidence in socialism, and with great willpower and vigour. *Don't Advance,*

*Night of Pyongyang* is one such song. It can be a source of encouragement to the People's Army soldiers and the people in the event of war. Still, whenever I listen to it, I feel a surge of strength. Human beings must learn to appreciate music. Life isolated from music is unthinkable. In times of war, not only songs but also broadcasts can be a source of encouragement for the soldiers and people. During the Second World War, the Soviet newsreader Levitan read the news from the Supreme Command, and by doing so he gave powerful encouragement to the Soviet army and people to win victory. He became famous for the effectiveness of his broadcasts, so much so that Hitler, in a fury, reportedly gave orders to start by killing Levitan after Moscow was occupied. Our present newsreaders are just as able. They, too, will play a major role in the event of war.

Recently, many songs with high ideological value and artistic merit have emerged from the musical art sector. *Don't Advance, Night of Pyongyang* is a work of high ideological and artistic value. *If Our Motherly Party Wishes* is another example. Its words are admirable.

In future, this sector should compose many songs that are good enough to become national treasures. A song of this kind is nothing special. It is a song that appeals to the leader and the people. However, our art organizations, with the exception of the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble, are credited with few such songs. Performing art institutions should follow the example of the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble and produce a host of songs that will be treasured, on the theme of daily living. To this end, they should get into the habit of developing everyday happenings into amusing songs. On its own, a subjective desire to create something great will never produce a wonderful song. If they evolve an elaborate song that portrays people's life and appeals to their tastes, it will be valued as a treasure. For this purpose, creative workers should gain firsthand experience of the reality by mixing with the people in and out of work, and obtain a profound understanding of their aspirations and demands.

Songs should be rendered well. Otherwise, however good they may be, they will fail to yield any rewards.

**LET US TRAIN TRUE PUBLIC SECURITY  
WORKERS WHO STAUNCHLY SAFEGUARD  
THE SOCIALISM OF OUR OWN STYLE**

**Letter to the Teaching Staff and Students of the Political University  
of the Ministry of Public Security on the Occasion  
of the 45<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Founding**

*November 20, 1992*

Today we are celebrating the significant 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Political University of the Ministry of Public Security.

This is a Party university, one that produces reliable political defenders of our Party, and a comprehensive base for training personnel for all branches of public security work.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, displaying deep insight into the role of public security in the revolution and construction and despite the difficult situation in the country immediately after liberation, established the Security Officers School under the Interior Bureau, the predecessor of the Political University of the Ministry of Public Security; he guided the work of this school on the spot dozens of times and gave very important instructions on many occasions, wisely leading the work of training public security personnel.

Our Party has, in the process of modelling the whole society on the Juche idea, paid close attention to consolidating and developing the Political University of the Ministry of Public Security into a university of the Party, in line with the new requirements of the

developing revolution, and exerted great efforts to provide it with solid material and technical foundations.

Under the wise leadership of the Party and the leader, this university has become a regular educational institution that is fully equipped with an able teaching staff and modern educational facilities. The academy has trained able security personnel who are firmly armed with the revolutionary outlook on the leader and our Party's idea and theory on public security, and reeducated numerous in-service personnel, thus making a great contribution to strengthening and developing the public security organs into the political guards of the Party. It has achieved tremendous exploits in staunchly safeguarding the Party and the leader, protecting our unique people-centred socialist system and the people's lives and property, and carrying out the revolutionary tasks assigned to it by the Party.

I fully appreciate this university's achievements in fulfilling its noble revolutionary duty so excellently, and I extend warm thanks on behalf of the Party Central Committee and on my own behalf to all its teaching staff and students, who are making every possible effort to make themselves a fortress and a shield in accomplishing the revolutionary cause of Juche by displaying unfailing loyalty and filial devotion to the Party and the leader.

Our people are currently waging a dynamic struggle to safeguard the people-centred socialism of our own style resolutely and bring its advantages into fuller play, united solidly behind the Party and the leader and under the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea. They consider the destiny of socialism as their own, because they have been made fully aware through their own experience that only the socialism of our style can be the cradle of their life and happiness where their independence and creativity can be guaranteed. That the defence of socialism means victory and its abandonment implies death is the unbreakable faith of our people.

The revolutionary people around the world who aspire after independence are unanimous in their admiration for the indestructibility and solidity of Korean-style socialism as it makes unwavering and

triumphant progress in spite of the bitter trials; they are turning out actively in the struggle to champion and advance the socialist cause, armed with fresh confidence and renewed determination that socialism, if built on the basis of the Juche idea, is certain to be victorious.

The more victoriously our socialism advances and the more influence it exerts, the more frantic the imperialists and reactionaries are becoming in their anti-socialist, anti-DPRK manoeuvres. Considering our Republic, the bulwark of socialism, to be a thorn in their flesh, they are directing the spearhead of their attack against our country and intensifying their political and military pressure and economic blockade on us as never before. We are having to build socialism unassisted, in the twofold and threefold encirclement by the world's imperialists who have become more arrogant since the frustration of socialism in several countries. We must, however, overcome the trials and hardships by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, firmly defend and maintain the socialism of our own style, and add lustre to it. To defend and maintain our style of socialism and add lustre to it is a sacred struggle to consummate the Juche revolutionary cause pioneered in the forests of Mt Paektu, and a noble struggle to accelerate the cause of independence for mankind. It is a great struggle by our Party and our people to fulfil their honourable mission and duty to the times and the revolution.

If we are to emerge victorious in this struggle, we must enhance the functions and role of the organs of the people's democratic dictatorship, such as the public security organs, while strengthening the Party and improving its leadership role. The people's democratic dictatorship is a powerful weapon of the working class for crushing the anti-socialist, counterrevolutionary elements of all hues and defending the interests of the masses. Without strengthening the public security organs, the working-class Party can neither consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, nor win in the class struggle, nor thoroughly defend the masses' interests and their demand for independence.

The recent events in some former socialist countries clearly show that if the public security organs, which play such an important role in the class struggle, fail in their duty, the function of the dictatorship of the socialist state will fail, and socialism will collapse. The modern revisionists have come up with every conceivable scheme to numb the functions and role of the public security bodies, clamouring as if the class struggle were no longer necessary in a socialist society. They have weakened the functions and role of the public security organs through a variety of cunning manoeuvres such as rejecting party leadership to these bodies, splitting them up or cutting their size, or dismissing reliable workers on the excuse of structural reforms. As a result, hostile elements have been able to manoeuvre without restraint, crimes and irregularities of every type have become rampant, and in the long run the socialist system, the achievement of the revolution, has collapsed. Historical experience shows that only when a socialist state further strengthens the organs of its dictatorship, far from weakening them in the face of adverse circumstances, and suppresses all the hostile elements that violate the independence and creativity of the masses, is it possible to defend and maintain socialism.

The Political University of the Ministry of Public Security is entrusted with a heavy task in staunchly safeguarding the people-centred socialism of our own style through the intensification of public security work. It must train in larger numbers genuine political defenders of the Party who are firm in their revolutionary outlook on the leader, highly qualified politically and practically, and equipped with people-oriented traits, and thus make an active contribution to defending the Party, the leader and the socialist system securely.

To equip themselves firmly with the Juche theory on public security is the primary task facing the public security workers if they are to discharge their mission and duty with distinction. It will enable them to deal with all the problems arising in their work in conformity with the interests of the Party and the revolution and solve them successfully by relying on the strength of the masses.

The Juche theory on public security is the theory on public security of the people-centred socialism that has evolved on the basis of the Juche idea, which identifies the masses as the masters and driving force of the revolution and construction.

In socialist society the fundamentals of public security work are to champion and defend the security of the masses by relying on the masses themselves.

Public security in socialist society is the work of defending the security of the masses. In socialist society the state power and the means of production are in the hands of the masses, and everything in society serves them. Therefore, public security work in this society must, as a matter of course, become work to defend their security. It is precisely the work of championing and defending their independent position and guaranteeing their creative role. In socialist society the independence and creativity of the masses can be fully defended and realized only when a vigorous struggle is launched to suppress any hostile element that tramples on the independence and creativity of the masses and to oppose all outdated ideas and non-working-class elements. Championing and defending the independent position of the masses and reliably guaranteeing their creative role—this is the intrinsic quality of public security work in socialist society.

Public security work can be successful only when it relies on the strength of the masses. Since ensuring the masses' security is extremely complex and difficult work, it can be done successfully only with the involvement of the masses themselves, as well as the professionals. To conduct this work by relying on the strength of the masses means solving all the problems arising in it by actively mobilizing the masses' creative strength and wisdom, which are inexhaustible and more powerful than and superior to even the most modern weaponry and technology. When the masses give full play to their creativity and participate in this work purposefully and consciously, it is possible to capture criminals promptly, stifle irregularities in advance, and establish sound social order and a revolutionary way of life. Relying strictly on the masses is the basic

way to ensure the complete success of public security work.

The basic principle of public security work in socialist society is that it is conducted under the leadership of the Party, that the working-class principle is maintained in the work, and that the struggle to prevent crime and illegal acts from appearing is combined with the struggle to expose them when they do occur. This is the guideline for conducting public security work in conformity with the Party's intention and the intrinsic demands of socialist society.

Conducting public security work under the Party's leadership is the basic requirement for public security organs in maintaining their revolutionary character and fulfilling their mission and duty. The Party is the leading political organization in society and the guiding force in the system of the people's democratic dictatorship. Only under the Party's leadership can the public security organs fulfil their functions and role as a political weapon of the Party. Party policy is the only criterion by which public security work should be conducted. Our Party's policy on this work comprehensively elucidates the principles to be adhered to in it, and the direction and means for carrying it out. Public security workers must arm themselves firmly with Party policy on their work, create the sound revolutionary spirit of implementing it to the letter, and establish strict discipline of reporting important matters arising in their work to the Party Centre and dealing with them as it decides. They must all accept Party policy as absolute, champion and implement it promptly, to the letter and unconditionally, and thus uphold the Party's leadership loyally.

Public security work in socialist society requires strict observance of working-class principles. This will make it possible to deal with all problems, however challenging, in conformity with the basic demands and interests of the working class, eliminate non-working-class elements of all hues and resolutely champion and defend the Party and the leader, the state and the socialist system. It is important for the public security sector to maintain working-class principles at all times and launch a dynamic class struggle against hostile elements. Its workers must analyze and judge all the problems arising in their work

from the working-class standpoint and must never ease up, not even for a moment, in the class struggle. They must show no leniency to hostile elements, whatever the circumstance, and must wage an uncompromising struggle against elements that run counter to the demands of the working-class, so as to eradicate them. Maintaining working-class principles in public security work does not mean encroaching on the interests of the masses. They mean championing and defending the interests of the masses and realizing them better.

Working with the main emphasis on struggling to prevent any kind of illegal acts before it occurs is an important principle to be adhered to in public security work in socialist society. In capitalist society, where the exploiter class rules the roost, society is divided into classes and all sorts of social evils are rampant, it is impossible to prevent the occurrences of crime and illegal acts, whereas their prevention is possible in socialist society where the masses are the masters of everything, the whole society is united into a single organism and all the people lead an equitable material and cultural life under the benevolent care of the party and the state. Of course, even in socialist society there remain elements of outmoded ideology and backward customs, but in themselves they are not crimes and illegal phenomena that violate the people's security. If we intensify education among the people to prevent the outmoded ideas that are lingering in their minds from being converted into the consciousness of crime, and root out the conditions and possibilities whereby crime and illegal acts might occur, we can surely prevent them. The struggle to uncover criminals must not be neglected, on the excuse that the prevention of crime and illegal act is the main task in public security work. While emphasizing the work to prevent crimes and illegal acts, we must combine it properly with the struggle to discover criminals promptly.

The Juche-based approach to public security work is the method of solving all problems arising in it by relying on the masses and mobilizing them. The approach to public security work in socialist society is the most advantageous, and is by its nature very different from bourgeois police methods, which are based solely on intelligence.

In public security work in socialist society, political methods must be employed in the main, so as to solve all the problems arising in public security work by giving full play to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative of the masses. In socialist society, where the masses are the masters of everything, public security work is work for the masses and of the masses themselves. The public security workers must ensure that the masses fulfil their responsibilities and perform their role in public security work by giving priority to political work among them, thus inspiring them ideologically. They must give the masses intensive education so that they abide by the law willingly. They must also conduct effective information work to motivate the masses to public security work and show appreciation, from a political point of view, for those who are active in the actual public security work, so that the masses are encouraged to become actively involved in the struggle against crime and illegal acts.

Public security work to eradicate crime and illegal acts must correctly combine political methods with technical and practical methods, with the main emphasis on the former.

A key task facing public security workers at present is to defend the single-hearted unity of the whole society more securely.

The single-hearted unity of the whole society is the basic guarantee for ensuring the safety of the masses and an essential factor in defending and maintaining our style of socialism and advancing it victoriously. With the imperialists and reactionaries working more viciously than ever before to break our single-hearted unity, public security workers must never neglect even for a moment the struggle to champion and defend the single-hearted unity of the whole society.

They must give full play to their spirit of devoted service to the people in order to ensure that all the people have absolute trust in and follow their Party and their leader and rally more firmly around them with one mind and purpose. People, when public security workers love them as they would their own parents, brothers and sisters and work heart and soul for them, will be all the more grateful for our socialist system that has been established by the Party and the leader,

and will unite more solidly behind the Party and the leader ideologically and consciously, morally and faithfully. Recently among our public security workers, many noble deeds have been evident—saving children from drowning at the risk of their own lives and adopting bereaved children and taking good care of them, thus effectively sharing the pain of others. These are indications of their love for the people and a fine example that epitomizes the single-hearted unity of our Party and people and the true superiority of our socialist society. Taking great honour and pride in being the defenders of the people's interests, they must become true servants of the people who always look after the people so that they can work and live with an easy mind at all times and in all places, and who save the people's lives and property, even at the cost of their own lives, should the situation arise.

The single-hearted unity of the whole society is formed and consolidated through a struggle against all the negative elements that stand in its way, and the public security personnel must combat all these elements staunchly.

Launching an effective struggle against those illegal acts that hinder the implementation of the Party's policies is a matter of great importance in championing and strengthening the single-hearted unity of the whole society. Such acts make it impossible to promote the revolution and construction successfully as intended by the Party, and they thus give rise to the harmful effect of undermining the masses' support for and trust in the Party and the leader. Public security workers must uncover such acts promptly and eliminate them thoroughly through a powerful struggle. The struggle against such acts is difficult, but public security workers must conduct it in a principled way, by which they support the Party and ensure that the masses trust and follow only the Party.

A dynamic struggle must be launched against non-socialist practices.

Non-socialist practices are harmful practices that attempt to undermine and break up socialist society from within. These practices

are now appearing in various forms in various areas of social life. People who fall prey to them become degenerate and mentally deformed, their consciousness of class and national independence is numbed and paralyzed so that they care only about money, and they may end up becoming counterrevolutionaries who oppose the Party and the socialist system. We must launch a powerful struggle against any non-socialist practices that corrode socialism, and refuse to be reconciled or to connive with them.

In order to intensify the struggle against non-socialist practices, officials must adopt a proper attitude towards them. The imperialists and reactionaries are making frantic attempts to blow the wind of “liberalization” into our country and stir up non-socialist practices of all descriptions, with the aim of creating confusion in our country and shattering our single-hearted unity. We must not think too little of them or overlook even the slightest manifestation of them.

We must surround ourselves with a sound “mosquito net” to protect ourselves from the bourgeois ideological and cultural poison, and take substantial organizational measures to prevent that net from being torn. In addition, we must never make the slightest concessions with regard to any potentially non-socialist practices however insignificant they are, but smash them mercilessly. We must nip the non-socialist practices in the bud. Public security institutions and their workers must deal a timely and heavy blow against acts of deliberately disturbing the social order and public morals, so as to establish revolutionary discipline and a sound climate throughout society.

The Political University of the Ministry of Public Security must educate its students about the key issues arising at present in public security work, including that of ensuring the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses, and that of eradicating the illegal and non-socialist practices that may hinder the implementation of the Party’s policies; it must also teach them the methodologies for resolving the issues, so that they are thoroughly prepared as reliable political defenders of the Party.

While teaching the students to understand the actual issues facing

public security work, the university must also develop their practical ability to cope with them. Public security workers are direct executors of Party policy on public security. However well prepared they may be theoretically, they will still be unable to solve the problems facing them in their work successfully, unless they have the practical ability to do so.

It must give them more education based on practical experience. The profound experience gained in public security work is a precious asset for developing this work and an excellent textbook for improving the practical ability of the workers in this sector. It must provide this education not in such a way that the experience gained to date is introduced indiscriminately, but by way of synthesizing what can be conducive to solving the practical problems and teaching them systematically. It needs to organize lectures by serving personnel who have gained outstanding experience in solving actual problems.

Case studies are an excellent educational tool for improving the students' capacity of inference and judgment and their ability to deal with all eventualities. The use of case studies must be handled in such a way as to incorporate real events and make the students find their own solutions by racking their brains.

The university must also introduce more field-study courses. It must work out a sound programme to this end that reflects the Party's intention and the actual requirements, and provide full conditions for it to be carried out strictly.

The university must channel great efforts into equipping its students with the qualities of true public security workers.

The students at this university must not only prepare themselves firmly in both theory and practice during their university life, but also develop the qualities of genuine public security workers.

The quality that is most essential to a public security worker is unflinching loyalty to the Party and the leader and boundless devotion to the people.

Loyalty to the Party and the leader is the lifeblood of public security workers. As fighters at the forefront of the struggle to safeguard the Party and the leader, they must be loyal to them above

anybody else. They must make loyalty to the Party and the leader their conviction, conscience, moral duty and everyday practice. Only then can this loyalty be inflexible, invariable, true, pure and absolute. The Political University of the Ministry of Public Security must lead its students to acquire a firm revolutionary outlook on the leader so that they can become genuine loyalists who follow only the Party and the leader, no matter what wind may be blowing, and who lay down their lives without the slightest hesitation for the sake of the Party and the leader, and who perform their duty to the best of their ability with the purest of minds, always cherishing the great political trust shown in them by the Party and the leader that have placed them at the forefront of the class struggle.

Boundless devotion to the people is an essential quality of public security workers who are in duty bound to safeguard the people. It is rooted in the attitude of being faithful servants of the people. With such an attitude, public security workers must work heart and soul for the masses, regarding themselves as the guards and servants who defend their security.

The abuse of power and bureaucratic behaviour are a manifestation of an erroneous work-style that is fundamentally opposed to the concept of boundless devotion to the people. Public security organs in socialist society are power organs, but they are not permitted to abuse their authority; their officials are defenders of the people, not bureaucrats, so any one of them who infringes on the interests of the people cannot be called a defender of the people's security. Public security workers must punish without mercy every criminal and lawbreaker who encroaches on the socialist system and the lives and property of the people, but they must never use the performance of their duties as an excuse for infringing on the interests of the people. If they, the exercisers of power, abuse their authority and act arbitrarily in such a way as to harm the people's lives and property, they may not only find themselves rejected by the people but also harm the single-hearted unity of the whole society that was created by the Party with such painstaking efforts. Bearing deep in

mind how harmful the effects can be of the abuse of power and bureaucratic behaviour, they must eradicate them thoroughly.

Public security workers must be upright and honest in their economic and moral life. When they are indolent, slack and greedy, they will degenerate ideologically and become unable to conduct an aggressive struggle against non-socialist practices, and may instead become involved in them. They must never infringe on the interests of the people by wielding their authority, nor must they ever accept bribes and connive at breaches of the law.

They must thoroughly eliminate the abuse of power, bureaucratic behaviour and the pursuit of physical gain, and become true public security workers who give their all for the sake of the people.

It is important to intensify ideological education among the students in order to equip them with the traits of genuine public security workers. The Political University of the Ministry of Public Security must always direct primary attention and tremendous efforts in its education and edification to the work of developing its students' loyalty to the Party and the leader and inducing them to acquire the spirit of devoted service to the people.

The noble traits of public security workers are formed and consolidated through ideological training. An organizational life is a furnace for ideological training. This university must further intensify its organizational life and establish iron discipline among its students so as to train them as true public security workers who work heart and soul for the Party and the leader, the country and the people, without wavering, whatever the conditions.

Improving and stepping up the administration of education is a key to improving the quality of the university's education. This university must work out a sound educational programme to meet the requirements of the developing reality. It must draw up its educational programme in such a way as to train its students into the Party's reliable political defenders who are unfailingly loyal to the Party and the leader and equipped with a high degree of practical ability, and establish strict discipline for carrying it out without fail. It

must forcefully promote scientific research relating to public security, introduce into its lectures the successes gained in this scientific research, and conduct substantial work to improve the scientific and theoretical qualifications of its teachers.

The teachers are directly responsible for educational work. With the consciousness that they are career revolutionaries who are training public security workers, the teachers at this university must strive to possess noble qualities and traits and do their work with credit.

Studying is the primary revolutionary task of students. The students at this university must study harder and harder, as required by the Party's study-first policy, so as to prepare themselves thoroughly as excellent public security workers who are equipped with politico-theoretical and practical qualifications.

The Political University of the Ministry of Public Security must provide its teaching staff and students with good conditions for studying and living. It must take steps to improve its specialist research rooms and use them more effectively. It must enhance the role of its printing press and library so that they can satisfy the needs of the teachers and students for textbooks and reference books. The officials in its supply section must act responsibly and, by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, solve the problems that arise in providing the teaching staff and students with good living conditions.

The Party committee at this university must step up the Party's leadership of the university's overall work. It must ensure that all the work of the university is carried out on the basis of Party policy, and rouse the teaching staff and students forcefully to the implementation of Party policy. It must render effective guidance to the teaching staff and students in their Party life, so as to train them into true revolutionaries.

The Party's trust in and expectations of this university are great.

I firmly believe that the Political University of the Ministry of Public Security will, as in the past, so in the future, too, perform its mission and duty as a Party university with credit, by training many staunch public security workers who are loyal to the Party's leadership and cast in their lot with the Party forever.

# **LET US BRING THE ADVANTAGES OF OUR PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT INTO FULLER PLAY**

**Letter to the Participants in the National Lecture  
Course for Officials of People's Government Organs**

*December 21, 1992*

Twenty years have passed since the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung made public the *Socialist Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*. In this time the Socialist Constitution has been embodied in a thoroughgoing way in all sectors of socialist construction, further consolidating the people's government and bringing about an epoch-making advance in the struggle for modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea. The political, economic and military foundations of the people's government have been built up rock-solid, its function and role enhanced, and the three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—positively promoted; as a result, the masses of the working people are more satisfactorily guaranteed independent and creative activities in all fields of national and social life.

The brilliant success in the consolidation and development of the people's government and triumphant advance of socialist construction is inseparable from the noble efforts of the officials of government organizations, who have worked devotedly with unflinching loyalty to the Party and the leader, and to the motherland and the people.

Availing myself of this lecture course for officials of people's

government organizations, I would like to extend on behalf of the Party Central Committee, and on my own, warm thanks to all the officials of government organs who have worked with devotion under the leadership of the Party to consolidate the people's power and improve its function and role so as to vigorously step up socialist construction and add lustre to our style of socialism centred on the masses.

Our revolutionary cause, which has been advancing triumphantly under the banner of the Juche idea, is developing today in a new historical situation. Socialism has suffered setbacks in several countries, and, with this as a momentum, the imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to blatant anti-socialist schemes. In this difficult situation we are striving to safeguard and advance our style of socialism centred on the masses. Our people have a sacred duty to the epoch and to history to smash the counterrevolutionary offensive of the imperialists and reactionaries, advance the socialist cause and expedite the historic cause of reunifying the country. The prevailing situation at home and abroad, and the grave revolutionary tasks facing us demand that we consolidate the people's government without letup, and further enhance its function and role.

At the historic Third Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly the Socialist Constitution, which the great leader had revised and supplemented with deep insight into the requirements of the developing situation, was promulgated. The new Socialist Constitution is a Juche-oriented manifesto of socialist politics in that it consolidates by law the great victory and achievements of our people in socialist construction, and stipulates in a comprehensive way important principles and tasks for safeguarding the socialist cause and consummating it brilliantly.

We must further strengthen the people's government as an invincible weapon of our revolution and bring its advantages into full play by applying the Socialist Constitution in a thoroughgoing way, completing the socialist cause of Juche.

## **1. ON THE SOLIDITY AND VITALITY OF THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT**

The people's government is a sturdy political weapon in revolution and construction for consolidating and developing the socialist system, and winning the final victory of the socialist cause.

Government is political authority wielded over all the members of society to defend and satisfy the demands and interests of a class or a social community. It is also a basic factor that decides the character of a social system and the development of a society. The masses of the people can carve out their destiny independently and creatively as genuine masters of the state and society only when they have become the masters of the political power. The masses' cause of independence, i.e., their struggle to consummate the cause of socialism and communism, is a gigantic and complicated creative process of wiping out all sorts of remnants of the old society and transforming nature, society and man in line with the masses' essential nature of independence. It is accompanied by a fierce class struggle to smash the anti-socialist manoeuvres of the enemy both at home and abroad. For the victorious advance of the socialist and communist cause, all the members of society should be rallied into a single political force for the consolidation of the motive force of the revolution and the improvement of its role, and a thoroughgoing dictatorship over the class enemies should be enforced. The work of organizing and mobilizing the masses for the revolutionary struggle and construction work for realizing their independence can be performed only by the people's government under the leadership of the working-class party. The people's government represents the independent rights and interests of the masses. It is also a political organization which organizes the masses and leads them to the

accomplishment of the cause of socialism and communism. Consolidation of the people's government is precisely the safeguarding and development of the socialist system, and its consolidation is a sure guarantee for advancing and accomplishing the masses' cause of independence in triumph.

Our people's government is a highly stable and viable socialist government, which is accomplishing the cause of socialism and communism.

It is a genuine socialist power centred on the masses and guided by the Juche idea.

A guiding ideology is the basic factor that determines the character and mission as well as the principles and modes of the activities of the government. It also guarantees stability and vitality of power. The forms of socialist governments and the principles and modes of their activities vary in accordance with the ideologies guiding them. In order for a socialist government to preserve its working-class and people-oriented character, and execute politics as suited to the intrinsic demands of socialist society, it should base itself on a guiding ideology that reflects truthfully the requirements of the times and the developing revolution.

The Juche idea is a man-centred world outlook. It is a revolutionary, scientific and political theory that accurately illumines the way for realizing the independence of the masses. The idea has set up a world view and a standpoint with humanity at the centre, given a scientific elucidation of the law governing the socio-historical process with the masses at the centre and explained new guiding principles of revolution and construction by reflecting the intrinsic demands of the masses. It is the supremely correct guiding ideology of revolution and construction in our times, created in reflection of the masses' aspiration for independence. Its rightness and vitality have been testified graphically in revolutionary practice.

Our people's government, proceeding from the Juche idea, was established and is run by the people in conformity with their will and desire, and through their efforts. In its construction and activities it

places the masses' demands for and interests in independence at the centre and subordinates everything to enhancing their position and role. The essential advantage of our people's government that embodies the Juche idea is that it ensures that the masses exercise substantially their rights as masters of the government and politics, and perform their responsibilities and role as such. It is a fundamental principle in building the people's government that the masses must be empowered as the masters of the government and the government be made to it serve them.

The people's government strictly adheres to independent and creative stands, and takes ideology as an essential matter in revolution and construction.

The independent and creative stands are the fundamental stands and methods that should be maintained in revolution and construction. It is only when these stands are adhered to by the government in its activities that it can successfully carry out revolution and construction in conformity with the interests of the people and the concrete realities of the country, and defend to the last the socialist cause in any adversity. Opposed to the worship of great powers, dogmatism and other outdated ideas of all descriptions, it regards as its invariable principle the solution of all problems arising in the building of the government and in its activities, in accordance with its independent judgement and viewpoint and the actual realities of our country, and by drawing on the efforts of the people. It is building up the economy and defence capability by relying on the people and to suit the realities of the country. Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence is the guiding principle upheld by our people's government in the revolutionary struggle and construction work.

Promoting the revolution and construction by heightening the masses' ideological consciousness is an intrinsic requirement of the revolutionary movement and socialist society. It is also the basic key for the people's government to gain success in the revolutionary

struggle and construction work. A socialist society develops through the purposeful and conscious efforts of the masses, its masters. Only when the main stress is placed on people's ideological consciousness can the revolution and construction be promoted in conformity with the masses' demand and aspiration for independence; only then can socialist society be developed steadily by enhancing the role of the masses. It maintains as its consistent principle in socialist construction the giving of priority to political work to heighten the independent ideological consciousness of the masses, while combining it with administrative and business work as well as economic and technical work.

It is the historic mission of the people's government to apply in a thoroughgoing way the Juche idea into all spheres of public activity, and provide the masses with a fully independent and creative life. All the members of society should be remoulded into communists of the Juche type, and society and nature transformed as required by the Juche idea by applying this idea; only then can the ideological and material fortresses of communism be occupied. Modelling the whole society on the Juche idea is the general target of the activities of the people's government. By building itself and performing its activities with the Juche idea as its guiding ideology, our people's government is providing the masses with genuine rights and freedom, and an ethical, civilized life in all state and social spheres. It is also safeguarding the independence of the country and the nation.

The people's government is a stable socialist power whose socio-political foundation is the broad masses of the people.

The socio-political foundation constitutes the basis of the building of a government and its activities. A government separated from that foundation is inconceivable, as its existence and power are dependent on its socio-political foundation. Needless to say, economic power and defence capabilities are important factors that guarantee the building of a government and its activities. Nevertheless, however developed the economy and however strong the defences a government has, it cannot demonstrate its vitality nor maintain its

existence if its socio-political foundation is not solid. A government based on a stable social and class foundation, and supported by the broad masses will thrive; one which is neither based on such a foundation nor supported by the masses will crumble.

The socio-political foundation of a government is closely related to its form. With the wide participation of the workers, farmers, intellectuals and other working masses of all strata in the revolutionary movement of our times, the social and class foundation of the revolution became remarkably wide. And this demanded the steady expansion and consolidation of the socio-political foundation of the working-class government. The people's government is a socialist power of a new type, which was established reflecting the law-governed requirements of the development of the revolutionary movement of our times, as the socio-political base of the struggle for independence became broader.

The people's government is a truly people-oriented power, relying on the workers, farmers, intellectuals and other broad working masses. The power in our country is held by all classes and strata of the society which are on the side of the revolution. The people's government provides them with equal political rights and freedom in all areas of state and public activity. Our people's government enabled even the religious believers and non-comprador capitalists who loved their country and people to be the masters of power in the past and is still taking responsible care of their destiny to the last. From the first day after its inception as the people's democratic government, it has enjoyed the absolute trust of the masses of all strata and is still enjoying the deep trust of the whole people. Convinced that a worthwhile life for them and the happiness of their posterity are guaranteed by the people's government, our people are striving devotedly for its strengthening and development.

Having developed on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and by relying on the united front of the broad masses, the socio-political foundation of our people's government is being further strengthened today by the force of the whole of the

people united single-mindedly. Power relying on the broad masses has a positive influence on the mustering of all classes and strata of society to the effort for attaining the common goal of the society and developing the social and class relations into collective one of helping and leading one another. With the people's government as a weapon, our people have carried out two stages of social revolution, established the socialist system and united single-mindedly in their effort to consummate the revolutionary cause of Juche. The social and political foundation of single-minded unity on which our people's government is based is the most solid unity whereby the leader, the Party and the masses form an integral whole. The relationship between the leader, the Party and the masses in our country can be likened to the one between the seed, stone and flesh of a peach. The seed is protected and can mature only when the flesh ripens fully; likewise, the Party is strengthened and the guidance of the leader provided effectively when the masses live and fight regarding the revolutionary ideology of the Party and the leader as the only yardstick in the shaping of their destiny. Nothing can demolish the socio-political foundation of our people's government, whereby all the people are united single-mindedly behind the Party and the leader in one ideology and purpose, as well as in ethics and loyalty, based on Comrade Kim Il Sung's revolutionary idea, the Juche idea. The leader, the Party and the masses forming a single, solid socio-political organism on the basis of revolutionary comradeship and loyalty is the true nature of the socio-political foundation on which our people's government is based.

Our people's government is the most solid and vigorous socialist power, provided with the distinguished leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

The decisive factor that guarantees the solidity and vitality of a socialist government is the leadership provided by an outstanding working-class leader. The prominent working-class leader originates the idea and theories on the building of the socialist government and develops them as required by the times and the development of the

revolution; under his leadership, the socialist government is established and its activities orientated at every stage of revolution and construction. The working-class leader establishes and guides the socialist government, a weapon in revolution and construction, with which to put his ideas and leadership into effect. The socialist government separated from his ideas and leadership cannot conduct revolutionary and people-oriented politics. The politics of the socialist government is nothing but the working-class leader's politics, and its might and vitality are dependent on the greatness of his politics.

The great leader originated the immortal Juche idea and, on this basis, shed light on the line of building a people's government which would reflect the requirements of the times and the developing revolution, and applied it effectively. He is the founder of our people's government and is an outstanding politician who exercises politics centred on the masses in state activities.

The great leader's politics is the politics of independence. The masses' struggle for independence is waged with a country and its people as a unit. Their destiny is linked to the destiny of their country and its people as one, which is guaranteed by the politics of independence. If a power does not pursue such politics, it cannot defend the dignity and interests of the country and its people, and the masses cannot but be reduced to colonial slaves. Independence in politics is the first criterion of a sovereign state. In the revolutionary struggle and construction work the great leader has formulated all the lines and policies in conformity with the interests of our people and the realities of our country, and carried them out by drawing on the efforts of our people. Thanks to his independent politics, the dignity and honour of our country and its people have been brought to distinction today and a new path hewn for the destiny of our people.

The great leader's politics is genuinely democratic politics. Democracy is the basic criterion that characterizes the progressive nature of a power and basic mode of politics to realize the masses' independence. Democracy should be ensured in all social spheres so

that the masses may lead an independent and creative life. The great leader clarified the truth that the masses are the masters of politics and politics should serve them, and has pursued politics which crystallized the thinking of the masses. Thanks to his democratic politics, our people are provided with equal political rights and freedom, and are leading a worthwhile and happy life to their heart's content.

The great leader's politics pursues unity. The unity of the masses is the source of stability and strength of a socialist government, and a sure guarantee for realizing the independence of the masses. The masses of the people must unite to realize and defend their independence. From the time he first embarked on the road of revolutionary struggle, the great leader has regarded unity as the basic factor ensuring victory in the revolution, and devoted his all to the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks. By pursuing unity-oriented politics, he magnanimously embraced all those who, though having transgressed against the country and the people in the past, have since taken the road of patriotism. Today this politics of the leader has united the masses of all strata into one and is arousing them for the effort for socialist construction and national reunification.

The great leader's politics is benevolent politics. The people are the masters of society; they are the creators of social wealth. Genuine politics for them should respect them and grant them all benefits. The great leader regards the people as his revolutionary comrades and teachers, and brings them all manner of honour and happiness. He leads them as a benevolent father would do, and shows them gracious affection while taking pleasure from the people's joy. Thanks to his benevolent politics, our people's government is performing fully its duty as a faithful servant of the people, and the people are enjoying a worthwhile life without any worries in all social spheres.

The great leader's politics based on independence, democracy, unity and benevolence originates in his deep love for and trust in the masses of the people. Love for and trust in the masses are the

fundamental principle of the politics pursued by him. They are the kernel and basis of the politics centred on the masses of the people.

That our people's government, under the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea, is bringing its might and vitality into full play by relying on the powerful motive force of the revolution is the brilliant outcome of the great leader's politics based on independence, democracy, unity and benevolence. The embodiment of the political ideals of Juche and of independence, democracy, unity and benevolence under the leadership of the leader is the source of the great attractive force and invincibility of our people's government, which is adding lustre to our style of socialism centred on the masses and carrying forward brilliantly the revolutionary cause of Juche.

The guiding ideology, socio-political foundation and the leader's guidance are the main factors that decide the solidity and vitality of a socialist government and the successful construction of socialism and communism. This is a valuable revolutionary truth emerging from the historical lessons of the international communist movement at a time when socialist governments have collapsed and the socialist cause has suffered setbacks in several countries. It is also a stark reality of our revolution, which has staunchly safeguarded the socialist cause and is advancing it with success in an uncommonly disadvantageous revolutionary situation and in the face of trying difficulties. Learning a serious lesson from this, the revolutionary parties and people of the world have risen up today to rehabilitate the socialist movement and advance it. Our own style of socialism, which is accomplishing the revolutionary cause of Juche by strengthening the people's government and pressing ahead with the three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—under the leadership of the Party and the leader, is instilling hope and conviction for the future and courage in the hearts of progressive peoples who have risen to build new societies.

As masters of the state and society in the bosom of the people's government, our people are enjoying a dignified, happy and worthwhile life. Through their practical experience they feel

affectionately the preciousness of the people's government. Our workers, farmers, intellectuals and all the other people have now entrusted their destiny to the people's government and visualize, through its development, a brilliant future when the socialist cause of Juche will emerge victorious and when their independent and creative life will be brought into fuller bloom.

As it is guided by the immortal Juche idea, based on a firm socio-political foundation and provided with the sagacious leadership of the great leader, our people's government has become an invincible socialist power, and beacon of hope and battle flag spurring mankind to the accomplishment of the cause of independence. We must further strengthen this most stable and vigorous people's government so as to safeguard and add lustre to our style of socialism centred on the masses in any adversity.

## **2. ON FURTHER ENHANCING THE FUNCTION AND ROLE OF THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT**

In order to press ahead with the cause of socialism, the function and role of the people's government should be enhanced in every way.

Providing a unified leadership for society is the basic function of the people's power.

It is a comprehensive function of grasping all the spheres of social life and regions in the country, and of organizing and regulating their development. This function satisfies the masses' demand for independence on a society-wide scale and ensures their creative activities. The characteristics of the people's government's function of unified leadership are that it meets the basic demand of the masses by raising their position and role. This function should be consistently maintained so long as the people's government exists. It is an

indispensable function that should be enhanced all the more along with the in-depth promotion of the construction of socialism and communism.

A socialist government is the most comprehensive political organization involving all the members of society. There are other political organizations in a socialist society, such as political parties which represent the interests of a social community. While these organizations represent the interests of a particular social community and motivate the members belonging to it, a socialist government is a socially comprehensive political organization which represents all the members of society and leads them. It is authorized not only to supervise and guide the people but to administer the wealth of the society. A socialist government which is empowered with all authority as a comprehensive political organization performs the function of unified leadership of society.

Unified leadership of society is an intrinsic demand of socialist society. Socialist society is a society of collectivism, in which all the members, united into a socio-political organism, live in harmony while helping and guiding one another. It is also a highly-organized society which transforms all areas of social life and regions of the country purposefully and consciously. The unity and relationship of cooperation between the members of society are not realized of their own accord, nor do all the areas of social life and regions of the country develop in a harmonized manner on their own, even though it is a socialist society in which the state power and the means of production are in the hands of the masses of the people. The historical experience of socialist construction shows that, without proper guidance provided by the government, the unity of the members of society and its harmonious development cannot be realized, and neither can the masses' independent and creative activities be organized and conducted purposefully; in the long run, the socialist system itself cannot be maintained.

The unified guidance of the socialist government should ensure balanced and harmonious development of all spheres of social life

and regions of the country, and give full play to the initiative of each sphere and unit. Their balanced and harmonious development is a prerequisite for realizing the complete socio-political equality of all the members of society and developing their standard of living evenly and rapidly. Providing unified leadership for society does not contradict the ensuring of the initiative of the individual areas and units. The initiative of those areas and units is not displayed spontaneously in a socialist society; it can be brought into full play in a purposeful and conscious way only when unified leadership is provided by the state. The imperialists' and reactionaries' slandering of the unified leadership by the socialist government as administrative and bureaucratic is a sophistry aimed at tarnishing the image of the socialist system and stamping out socialism. The negation of the socialist government's function of unified leadership is nothing other than opposition to socialism itself. The deviation known as administrative commandism appeared in some socialist countries in the past just because the ruling systems and methods of the old societies had not been overcome in the field of the administration of society, and the officials in government organs, retaining the remnants of outdated ideas, did not properly exercise unified leadership of society. The point is how a socialist government should provide unified leadership of society.

A people's government should bear the responsibility for politics, the economy, culture and all the other fields of social life and for all the regions of the country, and provide unified guidance and administration.

Government is the basic means of carrying out politics; it dominates political life. A people's government should provide the masses with the right of independence in a thoroughgoing way so that they can become the genuine masters of the state and society. This means the right to safeguard and realize independence, the socio-political integrity of man. It is a genuine right which combines in a proper way the common demand of the society and the demand of each member of the social community, and satisfies them. The

masses should exercise this right in a substantial fashion to occupy the position of masters of the state and society, perform their responsibilities and roles as such and add lustre to their dignity and value as social beings. Granting them the right of independence is the fundamental condition for realizing their independence. Representing their right of independence, the people's government should pay primary attention to granting it to them so that they can enjoy a worthwhile political life, adding lustre to their valuable socio-political integrity. The rights of citizens stipulated in the Socialist Constitution legalized our people's right of independence. The people's political power should create all the conditions for the people's exercise of this right in a substantial way, as stipulated in the Constitution. It should gather in a timely fashion the masses' opinions and demands, and satisfy them. It should also involve the broad masses in the administration of the state and in social and political activities. In this way, it should ensure that all the citizens participate in political life appropriately. It should see to it that the masses, through the political life of the state, enjoy democratic rights and freedom to their heart's content.

Socialist economy is a planned economy and a large-scale, collective economy in which all the sectors are organically linked. It should be guided and managed in a unified way. Moreover, the more it develops, the more the unified guidance should be intensified. The people's government should set the targets and direction of economic construction on the basis of the Party's line and policies, and organize economic work to the minutest detail to expedite socialist economic construction. It should develop the socialist economy at a steady and rapid rate by applying the fundamentals and principles of the management of the socialist economy and by putting into effect the Juche-oriented system and method of economic management. It should ensure a proper balance between accumulation and expenditure in socialist economic construction, manage distribution correctly according to the work done and further develop welfare services for the people to improve their livelihood in a balanced

manner in accordance with the essential nature of socialism. It should resolve the problems arising in economic work in a responsible way, and direct all its efforts to the improvement of the people's livelihood, thus providing an abundant material life for them. In this way, it should perform its duty properly as the one responsible for the people's livelihood.

Developing socialist ideology and culture is an important undertaking to improve the independent ideological consciousness and creative ability of the masses. The more their independent ideological consciousness and creative ability are developed, the deeper and wider their creative activities to transform nature and society will be. The people's government should organize and guide this undertaking in a purposeful, conscious and systematic way. It should promote the ideological and cultural revolutions to raise all the members of society to be developed and sturdy people who are equipped with independent ideological consciousness, high cultural attainments and knowledge. It should bar imperialist and reactionary ideological and cultural infiltration and imbue the masses of the people firmly with the ideals of socialism. As socialist society regards the ideals of socialism as its lifeline, it will perish if the masses suffer from ideological and spiritual maladies. Socialism, won at the cost of blood, crumbled in several countries helplessly because their peoples had been affected by ideological and spiritual maladies. The people's government should carry out in a substantial manner ideological transformation and political work at the same time as taking revolutionary measures for checking the infiltration of bourgeois ideological elements of all descriptions which affect the masses' ideology and mentality.

The building of defence capabilities is a very important undertaking to defend the country, the people, the socialist system and the revolutionary gains against the aggression of the enemy. As the imperialists and reactionaries are raising an anti-socialist, anti-DPRK clamour and resorting to schemes to provoke a new war more viciously than ever before, the people's government should direct

great attention to the strengthening of the country's defence capabilities. As required by the Party's military line, it should turn the entire army into an army of cadres and modernize it from top to bottom to turn it into an invincible revolutionary force armed with lofty political and ideological consciousness and up-to-date military science and technology; it should also put all the people under arms and fortify the whole country to turn it into an impregnable fortress and make the whole people fully ready to frustrate the enemy's aggression. The entire people should be fully equipped with our Party's view of war, and a social tenor of attaching importance to military affairs should be established throughout the society. In accordance with the features of modern warfare, the people's government should keep in reserve sufficient materials needed in wartime, build properly the important military strategic areas and develop the munitions industry.

Developing foreign relations is an important undertaking for the Government of the Republic to expedite socialist construction and national reunification, strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation with other countries and realize global independence. The Government of the Republic should develop foreign relations so as to unite with the revolutionary people all over the world who uphold independence. Thus it will make an active contribution to the effort for global independence. Independence, peace and friendship are the basic ideals of the foreign policy of the Government of the Republic and the principles on which its external activities are based. The Government of the Republic should establish and develop state, political, economic and cultural relations with all the countries which are friendly to our country on the principles of complete equality, independence, mutual respect, noninterference in each other's affairs and mutual benefit. Under the Party's slogan, "Let the people the world over who uphold independence unite!" the Government of the Republic should channel every effort into strengthening in every possible way unity and solidarity with the people all over the world who aspire to independence.

The Government of the Republic should safeguard, in unity with the revolutionary people of the world, socialism from all manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries. It should unite with the people of the world who uphold independence and render active support to the efforts of people in all countries to achieve sovereignty, and national and class emancipation. The main obstacle to defending the independence of the people the world over and safeguarding socialism is the US and other imperialist reactionary forces. The Government of the Republic should adhere firmly to the principled, anti-imperialist stand and consolidate solidarity with all the anti-imperialist, independent forces to frustrate the imperialist scheme of war and aggression, and expedite global independence. It should protect the independent national economy by developing foreign trade on the principle of complete equality and mutual benefit, and by having economic relations with other countries suited to the interests of our people and as required by the laws of the Republic.

The people's democratic dictatorship is an important function of the people's government.

The people's democratic dictatorship of our people's government is a people-oriented dictatorship which exercises genuine democracy among the masses of the people and a revolutionary dictatorship based on single-minded unity among the leader, the Party and the masses, and which strengthens that unity continuously. The socialist government in which the masses are the masters of power strengthens the people's democratic dictatorship so as to defend the interests of the people from the manoeuvres of hostile elements of all descriptions and provide them with genuine political rights and freedom. The more the people's government intensifies the people's democratic dictatorship, the more satisfactorily the demands of the Party, the revolution and the people are met and the more firmly the masses of the people are rallied behind the Party and the leader. The essential characteristics and superiority of the people's democratic dictatorship are that it defends the interests of all people and makes the masses a powerful motive force of the revolution.

The function of the people's democratic dictatorship is a power

function of the people's government to smash all counterrevolutionary schemes and elements destructive to socialism and that infringe upon the masses' interests, and to provide democratic rights and freedom for the people.

The people's government should not regard the power function, the function of dictatorship, to be omnipotent in the administration of society and in revolution and construction. But, for all that, it should not neglect this function in the least. While intensifying the military, political and economic pressure upon the socialist and other progressive countries, the imperialists and reactionaries have directed the spearhead of attack at our country and are now resorting to all manner of wicked acts of subversion and sabotage. In order for our people's government to frustrate the anti-socialist manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries, and defend the interests and security of the masses, it must strengthen its function of dictatorship.

The people's government should thoroughly suppress the acts of subversion and sabotage of the hostile elements. The building of socialism and communism is accompanied by the struggle to smash the imperialists' schemes of aggression and the manoeuvres of internal hostile elements who are in league with them. The more complicated the situation at home and abroad and the more the revolution develops, the more wicked and wily the hostile elements' manoeuvres against socialism become. The people's government should step up the people's democratic dictatorship to punish without mercy the remaining elements of the exploiter class who scheme to destroy and overthrow the socialist system, and the spies and subversive elements who infiltrate from outside. It should bring the broad masses to a high degree of class consciousness and enlist them in the struggle against counterrevolutionaries so that they can fetter all class enemies. The people's government should firmly defend the socialist system and revolutionary gains by improving the role of the dictatorial machinery and promptly suppressing the manoeuvres of the hostile elements.

The people's government should strengthen legal sanctions against

those who, tainted with outdated ideas, violate legal order, so as to root out non-socialist practices.

The most dangerous of non-socialist practices is delinquency, which causes unease in the minds of the people and disturbs social order and thus has a disturbing influence on the masses. If delinquency is allowed to grow gradually, it will put the socialist system in jeopardy. We should not underestimate it on the ground that there are only a handful of delinquents; we must nip them in the bud. The people's government should take revolutionary measures to eliminate delinquency and make sure that the delinquents know the severity of the socialist law. We should never frighten the people, but strike terror into delinquents. Since we are building socialism while encircled by capitalism, we cannot defend socialism if we fail to conduct a thoroughgoing struggle for eliminating delinquency.

The people's government should also fight against misappropriation and squandering of the property of the state and society in violation of the law, and corruption and irregularities in connection with money and goods, such as commercial wrongdoings. In socialist society there cannot, and should not, be those who cheat others, idle away their time without labouring, or enjoy special prosperity. The people's government should do away with all manner of corruption and irregularities, enable all the working people to live and work in conformity with the requirements of socialism, improve the people's standard of material and cultural life evenly and protect it consistently.

The dictatorship of the people's government over the forces and elements which infringe upon the interests of the masses is not a violation of human rights; it is a thoroughgoing defence of human rights. Human rights are the sacred rights of social man, who is desirous of living and growing in an independent and creative way. The masses embody genuine human rights. By nature, the people's democratic dictatorship is a power function of the people's government to ensure democratic rights and liberty for the masses as befits the masters of the state and society. Those who violate human rights are the imperialists and reactionaries; they brutally suppress

and persecute in an inhuman way people who demand freedom and democracy, and infringe even on their elementary right to existence. The imperialists and reactionaries slander, under the signboard of “defence of human rights,” the exercising of power by the socialist government over hostile elements as a violation of human rights; this is a nonsensical clamour. Our people’s government, as a revolutionary weapon for safeguarding the independence of the masses, should further intensify the people’s democratic dictatorship to serve the masses better.

### **3. ON HOLDING FAST TO THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF THE BUILDING OF THE PEOPLE’S GOVERNMENT**

The revolutionary cause of Juche for realizing the independence of the masses is a process of deep-going change and great creation to transform man, society and nature, as required by the Juche idea. It is also a long-term undertaking to be conducted for generations to come. This cause can be promoted successfully and finally consummated only when the broad masses take an active part in it and exert their efforts with complete consistency. And this cause is realized by the people’s government, which has the authority and power to organize and command in a unified way the activities of all the members of society.

In its character, form, mission, tasks, function and role, our people’s government is the best one for successfully realizing the cause of socialism and communism. We should strengthen the people’s government continuously to further develop it and bring it to perfection, in accordance with the requirements of socialist and communist societies.

In order to develop the people’s government into a solid and

powerful revolutionary one which can victoriously consummate the revolutionary cause of Juche, we must hold fast to revolutionary principles in the building of power.

Applying the leader's ideas and leadership in a thoroughgoing way is the fundamental principle for the building of the people's government.

The people's government steadfastly defends and carries out the leader's ideas and leadership; all its activities are a process by which the leader's ideas and leadership are put into practice. A government which applies the leader's ideas and leadership consummates the revolutionary cause of its leader through generations, but a government which does not apply them cannot withstand the enemy's slanders and attacks, and will crumble. This is a truth confirmed by the history of the building of the working-class government. We should apply the leader's ideas and leadership to the building of government with tenacity to make the people's government an invincible revolutionary one which consistently and victoriously advances the leader's revolutionary cause, and which inherits and accomplishes this task.

In the building of government, a monolithic ideological system should be established thoroughly and its inheritance ensured.

This means that government is built and run with the leader's ideas as the only guiding principle, and developed steadily on the basis of his ideas. In other words, this means that it is developed into a government which promotes the leader's revolutionary cause of realizing the masses' independence and it safeguards its character through generations.

Building it into the leader's revolutionary government for the masses' independence and preserving its revolutionary character unchanged are fundamental requirements in the whole historical period of the building of a socialist government. In the historical period of the building of the revolutionary government, one generation of the revolution is succeeded by another without interruption, and its revolutionary tasks change, but its revolutionary

character as the leader's revolutionary government should never change. If it does not inherit its revolutionary character, this means that its revolutionary character as a government for the masses has been changed. As the lessons of history show, the enemies and renegades of the revolution perpetrated wicked acts aimed at weakening and besmirching the leader's ideas and leadership in the building of government to destroy and overthrow the revolutionary government. In the building of government we should always pay primary attention to preserving the revolutionary character of the people's government unchanged, with the leader's revolutionary ideas as the firm guide.

The traditions the leader has established in the building of the revolutionary government should be preserved and inherited through generations in their pure form. Like all the other revolutionary causes, the cause of building government develops along a certain law-governed course, and, in this course, the idea, theory and method of building government are created and achievements attained. The revolutionary traditions of a government are an invaluable treasure and the cornerstone for building and developing it. The revolutionary government maintains its existence by relying on its revolutionary traditions. If the revolutionary traditions of a government are infected by impurities or if they are obliterated, it will become degenerate and shaken to the roots. We should never tolerate any attempt to tarnish or obliterate the revolutionary traditions of the people's government; we should inherit them in their pure form so as to ensure that the people's government invariably inherits its character as the leader's government.

Party leadership should be intensified in the building of government.

The leader's ideas and leadership are translated into practice through the party's leadership. The working-class party is the vanguard and guide of the revolution, which fights with the mission of materializing the leader's ideas and leadership, and the people's government is an executor of the party's lines and policies. It is only

under the party's leadership that the people's government can preserve its revolutionary character, fulfil its function and role, and develop continuously. The existence of the people's government is inconceivable apart from the party. The party's leadership is its lifeline. The realities show that if the working-class party's leadership is lacking, the people are deprived not only of their power but also of their democratic rights and freedom, as well as a happy life. We should reject categorically all tendencies and attempts to deny or weaken the Party's leadership over the government, and establish a thoroughgoing system of Party leadership in the people's government. By improving the Party's leadership and fighting efficiency, and solving all the problems arising in the building of government and in its activities consistently under the Party's leadership, we should develop the people's government into a political weapon for all time which accomplishes the leader's revolutionary cause.

The people's government should be consolidated and developed from the Juche-oriented standpoint. This is a fundamental requirement in the building of the people's government. Man, a social being, lives and develops in a unit of a certain social community. A country and its people constitute a social community which strikes its roots into the depths of the life of the people and integrates them into a solid body with a common destiny. It is therefore natural that the building of government is conducted with a country and its people as a unit. If people follow flunkeyism and dogmatism, instead of holding fast to the Juche-oriented standpoint, they cannot solve the problems arising in the building of government independently to suit their demands and interests, and, in the long run, the cause of government building is endangered. In order to solve the problems arising in the building of government independently and creatively, it is necessary to hold fast to the Juche-oriented standpoint. Guided invariably by the Juche idea in the building of the people's government, we should accomplish the cause of government building in our own fashion from the firm standpoint of Juche.

The people's government should be developed to suit the ever-increasing demand of the masses of the people for independence.

With the development of the times and the revolution, the demand for independence of the masses increases steadily. Only when the people's government is developed to suit the ever-increasing demand for independence of the masses can it become a government which serves the people. The struggle to win power is arduous, and the undertaking to develop the power which has been won into a genuine power which serves the people is difficult and complicated. When a government is developed in such a way it will be loved and supported by the people, or else it will be forsaken by them. A government forsaken by the people will crumble, but a government loved and supported by the people will grow stronger.

In order for the people's government to develop to suit the ever-increasing demand for independence of the masses, it should map out and carry out its policies in conformity with the aspirations and wishes of the masses on the basis of the elaborated Party's lines and policies. The people's government's policies define the orientation, contents and methods of its building and activities. How the government is built and administered, in the long run devolves on how it maps out and executes its policies. That it maps out its policies in conformity with the will of the masses means that it makes theirs its own organizational will. Although the people's government regards the masses' will as its own, it does not precisely mean that it is built and run to suit their demands and interests. In order for the people's government to be built and managed in substantial conformity with the masses' demands and interests, it should turn its policies into those of the masses themselves and execute them by drawing on their efforts and wisdom. An important point here is to give the people's government institutional and legal power to map out and execute its policies, and to supervise and regulate their execution, so that it can exercise power in a substantial manner. We should ensure that the people's government steadily improves its work of mapping out policies and executing them in conformity with the masses' will, and thus always serves the people sincerely.

In order to build the people's government to satisfy the ever-increasing masses' demand for independence, the socialist system should be consolidated and brought to perfection, as government building is guaranteed and intensified by the consolidation and development of the socialist system. We should steadily develop our style of socialism centred on the masses, thereby making the people's government a genuine revolutionary government which serves the people sincerely, is rooted deep among them, and forms an integral whole with them.

#### **4. ON IMPROVING AND STRENGTHENING THE WORK OF THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT ORGANS**

In order for the people's government to perform its mission and carry out its tasks successfully, it must build government bodies at all levels solidly and improve their work steadily, in conformity with the developing realities and the aspirations of the masses.

The function and role of the power organs should be improved.

A power organ is a genuine representative organ of the masses, which directly represents the will of the masses and exercises power in their interests. It occupies a leading position in the hierarchy of government bodies, and power is represented only by the power organ. The uniformity and completeness of the power in our country is guaranteed by the activities of the Supreme People's Assembly and other power organs at all levels.

The people's assembly, composed of excellent representatives of all social strata on the principle of democratic election, is a power organ which exercises completeness in the putting of sovereignty into practice. The Supreme People's Assembly and other people's assemblies at all levels should be held at regular intervals, as required by the Socialist

Constitution, and run at a high standard to adopt stipulations and resolutions which accord with the will and demands of the broad masses. The deputies elected by the people should exercise their rights of speaking and voting properly in the people's assembly, reflecting the will and demands of the masses. They should always mingle with their electorate and the masses, lend an attentive ear to what they say and enlist them in the effort of carrying out the policies of the Party and the state.

The people's committee is a standing power organ, whose main activity is guidance through exercising power. The people's committees at all levels should give guidance, supervise and regulate the proper execution of the stipulations, orders, decrees, resolutions and directives of the state and the decisions of the local people's assemblies. However excellent the stipulations and resolutions adopted are, they cannot be put into practice as they should if the committees do not give proper guidance by exercising power. They should adhere to the state laws and get acquainted with, and give proper guidance to, the work of the administrative and economic organs and the practice of obeying socialist laws. They should hold meetings at regular intervals, and, in conformity with the will and demands of the people, run them to enhance the sense of responsibility and role of the members in discussing and deciding the problems arising between sessions of the people's assemblies.

In improving the work of the people's committees, it is important to enhance the role of the Central People's Committee. It is only when the role of the Central People's Committee, the highest leadership organ of state power, is improved that a unified leadership of the political, economic and cultural lives of the country can be effected satisfactorily, and a well-regulated working system of power organs established. While supervising and regulating the work of the Administration Council, the committee should provide substantial guidance to the work of the local people's committees and the judicial and procuratorial organs.

The role of administrative and executive organs should be enhanced.

On the basis of their stipulations, orders, decrees, resolutions and directives of the power organs, they organize, guide and provide for social life. As the building of socialism and communism advances, society becomes more organized and social life becomes more diversified. Socialist society can be managed properly and society can develop in a harmonious manner only when the role of the administrative and executive organs is improved steadily.

The Administration Council is the administrative and executive body of the highest organ of state power. It takes measures to implement the policies of the Party and the state, and organizes and guides administrative and economic work in all fields. It should have a good grasp of all the administrative and economic work of the country in order to give guidance, with the main emphasis on the command of economic work. The important problems related to economic work should be presented to the council, the economic HQ, and handled and arranged there. It should organize the overall economic work, give unified guidance to it and establish a rigid state and administrative discipline to develop the economy of the country rapidly. It should hold its plenary meetings and the meetings of its Permanent Committee at regular intervals to take appropriate measures for resolving new and important problems arising in the administration of the state and economic work.

The commissions and ministries are departmental executive bodies of the Administration Council and central bodies for managing different sectors. Under the guidance of the Administration Council, they should guide and regulate the work in their own spheres with a sense of responsibility in accordance with their tasks and authority.

The local administrative and economic committee is the administrative and executive body of the local organ of power and the general management body of the relevant locality. It is the first and foremost task of the local administrative bodies to develop the economy and improve the people's standard of living in their own regions. The local administrative and economic committees should organize and carry out in a responsible fashion the work of industry,

construction, education, public health, welfare, local trade and other sectors by enlisting to the maximum the reserves and potential of their regions. They should display a high sense of responsibility and initiative to provide a more abundant and civilized life for the people under their authority. They should also impose strict administrative discipline and strengthen administrative supervision and regulation.

The role of judicial and procuratorial organs should be further enhanced.

Judicial and procuratorial organs are the power organs of the people's government, which guarantee by law the execution of the policies of the Party and the state, and defend the masses' independent and creative life from the schemes of class enemies and all other illegal machinations. It is only when these organs are consolidated and their role improved that the power and constitutional rights of the people, the socialist system and the state and social property can be stoutly defended.

Judicial and procuratorial organs should pay primary attention to ensuring, by means of law, the execution of the Party's policies. They should wage a tough struggle against all violations of the order of administering socialist society and misappropriation and squandering of state and social property. They should defend the citizens' rights, protect the lives and property of the people, and prevent all types of crimes and violations of the law. In cooperation with the security organs, they should wage a vigorous campaign to eliminate non-socialist deviations in all spheres of social life, so as to imbue the whole society with a moral and revolutionary tenor of life.

Special attention should be directed to improving the work of county organs of power.

County organs of power are the lowest organs of the people's government, while the county is an all-embracing unit in the development of the local economy and culture, and the basic unit directly responsible for local economic life. When the work of these organs progresses smoothly, the counties develop and, further, the country becomes prosperous. In conformity with the immediate and

long-term requirements of the building of socialism and communism, these organs should consolidate the counties and develop all the spheres of social life in a comprehensive and harmonious way. They should intensify the campaigns to win the title of model county in observing the law, in the local budget and in forging unity between the army and the people, and other forms of model county campaigns which have already fully demonstrated their superiority and viability.

They should intensify the work in *ri, dong* and people's neighbourhood units, promote the campaigns to win the titles of red-flag *dong* and red-flag people's neighbourhood unit, and thus transform families in a revolutionary fashion, keep streets and villages clean and tidy, and further strengthen the social order.

The government organs in the capital and provinces should intensify their guidance over the work of the power organs in the counties, and help them in an efficient manner, so that they can well display their independence and initiative.

The people's government organs should apply socialist democracy in a thoroughgoing manner as the only way to improve their work.

Socialist democracy is the basic mode of activity of the people's government. This is a democracy embodying collectivism, the intrinsic nature of socialist society. It is, moreover, genuine democracy which enables the broad working masses to exercise in a substantial manner their rights as befits the masters of society, and shoulder their responsibility and play their role as such. By thoroughly applying socialist democracy, the people's government organs should involve the broad masses in the work of the government and substantially provide an independent and creative life for the people.

Implementing the revolutionary mass line in a thoroughgoing way is a major premise for the application of socialist democracy in the activities of the people's government organs. The revolutionary mass line is a basic principle underlying the activities of the people's government, a principle which requires one to serve the masses sincerely and solve all problems by harnessing their inexhaustible

strength. Socialist democracy is politics for and by the broad working masses. Putting the line into effect in the activities of the people's government organs enables the broad masses to rise up purposefully and consciously for the effort to create an independent and creative life. These organs should put the people's interests before anything else in their activities and subordinate everything to accommodating the will and demands of the masses. They should always rely on the masses' strength and perform their tasks by drawing on that strength. Officials in these organs should take to heart the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's aphorism that when a man believes in the people and relies on them he will win the world and always emerge victorious, but when he shuns them and is forsaken by them he will always fail. They should mingle with the people at all times, share good times and bad with them, educate them and mobilize them so as to speed up the revolution and construction.

Improving the methods and style of work of the officials in the people's government organs is an important way to apply socialist democracy.

What is important these days for them to improve their methods and style of work is to get rid of abuses of authority and bureaucratism. People's government organs are not the ruling organs which lord it over the people and govern them; they are service organs which grant rights to the people and protect them. And the officials in them are not bureaucrats, but servants of the people. If abuse of power and bureaucratism are tolerated among the officials, the people's interests will be violated, and the government organs rejected and forsaken by the people. Education should be intensified among officials against abuse of power and bureaucratism, and, when these deviations are laid bare, an uncompromising struggle should be conducted in time to prevent their further occurrence.

A tenacious struggle should be waged among the officials in the people's government organs against self-centredness and the lack of a sense of responsibility. Self-centredness is a misguided ideological concept of giving preference to the interests of one's own unit and

locality over the overall interests of the Party and the country. Originating in selfishness and hankering after fame, it has a harmful effect in that it disturbs the centralistic order of management of the socialist state based on collectivism and hampers the execution of the Party's policies. A struggle against the tendency to exhibit a preference for the interests of one's own department, establishment or locality should be waged among the officials in these organs so as to root it out. For these officials, whose mission it is to provide a happy life for the people, the lack of a sense of responsibility is nothing less than betrayal of the people's trust and expectations. They should buckle down to resolving conclusively the problems arising in the economic construction of the country and in the people's livelihood. "We serve the people!"—this is the revolutionary slogan they should consistently uphold. They should at all times display a sincere sense of service for the people as required by this slogan, and thus provide a more abundant and happier life for the people.

The working system of the people's government organs should be improved until it is perfected.

Only when it is improved continuously and finally made perfect to suit the developing realities and aspirations of the masses can the people's government organs perform their mission and duty as servants of the people.

The proper application of democratic centralism is an important requirement for improving and perfecting the working system of government organs. The genuine political freedom and rights, and the happy life of the people are provided through the unified guidance of the people's government, the guidance guaranteed by centralism. Only a democracy relying on centralism is a true democracy, and only a centralism which ensures a high degree of democracy for the people is a genuine centralism. The working system of the people's government organs should be set up in such a way as to give full play to democracy in a proper way on the basis of attaching importance and giving precedence to centralism.

In addition to applying democratic centralism, the people's

government organs should fix proper norms of work and appropriate functions, and carry them out to the letter to put the running of the state on a regular footing.

A rigid legal order of the state should be established. Socialist law is a rule of conduct compulsory for all citizens and the principal weapon for the people's government in carrying out its activities. In a socialist society there should be laws which all members of society should observe without fail in their organized life and joint activities, and they should be compulsory. All people living in the territory of the DPRK should be unconditionally subject to the laws of the state. The establishment in society of rigid observance of law renders it possible to develop the socialist system and provide a stable and happy life for the people. As required by the socialist system and our revolution, revolutionary laws and rules supported by the people for each sector should be enacted and the laws now in force perfected. In addition, a rigorous state and administrative discipline of executing to the letter the stipulations, decisions and directives of the state should be established. Moreover, the campaign to establish in the whole of society a revolutionary way of observing the law should be promoted without letup.

The political and ideological levels of the officials of the people's government organs and their practical abilities should be improved.

They are the guiding personnel of the revolution, and they are directly responsible for the work of the power organs. The success of the work of the power organs is dependent on their political and ideological levels, and practical abilities.

They should be unfailingly loyal to the Party and the leader. Such loyalty is their first and foremost characteristic. Only when they have intense loyalty to the Party and the leader can they fulfil the duty that befits the commanding personnel of revolution and construction. They should make loyalty to the Party and the leader an integral part of their faith, conscience, ethics and life, so as to make it sound, pure and absolute to the utmost degree. Their loyalty to the Party and the

leader should find its expression in the practical struggle to serve the people sincerely. The sole purpose of the effort to defend and carry out the lines and policies put forward by the Party and the leader is to serve the masses; separated from this, loyalty to the Party and the leader is inconceivable. The officials in the people's government organs should regard the people's interests as their life and perform their duty as truly faithful and fervently filial activists in their efforts to devote their all to the people.

The officials in the people's government organs should be equipped with an advanced ability to command and revolutionary enterprise. The developing realities demand that they become competent workers who have acquired theories and methodology for solving the problems in their respective sectors and establishments, and who have mastered all-round knowledge. They should set up a revolutionary way of study and study diligently. They should be ready at all times to go to the people and learn from them.

Training competent officials for the people's government organs is an important undertaking related to the future of the government.

In training officials from a far-sighted perspective, the University of National Economy and other training institutions as well as institutions for higher learning occupy an important place. The specialized training institutions and the higher educational establishments, which are the national cadre training bases in the country, should train students to become efficient officials equipped with unswerving loyalty to the Party and the leader, earnest devotion to the people and the practical ability with which to organize and carry out their work competently.

Party organizations should provide responsible guidance to the people's government organs to ensure thorough implementation of the Party's lines and policies.

In this guidance, Party organizations should thoroughly implement the Tsean work system, a political method suited to the intrinsic nature of socialist society. The important problems in principle arising in the execution of the Party's lines and policies by the

people's government organs should be discussed by the relevant Party committees. Party guidance of the people's government organs should be, to all intents and purposes, political guidance, policy-oriented guidance. While steering the people's government organs, Party committees should refrain from taking over administrative functions, and root out subjectivism and arbitrariness among officials. Party officials should not take over administrative functions in place of the officials in the power organs. Party organizations should enhance the authority of the officials in the administrative organs in their work and provide them with working conditions in such a way that they can display independence and initiative in their work.

Party organizations should build up the ranks of the officials in the people's government organs properly. The ranks should be manned by competent officials who are unswervingly faithful to the Party and the leader, who will serve the people devotedly, who have been trained in practical work, and who are equipped with theoretical and practical skills. Party organizations should not rest content with the building of the ranks; they should help them and lead them efficiently so that they can discharge their tasks satisfactorily. They should intensify ideological education and the struggle against outdated ideas among the officials in the power organs to train them to become true officials who devote their all for the Party and the revolution, and for their motherland and fellow citizens. They should pay particular attention to enhancing their Party spirit. By Party spirit we mean absolute devotion to the Party. Party organizations should give substantial guidance to Party life, with the main emphasis on training them in Party spirit, thus ensuring that they work loyally at their posts of honour assigned to them by the Party.

Bright is the future of our people's government advancing under the leadership of the Party and the leader, and unshakeable is the commitment of our people to defend to the last the people's government in any adversity. Bearing deeply in mind the historic mission we have assumed for the era and the revolution, we should

consolidate the people's government, the servant of the people, and safeguard and enhance our style of socialism centred on the masses.

It is of the utmost importance to strengthen the people's government in defending and enhancing our style of socialism, and the Party expects a great deal from the officials in the government organs.

I have a firm belief that the officials in the people's government organs will, as in the past so in the future, discharge with a sense of responsibility the revolutionary tasks assigned to them by displaying the utmost loyalty to the Party and the leader, and sincere devotion to the people, thus bringing the advantages of our people's government into fuller play.

## **LET US DEVELOP OUR YOUTH MOVEMENT TO A NEW, HIGHER LEVEL**

**Talk to Senior Officials in Charge of Youth Work**

*January 5, 1993*

The Eighth Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea will be convened in February this year. It will be a congress of single-hearted unity and loyalty of the heirs to the revolutionary cause of Juche who are unfailingly loyal to the Party, a glorious congress of victors who are safeguarding and bringing greater honour to our people-centred socialism, whatever the storm. With this congress as an impetus, we must develop our youth movement to a new, higher level.

How the youth movement develops is an important matter affecting the future of the Party, the revolution and the nation. The youth question is the matter of training young people into builders of a new society and heirs to the revolution, and the youth movement is a movement for young people to safeguard the revolutionary cause of the Party and carry it to fulfilment through the generations.

The youth movement is a component of the revolutionary movement to achieve the independence of the masses, and young people form a part of the main force of the revolution which is aimed at attaining the independence of the people. The cause of the masses for independence is continued through the generations. Therefore, its final victory depends on how the young people are trained as staunch heirs to the revolution. The fundamental mission of the socialist youth movement is to train young people

into a staunch main force of, and heirs to, the revolution so that they continue to advance the cause of independence for the masses to completion through the generations.

Ever since he embarked on the road of the revolution, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung has regarded the youth question as a strategic matter affecting the destiny of the revolution, put forward ideas and theories on the youth movement on the basis of the Juche idea in each period and at each stage of the revolution and has wisely led the youth movement in our country. The great leader began his revolutionary activities by preparing revolutionary ranks of young people of the new generation whom he had educated and rallied. The Korean communist movement and youth movement, having taken root in the Down-with-Imperialism Union, advanced more vigorously with the formation of the Young Communist League of Korea and, in the course of this, the glorious traditions of the youth movement were created. The traditions of the Korean youth movement are ideological and spiritual wealth and a cornerstone ensuring the triumphant advance of our youth movement for the generations to come. The Korean youth movement has been able to strengthen and develop as the Juche-oriented socialist youth movement of our own style thanks to the outstanding ideas and theories on the youth movement and the glorious traditions created by the leader.

The socialist youth movement is a revolutionary youth movement upholding the ideas and leadership of the party.

Upholding the party's ideas and leadership is the lifeblood of a socialist youth movement. Only when it upholds the party's ideas and leadership can a socialist youth movement maintain its revolutionary character, achieve the unity of the ranks of young people in ideology and purpose and their cohesion and staunchly defend the cause of the party and implement it.

The main aspect of supporting the party's ideas and leadership is to imbue young people with the party's ideology. This means that all the young people are equipped with the party's ideology and think and act in accordance with it, and that the youth

organization conducts its building and activities based strictly on the party's ideology. The party's ideology is the sole guiding principle of the youth movement. If capitalist and other outmoded ideas infiltrate the socialist youth movement, the youth organization will degenerate and collapse.

Another important aspect of supporting the party's ideas and leadership is for youth organizations to establish a revolutionary order of work and discipline by which they regard the party's lines and policies as their guideline and conduct their activities under the leadership of the party. The leadership of a working-class party is the basic guarantee for the socialist youth movement to develop along revolutionary lines. Historical lessons show that when the youth movement remains outside the leadership of a working-class party it may be duped by counterrevolutionary forces.

The party's ideas and leadership must be supported invariably through the generations. Even though one generation of the youth movement is replaced by another and the revolutionary situation and revolutionary tasks change, the principle of upholding the party's ideas and leadership must invariably be maintained. The Party's leadership system has now been established firmly in the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea and the modelling of the young people's ranks on the Juche idea is developing to a higher level. Knowing only the Party's ideas and leadership and upholding them through the generations is the traditional working spirit of our young people and an essential trait of the Korean youth movement.

The socialist youth movement is a mass youth movement uniting the broad sections of young people closely behind the party.

Uniting young people closely around the party is the fundamental requirement of the socialist youth movement. Preparing young people fully as the main force of and heirs to the revolution is an important task for the socialist youth movement, and this is achieved through the work of firmly rallying the masses

of young people around the Party by providing them with political awareness and organizing them.

In order to unite broad sections of young people closely behind the party, the youth organization must be built as a single, mass-based organization. Only then will it be a youth organization embracing broad sections of young people from all walks of life, and will it also be possible to eliminate dissipation in the youth movement and ensure the unity of the young people in ideology, purpose and action by rallying them in a single organization. If we leave a large number of young people outside the youth organization by taking into consideration only their class origin and preparedness or disperse the young people by forming a variety of youth organizations, we will be unable to prevent the division of the youth movement and achieve the unity and cohesion of the masses of young people.

Today all the young people in our country are leading a life in an organization of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea and, in the course of this, are growing up into reliable heirs to the revolution and genuine young vanguards of the Party. It is the true feature of our youth movement that all the young people lead a life faithfully in an organization of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea and temper themselves in a revolutionary manner. The invincibility and stability of the Korean youth movement lie in the fact that all the young people have achieved single-hearted unity in their ranks, united closely behind the Party in a single, mass-based youth organization.

The socialist youth movement is a highly militant youth movement which carries out without reservation the revolutionary tasks entrusted to it by the party, however difficult the conditions and circumstances.

Because of the characteristics of young people the youth movement should naturally be militant. Militancy is indicative of the strong revolutionary spirit of young people. But not every youth movement becomes a militant movement. The militancy of a

youth movement is determined by its aim and by the ideological and moral excellence of the young people in it. A youth movement becomes a highly militant movement when its aim is to carry out the noble cause of the party so as to achieve independence for the masses, and when all the young people have the strong revolutionary spirit of carrying out the tasks entrusted to them by the party, whatever the adversity. The level of the revolutionary spirit of the young people in it determines the level of the militancy of the youth movement.

The indomitable revolutionary spirit of the Korean young people indicates their heroic and militant fighting spirit. Our young people have braved a sea of blood and a sea of fire by displaying the indomitable revolutionary spirit, and they have also been successful in carrying out the difficult struggle to build an independent national economy on the ruins by displaying the strong revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. Today our young people are making breakthroughs in the building of socialism by bearing the brunt of the struggle and are displaying mass heroism to the full. Although one generation is replaced by another continually with progress in the revolution, the indefatigable revolutionary spirit of the Korean young people remains unaltered. Living and fighting by displaying the indomitable revolutionary spirit is our young people's steadfast will and militant style of work.

Unfailing loyalty to the Party, a strong spirit of unity and organization with which all the young people move as one united around the Party single-heartedly and a high degree of fighting efficiency in carrying out the revolutionary tasks entrusted to them by the Party to the end, with no conditions attached, are the essential traits and excellence of the Korean youth movement. No youth movement in any other country has such brilliant youth-movement traditions and is advancing so vigorously, displaying its might to the full, as the Korean youth movement does.

The fundamental principle of the socialist youth movement is

that it should be developed into a loyal movement which upholds the party's ideas and leadership, into a mass movement which unites wide sections of the young people around the party, and into a militant movement which carries out the revolutionary tasks entrusted to it by the party with no conditions attached. We must adhere to the fundamental principle of the socialist youth movement the validity and vitality of which have been proved, and must develop our youth movement to meet the requirements of the present situation.

The central task facing the Korean youth movement at present is to prepare the young people more fully as a young vanguard that upholds the Party's leadership and staunchly defends and develops our people-centred socialism.

Regarding our people-centred socialism, which is advancing triumphantly despite the severe trials it has been facing since socialism suffered a setback in several countries, as a thorn in their flesh, the imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to vicious methods to bring political and military pressure to bear on us, as well as imposing an economic blockade against our country in an attempt to crush us.

Our Party will continue to advance along the Juche road however complicated the situation in the neighbouring countries may be. It is our Party's firm determination and indomitable will to defend our people-centred socialism staunchly and bring honour to it, whatever the situation.

With the firm belief that we will emerge victorious as long as the immortal Juche idea lights the way ahead of us and as long as we are led by the great Party, the young people must defend our people-centred socialism and bring greater honour to it as the guards and death-defying corps of the Party. "Young people, be the guards and death-defying corps of the Party who defend and bring honour to our people-centred socialism!"—this is the revolutionary slogan which our Party has raised for the young people now.

Our Party entrusts its future and the future of the revolution entirely to the young people and sees its continuous strengthening and development and the assured victory of our people-centred socialism in fully preparing them to be a young vanguard that is unfailingly loyal to the Party and the revolution. This is an expression of our Party's great trust in and expectations of the young people.

The destiny of the Party and socialism is the destiny of the young people, and the destiny of the young people is the destiny of the Party and socialism. Only under the care of the Party can the young people prepare themselves as the young vanguard of the Party who enjoy valuable socio-political integrity, and only in a people-centred socialist society can they enjoy a worthy, independent and creative life and bring their far-reaching ambitions and ideals into full bloom. It is in the embrace of the Party that takes care of their destiny that the young people are guided to bring eternal honour to their socio-political integrity, and it is also in the embrace of the Party and the socialist country that they enjoy today's worthwhile life and are shaping a bright future. We must train the young people to form a staunch young vanguard and reserve for the Party in order to strengthen and develop the Party steadily, and we must train them well as the pillars of the country and the nation and as the builders of socialism in order to safeguard and develop socialism. If we deal with the youth correctly and train young people as a genuine young vanguard for the Party and as reliable builders of socialism, we will be able to strengthen the Party continuously and accomplish the cause of socialism; otherwise, the Party will collapse and the cause of socialism will fail. This is shown clearly by the fact that, because of the failure to deal with the youth correctly in several countries which were building socialism in the past, the young people were inveigled into standing at the forefront of the anti-socialist movement of the renegades of the revolution, with not a thought about the party that had provided them with political integrity, or about their socialist country that had allowed their worthwhile life to bloom.

We must always regard the question of young people as an important matter affecting the destiny of the Party and socialism, and must develop the youth movement so that all the young people form a genuine young vanguard sharing its destiny with the Party, and become stalwarts who fight staunchly for the victory of the cause of socialism.

Young people must form a genuine young vanguard for our Party that entrusts its destiny wholly to the Party and lives solely for the Party, dedicating every single moment of its life to the Party, and laying down its life for the sake of the Party.

Young people must staunchly defend and safeguard the Party politically and ideologically and with their lives. They must resolutely defend the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of our Party, regarding it as the most essential element of their life and struggle, and must devote their youth and life without hesitation at the forefront of the struggle to defend and safeguard the Party politically and ideologically, even at the cost of their lives. They must have a firm resolve to act as a fortress and shield in the life-and-death battle to defend the Party. They must always regard it as the starting point of their work and life to ensure the prestige and authority of the Party in every possible way and must make no compromise or concession in this matter. They must strive to preserve the purity of and glorify the Party's revolutionary achievements.

Young people must fight through thick and thin in order to implement the Party's lines and policies. The Party's lines and policies must always be their faith and their own will. The young people must have the spirit of absolute and unconditional regard for the Party's lines and policies and carry them out, whatever the circumstances and conditions, by displaying their youthful energy and wisdom to the full. When Party members kindle an effort to implement the Party's lines and policies, the young people must become flames.

Young people must be reliable builders of socialism.

Young people must bear the brunt of the struggle to build socialism. A person's youth is a period of great strength and overflowing energy. If one seeks comfort and an easy job in one's youth, one cannot succeed in one's life or conduct the revolution to the last. Young people must display their youthful wisdom and valour in making a breakthrough in the building of socialism by bearing the brunt of the struggle. The worthwhile life led by young people should be resplendent with creative labour and innovative achievements. At all posts of socialist construction young people must devote all their youthful ardour to the creation of new norms and new records and, by displaying mass heroism, become heroes of creation and construction who bring honour to the era of the Workers' Party.

Young people must become the vanguard of the three revolutions—ideological, technological and cultural. They must make themselves revolutionaries and assimilate themselves to the working class and thus prepare themselves as stalwart communists of a Juche type and set an example for all the members of society to follow in the ideological revolution. They must accelerate the technological revolution to raise the levels of science and technology in our country as quickly as possible; they must be standard-bearers in the mass technical innovation movement, eliminate lethargy, conservatism and mysticism and solve with daring the scientific and technological problems raised in making the national economy Juche-based, modern and scientific. Young people must also be the main force in eliminating every aspect of an outdated way of life from all spheres of social life and in creating and developing the culture of the working class, a socialist culture. The young people must be pioneers of the ideological revolution, the forerunners of the technological revolution and the leaders of the cultural revolution.

National defence is the honourable duty of defending and guarding the honour of the socialist country, the cradle of our

people's flowering socialist life, and of safeguarding the citadel of socialism. The young people should attach great importance to military affairs and consider it their most noble duty to serve in the People's Army. All the young people must be determined to fight a decisive battle to defend the dignity of the country and the nation if the imperialist aggressors attack us; they must take an active part in military training and always maintain sharp revolutionary vigilance and keep themselves alert and ready.

In order to develop our youth movement to a new, higher level, all the organizations of the LSWYK must put the main effort into the internal work of the league.

The internal work of the league is fundamental work to equip its members with the idea of the Party, unite them closely around the Party and train them to form a genuine young vanguard of the Party by enhancing its militant function and role. Only when they put the main stress on the internal work of the league can the organizations of the LSWYK fulfil their mission and duty as political organizations satisfactorily. If LSWYK organizations do not channel their efforts into the internal work of the league, being preoccupied with administrative and economic affairs, they will not be able to educate and temper the young people in a revolutionary manner and the LSWYK may ultimately become a lethargic organization. The organizations of the LSWYK should put a decisive end to the practice of getting bogged down in administrative and economic affairs and channel their main efforts into improving the internal work of the league.

Ideological education should be improved to equip young people fully with the revolutionary idea of the Party. It is only when ideological education is intensified among young people that they will cherish loyalty to the Party and preserve their political integrity. Young people must arm themselves securely with the Juche outlook on the revolution and on life clarified by our Party and thus fully acquire the ideological and moral qualities of revolutionaries of the Juche type.

Loyalty to the Party is the basic quality of a revolutionary of the Juche type. Loyalty to the Party should be clear and pure as well as sincere and unswerving. It is only when one cherishes loyalty to the Party as a requirement of life instead of as a sense of duty that one can support the Party wholeheartedly and unswervingly, whatever the adversity. Young people must follow the Party, believing in it as the shaper and protector of their destiny, and should ensure that loyalty underlies their faith, conscience, morality and everyday life.

Young people must have a firm belief in the justice of the cause of socialism and in its victory, as well as a strong will to defend socialism to the end. The building of socialism is a difficult undertaking to transform nature, society and people as required by the Juche idea, and it is accompanied by acute struggle against the imperialists and reactionaries. The revolutionary path for building socialism is a path for cultivating a firm belief and a strong will. Developing a firm belief and a strong will in carrying out the cause of socialism is necessary for everyone, but it is still more important for the younger generation who have experienced neither exploitation and oppression nor trials.

Faith in socialism and a socialist will are based on a conviction in the superiority and vitality of socialism. Socialist society is the most progressive and viable of societies, and it embodies the intrinsic requirements of the masses. The fundamental superiority of our socialism lies in that it provides the people with an independent and creative political, economic, ideological and cultural life.

The superiority and vitality of socialism over capitalism mean the superiority and vitality of collectivism over individualism. Individualism gives rise to every manner of subordination and inequality, antagonism and conflict, infringes upon the independence of people and obstructs the sound development of society. By contrast, collectivism ensures freedom and equality, cooperation and unity, fully defends the independence of people

and gives a strong impetus to social progress. The advantages and vitality of collectivism find their highest expression in the socio-political organism, the integral whole of the leader, the Party and the masses.

It is the irresistible trend of history for society to develop in accordance with the masses' aspirations and demands for independence, and it is inevitable that socialism, which fully embodies the intrinsic requirements of the people, will emerge victorious. Young people must be fully aware of the reactionary nature, the corruption and the inevitability of the downfall of capitalist society that is based on individualism and where money is everything; they should also have the firm belief that socialism is the best society and its victory is certain, as well as a strong will to defend socialism to the last. They must be confident in and optimistic about the victory of socialism and display great revolutionary spirit so as to brave whatever trials and difficulties may lie in the way of the advance of the cause of socialism.

Socialist patriotism is the genuine idea of loving the country and the nation; it links the fate of the country and the nation to socialism; it is an ardent revolutionary spirit which sets great store by the independence of the country and the nation and enables people to fight staunchly for the strengthening, the development and the prosperity of their socialist country. The hearts of young people must always burn with ardent love for their socialist country.

For young people to cherish the spirit of socialist patriotism, they must acquire the Juche-oriented view of and attitude towards their country. It is only when one views one's country not simply as a place where one's ancestors have lived for generations, but in close combination with the masses' desire for independence, that socialist patriotism can strike root deep in one's heart. The motherland, which embodies the masses' desire for independence, should guarantee an independent, creative, and worthwhile life for the people and happiness for their posterity. Our socialist country

is the embrace of the Party. Separated from the Party, we can neither think of the glory of our socialist country of today and its bright future nor glorify the dignity and greatness of our nation. Young people must take pride in the fact that our country, our nation and the socialism of our own style led by the great Party are the best, and set great store by and ardently love their socialist country.

A socialist way of life is a revolutionary one embodying the intrinsic desires of the masses, as well as a sound one that is national in form and socialist in content. Young people should work and live in conformity with the socialist way of life.

A sense of organization and discipline is an intrinsic requirement of a socialist life and a basic precondition for sound revolutionary life. If such a sense is deficient, bourgeois liberalization may find its way into our ranks and, worse still, our young people may squander their precious youth. Young people must always rely on their organization and the collective and adorn every single moment of their lives with a struggle and distinguished service for the society and their fellow people.

Young people should be pure in their economic and moral life; they should also lead a sound cultural and emotional life. If not, they are likely to lead a base and dissolute life, tempted by money and goods, and may fall back, becoming degenerate ideologically and morally. Young people must value the interests of the society, the collective and the people more than their own, abide by the socialist order of life and public morality voluntarily, and lead a cultural and emotional life appropriate to the requirements of the times and national sentiments.

Young people must not regard the establishment of a socialist way of life as a mere social obligation or demand; they should make it an ideal of their moral conscience and life. Only then will the socialist way of life be established through their voluntary will and become ingrained. They must acquire a firm Juche-oriented view on morality and aesthetics so as to give fuller play to a

revolutionary and sound socialist way of life.

The ideological education of young people should be conducted substantially in a variety of forms and by a variety of methods, in accordance with their characteristics.

Influencing young people by means of positive examples is an educational method that conforms with the intrinsic demands of socialist society and the best method that accords with the psychological characteristics of young people who ardently aspire after justice and beauty. LSWYK organizations must give wide publicity to the many exemplary deeds in the history of the heroic struggle of our people and to the beautiful deeds of our people, young and old, today. The fighting spirit and mettle of the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans who, upholding the great leader as the sun of the nation, trod a long, long bloody path for the liberation of the country, cherishing loyalty to the leader as their revolutionary faith and moral obligation, of the heroes and heroines who sacrificed their youth and lives unhesitatingly for the sake of the Party and the leader, for the country and the people in the grim days of the Fatherland Liberation War, of the labour heroes and heroines who wrought miracles during post-war reconstruction and at the time of the grand Chollima upsurge by displaying the great revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, and of the unassuming heroes and heroines who have been devoting their whole lives to the prosperity of the socialist country –these are invaluable ideological and spiritual qualities from which our young people must learn. Many of our young people today are displaying the noble communist trait of sacrificing their all without hesitation for the sake of the Party and the leader, the country and the people, and the collective and their comrades, just as heroes Kim Kwang Chol and Han Yong Chol did; such people are genuine persons of the Juche type. Our young people have put their faith entirely in the Party and are following it, entrusting their destiny solely to it; they take pride and find the worth of life in doing what the Party intends and finding solutions

to the problems the Party is concerned about. If it is what the Party wants them to do and if it is what the Party is worried about, they volunteer in groups to work in grand projects of socialist construction, at coal and ore mines, and in countryside rather than in prosperous urban areas, without claiming any honour or reward; they support the army wholeheartedly in response to the policy for unity between the army and people, choose to become life companions of honoured disabled soldiers, take care of orphans as if they were their own children and look after supportless old people as if they were their own parents—these are the ennobling ideological and moral qualities of our young people today and their communist trait. The loyalty to the Party, mass heroism, revolutionary comradeship and fidelity, as well as the warm sympathy for fellow people, manifested among our young people today are beautiful traits that can be brought into full bloom only under our socialist system. No young people in the world are as revolutionary, militant, honest and faithful as our young people are. We must give publicity to their beautiful deeds so as to give wider scope to their communist traits.

While putting the main stress on education by influencing young people through positive examples, LSWYK organizations must also combat non-socialist practices without compromise.

Education by comparison is a good method, enabling people to distinguish between truth and falsehood, between the progressive and the reactionary, and convincing them that ours is the best. LSWYK organizations must educate young people effectively using materials showing the corruption of the south Korean and other capitalist societies, and the misfortune and sufferings of the young people in those countries where socialism has collapsed and capitalism has revived, so that they clearly understand the advantages of the socialist system in our country.

The education of young people should be conducted in a variety of ways, without sticking to any formula or set pattern. We should consistently maintain the traditional forms and methods of

education on the one hand and, on the other, develop them in depth ceaselessly as required by the reality so as to apply them in a creative manner.

LSWYK organizations must also concentrate on establishing a proper system of education for young people, reinforcing the ranks of those in charge of this work and enhancing their role, and on providing sufficient material and technical equipment for this work.

Young people should be trained along revolutionary lines in an organizational life and in the practical struggle.

Strengthening an organizational life among LSWYK members is a basic method of improving and training them in a revolutionary manner. Only when they are faithful to the organizational life of the LSWYK can they prepare themselves as a true young vanguard that is unfailingly loyal to the Party, and glorify their precious political integrity.

A revolutionary way of organizational life must be established in LSWYK organizations. For the members of the LSWYK to possess a correct view on organizations is a fundamental requirement for establishing a revolutionary habit of organizational life in the league. They should value their organizations, and work and live by relying at all times on them, and endeavour with consciousness to place themselves under their guidance and control. LSWYK organizations should intensify education among their members so as to improve their view on the organization, and make strong demands on their organizational life so that they accept the guidance and control of their organizations as a requirement in life. These organizations should also ensure that all their members participate in a review of their organizational life, meetings, study sessions and other forms of league life, give them proper assignments and help them efficiently to carry them out without fail and on time.

Comradely assistance and criticism is an important requirement for encouraging the members of the LSWYK to acquire a strong

revolutionary spirit and a high sense of principle. LSWYK organizations should see to it that their members admonish and criticize one another so that they undergo revolutionary training through their life in the league.

LSWYK officials are leaders responsible for guiding the organizational life of the members of the LSWYK. Bearing in mind the importance of their duties and responsibilities, they must work with LSWYK members in an efficient manner that is suited to their characteristics and guide their organizational life properly.

Through revolutionary practice young people realize clearly the correctness and vitality of the Party's policies, temper their ideology and will and acquire great creative ability and ennobling mental and moral traits. LSWYK organizations must carefully conduct the work of training their members in the practical struggle to carry out the Party's policies. They must rouse the young people to the implementation of the Party's policies and ensure that they establish a revolutionary manner of executing the revolutionary tasks assigned to them with credit and in good time. They must also ensure that LSWYK members volunteer to work in arduous and difficult sectors as the Party wishes them to do and train themselves in a revolutionary fashion; they must also get the young people to develop social and political activities in a variety of forms in order to prepare them as able political workers.

LSWYK organizations must be strengthened and their function and role enhanced.

The LSWYK is a political organization which trains young people into stalwart defenders of, and reliable heirs to, the cause of the Party; it is in direct charge of the youth movement. Young people must be united closely behind the youth organization which is led by the Party; only then can they acquire the political and ideological qualities a revolutionary of the Juche type should possess, and develop the youth movement properly. Historical lessons show that when a youth organization wavers, the youth movement will lose its vigour and when the youth movement

becomes impotent, young people will be dissipated and will fail to live up to their role.

LSWYK committees at all levels should be strengthened. LSWYK committees should be built up mainly with competent young officials who are capable of organizing and conducting LSWYK activities at the units concerned in a responsible manner, as well as with young hardcore elements who work at production sites and in important sectors.

We must work efficiently to strengthen the ranks of LSWYK officials and improve their qualifications. The ranks of LSWYK officials must be made up of young people who are unfailingly loyal to the Party and well-qualified politically and ideologically, who have been tempered in the practical struggle and who are equipped with great ability of organization and are popular with people. LSWYK officials should steadily improve their politico-theoretical and professional qualifications through constant study and LSWYK work. It is also necessary to manage the work of training a reserve of LSWYK officials on a long-term basis and give reeducation as well as training to active LSWYK officials regularly and effectively.

A revolutionary work system and discipline should be established in the LSWYK. The work system of the LSWYK should ensure that the Party's ideas and leadership are realized more effectively and LSWYK officials can go deep among young people to work with them efficiently, and understand, guide and help subordinate organizations. LSWYK organizations must establish the strict discipline of organizing and conducting work as required by the league's rules.

The primary organization is the lowest organization of the LSWYK and the basis of league life for its membership. The work of strengthening the LSWYK and enhancing its fighting efficiency, and of training young people into ardent supporters of and reliable heirs to the Party's cause, is unthinkable apart from the functions and role of the primary organizations of the LSWYK.

The primary organizations of the LSWYK must properly arrange their members' organizational and ideological life and reinvigorate the Model Young Vanguard Primary Organization Movement. It is important in strengthening the primary organizations of the LSWYK to build up the hardcore ranks well and enhance their role. LSWYK organizations must systematically identify and properly educate the hardcore elements of young people who are unfailingly loyal to the Party so that they can play the role of vanguard.

LSWYK officials must make every effort to improve their work method and work style. They should undertake any job boldly and grandly and do it energetically, displaying youthful enthusiasm and mettle. They must set an example to young people in all aspects of work and life. They should at all times and in all places take the lead in difficult and hard work, live in a frugal manner, refrain from putting on airs or behaving flippantly and mix with the young people intimately so as to work with them well.

The successor to the LSWYK is the Children's Union. To intensify the guidance of CU work is a long-term undertaking to strengthen the LSWYK steadily. All members of the new generation join the LSWYK after going through a CU life. Therefore, it is only when proper guidance is given to CU work that CU members can form an excellent new generation who will devote their all for the Party and the leader, the country and the people, and that a reserve of LSWYK officials, too, can be trained on a long-term basis. LSWYK organizations must pay close attention to CU work and help CU instructors well to organize and conduct CU work properly.

In order to develop the youth movement in our country onto a new, higher stage, it is necessary for the Party to intensify its guidance of the work of the LSWYK.

The Party is the leading political organization, and Party committees at all levels are the highest organs of leadership at the units concerned. The LSWYK is an independent political

organization of young people, but it can perform its function and role satisfactorily only under the guidance of the Party. Party organizations must always pay close attention to LSWYK work so that the LSWYK can work in accordance with the Party's intentions.

Party organizations should acquaint themselves regularly with and control the work of LSWYK organizations at their units and promptly correct any deviations, while offering proper training to LSWYK officials so that they work vigorously with high ambition and great fortitude.

Party organizations at all levels must give full rein to the independence and creativity of LSWYK organizations. They should always support LSWYK officials, entrusting them with work boldly, and help them sincerely to play their role properly. Party organizations should ensure that the LSWYK becomes an organization which functions independently under the guidance of the Party, a vigorous organization which is always active.

It is important to enhance the role of the youth work departments under the Party committees at all levels and primary Party committees, in intensifying the Party's guidance of LSWYK work. The youth work departments under the Party committees at all levels and primary Party committees must regard their guidance of LSWYK work as important and display a high sense of responsibility in it. The officials of the youth work departments under the county, city and provincial Party committees should adopt proper measures for improving and intensifying LSWYK work at their units as required by the characteristics of the LSWYK, and also work carefully to increase public concern for LSWYK work. Experience shows that at the units where the senior Party officials are deeply concerned with the work of the LSWYK, youth work is going well, whereas where the situation is contrary the results are poor. The senior officials of Party committees at all levels must pay greater attention to the work of the LSWYK and promote the work of the LSWYK, the work with young people, by

making it the concern of the Party committees.

To put an end to foreign intervention and the tragedy of national division and to reunify the country is the most pressing task facing our nation. Young people must fight vigorously to achieve the historic cause of national reunification.

Independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity are the principles of national reunification which our Party has consistently maintained. All young Koreans in the north, in the south and abroad must, guided by the three principles of national reunification, play the vanguard role in the all-nation struggle to frustrate the schemes of the US imperialists and their south Korean stooges to keep the nation divided and provoke a war, and to realize great national unity and reunify the country as soon as possible. Today the south Korean youth and students are rising courageously, displaying patriotic enthusiasm, in the just struggle for anti-US independence, social democracy and national reunification, despite the harsh suppression by the US imperialists and their stooges, dedicating the flower of their youth unhesitatingly to this cause. Our youth and students must render positive support and encouragement to the south Korean youth and students in their struggle to realize anti-US independence, social democracy and national reunification.

The movement of young Koreans in Japan and in other countries is a part of the Korean youth movement and a patriotic movement that is vigorously promoting the struggle to realize the independent reunification of the country. The Korean youth and students in Japan are exalting the nation's dignity and displaying the nation's mettle as young Koreans in their forceful struggle to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, and all the young Koreans abroad are joining in the great nationwide struggle for reunification. The youth and students in the homeland must actively support and encourage the Korean youth in Japan who are waging a continuous and vigorous struggle display full vigour to achieve the prosperity of their socialist motherland and national

reunification, as well as all the young Korean compatriots in many parts of the world who are joining in the pan-national struggle for the reunification of the country.

Our young people must further strengthen the might of the socialist country of Juche so as to give powerful inspiration to the struggle of the south Korean youth and students and our young compatriots abroad who are fighting unyieldingly against foreign interference and all the manoeuvres of the reactionaries.

The destiny of our country and the future of our young people are closely linked with the independence of the whole world. Our young people must strengthen their solidarity with the progressive youth of the world and positively support and encourage them in their struggle for the independence of the whole world. Our young people must unite with all the progressive young people of the world, particularly those in the socialist and non-aligned countries, sharing the idea of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship so as to develop a vigorous struggle against imperialism and for global independence.

The Party's trust in and expectations of our young people are very great and the mission and duties entrusted to them by the times and history are heavy yet honourable.

We must ensure that all young people carry out their sacred revolutionary tasks creditably with an unshakeable conviction in victory and revolutionary optimism, upholding the leadership of the Party, and thus develop the Korean youth movement to a new, higher level.

# **LET US INCREASE THE MIGHT OF SOCIALISM BY CHANNELLING EFFORTS INTO PARTY AND ECONOMIC WORK**

**Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*February 17, 1993*

Today our Party and people are waging a vigorous struggle to safeguard and glorify our unique style of socialism that is centred on the masses, filled with confidence in certain victory and with optimism, despite the grim situation in which the imperialists and reactionaries are resorting more than ever before to a vicious counterrevolutionary offensive.

In recent years the imperialists and reactionaries have directed the spearhead of their attack against our country, regarding it as a thorn in their side, because it is continuing to advance unflinchingly, holding high the banner of socialism even though socialism has collapsed in several countries. In the past year, too, they have intensified their political and military pressure and economic sanctions on our country, in an attempt to isolate it and stifle its socialism. Nevertheless, none of their schemes has been able to bring to their knees our people who, sure in the knowledge that their cause is just, are waging a dynamic struggle to realize it, or to deprive them of their happy life in the most superior Juche-oriented socialist society. By countering the anti-socialist manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries with revolutionary faith and unbreakable will, our people have defended our unique style of

socialism that is centred on the masses and achieved brilliant victories in the revolution and construction. Thanks to the wise leadership of the Party and the leader they have been able, with their revolutionary faith and unbreakable will, to frustrate all the enemy's moves and emerge victorious.

Victory in the revolution depends on the leadership of the party and the leader. Their leadership is the decisive factor in the prosperity of a country and nation. Depending on the stand and determination with which the leader pursues his politics, his country and nation will either prosper or go downhill. The role of the leader becomes more important in the socialist movement. This is clearly shown by the fact that several countries were robbed of the revolutionary achievements they had gained at the cost of their people's blood by the imperialists and reactionaries, which left an indelible stain on their decades-long glorious history of revolution, because they had failed to produce true leaders of the people. The leader must lead his people with a strong conviction and will. Unless he is a man of strong conviction and will, the people may vacillate, and this can lead to the forfeit of socialism. People with a firm faith are sure to be victorious in the revolution.

We have nothing to fear, because we have the Juche idea created by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and the revolutionary conviction and unshakeable will he has given us. Of course, the revolution is not smooth sailing; its course is trying and beset with difficulties. However, our Party will not flinch, whatever wind may blow, on the road of revolution hewed out by the leader, or abandon it, but accomplish the cause of socialism. It is our Party's immutable decision to follow the road of Juche, which has been opened up by the leader. In response to this decision, he was delighted and said in the following vein: We emerged victorious from the fight against the Japanese imperialists in the past when we had no national sovereignty to support us; today there is nothing to fear because we have the state, the people, the Party, the government and the armed forces; we should have no worries about safeguarding the socialist cause to the end. His remarks have given me tremendous strength and courage. I have become more firmly

determined to lead our people in the victorious building of socialism with a revolutionary faith and unyielding will. Our Party has never yielded its conviction and will in the face of all the enemy's offensives, and with this conviction and will it has advanced through every ordeal. All the victories we have won in the struggle to defend and add glory to our unique people-centred socialism are the victories of our revolutionary faith and unshakeable will.

My own unbreakable revolutionary conviction and will are based on our people, who always give me strength and courage. Ours are a truly laudable people. No other people in the world hold their leaders in such high esteem and follow them with such pure hearts as our people do. It is not by accident that the world's people are so envious of our country's single-hearted unity. The single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses is a true feature of our country and the source of its unrivalled strength.

Last year, on the occasion of President Kim Il Sung's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday, we demonstrated once more to the world the strength of the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses and, through the military parade held in celebration of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army, gave a clear display of the might of our invincible revolutionary armed forces, which are united solidly behind their Supreme Commander. The adoption of the Pyongyang Declaration in April last year served as an important occasion for inspiring the revolutionary people of the world to turn out actively in the struggle to revive the socialist movement with courage and confidence in the victory of the socialist cause.

Although the successes we have achieved so far are great, we must not rest on our laurels. Serious trials lie ahead. Today's situation can be likened to that in the days when the former Soviet Union was building socialism in the encirclement of the imperialists following the victory of the October Revolution. By resuming the Team Spirit joint war game, the US imperialists and their stooges poured cold water on the inter-Korean dialogue and created extreme tension on the Korean peninsula. Clamouring about "nuclear suspicions" they

are attempting to enforce “special inspections” of our military sites and to adopt strong-arm measures against us by enlisting the UN Security Council. This is an unbearable outrage against the sovereignty of our nation and it makes a mockery of the unbiased opinion in the world. The US imperialists have become so arrogant that they are even intent on having a say in the internal affairs of other countries. We can under no circumstances accede to the outrageous demands of the US imperialists and their stooges and fall prey to the great powers. In order to defend and advance the socialist cause in the imperialists’ encirclement, we should hold higher the red flag of the revolution and counter, with determination and without any concession, their attempts to infringe on our nation’s sovereignty and dignity.

We must safeguard our national sovereignty and dignity and increase the might of socialism in the future, too, by making the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses rock-solid. To this end, we must, above all else, strengthen the Party.

What is most important in strengthening the Party is to direct great efforts to its internal work.

To consolidate the Party organizationally and ideologically and rally the broad sections of the masses around the Party and the leader by putting major efforts into internal Party work is an important guarantee for defending and adding glory to our style of socialism that is centred on the masses. If a working-class party neglects its internal work, it will break up and become unable to maintain its existence.

The more complicated the situation prevailing around our country is, the more intensely internal Party work should be conducted. When the conditions favour the revolution, everybody supports the Party and follows it; but in times of trial for the Party, waverers, turncoats and even factionalists may emerge. Naturally, such impure elements cannot raise their heads now that the monolithic ideological system and leadership system are firmly established in the Party. Still, we must not forget the lessons of history or neglect internal Party work in the slightest.

Some Party organizations and Party officials, however, are now engrossed only in administrative and economic affairs, and are paying little or no attention to internal Party work. Last year the Party dispatched many Party workers to the coal-mining, chemical and other major economic sectors. But they immersed themselves only in economic affairs, and gave little thought to internal Party work. If Party officials are too deeply engrossed in economic work, internal Party work is naturally weakened. If they are constantly on the move, solving the problems that arise in economic work, oversights may appear in Party work, which may in turn threaten the existence of the Party itself. Party officials neglecting internal Party work is tantamount to their digging their own graves. They must pay primary attention to internal Party work as befits their position and responsibilities, wherever they go and whatever they do.

Building up the socialist class position is an important guarantee for defending and bringing glory to our style of socialism. In order to frustrate the challenges and obstructive manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries, which are increasing in intensity with each passing day, and to safeguard socialism staunchly, we should build up the socialist class position. In the circumstances when the enemy is making frantic attempts to crush socialism by blowing the wind of bourgeois “liberalization” in our country, if we fail to make our class position solid, the results may be disastrous. Remaining idle, instead of building up the class position, in this complicated situation is as good as disarming ourselves in front of the enemy. Party organizations should persevere with their internal work, with the main emphasis on building up the socialist class position.

By building up the socialist class position, I mean building up the revolutionary ranks with those who advocate socialism and are fully equipped with a revolutionary determination to defend it staunchly and accomplish it.

The cadres constitute the core force in the socialist class position. The destiny of socialism depends on how the ranks of cadres are built up. If we fail to build up the cadre ranks properly, we cannot defend

the socialist system. This is proved by the collapse of socialism and the revival of capitalism in several countries. Building up the cadre ranks is a fundamental matter associated with the destiny of socialism.

The ranks of cadres should not be built up with people, based only on their past records, but with people who are firmly determined to cast in their lot with the Party and defend and add lustre to the socialist cause. Party organizations should do away with the wrong approach of appointing cadres on the basis of their records and career, and instead examine and judge candidates in a comprehensive way before appointing them as cadres. They should visit the cadres' units to investigate how they work, and educate them so as to ensure that they are not corrupted but fulfil their responsibilities and role.

Training in the Party spirit should be intensified among Party members. By the Party spirit, I mean absolute and unconditional faith in the leader and the Party that have made it their responsibility to care for the people. Intensifying education in loyalty is aimed at consolidating the socialist class position by imbuing all Party members with absolute and unconditional faith in their leader and Party. The success of the socialist cause depends, in the long run, on whether we see to it that the people have absolute faith in their leader and Party. Unless they have faith in and support their leader and Party, they can neither defend the nation's dignity and the revolutionary gains achieved at the cost of the people's blood nor avoid the fate of a nation that goes to ruin. By intensifying training in the Party spirit among Party members, Party organizations should ensure that they have faith in and support their leader and Party absolutely and strive for the accomplishment of the socialist cause.

The broad sections of the masses constitute the social foundation on which our Party is based. The solidity and strength of the socialist class position are dependent on rallying the broad sections of the masses around the Party and the leader in ideology and will. The further the revolution advances and the more complicated the situation becomes, the more effective should be our work with the

masses. Work with the masses is not a temporary undertaking to be carried out in the form of a campaign, but a strategic one requiring permanent attention.

The most important aspect of the work with the masses is that with their basic sections.

Primary attention should be paid to the work with the core masses. The National Meeting of Patriotic Martyrs' Families, held on a large scale last year, was aimed at inspiring the families of revolutionary martyrs to cherish their mission and duty as the core force of our revolution and carry forward the revolution by inheriting the noble revolutionary spirit of the martyrs. By exalting the revolutionary enthusiasm of the families, which was surging after the meeting, Party organizations should help them to fulfil their role of pioneers among the masses of different strata.

Work with the young people is decisive to the destiny of our Party and revolution. Since the revolution is carried out down through the generations, the future of the Party and revolution depends on how the young people are prepared. In this sense, it can be said that the destiny of the Party is that of the young people, and vice versa. Party organizations should pay constant attention to the work of the League of Socialist Working Youth, so as to ensure that our five million young people all become human bullets and bombs prepared to fight through fire and water at the Party's call and reliably defend the Party and the leader in the face of the anti-socialist and anti-DPRK moves of the imperialists.

Work with the intellectuals should be conducted effectively. At the Conference of Korean Intellectuals held last year, those attending pledged themselves to follow the Party forever in the future as they had done in the past, saying that they would defend socialism to the last, even if the situation was so grave that they barely had enough to eat. This is a concentrated manifestation of the iron will and faith of all the intellectuals in our country, who are ready to throw in their lot with the Party, and an ennobling ideological sentiment that only our intellectuals could possess. By conducting effective political work

among the intellectuals by tapping into the determination expressed at the Conference of Korean Intellectuals, Party organizations should see to it that all the intellectuals pour their efforts into their work, thus leading them to be the eternal companions, faithful assistants and excellent advisers of the Party and devoted supporters and staunch implementers of the Party's policies.

We should work effectively with the people who have come from the southern half of Korea, with the people who have returned from Japan and with the naturalized citizens born in foreign countries and married to Koreans.

We should be broad-minded in working with people with chequered backgrounds. Narrow-mindedness in this work may isolate the Party from the masses. Party organizations and officials should not approach the problems that arise in the work with the masses in a businesslike manner, but view and solve them according to the fundamental interests of the revolution.

The socialist ideology is the lifeblood of socialism. Without it, socialist society cannot be maintained. People, if they are not equipped with the socialist ideology, cannot display the spirit of risking their lives in the fight to defend socialist society. People who are fully armed with the socialist ideology can never be conquered by any force, and the society in which the socialist ideology holds absolute sway can never crumble. Party organizations, with full awareness that arming the cadres, Party members and other working people with the socialist ideology of Juche is a prerequisite for defending the socialist system in our country, should intensify their ideological education.

Our socialist ideology is precisely the socialist ideology of Juche, and Juche-based socialism is people-centred socialism in which the masses have become the masters of everything and everything serves them, and which is developed without cease by the strength of the united masses. In order to equip Party members and other working people firmly with the socialist ideology, we should equip them with the Juche idea.

Education should be stepped up in the principles of the Juche idea. Intensified education in these principles will lead Party members and other working people to grasp the essence and fundamental requirements of the Juche idea and make it their faith. Party organizations should intensify education in the principles of the Juche idea among Party members and other working people so as to ensure that they make the idea their firm conviction and staunchly safeguard it. They should work out a methodology for conducting this education in depth and using simple terms.

Loyalty to the Party and the leader is the highest expression of the socialist ideology of Juche, and in the intensification of education in loyalty to the Party and the leader lies the sure guarantee for championing the socialist cause to the last. Party organizations, through intensive education in loyalty, should see to it that Party members and other working people support the leadership of the Party and the leader and devote their all to accomplishing the revolutionary cause pioneered by the leader. They should conduct the education in loyalty to the Party and the leader in different forms and by various methods, so as to ensure that Party members and other working people cherish this loyalty as their ideological faith, as an element of their revolutionary conscience and as their moral obligation, and display it in their revolutionary practice.

Party members and other working people should be educated to nurture their confidence in socialism.

It is important in this to get them to realize the truth that the socialist cause will surely emerge victorious as long as there is the wise guidance of the Party and the leader. If revolutionaries are to go through the tempest of the revolution, they need mental support. Once they have this support, they will be able to follow the road of revolution without vacillation in the face of any hardship; without it, they can lose all hope in the future and flinch in the face of difficulties and be easily deceived by the enemy's misinformation. The anti-Japanese revolutionary fighter Choe Hui Suk, who terrified the Japanese imperialist hangmen by shouting, after they had ripped

out her eyes, that she could still see the victory of the revolution, and Ma Tong Hui, another anti-Japanese fighter, who cut out his own tongue in order to protect the headquarters of the revolution, could do so because they had an unyielding mental support. Ri In Mo, a war correspondent with the Korean People's Army and a world-famous unconverted long-term prisoner, is the incarnation of faith and will. There are few people in the world with such a strong conviction and will as him. Had he written a simple declaration of conversion, he might have avoided his 34-year-long imprisonment. But he stuck to his revolutionary creed in the face of the enemy's maltreatment and cruel torture, because he had realized through his own experience that his true life and happiness could be guaranteed only by General Kim Il Sung and that our revolution would be victorious and the country be reunified for sure as long as he was leading the country. For our people, their mental support is precisely Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Workers' Party of Korea. By inculcating all cadres, Party members and other working people with the greatness of the Party and the leader, Party organizations should ensure that they believe only in the Party and the leader and fight on unwaveringly, whatever wind may blow.

The people's confidence in socialism becomes unshakeable when they are convinced of the genuine superiority of the socialist system. The superiority of socialism lies in the fact that all the people help and lead one another forward and enjoy a creative, equitable life to their heart's content, granted right of independence as genuine masters of the state and society. We should ensure that the people have a correct understanding of the essential superiority of socialist society. Otherwise, they may entertain illusions about capitalism because of its superficial allure.

If we are to ensure that the people have a correct understanding of the essential advantages of socialist society, we should skilfully conduct comparative education. Comparisons can be made between the quite different realities in the north and the south of Korea and between the reality in our country and the miserable one in the

countries where socialism has been frustrated and capitalism revived. Nowadays the TV is broadcasting vivid images of people who, having lived with no worries in a socialist society, have now, as the result of the revival of capitalism in their countries, fallen into such a miserable plight that they are unable even to feed themselves, not to mention any hope for the future, and this is an excellent method of education. When they see such things, people will realize once again the truth that the defence of socialism leads them to victory and its abandonment, to death. By intensifying comparative education in different forms and by various methods, Party organizations should ensure that Party members and other working people correctly understand the true advantages of our socialist society and staunchly safeguard socialism.

The consciousness of the working class constitutes the core of the socialist ideology, and the main aspect of socialist education is to enhance the working-class consciousness. A man with enhanced working-class consciousness can fight with devotion for the sake of the socialist system and the working masses and adhere to his principles in the revolution. The imperialists' current attempts to disseminate the decadent bourgeois ideology and way of life among us are aimed at numbing the working-class consciousness of our people. Party organizations should ensure that Party members and other working people do not forget the past of exploitation and oppression, and, fully aware of the nature of the exploiting class as embodied by the landowners and capitalists, strictly observe working-class principles.

We should educate Party members and other working people in the spirit of revolutionary optimism. To live and struggle with optimism and confidence in victory are characteristics inherent in revolutionaries. If people collapse in the face of trials, they will never stand up again; if they brave them with the conviction that, even though the sky may fall, there must be a way out, they can surmount them, however severe. The lines *Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer/We'll keep the Red Flag flying here* in the

revolutionary song *Song of the Red Flag* are overflowing with strong confidence in the victory of the revolution and with revolutionary optimism. We should implant in the hearts of Party members and other working people the spirit of revolutionary optimism with which they will fight their way through any trials without pessimism or vacillation.

A dynamic struggle should be waged to wipe out non-socialist practices.

Non-socialist practices are now being revealed in various aspects of social life. As a matter of course, such practices may appear in socialist society, since the remnants of obsolete ideologies such as selfishness linger in the people's minds. But we should not treat them lightly. These practices may seem trifling at first but they may be blown up into dangerous elements that consume socialism. With the enemy attempting to ferment such practices in our society in order to undermine it from within, we must never neglect them.

In order to smash these practices, we should intensify ideological education and the ideological campaign. These practices stem from remnants of such outdated ideologies as selfishness, outmoded ways of life and the ideological and cultural infiltration by the imperialists. Party and working people's organizations should conduct vigorous ideological education and a forceful ideological struggle to get rid of selfishness among their members while intensifying education to eliminate outmoded ways of life and establish the socialist way of life. Thus they should ensure that a noble and sound revolutionary way of life prevails throughout society.

Strict measures must be adopted to prevent ideological and cultural infiltration by the imperialists. Taking advantage of the frustration of socialism in several countries, the imperialists are intensifying their attempts at the ideological and cultural infiltration into our country. Party and working people's organizations must set up a tight "mosquito net" to prevent the poisonous ideology and culture of imperialism from infiltrating us.

In order to wipe out non-socialist practices, the public security,

judicial and procuratorial organs should enhance their functions and role.

These practices cannot be eradicated by means of ideological education and ideological struggle alone. The ideological education and struggle must be rigorously supported by law. Party organizations should intensify their guidance to the public security, judicial and procuratorial organs so that they conduct education in law observance among the people in a substantial manner and combat non-socialist practices by improving the function of the people's democratic dictatorship.

In the fight against non-socialist practices, officials in the public security, judicial and procuratorial organs should observe Party and working-class principles. Party organizations should see to it that all the officials in the law-enforcement organs approach every occurrence from the working-class point of view and wage an immediate struggle against even the slightest non-socialist practice that impedes the unity of the Party and detracts from the socialist system. Officials in the law-enforcement organs are entrusted with the heavy responsibility of safeguarding by law the socialist system of our country. Unless they are firm in their class viewpoint and work well at their posts, social disorder may creep in, resulting in cracks appearing in the single-hearted unity of our society, which will be good for the enemies of socialism. Officials in the law-enforcement organs should be boundlessly humble before the people, fight for their lives and property even at the risk of their own lives, and impose legal sanctions on criminals without any hesitation.

Party officials should work and live in a revolutionary manner.

The development of the Party depends on how they, its hardcore elements, work and live. The present internal and external situation demands that Party officials work and live in a more intensive and revolutionary way.

They must display a high revolutionary spirit. Their revolutionary spirit is a major criterion for measuring their loyalty to the Party and the leader and an important standard for identifying their attitude

towards the revolution. Party officials must be men and women of deeds, not words, and vanguards in tackling difficulties and standard-bearers in viewing every problem from a sharp political angle and fighting against negative practices.

Party officials should willingly observe the regulations and social order and be rigorous in keeping Party and state secrets. Whether they are good at keeping secrets or not is an important indicator of the level of their Party spirit. A person with a loose tongue is not qualified to be a Party official. If Party officials leak secrets, it will have a serious impact on the Party and the revolution, not to mention Party work. Keeping secrets strictly is all the more important today when the confrontation with the enemy has become sharper. Party officials should prevent any leaking of secrets by strictly observing the order and discipline established for Party work, and guide and control all sectors so that they are rigorous in keeping secrets.

Party officials should always work deep among the masses. The blood ties sealed between the Party and the masses have a major bearing on the destiny of our Party and revolution. Party officials, as befit workers of the motherly Party, should always be among the masses, sharing weal and woe with them and solving their problems with sincerity. They should be true friends and helpers of the people whom the people always want to meet and confide in.

The more the people respect them, the more modest and humble Party officials should be, and the more resolute they should be in not abusing their power or authority. If they abuse their authority it means they have become so degenerate as to consider themselves superior beings. The abuse of power and arbitrary behaviour are appropriate to bureaucrats in exploiting societies; they cannot exist among our Party officials whose principal duty is to serve the people. Even the slightest manifestation of such practices cannot be tolerated in our Party. These practices are harmful, in that they create breaches in the masses' trust in the Party and alienate the Party from the masses.

Party officials must not behave as if they are above the law. In our society no one is beyond the power of the law. Double standards in

law administration hinder the creation of a climate of law observance in society. Party officials should set examples in abiding by the law and, if they break the law, they should be punished according to the same standard that is applied to ordinary people.

Party officials should lead a humble life as befit people living in the era of revolution. They should not seek better food and clothes than others but try hard to feed and clothe the people well. They should think that, even though they may be eating poorly, they are doing very well as long as they are conducting the revolution. They should eat and dress the same as the people and live in a humble and simple manner. They should never for a single minute forget their origins and should always reflect on their life and make strong demands on themselves, so that they are guilty of not the slightest expression of aristocratic behaviour.

In order to bring the advantages of our socialism into full play, we should improve the people's standard of living.

Our Party's struggle to build a socialist and communist society is aimed at providing the people with the conditions for leading a better life. Our Party, regarding it as its noble duty to promote the people's well-being ceaselessly, has actively struggled for its fulfilment, and has approached every problem in economic construction by subordinating its solution to improving the people's standard of living. With the US imperialists and their stooges currently intensifying their schemes for economic blockade, promoting the people's livelihood has become a more important problem. By directing great efforts to economic work, we must realize at the earliest possible date our people's centuries-old desire to live on rice and meat soup, in silk clothes and in tile-roofed houses.

If we buckle down to the work of improving the people's livelihood, we can manage this. The socialist independent national economy of our country has tremendous power. Our economy is a comprehensive and self-sufficient economy that is developing in a diversified way, is equipped with the latest technology and relies on our native cadres and natural resources. We can make anything, as

long as we are determined. The key is how to make our powerful socialist independent national economy better serve the people's livelihood.

In order to improve the people's standard of living, we should, above all else, channel great efforts into light industry, a sector that plays a major role in improving the people's livelihood. The light-industry sector should produce in larger quantities various kinds of goods, such as textiles and footwear, that are essential for people's living, and meet in full the people's demand for consumer goods. By making bold technical innovations and taking active steps to operate factories at full capacity, the sector should make the most effective possible use of the existing production potential. The relevant sectors should timely supply light industry with the raw and other materials it needs.

To solve the problem of food satisfactorily is the most important and pressing task in improving the people's standard of living. The Party and the state should focus efforts on the rural economy, so as to bring about fundamental progress in agricultural production. Rural economic officials and the agricultural working people are the masters of agricultural production. Only when they work with an attitude and sense of responsibility as such can agricultural production be boosted. By conducting effective political work among them, Party organizations should lead them to work harder so as to increase crop yields as much as possible, in the same spirit that they displayed to increase grain production during the war.

The main link in improving farm output is the timely supply of chemical fertilizer. Without sufficient chemical fertilizer, it is difficult for the agricultural sector to increase grain production. Fertilizer means rice. Failing to fulfil the fertilizer production plan means failing to achieve the target for crop output. By operating its machinery at full capacity, the chemical industry should achieve the target for fertilizer production without fail and on time. Other sectors related with fertilizer production should organize their work scrupulously in order to do their own production quotas.

In order to fulfil the tasks in socialist economic construction successfully, the Administration Council and other administrative and economic organs must enhance their functions and role.

The Administration Council is the economic headquarters that has direct responsibility for and commands the economic affairs of the country. Whether the Party's economic policies are carried out successfully or not depends entirely on whether the Administration Council performs its role properly or not. The Council, as a master, should solve all economic problems by its own efforts.

What is important in the work of the Administration Council and other administrative and economic organs is for planning to be done well. A realistic plan for the national economy enables the overall economy to advance smoothly. Unrealistic plans are useless. In drawing up the national economic plan, the successes achieved at the previous stage should be taken into consideration, and the anticipated increase in production should not be set too high indiscriminately, but at a realistic level.

In enhancing the functions and role of administrative and economic organs, it is important to establish strict administrative order. The centralized, planned guidance of the state over the socialist economy cannot be realized without strict administrative order. Tasks, once they have been assigned and ordered by the Administration Council, should be carried out unconditionally. If they are not fulfilled, on the plea of the conditions being unfavourable or some other excuse, it means economic affairs are not being taken seriously and the Party's economic policy is not being carried out. If an organ fails to carry out the assignments or directives of the Administration Council because it has approached them half-heartedly, it should be called to account. In order to establish an administrative order, the Administration Council should be empowered with the authority to mete out administrative punishment.

In order to carry out the economic tasks facing us successfully, we should enhance the responsibilities and role of leading officials. Success in economic work depends on their responsibilities and role.

Leading economic officials should be confident if they are to fulfil their responsibilities and role. Without confidence a man submits when faced with even a trifling difficulty and dares not rise up again; with confidence he never vacillates or feels daunted, whatever obstacle may stand in his way. A man without confidence cannot see his way ahead even though it is open to him. Some leading economic officials, because they have become defeatist, have been complaining, and this is because they lack confidence. Party organizations should educate leading economic officials effectively so as to help them to appreciate the value of confidence and solve problems by their own efforts on the basis of a grasp of the situation and a deep study of their work.

Party officials should give assistance to leading economic officials in their work. They should not take over the work of leading economic officials and lord it over them. They should help them to carry out by themselves the tasks assigned to them. Party organizations should entrust economic work to leading economic officials, assist them in pushing ahead with their work with confidence, and lead them to solve problems by themselves.

The revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude is a major means of successfully carrying out the economic tasks confronting us. This spirit is manifested in the unshakeable revolutionary stand from which to accomplish the revolution and construction by one's own efforts, and in the indomitable fighting spirit with which to hold aloft the banner of revolution to the last without wavering in the face of any difficulty or trial. If revolutionaries, in struggling to accomplish the socialist cause by defeating all the challenges and obstructive manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries, lack the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, they can neither advance the revolution and construction even a step forward nor maintain their existence. The current internal and external situation demands that we display this revolutionary spirit to the full. Currently the imperialists and reactionaries are intensifying their anti-socialist moves and attempting to impose economic blockade on our country

and stifle it. In this situation, whether the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude is displayed to a high degree or not is a vital issue with a bearing on the defence of our own style of socialism. Just as we have advanced, upholding the revolutionary slogan of self-reliance and fortitude, so in the future, too, we should defeat the anti-socialist manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries and accomplish the cause of socialism, upholding this slogan.

We should actively tap into our reserves and make effective use of them. There are vast reserves that can be mobilized in several sectors of the national economy. Simply by mobilizing and using them well, we will be able to settle many problems. Through a mass movement to tap into our reserves we can ensure higher levels of production with the existing equipment and materials.

Currently, the greatest potential for increasing production lies in technical innovation. Technical innovation makes it possible to produce more with the existing equipment, materials, fuel and power and successfully to solve the problem of raw and other materials that are not found or are scarce in our country. All sectors and units of the national economy should strengthen the creative cooperation among scientists, technicians and workers and ensure that they act boldly in their planning and work, so that they successfully solve the scientific and technical problems that arise in developing the economy and improving the people's livelihood.

A vigorous struggle should be waged to improve the quality of the products of every sector and unit of the national economy.

Improving the quality of products is equivalent to increasing production; high-quality goods can be used for a long time, which means, in effect, increasing production. Improving the quality of products is also of great significance in enhancing our national pride and dignity.

If we are to improve the quality of products, we should wage a strenuous struggle against the outdated ideas prevalent among the working people, at the same time as raising the level of their technical skills. Working in a slipshod manner is not the way of working that is

appropriate for socialist working people. If every worker makes every single product with great care out of respect for its user, he can significantly improve the quality. In our society, the loyalty and conscience of the producers find concentrated expression in the quality of their products. Party organizations at all levels should conduct energetic ideological education and a forceful ideological struggle among Party members and other working people and ensure that they improve the quality of their products decisively by displaying a high degree of enthusiasm and self-awareness of being the masters of the revolution and construction.

We must manage the country's economy frugally. What is important in this is to wage a vigorous struggle to make economies in every sector and unit. Economy means production. All sectors and units should radically increase production by waging a mass movement for economizing and by taking active steps to recycle raw and other materials. The struggle to make economies must be combined with a struggle against waste. By intensifying education among Party members and other working people, we should ensure that they turn out positively in the struggle against waste. At the same time, we should prevent the waste of even a gram of cement or drop of oil or grain of rice by tightening legal and administrative control.

The 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of victory in the Fatherland Liberation War should be celebrated on a grand scale.

July 27 this year marks the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory of our People's Army and people in the Fatherland Liberation War. In the fierce three-year war they defeated the US imperialist aggressors and recorded a great victory that shines in the country's history.

By achieving victory in the war, they exploded the myth of the "might" of US imperialism and brought about the downfall of the US imperialists for the first time in history. With the aim of destroying our Republic when it was only two years old, and of turning the whole of Korea into their colony and military base for their aggression, the US imperialists unleashed the war and launched a frenzied attack on us, but they failed to bring our people to their

knees. Displaying mass heroism and a self-sacrificing spirit under the wise leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our People's Army and people defeated the US aggressor army, which was numerically and technically superior, and safeguarded with honour the freedom and independence of the country.

The victory of our People's Army and people in the war clearly demonstrated to the world that the times were forever gone when the imperialists could decide international affairs at their will. It also gave the people of the world confidence that if the entire people of even a small country stood up to the imperialists, united solidly behind their leader, they would fully be able to achieve victory. The victory in the war is a source of great pride and honour for us. So the Party has decided to celebrate the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of victory in the Fatherland Liberation War in a splendid fashion.

This decision is aimed chiefly at implanting in our people the confidence that they are sure to defeat any enemy, just as they did the US imperialists and their stooges in the Fatherland Liberation War. Our army and people are proud and heroic because, for the first time in history, they humbled the arrogant US imperialists, and because they demonstrated our nation's honour and resourcefulness to the whole world. A grand celebration of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of victory in the war will inspire our army and people to struggle more staunchly and frustrate at every step the frantic anti-socialist moves of the imperialists and reactionaries by displaying a high fighting spirit and great confidence, however desperate the enemy may become to unleash a new war. Our People's Army has been strengthened politically and ideologically, militarily and technically, beyond comparison with the past and is fully prepared to destroy the imperialists with a single blow, should they launch military aggression.

The celebration will also give the world's revolutionary people fresh courage and rekindle their fighting spirit, and deal a heavy blow to the imperialists and reactionaries.

By celebrating the anniversary in a significant and splendid

fashion, we should encourage the world's revolutionary people, not to mention our people and soldiers, to turn out as one in the struggle to defeat the manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries and accomplish the socialist cause.

In greeting this anniversary, we should give fuller play in society to the spirit of attaching importance to military affairs and loving and supporting the People's Army.

A matter that is of vital importance to a country and nation is from what stand it approaches military affairs. It has been said since olden times that the most important of state affairs is the defence of the country. We should attach greater importance to military affairs at this time, when we are in direct confrontation with US imperialism and the enemy is intensifying its moves to unleash a new war. Party organizations should perfect the all-people defence system by equipping all Party members and other working people firmly with our Party's Juche-oriented outlook on war and implementing its policy of arming all the people and fortifying the whole country.

The People's Army is the defender of the country and nation. Apart from the People's Army, national security and the people's happiness are inconceivable. We can sleep at ease and enjoy a happy life, simply because the soldiers of the People's Army are defending their posts to make them impregnable. In our country everyone is under an obligation to the People's Army. So, loving and supporting the People's Army is a personal act. We should motivate the people so that they treasure and love the soldiers as they do their own kinsfolk and render them moral and material support. Recently, the people have been supporting the soldiers well. That is laudable. Party organizations should give wide publicity to instances of people loving and supporting the soldiers, so that doing so becomes a trend in society.

We should further strengthen the People's Army politically and ideologically, militarily and technically. Although the United States, claiming to be the only superpower in the world, is pursuing power politics, it does not dare to attack us, because we are so strong. It is

the US imperialists' unwavering ambition to dominate the world by sacrificing weak countries and stifling small, revolutionary countries one by one. The US imperialists never hesitate to invade countries that are disobedient or antagonistic to them. We should remain watchful against their aggressive moves, constantly increase the might of the People's Army, and channel greater efforts into strengthening it in the lead-up to the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of victory in the war.

Political and ideological superiority is the essential superiority of a revolutionary army and a source of its invincible strength that enables it to defeat any aggressor and achieve victory. The secret of a revolutionary army's victory over a numerically and technically superior enemy is precisely its political and ideological superiority. The People's Army should intensify political and ideological education among the soldiers to get them to cherish the noble mission they have assumed before the Party and revolution, their homeland and fellow people, and to fight with unbreakable confidence that they will surely be victorious as long as they are led by our Party.

We should consolidate the army's military and technical preparedness. A revolutionary army that is fully prepared militarily and technically as well as politically and ideologically can become invincible. We should implement the Party's military line of modernizing the People's Army, and thus develop it into a-match-for-a-hundred revolutionary force that is fully prepared militarily and technically. The People's Army should intensify its combat training as required by the Juche-oriented art of warfare, and prepare all its soldiers to carry out their duties in all situations and to maintain their combat readiness.

In the lead-up to the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, the construction of the Monument to the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War and flats for 30 000 families should be completed ahead of schedule. The monument project has made considerable progress, but it cannot be said to be satisfactory. The materials needed should be supplied for the project to ensure its early

completion. The flats for 30 000 families are a promise our Party has made to the citizens of Pyongyang. Therefore, we should complete the basic construction quickly and provide the finishing materials in advance so that the flats can be completed at a high standard and on schedule.

The information sector of the Party should create through the mass media a climate in which the people greet the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of V-Day with great political and ideological enthusiasm and brilliant feats of labour, and thus make the day a significant one that will adorn the history of the struggle of our Party and people.

For all that we have done so far, we still have much to do. Although the way ahead of us is not smooth, we will not flinch or waver but advance on and on.

We should carry out the militant tasks facing us in splendid fashion, braving the trials and difficulties by showing unbreakable confidence in the victory of the revolution and an indomitable will, and thus achieve remarkable progress in increasing the might of our socialism.

## **ON DIRECTING EFFORTS TO THE WORK WITH THE YOUNG PEOPLE**

**Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*February 26, 1993*

Recently the Eighth Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea was held successfully. The congress established a new milestone in the development of the youth movement in our country and in the work of the LSWYK. The loyalty of the LSWYK organizations and the country's youth to the Party is now more intense than ever before and the young people are in very high spirits. However, we should not rest content with this, but direct continuous efforts to the work with the young people.

The work with the young people has a direct bearing on the destiny of our revolution. The young people are the successors to the cause of the Juche revolution. From among the young people come cadres and Party members, the hardcore of our revolution, as well as intellectuals. Unless we work with the young people properly, we cannot bring them up as reliable successors to the revolution; then we will neither defend nor accomplish the cause of socialism through the generations. This is clearly shown by the collapse of socialism and the revival of capitalism in several countries. Those countries had failed to educate their young people in a revolutionary manner, with the result that, enthralled by bourgeois liberalization, they embarked on the road of counterrevolution to overthrow the socialist system.

Only when we work with the young people well can we staunchly defend the socialist homeland from the enemy's attack. The young people constitute the main force in defending the socialist homeland. The number of young people in our country now amounts to 5 000 000. The delegates to the Eighth Congress of the LSWYK pledged themselves on behalf of the 5 000 000 young people to become human rifles and bombs in defending the Party. These young people plus the 3 000 000 members of the Children's Union add up to 8 000 000. If they all take up rifles, they will form a powerful force. With this force we will have nothing to fear, whatever enemy may attack us.

In view of the importance of the work with the young people, I had the Eighth Congress organized on a grand scale. In view of the huge importance of the work with the intellectuals, we had the Conference of Korean Intellectuals organized in a magnificent way. The Eighth Congress of the LSWYK was ascribed greater importance and was organized on a more magnificent scale than the intellectuals' conference. There are 5 000 000 young people in our country, compared to 1 600 000 intellectuals, and they constitute the most vigorous force in society. Therefore, it was natural that we organized the congress of the LSWYK on a grander scale than that of the intellectuals. Comrade Kim Il Sung and I were present at the congress and the evening gala. This gave great pleasure to the young people.

Comrade Kim Il Sung spoke highly of the congress and said that the sturdy physique of the young people and their organized strength inspired him with confidence. After enjoying the mass gymnastics display *Forever with the Party*, he said that he felt proud of the students for presenting such an excellent gymnastics display. He said that the performers were all beautiful and that our country was a country of beautiful people.

I watched the display today, and I, too, noticed how beautiful and handsome all the performers were. Many outstanding artistes and athletes will be produced from among them.

I was very pleased with today's performance. All the performers looked vigorous and lively. Anyone who was not made of stone would

have been moved by the performance and felt encouraged at the sight of the lively young performers. I also drew strength and courage from them. As I watched the performance, I hardened my resolve to lead the people to turn our country into a more prosperous one for the benefit of our beloved children and students. I gave instructions that each performer should be presented with a gift; we should spare nothing for the fine young people who give us such strength and courage.

Our young people are truly excellent. We should direct great efforts continuously to the work with the young people and prepare them to be reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of Juche.

We should, first of all, ensure that they struggle with determination to share their destiny with the Party.

Our young people are living under the care of the Party. Outside the embrace of the Party they could not conceive of their happiness today and their hope-filled tomorrow. They should entrust their all to the Party and share their destiny with the Party, whatever the adversity. They should unite around the Party in ideology and purpose, and in moral obligation, and defend the Party at the risk of their lives. Recently the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble produced the song *No Motherland without You*, which vividly mirrors the faith and will of our people to share their destiny with the Party, whatever the adversity. The song is yet to be broadcast, but the young people are already singing it. It is good because, by singing the song, they are etching in their minds the fact that their own destiny and that of the Party are one and the same.

Our unique style of people-centred socialism, Juche-based socialism, in which the young people are embraced, guarantees their happiness today and their hope-filled tomorrow. They must not betray socialism, even if it means giving up their lives. For them, abandoning socialism is tantamount to suicide. We should ensure that the young people staunchly safeguard our socialism by smashing the anti-socialist and anti-DPRK manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries, and bring its advantages into fuller play by vigorously stepping up economic construction.

We should make sure that the young people work faithfully, regardless of the jobs they are doing.

In our socialist society all jobs are equally honourable. In our country whatever one does is for the society and the people, as well as for oneself. Distinguishing between what is honourable and what is not with regard to a job is a sign of obsolete ideology. In the old society shoe-repairers and barbers were despised. In our society today shoe-repairing and hair-cutting are in no way dishonourable. If these jobs are regarded with contempt and people avoid doing them, it would cause great inconvenience in the people's life. So our Party has adopted a series of measures to promote public service work such as shoe-repairing and hair-cutting, with the result that many people volunteer to take these jobs.

Some time ago I received a report that the wife of a county Party chief secretary was working as a shoe-repairer. This is highly commendable. After reading the report, I recommended her for high praise. It is said that after the chief secretary got his wife to repair shoes, his subordinates in the county Party committee got their wives to work in labour-consuming sectors such as the rural economy.

However, some people still look down with contempt on shoe-repairing, hair-cutting and the like. This is evident in the fact that some young men refuse to marry shoe-repair girls. A minor phenomenon it may be, but it must still be overcome by all means. This should not be the outlook on beauty harboured by our young people.

By intensifying communist education among the young people, we should ensure that they work with devotion and loyalty for the society and the people, regardless of their jobs, and they respect and follow those who do so. Also, we should educate them to possess a proper outlook on beauty, so that they value a noble mind above an alluring appearance. We should ensure that young men and girls fall in love based on a noble mind, and not on a beautiful face or a job or wealth.

Education by positive examples is a good method of ensuring that

young people do not make a distinction between good jobs and bad, and have a proper outlook on love. Party organizations must seek out young people who are working faithfully for society and the people regardless of the honour and pain of their jobs and who perform commendable acts, hold them up and give wide publicity to them. Many of our young people are laudable: Among them are those who have become the husbands or wives of former soldiers who have suffered crippling injuries while carrying out their duties in defending the nation, who have become the daughters of honoured disabled veterans with no children of their own to support them, who have adopted orphans, and who have volunteered to work in coal and ore mines, farms and other labour-consuming sectors or to take jobs in public service, like shoe-repairing, and perform their duties with devotion. We should pay tribute and give wide publicity to such young people, so as to ensure that all the other young people follow them as role models. For example, *Rodong Chongnyon* and other publications can carry an article about a young man who married a shoe-repair girl. By intensifying education through positive examples among our young men and women, we should see to it that the positive overwhelms the negative and that positive examples prevail in society.

An active campaign should be waged against old habits among the young people.

Our people have many good habits. Koreans are fond of hot spices like chilli. Since olden times they have liked hot dishes. This seems to be one reason why they have such a strong disposition. A strong disposition is one of the Korean nation's good traits. The latest information suggests that hot food is good for the health. People around the world are tending to eat more hot food, so I have been told.

Some of our people have bad habits. The worst is being envious of others' success, instead of being glad and congratulating them. This is a most unpleasant habit. Another bad habit is refraining from criticizing the shortcomings of others at ordinary times and then, if

someone is rumoured to be under examination or about to be dismissed for wrongdoing, attacking them by exposing their past errors. Such habits must be done away with. Diligent, honest and faithful people are hard to be found among those guilty of such unpleasant habits. These habits are usually evident among people who do not do their work properly but live at the expense of others, refusing to commit themselves, or who rest content with their past achievements. Those who are proud of themselves because of their past achievements pretend to know a lot and behave arrogantly, putting other people down. Such people may even go so far as to defy the Party. This is a lesson shown by our Party's history.

With full awareness of the harm done by the bad habits of some people, we should conduct effective educational work regularly so as to eradicate these habits. If such habits come to light, we should wage a timely struggle to overcome them.

We should see to it that the young people do a lot of reading.

According to my personal experience, the main thing in studying is to read a lot of books. It enables one to acquire broad and profound knowledge. Only through continuous study and reading can one acquire broad and profound knowledge. Study and reading are inseparable.

Students must read more than anyone else. Without reading various kinds of books and if they only attend lectures and read textbooks they cannot acquire broad and profound knowledge. They should not rely exclusively on lectures or textbooks but read various kinds of books so as to build up a rich store of knowledge. They should take part in seminars not only on the basis of the knowledge they have gained from their lectures and textbooks but also after reading various references. They must also read editorials, leaders and articles on communist deeds carried in the newspapers. Editorials, leaders and articles carried in the Party organ and other newspapers reflect the Party's policies and intentions in every period, and the success and experience gained in the struggle to implement them. During my university days, I paid close attention to articles

carried in the Party organ and other newspapers. I used to clip out editorials, leaders and other important articles and made a book from them, which I could read. In those days many students did the same.

Cadres, too, should read a lot. Reading a lot will enable them to acquire broad and profound knowledge about different sectors, carry out their revolutionary tasks successfully and educate their subordinates well.

In order to get people to read a lot, we should give them effective guidance in their studies. The main point in this guidance is to get them to read as many books as possible and grasp their ideas and gists correctly. Now, however, when guiding the studies of cadres and other Party members, Party organizations only examine how many books they have summarized. In consequence, in order to avoid being criticized, people simply focus on producing summaries, not minding whether they have understood what is written or not. This is a vivid expression of formalism in study. To give people the task of summarizing a book and conduct a review of the results, is a one-sided, formalistic method of study guidance. Such a method must be abolished. In guiding the people in their studies, stress should be placed on getting them to read various kinds of books, and to read every single book repeatedly and substantially so as to gain a full understanding of its idea and gist.

We should mark the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of victory in the Fatherland Liberation War in a significant way this year.

V-Day is a very significant day for our people. While August 15, 1945 was the day when the Korean people defeated the Japanese imperialists and liberated their country under the wise leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung, July 27, 1953 was the day when they defeated the US imperialists and defended their national sovereignty, also under his wise leadership. In this sense, this V-Day can be called our people's second Liberation Day.

In the past we have marked Liberation Day in a grand manner as a national holiday, but not so V-Day. In recognition of the significance of the victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, we should celebrate

the day as a national holiday from this year.

If we are to celebrate the day as a national holiday this year we must organize fine celebration activities. To celebrate the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, I plan to have a military parade, a mass rally and an evening gala organized on a grand scale. The evening gala should be held in a splendid and distinctive way in the May Day Stadium in the presence of Comrade Kim Il Sung.

We should see to it that the young and other working people exercise regularly. Regular exercise enables people to work effectively in good health. But currently our people, especially the cadres, are not doing regular exercise. It seems to me that the cadres are not exercising because they think it is something for the ordinary people to do. This is an obsolete way of thinking. Shirking exercise is another abhorrent habit of our people.

We should create a social climate of doing exercise and ensure that all the people take part. Cadres must be exemplary in this, and regularly do various kinds of exercise, including walking.

The State Physical Culture and Sports Commission must create a social climate of exercising and adopt measures for all the people to take part. The chairman of the commission should push ahead with promoting exercise in society on his own responsibility.

## **ABUSES OF SOCIALISM ARE INTOLERABLE**

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At a time when the imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to unprecedentedly vicious schemes against socialism, many misleading statements are being made about socialism. The enemies of socialism are abusing it, calling it “totalitarian,” “barracks-like” and “administrative and commanding” and are distorting the facts, pretending that the setback suffered by socialism is because its nature is such.

The claim that socialism is “totalitarian,” “barracks-like” and “administrative and commanding” is not in essence different from the pernicious anti-socialist propaganda which the imperialists have conducted since the first appearance of socialism in the world. The imperialists have always said that socialism is an inhuman society in which there is no freedom or democracy. The terms “totalitarian,” “barracks-like” and “administrative and commanding” are a repetition of the imperialists’ false propaganda against socialism that uses new words.

The democratic idea which a long time ago advocated freedom, equality and human rights, in opposition to feudal despotism, was transformed by the capitalist class into bourgeois democracy, which imposed and defended exploitation and subordination by capital. The imperialists made every possible effort to embellish bourgeois democracy, calling it “liberal democracy”; however, they could not conceal its falsity and reactionary nature, nor could they remove from

the minds of the masses their aspiration and longing for socialism which would provide them with genuine freedom and democracy. Nevertheless, the sophistry of its being “totalitarian,” “barracks-like” and “administrative and commanding,” a repetition of the imperialists’ vicious propaganda against socialism, has in recent years caused ideological confusion among the people in many socialist countries. The class enemies have even led socialism to collapse by fanning this ideological confusion and misleading public opinion. The collapse of socialism in many countries was an outcome of the conspiracy and collusion by the imperialists and counterrevolutionary forces and a result of the ideological and cultural infiltration of imperialism and of the corrosive action of Rightist opportunist ideas. Decisive to the collapse was the role played by the counterrevolutionary schemes of the renegades of socialism in those countries. In order to stifle socialism the imperialists have for a long time been perpetrating every manner of destructive move such as aggression and pressure, blockade and appeasement; at the same time, they have used as their stooges the degenerates and traitors to the revolution who appeared in the upper strata of the communist and working-class movement. As the history of the international communist movement shows, ideological confusion and all the twists and turns within it are due to the fact that renegades of the revolution have appeared in its upper strata. In the historical situation in which socialism had become a powerful material force, the imperialists attached greater importance to the strategy of undermining it from within and made vicious attempts to achieve this aim. In accordance with this strategy employed by the imperialists the abuses of socialism were taken to an unprecedented level and, at the same time, the criticism of socialism as being “totalitarian”, “barracks-like” and “administrative and commanding” came into being. That such censure is a product of the imperialists’ anti-socialist strategy has been proved by the fact that all the criminal acts aimed at destroying socialism with this as a pretext have been committed with the support of the imperialists and under their manipulation. Today the schemes of the renegades to vilify socialism are becoming more heinous and

frantic, their aim being to justify their perfidy and check the rebirth of socialism. That they are defaming socialism by calling it “totalitarian,” “barracks-like” and “administrative and commanding” even now when socialism has disintegrated and capitalism has revived in many countries serves as clear proof that the renegades of socialism are the stooges of imperialism.

It is sophistry to call socialism “totalitarian,” “barracks-like” and “administrative and commanding.”

Totalitarianism served as the political idea of fascist dictators. Notorious Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy used totalitarianism as an ideological tool to justify their fascist dictatorship. The fascist dictators stamped out even the most elementary democratic freedom and rights of the masses of the working people and enforced unprecedentedly tyrannical policies, behind the misleading name of “national socialism,” claiming that for the sake of the whole nation and the whole state no working-class movement and no class struggle could be permitted. The reactionary nature of totalitarianism is that the interests of the working people are sacrificed for the sake of the rapacious interests of the reactionary ruling class under the pretence that the individual should be subordinated to the whole. What is meant by the whole in totalitarianism is not the whole of the masses but a tiny handful of privileged circles such as monopoly capitalists, major landowners, reactionary bureaucrats and warlords. Calling socialism, under which the masses are the masters of everything, “totalitarianism” is, ultimately, a preposterous lie which identifies the most progressive idea that reflects the demands of the masses with the reactionary idea of fascist rulers.

Denouncing socialism as being “barracks-like” is also absurd. The social way of life is defined by ideology and varies according to the social system. Socialism is the most progressive of ideas that reflects the intrinsic demands of people, and the socialist system is the most advanced of systems under which the masses enjoy an independent and creative life to the full. The restraint of their

independence and creativity occurs not under the socialist system but under the capitalist system. Capitalist society, where the working people are the slaves of capital, cannot ensure a fruitful life, independent and creative, for them. Claiming that socialism is “barracks-like” is pernicious propaganda that attempts to turn black into white.

Accusing socialism of being “administrative and commanding” is also unreasonable. In general, the administrative and commanding method of management is an old method of rule that serves the demands of the privileged classes by invoking legal authority in an exploiter society. In capitalist society where the economy is run spontaneously on the principles of the market economy, state and social administration is conducted by the administrative and commanding method and the masses, the target of control, are in duty bound to obey administrative orders. Contrary to this, in socialist society the masses, who have become the masters of the state and society, hold the position of masters and play the role of masters in the administration. The fundamental characteristics of state and social administration by the masses are that priority is given to political work in all activities and superiors assist those under them and everyone cooperates in a comradely manner. This is fundamentally different from the bureaucratic method of management in the old society whereby everything was imposed in accordance with administrative orders. The administrative and commanding method of management which was manifested in socialist practice in the past did not emanate from the essential nature of socialist society but was a legacy of the exploiter society. The renegades of socialism directed the spearhead of their attack against the principle of democratic centralism on the pretext of opposing the “administrative and commanding” method. Democratic centralism is an important principle in the activities of a socialist state. In socialist state activities democracy and centralism are organically combined, and herein lies an important characteristic of socialist state activities. Those who created a chaotic situation while emasculating centralism

in the name of “democracy” destroyed socialism, and they are now openly moving towards bourgeois dictatorship.

This slander against socialism is absurd. But, it has caused ideological confusion among the people, mainly because they are not fully equipped with the socialist idea. Of course, it was not easy to identify the reactionary nature of the slander from the outset, because it was conducted craftily in the guise of socialism. But if a proper yardstick had been prepared by developing and perfecting the socialist theory and if the masses had been equipped with the socialist idea, they would not have been easily shaken by such sophistry.

If the socialist cause is to be defended and completed, the socialist idea should be developed and perfected constantly and the masses should be equipped with it, so that they accept socialism as their unshakeable conviction. They will keep faith in socialism only when they are convinced of the justness of the socialist cause.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung created the Juche idea and, on this basis, has developed and perfected the socialist idea. The Juche socialist idea makes it clear that socialist society is the most advanced society where the masses are the masters of everything and everything serves them, and that it is a society which develops steadily on the strength of their unity. The socialist cause is just in that the masses lead an independent and creative life to the full as the masters of the state and society. Our people have this as their firm conviction, so they are moving steadily along the road of socialism in spite of the anti-socialist storms.

If the former socialist countries had developed and perfected the socialist idea in conformity with the requirements of the times and the developing revolution, and if they had equipped the masses with it and thus ensured that they accepted socialism as their firm conviction, the tragic events in which the masses, failing to see through the reactionary, corrupt nature of capitalist society and harbouring illusions about it, wavered ideologically and thus frustrated socialism would not have occurred. As experience shows, if we are to defend the cause of socialism and to bring glory to it the socialist idea should

be perfected and the masses armed with it so that it becomes their firm conviction.

Moreover, we should see to it that the people have an unshakeable faith in socialism and regard it as their moral duty to defend it. In the exploiter society the politics of the ruling class runs counter to the ethics of the working masses, whereas the politics and ethics correspond with each other in socialist society where the masses are the masters of the state and society. The political and ethical cohesion of the masses can only be lasting when socialist ethics is fully prevalent. Socialism strikes deep root in actual life when socialist ethics based on revolutionary comradeship and obligation is established and becomes widespread. Only if this happens can the masses fully discharge their responsibilities and role as the masters of socialist society, build socialism successfully, firmly defend the cause of socialism and promote it, whatever the adversity. Betrayers of the revolution appear in the course of socialist construction because they have not made socialism their faith or ethics. The cause of socialism is that of the people and a betrayal of the socialist cause is a betrayal of the people. A betrayal of the people is a manifestation of the greatest lack of ethics. It is the worst manifestation of a lack of ethics for a leader to reject the confidence of party members and the people who have elected him to the leadership of the party and the state. He may only be said to have a little conscience if he resigns from his post because of his lack of ability or leaves the party for some reason.

That those who talked about their loyalty to the cause of socialism in the past have readily become renegades of socialism is, in the long run, due to their failure to make socialism their conviction and ethics. This shows that ideological transformation for all the members of society to make socialism their conviction and ethics is the most important of tasks that should be carried out as a matter of priority in defending and completing the cause of socialism.

Ideological transformation should be conducted in close combination with the practical struggle to build socialism. The major aim of equipping the masses with the socialist idea is to build

socialism successfully so as to provide them with a more independent and creative life, by relying on the strength of the people who have been awakened in a revolutionary manner. Without socialist construction it is difficult to conduct the work of equipping the masses with the socialist idea. It is only when people come to recognize the superiority of socialism through their own life by successfully building it that they will accept it as vital to them.

The party and state of the working class should concentrate their efforts on displaying the superiority of socialism to the full by building it well.

The essential superiority of socialism lies in the fact that the masses are the masters of everything.

For the people to be the masters of everything they must firstly become the masters of politics. Only then can they lead a full social life as befitting masters. Socialist politics is people-oriented politics exercised by the people as its masters. In the society of exploiters politics is, in essence, aimed at ensuring class domination by the exploiting class, and the masses of the working people are merely the objects of politics. In capitalist society the life of the people is spontaneous and led by each individual to maintain his or her own existence. But, in socialist society the people themselves are the masters of politics and organize and conduct all aspects of social life in a uniform manner.

Politics is exercised by certain political organizations. For people in a socialist society to exercise their rights and discharge their responsibilities as the masters of the state and society they must have a political organization which represents their will and interests. The representative of the people's will and interests in socialist society is the party and government of the working class. In socialist society the working-class party is the supreme political organization and the government is the most comprehensive political organization. The position and role of the masses as the masters of state and society in socialist society are guaranteed by the party and government of the working class.

The political organization in a socialist society must conduct its political activities in a manner that suits its nature as the representative of the will and interests of the masses. Creating political methods which suit the nature of socialist society is a fundamental condition for realizing politics for the people. Even if a working-class party and socialist government have been formed the masses will be unable to exercise their rights and discharge their responsibilities as the genuine masters of politics unless new, socialist political methods are created.

Socialism is an untrodden path and it is extremely difficult and complicated to create new political methods inherent in socialism. In the past many people resorted to the existing theory that politics was defined by the economic system and thought that the problem of managing the state and society would be solved easily once the socialist system was established. Therefore, the problem of creating new political methods commensurate with the nature of socialist society was not solved correctly, and the remnants of the political methods from the old society revived to a considerable extent. That the remnants of the political methods from the old society were not removed from socialist society was also due to an improper understanding of the essence of the socialist political organization which was different from the political organization of the old society. In the past the party was regarded mainly as an organized detachment of a certain class which defended the interests of this class, and as a weapon in the class struggle; government, too, was considered to be a power organ for the dominating class to realize its political domination over the society. Therefore, in the building and activities of the party and government the main attention was paid to enhancing their functions and role as a weapon in the class struggle and as the executor of power. The essence of the working-class party and socialist government lies, above all, in that they serve the people. Only when the working-class party and socialist government adhere to the stand of serving the people can they conduct the class struggle and exercise political power properly to meet the requirements of the

masses for independence. That they serve the people is the essence and superiority of the working-class party and government which are fundamentally different from the party and government of the exploiting class. In the activities of the working-class party and socialist government serving the people, even the slightest trace of seeking privilege is intolerable. In its nature socialism rejects every manner of privilege. In the past the abuse of power and bureaucracy were evident in socialist practice. This was because the building of the party and government was not conducted properly as required by their mission as servants of the people.

The abuse of power and bureaucracy are products of the anti-socialist idea and expressions of anti-socialist methods. If the mass line is implemented thoroughly under the correct leadership of the working-class party in socialist society so that the masses occupy the position of masters of the state and society and play their role as such to the full, it is possible to eliminate the abuse of power and bureaucracy. In order to eliminate the abuse of power and bureaucracy in socialist society, all officials should have the spirit of serving the people faithfully. The slogan "We serve the people!" put up by our Party clearly shows the attitude and stand officials should adopt in dealing with the people and how they should work for the people. Our experience proves that when the ideological education and ideological struggle are conducted vigorously among officials to improve their methods and style of work, it is quite possible to eliminate the abuse of power and bureaucracy which are vestiges of the old society.

Unless ideological education and an ideological campaign are conducted to put an end to the abuse of power and bureaucracy they will be fostered and grow, and not disappear. If the abuse of power and bureaucracy are allowed to grow in socialist society they will alienate the masses from the party and state, and the enemies of socialism will exploit this. The situation in those countries in which socialism has collapsed shows this. In every country the people demanded socialism free from the abuse of power and bureaucracy;

they did not demand capitalism. But, in some countries the party and government were discredited in the eyes of the people due to the abuse of power and bureaucracy. Taking advantage of this, acts of betrayal were committed in order to instigate people to oppose the socialist ruling parties and socialist power by misleading them with the preposterous slander that socialism was “totalitarianism” and with the promise that they would be provided with “humanitarian and democratic socialism.” What the people have got as a result of the collapse of socialism is not “humanitarian and democratic socialism” but capitalism under which exploitation, oppression and social inequality are dominant and every type of crime and social evil prevails. In those countries where socialism collapsed and capitalism was revived the abuse of power and bureaucracy have not disappeared but have become institutionalized and legitimized and are now socially prevalent.

An intrinsic superiority of socialism lies in the fact that under it everything serves the masses.

That everything serves the people means that, in socialist society, all party and state activities are geared to providing the people with genuine freedom and rights as well as with an affluent and cultured life. The enemies of socialism use the vicious slander that the independent and creative life which the party and the state provide for the masses in a responsible manner is a “barracks-like” life.

Socialism provides the people with a rich and cultured life. The long-cherished desire of the people to live free from any worries can only be realized in a socialist society in which the party and the state take responsible care of the people’s life. In a capitalist society a carefree life for the working people is inconceivable. In this society even those who are fairly well-to-do are always fearful of sudden bankruptcy, jobless and poverty. Living a prosperous life in idleness without any thought for others cannot be regarded as a genuine human life. A worthwhile and happy life that conforms to the intrinsic requirements of the people is a creative life which they lead to transform the world; it is a sound and equitably prosperous life

which is enjoyed by every person. It is only through such a life that people can feel pride in being the masters of the world and worthy as equal members of the society. A creative, sound and equitable life which conforms with the intrinsic requirements of people can be fully put into effect only in socialist society in which the party and the state are responsible for the life of the people.

The most important aspect of people's lives is to realize the demand of their political integrity to unite and cooperate with one another amid the love and trust of the social community. People cannot lead a life worthy of human beings and develop their political integrity in capitalist society in which the dignity and personality of the working people are trampled underfoot without scruple because of the privileges enjoyed by capital. It is only in socialist society in which every manner of privilege has been eliminated and genuine freedom and rights are guaranteed for them under the leadership and care of the party and the state that they can lead a life worthy of human beings that meets the demands of their political integrity.

Socialism provides every condition for people to lead a stable life under a well-regulated social order. The socialist order of life is revolutionary order which enables the masses to lead a peaceful life free from infringement, under the protection of the party and the state; it is collectivist order which is maintained by the people of their own free will. Destroying the socialist order of life is a criminal act which makes the masses the victims of crime and social evil. Those countries where the socialist order of life has become chaotic are now in a state of anarchy; there crime and social evil of every description are rampant and swindlers and criminals of every type are working frantically, as if their day had come.

The renegades of socialism are continuing to repeat such hackneyed expressions as "barracks-like," the falsity of which has been clearly revealed. They are doing so in a foolish attempt to hide their treachery in making the working people the victims of unemployment, poverty, crime and social evil.

Another intrinsic superiority of socialism lies in the fact that the

society continues to develop through the united strength of the masses.

That society develops implies that the position and role of people in the world are enhanced, and this in turn means an increase in their independence, creativity and consciousness—the attributes of human beings. In other words, it means that people’s role is enhanced in conformity with a rise in their independent ideological consciousness and creative ability, and that social wealth increases and social relations improve in keeping with the enhancement of the people’s role. Therefore, whether a society has the potential to develop depends on whether it enables people’s independence, creativity and consciousness to be displayed more fully. Independence and creativity for people are guaranteed by their consciousness. Therefore, it can be said that consciousness plays a decisive role in the activities of a human being. This means that ideological consciousness plays a decisive role in human being’s activity. Ideological consciousness reflects the requirements and interests of a human being and, as such, defines the goal and direction of his or her activities, as well as his or her will and fighting ability. Therefore, the basic factor giving impetus to social development is always ideological consciousness. The ideological consciousness which powerfully promotes social progress is independent ideological consciousness, and the ideological consciousness at the highest level of the development of people’s independent consciousness is socialist ideology. It is beyond dispute that socialist society, which is developing through the high level of the revolutionary consciousness and creativity of the masses who are equipped with the socialist ideology, is the society with the greatest capacity for development.

The establishment of the socialist system creates the social and economic conditions for all the members of the society to unite and cooperate on the basis of one ideology; however, unity and cooperation among the people cannot be achieved spontaneously. In order to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the whole of society, education in socialist ideology must be improved among them. In the

past, however, the remoulding of people's ideological consciousness was neglected in socialist practice because of the failure to understand that the basic driving force for the development of a socialist society lies in unity and cooperation among the people based on a high degree of ideological consciousness. In particular, there were tendencies to raise people's enthusiasm for production by means of such economic levers as material incentives, seeking the driving force for the development of the socialist economy in adapting the production relations to the character of the forces of production. Of course, the lever of material incentives may be used in socialist society because that society is transitional. But, this lever must be used on the basis of giving priority to education in socialist ideology. In other words, the principle must be maintained of putting the main stress on political and moral incentives and properly combining material incentives with them. If, instead of doing so, emphasis is put merely on material incentives, this will reduce people to egoists who seek only their own interests, with the result that society will stagnate and the foundations of socialism will be destroyed. In those countries which abandoned education in socialist ideology and encouraged egoism, the building of the socialist economy floundered and, taking advantage of this, the leadership of the working-class party and state over the socialist economy was rejected on the excuse of opposing the administrative command system and the capitalist market economy was introduced.

Political leadership and the centralized and systematic guidance of the economy is a basic task for the working-class party and state in socialist society. This is because they are in duty bound to take care of the masses. For the working-class party and state to abandon their function of guiding the economy means ignoring their responsibility for taking care of the livelihood of the masses. The way the party and state should give guidance to the economy in socialist society may differ from one country to another, according to their specific situations and the requirements of the developing revolutions, but they must on no account abandon their guidance of the economy. An

economy without guidance from the working-class party and state is not a socialist economy, and the society which is not based on a socialist economy cannot be called a socialist society. How much scope is given to the superiority of the socialist economy depends on how the party and state give guidance to it. Our experience shows that the economy can be managed particularly well in keeping with the intrinsic nature of socialist society when, in the management of the economy, the collective guidance of the party committee is ensured, the mass line is implemented, political work is given precedence in all undertakings and the revolutionary method of work and popular style of work are established among officials.

The renegades of socialism are converting socialist ownership into private ownership, claiming that the “administrative command system” relies on the absolute dominance of state ownership. The socialist ownership which consists of state and all-people ownership and cooperative ownership forms socio-economic foundations which enable the masses to occupy the position of masters of the state and society and play their role as such. It is clear that if socialist ownership is dissolved and converted into private ownership, the means of production, having been privatized, will be concentrated, sooner or later, in the hands of privileged people, speculators and a handful of other exploiters, no matter what the method of privatization may be. It is not long since privatization was carried out in those countries in which socialism had collapsed, but millionaires have already appeared while the vast majority of the working people are suffering because of unemployment and poverty. As the facts show, rejecting the guidance of the economy by the working-class party and state and doing away with socialist ownership is nothing more than reviving the capitalist exploiting system, whatever pretext may be cited.

All the anti-socialist, evil propaganda accusing socialism of being “totalitarian,” “barracks-like” and “administrative and commanding” is nothing more than mud-slinging at socialist collectivism and the extolling of bourgeois individualism. So the struggle between

socialists and the renegades of socialism is a struggle between socialism based on collectivism and capitalism based on individualism.

In order to counter the vilification by the renegades of socialism and to defend the cause of socialism, we must embody the principle of collectivism thoroughly in all areas of social life.

Collectivism is an essential quality of socialism and a source of the latter's superiority and validity. Collectivism is, in short, the concept of valuing the interests of the collective more than one's own individual interests. In socialist society, where all the working people have been transformed into socialist working people, the whole society becomes one big family whose members are united with one another through their common interests. Collectivism in socialist society finds expression in a high regard for the interests of the state and society. Socialist collectivism does not set the interests of the state and society against those of individuals; it ensures that they coincide. Valuing the state and society in socialist society means, in the long run, valuing the masses, the masters of the state and society. The masses are a social community composed of the working people; defending the interests of the masses means defending the interests of every working person, a constituent element of it. The basic requirement of socialist collectivism is for people to give prominence to the interests of the state and society and pursue their own interests within those of the state and society. Socialist collectivism is against the pursuance of only individual interests at the expense of those of the state and society, yet not against the interests of individuals. It is not socialist collectivism but bourgeois individualism that infringes upon the interests of individuals. The reactionary nature of bourgeois individualism is that it encroaches on the interests of all the working people for the sake of the interests of a handful of exploiters. It is bourgeois individualism that gives rise to conflicts and social evils in capitalist society.

Collectivism, as an ideal of socialism, has developed

continuously. The establishment of Marxism was of great significance in the development of the concept of collectivism. Marxism made clear that the emancipation of humanity could not be achieved by individuals and that the exploitation and oppression of man by man could be eliminated and genuine freedom and equality for people could be realized only through the united efforts of the working class.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung authored the Juche idea and, on this basis, has developed the socialist idea and brought it to perfection, thus developing the concept of collectivism at a higher level. The Juche idea contains the original concept that the makers of history who forge the destiny of humanity are the masses, not individuals, and that they should be combined into one socio-political organism in order to forge their destiny independently and creatively.

An isolated individual cannot become the motive force of socio-historical progress, nor have socio-political integrity as a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness. The parental organization of a person's socio-political integrity is the social community. It is only when an individual, as a member of the social community, joins his fate with that of the community that he can have socio-political integrity which is different from the physical life and live and develop independently and creatively as the master of his own destiny.

In a social collective in which the people, the makers of history, are combined into one socio-political organism, the principle of comradesly love and revolutionary obligation holds sway in the relations between individuals and between the collective and individuals, the principle of sharing life and death, and of devoted service to one another. The expression of the relations of comradesly love and revolutionary obligation between the collective and individuals sharing life and death is socialist collectivism which embodies the principle of "One for all and all for one." Our socialist society based on the Juche idea is the society in which socialist collectivism is most thoroughly embodied.

Our Party's collectivist idea was formed during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle organized and led by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. In spite of the indescribably difficult circumstances the Korean communists were united firmly in one socio-political organism around the revolutionary leader and established a pattern for close ties of kinship based on collectivism between the revolutionary ranks and the people. Through two stages of social revolution in our country the social sources of the impeding of collectivist unity and solidarity among the people have been eliminated and socialist construction and collectivist education have developed in depth. As a result, all the people form a socio-political organism firmly united behind the Party and the leader, an independent motive force for the revolution, and the collectivist way of life based on comradesly love and revolutionary obligation has been brought into full play in all fields of social life.

Our people are now occupying the position of masters of the state and society in all fields of social life, such as politics, the economy and culture, and are discharging their responsibilities and role as masters; they are advancing dynamically to accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche, united single-heartedly behind the Party and the leader, sharing good times and bad with one another. The life of people must not be judged simply by its material aspect; it must be judged mainly from the point of view of its social and political aspects and of the life they enjoy as the genuine masters of the state and society. The independent and creative life our people are leading is a genuine life. It clearly displays the intrinsic advantages of the people-centred socialism of our own style embodying socialist collectivism.

In socialist society the people are the masters of state power and of the material and cultural wealth. So everyone has the right to enjoy an independent and creative life and is responsible for strengthening and developing it ceaselessly through a concerted effort. In our country there are no jobless people, nor anyone who cannot receive education and medical treatment, nor are there vagrants or beggars. All the people in our country are allowing their creative talents to blossom at

their work places where they do jobs that are suited to their aptitudes and abilities and are leading an equitable and wealthy life without any worries; they enjoy an independent political life as the masters of the state and society, enrolled in appropriate socio-political organizations.

In our country our Party, a Juche revolutionary party, bears the responsibility for the destiny of the people as a political guide of society, leads them forward and takes meticulous care of all aspects of their life; the Party committees, as the highest leadership bodies of the relevant units, fully ensure the independent rights of the working people through collective leadership and properly organize their creative activities. The unity between superiors and inferiors and the comradely cooperation among all have become a social trend, the custom in our country. The Party serves the people and the people, upholding the Party's leadership, share good times and bad with one another. Herein lie the infinite pride and source of the invincible power of our people. Our socialism is unshakable, whatever the storm. This is because the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the people has been realized and the people are building a new life in conformity with their independent demands under the guidance of the Party and the leader.

It is extremely foolish to slander the new life of socialism by reviving outdated ideas which have already been buried by history. The value of the new can be measured only with a new yardstick. The reality has shown clearly once again that the way of thinking of those who preach the return to the old is not new. It is ridiculous for them to talk about a new way of thinking, while being unable to distinguish collectivism from totalitarianism. It is a farce to revive capitalism while distorting the reality of socialism with an outmoded way of thinking and an old yardstick.

We must derive a proper lesson from the setback faced by socialism in some countries and resolutely reject all the slander levelled by fools, and we must advance more vigorously towards the bright future of humanity, displaying such intelligence and courage as to turn misfortune into a blessing.

**ON DECLARING A STATE OF WAR READINESS  
FOR THE WHOLE COUNTRY, ALL THE PEOPLE  
AND THE ENTIRE ARMY**

**Order No. 0034 of the Supreme Commander  
of the Korean People's Army**

*March 8, 1993*

In spite of the strong protests and denunciation of all the Korean people and the world's revolutionary people who love peace and oppose war, the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique have launched the reckless joint military exercise Team Spirit 93.

This war exercise is thoroughly aggressive in its content and nature. It is a preliminary war and a nuclear test war aimed at a surprise, pre-emptive strike against the northern half of Korea.

The staging of the joint military exercise Team Spirit 93 at a time when the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression, Cooperation and Exchange between the North and the South and the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula aimed at removing the danger of a nuclear war, have been adopted and ratified in Korea is extremely dangerous and a grave military provocation that cannot be justified.

The US imperialists are conducting this dangerous war exercise by bringing many of the latest fighters and warships equipped with nuclear weapons and various other means of delivering nuclear weapons to the Korean peninsula and the waters surrounding it, and by mobilizing more than 200 000 soldiers of aggression, including the Rapid

Deployment Force, from the continental United States, Guam, Hawaii, Japan and other US military bases in the Asia-Pacific region.

Because of the aggressive joint military exercise Team Spirit 93 being staged by the US imperialists and their south Korean stooges, a hair-trigger situation has been created in our country and war may break out at any moment.

None of the Korean people in the north, in the south and abroad who desire the independent and peaceful reunification of their country can repress their surging feelings of hatred for and resentment at the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique who are once again staging Team Spirit, ignoring the sincere efforts made by our Party and the government of our Republic to ease the tension in the country, ensure peace and denuclearize the Korean peninsula; all our compatriots are scathing in their condemnation of the war exercise as an intolerable crime against peace and reunification.

The US imperialists are watching for a chance to unleash another war by mobilizing every type of modern weaponry, with the spearhead of their aggression directed at the northern half of the country, but they have seriously miscalculated.

Our people are not frightened by the Team Spirit joint military exercise, even though it involves hundreds of thousands of men and weapons of mass destruction, and our army will not shrink back for fear of war.

We have the heroic Korean people and the People's Army, each soldier of which is a match for a hundred foes. They defeated the one-million-strong Kwantung Army of the Japanese imperialists amid the snowstorms of Mt Paektu and the armies of the imperialist United States and its 15 satellite states during the Fatherland Liberation War. We also have the strength of the leader, the Party and the people who are united in one mind, and the unbreakable strength of the ties of kinship between the army and the people, which are sealed in blood.

Our People's Army has been strengthened to become an invincible, revolutionary armed force that is equipped with modern means of attack and defence; all the people are under arms and the

whole country has been fortified; we are fully prepared to annihilate the aggressors at a blow.

Our people, who hold dear the independence of the nation and the peace of the country, do not want war, but we will not beg for peace at the cost of our dignity.

If the US imperialists and the south Korean puppets unleash another war, our people and the People's Army will fight to the death for the sake of the Party, the leader and our style of socialism that is centred on the masses of the people and has been achieved at the cost of their blood, and will thus deal a crushing blow to the aggressors and raise the dignity and honour of heroic Korea even further.

The enemy must clearly understand that they shall not trample with impunity on even an inch of land or a blade of grass in our Republic.

In view of the grave situation prevailing in our country owing to the schemes of the US imperialists and the south Korean puppets to unleash another war, and as self-defensive measures to safeguard the security of our Republic and people, I order the following:

1. The whole country, all the people and the entire army shall, on March 9, 1993, switch to a state of war readiness.

2. All the soldiers of the three services of the Korean People's Army—the land, naval and air forces—and of the Korean People's Security Forces, and all the members of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and the Young Red Guards, shall display high revolutionary vigilance and closely observe every move by the enemy, and shall be fully ready for action to crush the enemy at a stroke should they attack.

3. All the people shall equip themselves fully with our Party's Juche-oriented view on war and, with a hammer or a sickle in one hand and a rifle in the other, produce a great upswing in socialist economic construction.

## ON DEVELOPING TRADITIONAL MUSIC IN KEEPING WITH MODERN TASTES

Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea

November 13, 1993

Today the Wangjaesan Light Music Band gave an excellent performance of their new interpretations of some traditional musical pieces.

In recent days I have been thinking a lot about how to develop traditional music, and I entrusted the band with the task of arranging the country's folk songs to suit modern tastes. Such an issue should have been raised by the officials concerned, but they failed to do so. The band took about a fortnight to finish the task and it presented the new interpretations today, in precisely the way the Party intended. I am very pleased with the pieces.

The folk songs *Song of Youth*, *Let's Go to Pick Mulberry Leaves* and *Moran Hill* were good arrangements. *Let's Repay the Leader's Benevolence with Loyalty* was nicely arranged to cater to modern tastes. *Sinau*, performed on the electric violin, is rich in national sentiments while still having a novel flavour.

All the folk songs, which the band played by combining electronic and Western instruments, are pleasant to the ear and have an appealing spontaneity. This proves that electronic and Western instruments can reproduce at a high level our folk songs, in conformity with our people's sentiments and modern tastes. We

should subordinate those instruments to the Korean music.

Our people will very much like the folk songs, as interpreted by the band. The elderly will feel like dancing to the melodies, and so will the young. Young people are not so keen to sing old folk songs, but they will enjoy singing the new arrangements.

We should develop traditional music in the form of light music, in the same way that the Wangjaesan Light Music Band did.

This means that we should arrange traditional pieces of music in a lively and rousing manner by using electronic and Western instruments so that they preserve our national characteristics and cater to modern tastes.

Developing traditional music in conformity with modern tastes is of great importance in educating the people in the Korean-nation-first spirit. The Party long ago put forward the policy of strengthening education in this spirit. The information sector, however, has failed to conduct effective education in this spirit. In order to imbue Party members and other working people with the Korean-nation-first spirit, officials in the information sector ought to have developed various forms and methods for preserving the superior aspects and fine traits of our nation. They should explore ways of strengthening this education, since they are in charge of ideological education.

Arming Party members and other working people with this spirit does not happen of its own accord. The spirit will be implanted in their minds only when they have a clear knowledge of the long history, brilliant culture and fine traditions created by their nation.

Herein lies the reason why the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung values the history and heritage of our nation so highly and attaches such great importance to exalting them. Last year, on a visit to Kaesong, when he was looking around Songgyungwan, he proposed building a light-industry university to be called Koryo Songgyungwan, as a way of carrying forward its 1 000-year tradition of higher education, and he also elucidated ways and means for renovating the mausoleum of King Wang Kon. The mausoleum of King Tongmyong in Pyongyang, too, acquired its magnificent appearance under his direct

guidance and care. Recently he pointed out that Tangun, who had previously been regarded as a mythical being, had been a real human being, and he gave instructions for renovating his mausoleum, so that it could demonstrate to the whole world that ours is a nation with a history spanning 5 000 years. The scientific confirmation that Tangun founded the first state of our nation with Pyongyang as its capital proves that Pyongyang was the birthplace of our nation. In this way Comrade Kim Il Sung straightened out the long history of our nation, which had been distorted and buried owing to the machinations of the imperialists and great-power worshippers. In future, the education sector should rewrite the Korean history textbooks on the basis of these newly confirmed materials.

Traditional music plays an important role in educating our people in the Korean-nation-first spirit. Traditional music reflects the ideological sentiments, lifestyle and customs of the nation and accordingly is inconceivable apart from the development of the nation. The people should know their traditional music well, sing their folk songs and dance their folk dances. This is a way for them to love their nation and take great pride in its excellence. The folk songs that have just been reinterpreted by the Wangjaesan Light Music Band will contribute to giving our youth and other people a better knowledge of Korea's wonderful traditional music and educating them in the Korean-nation-first spirit.

On several occasions I have stressed the need to produce songs that can contribute to promoting this spirit. I regret to say, however, that among those created so far, only *Pyongyang Is Best* and a few other songs are good enough.

If the Korean-nation-first spirit is to be displayed to the full, it is necessary to develop our nation's traditional music. That does not mean simply restoring old musical pieces intact. If they are restored intact, they will appear outdated, and disagree with contemporary sentiments. When developing traditional music, we should guard strictly against restorationism, and sustain modern tastes.

Developing traditional music in such a way that it suits modern

tastes will be helpful to preventing the young people from imitating foreign lifestyles. In the past some of them would dance to foreign songs that went against the sentiments and tastes of our people; but now, with the popularization of traditional musical pieces that are given a light music interpretation, they will dance to Korean tunes. The reinterpretations by the Wangjaesan Light Music Band preserve the Korean rhythms, and suit Korean dance movements very well. We should develop traditional music in keeping with modern tastes and produce corresponding folk dance pieces. We should promote the development of folk dances. Since we now have fine pieces of traditional music that cater to modern tastes, we are able to produce excellent folk dance pieces. As I often say, fine melodies are a prerequisite for fine dance pieces. The art sector should channel efforts into developing folk dances as well as traditional music.

If we develop traditional music in a light music style to cater to modern tastes, it will have a good influence on the people in south Korea. These days electronic and Western instruments are played in south Korea in American-style renditions. If they happen to enjoy our performances of folk songs on electronic and Western instruments, which cater to modern tastes, the people in the south will commend the north for these unique, Koryo-style renditions using non-traditional instruments, which are quite different from the American-style renditions prevalent in the south. We must sustain the Juche character in making use of electronic and Western instruments, otherwise a foreign style will infiltrate our art, as has happened in the south. In developing the art of music, we should never copy anything foreign, but establish Juche, giving free rein to our unique characteristics.

In developing our traditional music in keeping with modern tastes, the arrangement should be prominent.

Arrangement is an important means of expressing the ideological content and emotional timbre of an original piece in bolder relief. Preserving the unique emotional timbre of the traditional music and adding a fresh sense of beauty to it, is dependent on the arrangement.

The works performed today were sung in the past, but have been arranged using fresh techniques; they are full of national sentiments and yet cater to modern tastes.

The arrangement of traditional music should evoke national sentiments and arouse fresh feelings by sustaining the original's unique tone and distinctive timbre and rhythm, and introducing new means of musical description.

Instrumentation is indispensable in representing traditional musical pieces. These musical pieces should be arranged in such a way that electronic and Western instruments can play them to meet the requirements of the present era, which is vibrant with revolution. Electronic instruments have all the elements necessary for sustaining the features of the traditional music. They can perfectly reproduce the unique timbre of the traditional instruments as well as the various traditional rhythms. An ensemble of a few electronic instruments can generate a sound as large as that produced by a full orchestra of traditional instruments, since each of them has a powerful sound.

Traditional musical pieces should be rendered in diverse forms. It would be desirable to reproduce the same work in a number of ways. A song rendered as a solo by the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble should not necessarily be rendered as a solo by the Wangjaesan Light Music Band, too. A few days ago the Wangjaesan Light Music Band rendered the folk song *Spinning Wheel Ballad* in three forms—solo, duet and chorus with instrumental accompaniment. They were all good, as each had its own characteristics and sounded distinctive to the ear. Diverse renderings of traditional musical pieces will make it more convenient to broadcast them on the radio.

Art troupes should have their individual characteristics. I have spoken highly of the musical works created by the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble and Wangjaesan Light Music Band, but other art troupes should not attempt to follow suit. Today the Wangjaesan Light Music Band was poor in the way it presented its captions, because it tried to imitate the way the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble does it. If all art troupes follow a way similar to one another, their

productions will appear monotonous and unappealing. Every art troupe, be it the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble, the Wangjaesan Light Music Band or any another, should follow the road of sustaining its own characteristics.

In future the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble should specialize in modern music and the Wangjaesan Light Music Band in traditional music. The latter, whose prime target is traditional light music, can be called a traditional light music band. In the case of vocal music it would be advisable for the Phibada Opera Troupe to specialize in the modern form and the State Folk Art Troupe in the traditional form. Chorus with *kayagum* accompaniment should be performed mainly by the latter. The *kayagum* and other traditional instruments must not be discarded altogether on the plea that electronic and Western instruments are being encouraged in playing traditional music. Chorus with *kayagum* accompaniment should be preserved and further developed. The State Folk Art Troupe should redouble its efforts to develop traditional music that conforms with modern tastes.

The dissemination of traditional music is also important in its development.

Due to the ineffective work in this field, many people have a poor knowledge of it, especially the young generation. As for the recently-discovered folk songs, students must have no idea about them. Even some artistes have little knowledge of folk songs. *Spinning Wheel Ballad*, a folk song rearranged by the Wangjaesan Light Music Band, is said to have been unknown among the artistes who did the rearranging. In the past, there were many singers who sang folk songs, but with the emergence of the new generation in the ranks of artistes, the number is gradually declining. I have heard that young people, because they know so few folk songs, simply sing the songs of Ung Phal or village head Pyon from the revolutionary opera *The Sea of Blood*, after singing *Blessings to You*, at weddings. Some people feel no shame in being ignorant of folk songs; instead, they regard themselves as being well-educated

if they have a good knowledge of modern songs. If people know few of our folk songs, decadent bourgeois culture may make inroads into their minds. Koreans must know Korean folk songs, which are rich in national flavour.

Our folk songs are rich in their national sentiments and profound in their content. The folk songs reinterpreted by the Wangjaesan Light Music Band not only are rich in their national sentiments but also have good lyrics. *Let's Go to Pick Mulberry Leaves* tells of a girl's strong attachment to her sweetheart, while *Song of Youth* teaches that young people should not idle away their youth, but learn. There are many folk songs with lyrics as good as these. Folk songs that are reinterpreted properly and disseminated will soon become widely popular.

Folk songs should be broadcast widely on the TV and radio. Nowadays, the music of the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble is being broadcast. This is good. The TV and radio should give prominence to the musical pieces created by the Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble in proper proportion with the folk songs reinterpreted by the Wangjaesan Light Music Band. Broadcasting the traditional light musical pieces that have been reinterpreted by the Wangjaesan Light Music Band on the TV and radio will cause a sensation.

Performances should be organized of the traditional musical pieces reinterpreted by the Wangjaesan Light Music Band. The first performance should be shown to creative workers and artistes in Pyongyang to celebrate New Year's Day. This will demonstrate to them the Party's intention of developing traditional music.

Performances can also be staged abroad. This will create a great sensation. Overseas Koreans will be delighted by the performances. When the folk songs that were sung in the old days are played, the first generation of overseas compatriots will dance. The band performing abroad will also have a positive influence on the south Korean people. So, when the band is going to stage a performance abroad, it should include in its repertoire many traditional light musical pieces and corresponding folk dance pieces.

The work of unearthing our traditional musical legacy should be properly organized.

Traditional music develops through inheritance from a critical point of view and through the development of its legacy, which includes folk songs. The more of it we unearth, the richer will be the foundation on which to develop our traditional music. There is still much to be unearthed, despite our past efforts. Recently I gave instructions on unearthing traditional musical pieces across the country, with the result that many old songs were collected in a short span of time. This large store of old songs, which were popular among our people in the old days, will make a great contribution to developing our traditional music. If the best folk songs among them are rearranged in conformity with modern tastes and popularized, they will be sung widely by the people and our traditional music will be enriched. We must continue to unearth pieces of traditional music.

Traditional music and other musical works should be well preserved. Both the old folk songs that were popular in the past and the numerous musical works created in our era constitute priceless cultural wealth that should be handed down to posterity. The revolutionary songs composed during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, the musical works created after the liberation of the country and, in particular, the revolutionary operas and other works of musical art created during the days of the revolution in art and literature, reflect the sentiments of the present era and the noble and beautiful ideological and spiritual features of our contemporaries; they embody Comrade Kim Il Sung's thought on art and literature, and describe the exploits the Party has performed in the course of leading this sector. It is only when these cultural treasures are well preserved and handed down to posterity that the generations to come will have a clear understanding of the period in the history of our art and literature when their brilliance was brought about by the leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Party. If historical materials are not properly looked after, it will cause a hiatus in history. It was because preservation work was not done properly

during the Fatherland Liberation War that many materials of historical significance were lost. It is heart-rending to think that they were destroyed by enemy bombing while they were being evacuated by ox-cart. We should never forget this bitter lesson, and should preserve historical materials in various ways. The work of preserving musical works should not be done by one organ alone, but by various organs, so that, even if the materials kept by one organ are destroyed, those elsewhere will remain safe and secure. A proper system for preserving musical works should be established.

Works of music that have historical significance should be preserved on CD. Those that are preserved on cassette tape do not last long. Old tape is liable to contract and the sound quality is poor. Cine-film, if it is kept for a long time, becomes discoloured and contracts, and produces a distorted sound. All musical works that are of historical significance, including those recorded on cassette tape, should be recorded onto CD. The songs that have been unearthed recently and kept on record should be recorded onto CD. The traditional light musical pieces performed by the Wangjaesan Light Music Band today should be recorded onto CD as well.

The Information Department of the Party Central Committee and the musical art sector should organize the work of developing traditional music in keeping with modern tastes, in the way I have clarified today.

# **LET US FURTHER CONSOLIDATE THE POSITION OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION THROUGH EFFECTIVE PARTY WORK**

**Speech to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*January 1, 1994*

As we see 1993 out and the new year 1994 in, I would like to dwell on some problems that the Party needs to tackle in its work.

Last year was the grimmest year in the history of our Party. In an attempt to isolate and suffocate our country, the bastion of socialism, the US imperialists last year resorted to unprecedented machinations against socialism and our Republic, and staged the Team Spirit joint military exercise, citing as an excuse the nuclear inspection issue. This created a touch-and-go situation in our country, and our Party and people were faced with the choice of whether to defend socialism or not.

Determined to answer the enemy's counterrevolutionary offensive with a revolutionary offensive, our Party ensured that the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army issued an order to the effect that the whole country, all the people and the entire army should go over to a semi-war state, and after that took the resolute step of withdrawing from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, thus rousing all its members, and all the other people and soldiers to the struggle to shatter the aggressive moves of the enemy. The political and military confrontation with the US imperialists last year was a showdown without gunshot and an all-people life-or-death battle to

defend our Party and our socialist motherland. In this fierce confrontation we achieved a great victory in political, ideological, moral, strategic and tactical terms. This is the greatest success we gained last year.

In last year's showdown we once again humbled the US imperialists and demonstrated to the world that socialist Korea under the leadership of the great leader and the great Party is a fiercely independent country that will brook no provocation. When, to cope with the enemy's manoeuvres to start a nuclear war, we took the resolute steps of proclaiming a semi-war state and withdrawing from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the leaders and broad sections of the public of many countries expressed admiration for our Party, saying that Korea was handling the situation well, and progressive parties, organizations and people across the world expressed active support for our self-defence measures. Through last year's showdown with the enemy, our Party was further tempered and the single-hearted unity of the Party and the people and the capabilities of the People's Army were strengthened incomparably.

Our great victory can be attributed to the wise leadership of the Party and the leader and to the reliable foundations laid by the leader. We could stand up to the enemy because the leader had, at the cost of a great deal of effort, set up an independent defence industry in the past.

The victory was also secured by the brave struggle of the people and the People's Army soldiers, who are united firmly around the Party and the leader. When the semi-war state was proclaimed our people, in support of the Supreme Commander's order, gave moral and material assistance to the People's Army, while achieving feats of labour at their workplaces, and the servicemen of the People's Army defended their posts with a grim determination, once the order for battle was given, to fight to the death for the Party and the leader, for the country and the people. The young people and students rose up as one in response to the Supreme Commander's order to enter a semi-war state; in little more than ten days, more than 1.5 million of them volunteered for enlistment in the People's Army, and large numbers of ex-servicemen

and war veterans asked to be allowed to rejoin the army.

We have become even more convinced through last year's showdown with the enemy that there is no one in the world that would dare challenge us, and that we will emerge victorious from any trial as long as we have the great leader, the seasoned Party, the powerful People's Army and the unbreakable single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses, and this has instilled confidence in the victory of socialism among the revolutionary people around the world. Last year was indeed the year of the severest trial and of the most brilliant victory in the annals of our Party.

This year, too, we should expect another fierce struggle. Although the US imperialists were compelled to hold talks with us and sign the DPRK-USA Joint Statement, in which they promised to suspend the Team Spirit joint military exercise, there is no knowing what military adventures they may yet resort to. Until last year, they used to threaten us by staging the Team Spirit joint military exercise in March and April; now they may stage a military exercise under a different name in July or August. The enemy, having failed to bring us to submission by force of arms, is engaged in an appeasement policy, which is nothing but an insidious scheme to fragment our revolutionary position from within. We must not harbour any illusions about this appeasement policy: We must maintain our revolutionary vigilance more than ever before and step up the revolution and construction so as to develop our Juche-based strength in every way. We must struggle by remaining more vigilant and consolidate our revolutionary position so that the US imperialists dare not challenge our socialism.

In order to push forward the revolution and construction and defend our style of socialism that is centred on the masses amid the acute confrontation with the enemy, we should consistently build up the Party, consolidate the single-hearted unity of the whole society, and enhance the country's economic and military potential. To this end, we should improve Party work.

We should continue to direct great efforts to strengthening the single-hearted unity of the Party and the ranks of the revolution.

This is the main guarantee for consolidating the revolutionary position of socialism by building up the driving force of the revolution, and the crucial factor that will decide the success of the revolutionary cause of Juche and the destiny of socialism. The revolutionary cause of our Party that was pioneered and guided by Comrade Kim Il Sung has achieved a victorious advance by relying on the single-hearted unity of the Party and the revolutionary ranks. And we have frustrated the aggressive schemes of the US-led enemies and defended our style of socialism by dint of this unity. The might of this unity will enable us to overcome any trials and difficulties, however grim, and to defeat any enemy, however formidable. Our unity is a most powerful weapon, one that could be secured only by our Party, a Juche-based revolutionary party. In the future, too, we should stand up to the enemy and defend and accomplish our style of socialism by dint of this unity. Strengthening this unity is a pivotal task for our Party.

What is important above all else in consolidating the unity of the Party and the revolutionary ranks is to transform our cadres along revolutionary lines.

Cadres, who are the backbone of the Party and of the revolutionary ranks, are the commanding personnel of the revolution. The solidity and effectiveness of the Party and the revolutionary ranks are largely dependant on the cadres. Since the cadres decide everything, they should be transformed along revolutionary lines to be equipped with a revolutionary world outlook. This will enable us to solve all the problems that arise in the revolution and construction.

The Party intends to make this year a year for transforming cadres along revolutionary lines and to undertake an intensive drive to transform them into ardent revolutionaries who cast in their lot with the Party, as well as into faithful servants of the people. We must make positive efforts to transform along revolutionary lines cadres at all levels, from those in central organs down to ri Party secretaries.

An important aspect in this undertaking is to train all cadres to be faithful people who cast in their lot with the Party and remain faithful

to the ideology and leadership of the Party. This is the key to the development of the Party and the consolidation of the unity of the revolutionary ranks.

Cadres must be the standard-bearers in supporting the Party and the leader. They should cast in their lot with the Party and remain faithful to it and the leader, resolved to die at their posts. To share one's destiny with the Party and fight for the revolution until one dies at one's post represents a valuable life and a source of honour for a revolutionary.

Accepting the ideas and policies of the Party and carrying them out without condition is the duty of, and a revolutionary stand proper to, cadres. Otherwise, they cannot defend the ideas and policies of the Party or discharge their duties as the commanding personnel of the revolution. Cadres must never entertain any doubt about the Party's policies or judge them according to their own way of thinking. They should acquire a revolutionary spirit of accepting the Party's ideas and policies and carrying them out without condition. They should devote all their energy and knowledge to carrying out the Party's policies and instructions.

Cadres should refrain from such practices as abusing their authority, working in a bureaucratic manner and enjoying privileges. These practices alienate the masses from the Party and ultimately bring about the ruin of the Party and socialism. One of the main reasons why the former Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Eastern Europe collapsed was that their cadres were guilty of such practices. We should approach any manifestation of cadres misusing their authority and seeking privileges, not as a matter of business but from a political point of view, and wage an uncompromising struggle to overcome them.

In order to eliminate such practices among cadres as the abuse of authority, bureaucratic behaviour, the pursuit of privileges and corruption, we should ensure that they arm themselves with the spirit of serving the people with devotion. Only once they have acquired this spirit can they view themselves as servants of the people and live

and work as such. Only cadres who serve the people with devotion and share good times and bad with them can be loved and respected by the people and enjoy the trust of the Party. I am particularly pleased whenever I receive a report about cadres who are loved and respected by the people.

Senior officials should be exemplary in consolidating their revolutionary identity. A Korean saying goes: Like upstream, like downstream. When senior officials who have further transformed themselves into revolutionaries make strong demands on their subordinates, the latter will follow their example.

In transforming cadres along revolutionary lines, an ideological struggle is essential. Explanation and persuasion should be the main method of transforming the masses into revolutionaries, whereas the main method of transforming cadres into revolutionaries should be an ideological struggle. Whenever such practices as failing to carry out the Party's ideas and policies unconditionally, abusing one's authority, acting bureaucratically, enjoying privileges and being corrupt are revealed among cadres, we should nip them in the bud through an ideological struggle. Those who fail to remould themselves in a revolutionary way through an ideological struggle should be sent to labour-intensive fields to be trained through labour. Legal sanctions should also be applied; there is no alternative, other than to take legal action against those who infringe on the interests of the people because they regard themselves as superior beings in spite of the demands of the Party and despite undergoing an ideological struggle. Today, when the class and ideological struggles are being waged fiercely, we should not tolerate the slightest deviation among cadres.

Party officials should not do anything that may undermine law enforcement. Some Party officials, on the excuse of giving Party guidance to law-enforcement institutions, have interfered unnecessarily in cases and, on one pretext or another, hindered the proper enforcement of the law. This is unacceptable. There can be no exceptions in law enforcement. Anyone who has violated the law

must be brought to justice. Party officials, if they have violated the law by behaving as if they were above and outside it, must be dealt with particularly strictly.

Our Party is a party that is waging revolution, a party that is waging a struggle. Those who fail to implement the Party's policies and who protect their own positions while living in idleness and becoming an object of public ridicule, are not qualified to remain among the ranks of cadres.

All Party members should play the role of the hardcore and vanguard in consolidating the unity of the Party and the revolutionary ranks. When we train the millions of Party members in the way of one educating and leading ten, the ten one hundred, the one hundred one thousand, and the one thousand ten thousand, and when these Party members educate and lead the masses, we will be able to cement the single-hearted unity of the Party and the masses.

In the work with Party members, efforts should be channelled into educating them to remain unfailingly loyal to the Party and upholding its leadership in the vanguard.

In this respect, it is important to encourage Party members to emulate the high Party spirit of Ri In Mo. Ri In Mo has remained steadfast in his revolutionary outlook on the world and on the leader. He cherished his loyalty to the Party during his 34-year-long imprisonment in south Korea, and now back in the socialist homeland, he is still doing the same. In refusing to yield to the enemy's torture and appeasement, he cherished his loyalty to the Party and the leader as an article of his revolutionary faith and obligation, true to the commitment he made to the Party, and today, although in poor health, he is still making efforts to prove himself worthy of the affection and consideration bestowed on him by the Party and the leader. A few days ago he sent me a poem and the lyrics of a song, which prove how pure are his approach and stand towards the Party and the leader and his Party spirit. Even though he was educated for only five years by the Party after the country's liberation, he is a true revolutionary, in that his Party spirit is higher

than that of Party members who have been receiving Party education for 30 or 40 years. All Party members should strive to enhance their Party spirit, by comparing themselves to Ri In Mo.

If Party members are to fulfil their duties with a high Party spirit, they should participate faithfully in the organizational life of the Party. They should have a correct view of the Party organization and take part sincerely in Party life. They should report to their organizations with good conscience concerning the occurrences in their work and life, and not be dismayed if their shortcomings are brought to the attention of their organizations. They should approach the Party organization with greater respect and deference than they do individual officials in high positions.

We should continue to undertake the work of rallying the broad sections of the masses behind the Party.

In our work with the masses, we should give priority to working with the basic sections of the masses and, at the same time, work more substantially with people with chequered backgrounds, true to the Party's consistent policy.

At present, it is extremely important that we work well with the intellectuals. The intellectuals are a constituent part of our Party and of our revolutionary ranks; they are a driving force of the revolutionary struggle and social progress. In order to strengthen the Party and the revolutionary ranks and move the revolution and construction forward vigorously, we should always direct close attention to our work with them. Our working class are currently striving to defend and develop our style of socialism with no complaint about the inconveniences they are suffering in life, but some of the intellectuals are not. We should see to it that all our intellectuals defend our style of socialism staunchly and add glory to it as our Party's true companions, assistants and advisers.

We should ensure that the intellectuals work with revolutionary awareness and conscience. The intellectuals are duty bound to defend the Party and promote socialist construction with their knowledge and expertise; if they regard their duty simply as an obligation, they will

be unable to fulfil it creditably. No one who does his work out of a sense of obligation can display revolutionary enthusiasm and creative activeness or devote himself wholeheartedly to the revolutionary work. Such an intellectual will not be successful in his work, and end up as a simple wage-earner. We should encourage our intellectuals to devote their knowledge, expertise, talents and energy to carrying out their revolutionary tasks for the Party and the revolution, for the country and the people with revolutionary awareness and conscience.

We should be discreet in our work with the intellectuals, taking their characters into consideration. They are knowledgeable about the situation and intelligent, and also very sensitive. Since they are educated people, we should inspire them to be loyal to and follow the Party and the leader of their own accord. We will not get them to follow the Party sincerely if we accuse them on political charges without consideration and criticize them harshly for their mistakes. The education of intellectuals should be done by means of explanation and persuasion. But this does not mean that we should indulge them. If, as a result of forsaking their revolutionary convictions and obligations, they commit acts that are detrimental to the Party and the revolution, they should be taken to task promptly.

We should prepare the young people as advance guards who are faithful to the Party and the revolutionary cause.

Today our young people are sound in their ideas and spirit. They are working miracles and performing great exploits in difficult and labour-intensive fields, true to the Party's call, and are living and working with a firm resolve to be human rifles and bombs in safeguarding the Party. We must not slight the education of the young people, not even for a moment. The lesson of those countries where socialism has collapsed teaches us that the education of the young people is a serious matter that decides the destiny of the country. We must educate our young people well so that they live and work in a revolutionary manner, cherishing their loyalty to the Party and the leader. We should ensure that they are not tainted with reactionary and decadent bourgeois modes of life, that they are not enthralled by

money or abandon themselves to bourgeois fashions, that in their outward appearance, such as their clothing, they conform to the demands of the era of revolution and our national customs, and that they sing revolutionary and ennobling songs, dance sound dance pieces and voluntarily abide by public morals. We should produce tape recordings of revolutionary songs, songs about life and dance music for the young people. If we distribute a lot of cassettes of revolutionary songs, songs about life and dance music, it will help to prevent the infiltration of corrupt bourgeois and revisionist art and to create a revolutionary and optimistic climate in society.

The League of Socialist Working Youth organizations should undertake the education of the young people in a responsible manner. The LSWY should direct its efforts to the education of the young people in a communist way instead of only involving itself in shock campaigns, such as the youth shock brigade movement. In particular, it should pay close attention to the education of the young people in border and frontline areas. Families, schools and workshops, too, should educate and lead them to live and work in a revolutionary manner.

Ideological education should be intensified, as demanded by the current situation and the developing reality.

In our country today ideological education can be likened to our revolutionary lifeline. Intensifying ideological education is a fundamental guarantee for defending and adding glory to our style of socialism. All Party organizations should, with the main emphasis on encouraging cadres, Party members and other working people to cherish their loyalty to the Party and the leader as an article of faith, conscience, morality and everyday concern, conduct various forms of education in a more substantial manner, such as education in the principles of the Juche idea, in Party policy, in our revolutionary traditions, in class consciousness, in revolutionary optimism, in socialist patriotism, and in communist morality, along with anti-revisionist education.

Education by means of positive examples is effective in

ideological education. In our country today many people display the beautiful communist virtues of devoting their bodies and souls, and even their youth and lives, without hesitation, to the Party, the revolution, the society, the collective, and their comrades. Many young people have become life companions of disabled ex-servicemen or ex-servicewomen, and many are bringing up orphans or are taking care of old people with no family to support them; these are examples of communist virtue, the like of which can be witnessed only in our country. We should give publicity in various forms and by various methods to such examples.

We should act radically to get rid of formalism in ideological education. To all intents and purposes, ideological education should be conducted in a realistic and fresh manner based on facts, so that it can touch the heartstrings of the people.

We should wage a vigorous struggle against non-socialist practices.

Non-socialist practices such as the observance of superstition, delinquency, graft and bribery are extremely harmful, in that they eat away at the ideological, spiritual and moral foundations of the socialist system. People who are guilty of such practices may be used by the enemy in their anti-socialist schemes. We must never ignore such practices and must launch an intensive onslaught to root it out.

We must identify non-socialist practices promptly and take resolute action against them. Ideological education and ideological struggle are important in this, but legal sanctions should also be applied with appropriate severity. The judicial, public security and procuratorial organs should enhance their role in the struggle against non-socialist practices.

We should conduct effective organizational and political work in order to implement the revolutionary economic strategy of the Party.

At the 21<sup>st</sup> Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Party Central Committee and in his New Year Address this year, the great leader defined the next two or three years as a period of adjustment, and he assigned

tasks for implementing the agriculture-first, light-industry-first and foreign-trade-first policy, while giving definite priority to the coal industry, the power industry and rail transport, the vanguards of the national economy, and developing the metal industry without letup. The revolutionary economic strategy of the Party reflects its firm determination and will to improve the people's standard of living radically in the near future and develop the national economy into an economy with a strong Juche character that will remain unaffected, no matter what economic sanctions the imperialists may enforce. By carrying out this strategy, we should build up the might of our style of socialism and give full play to its advantages. All Party organizations and Party officials should conduct positive organizational and political work for rousing Party members and other working people to carry out the economic strategy so as to adorn this year, the first year of the adjustment period, as a year in which a fresh turn is made in building the socialist economy.

We should see to it that leading economic officials improve their sense of responsibility and role in economic work. Recently, the Party took the step of concentrating all economic affairs in the hands of the Administration Council in order to provide the Party's comprehensive monolithic leadership to the economy and get economic officials to carry out their economic work on their full responsibility. While combating the tendency of Party officials to take administrative and economic affairs upon themselves, Party organizations should resist the tendency among leading economic officials to take things easy because they think Party workers will perform their administrative and economic tasks. Party organizations should guard against the tendency to disrupt the work of leading economic officials and should ensure that these officials do their best to perform their economic tasks responsibly.

For this purpose, Party organizations should give prominence to leading economic officials and establish strict administrative discipline. They should see to it that cadres, Party members and other working people implement administrative directives without

condition and with a correct view on them, and combat the tendency to pick quarrels and haggle over them.

We should display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude at a high level in carrying out the Party's revolutionary economic strategy. Today, when the imperialists are further intensifying their economic blockade in an effort to stifle socialism in our country, the only way of pushing forward the socialist economic construction is to display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. We should overcome the hardships and obstacles on the way of building the socialist economy by dint of this revolutionary spirit. Party organizations and Party officials should educate cadres, Party members and other working people in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, as displayed in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, the Fatherland Liberation War and post-war reconstruction, so that they work with a high degree of ideological preparedness in carrying out their revolutionary tasks by themselves regardless of whether help is forthcoming from their superiors or not.

All sectors and units should be encouraged to conduct a campaign to tap into latent resources. If we enlist our latent resources, we will be able to produce and construct more in the present conditions. The producer masses and officials know where latent resources lie. Recently economic researchers at the Academy of Social Sciences suggested that, if the supply of vegetables for *kimchi* pickling was organized by residential areas, and not by work units, a great deal of oil, trucks and labour could be saved. If all sectors and units study hard as the academy did, a rich vein of latent resources can be tapped. Party organizations and officials should go deep among the scientists, technicians and producer masses, and conduct organizational and political work to discover all our latent resources.

We should continue to channel a major effort into strengthening the country's defences.

Because we are standing in direct confrontation with the US imperialists, we should not neglect even for a moment the work of

strengthening the country's defences. Party organizations should ensure that all the servicemen and people carry out the military line of the Party and prepare themselves fully to cope with any provocation by the enemy.

We should further reinforce the People's Army. It is only when the People's Army is strong that we can repulse the enemy's aggression and defend the revolutionary cause of our Party and socialist country.

The might of the People's Army is manifested above all in its political and ideological superiority. We should prepare our servicemen as ardent revolutionary fighters who would sacrifice their lives without hesitation for the sake of the Party, the leader, the country and the people. The Party organizations and other political organs in the People's Army should conduct substantial political work so that all our servicemen, as revolutionary fighters under arms, discharge their honourable duty with loyalty to the Party and the leader, with devotion to the country and the people and with hatred for the class enemy. Party's political work in the army should be consistent with the specific characteristics of the military, and not done in the same way as it is in society. Party's political work in the People's Army should be conducted with the main emphasis on imbuing all the servicemen with the revolutionary soldier spirit—the spirit of dedicating one's youth and life without hesitation for the sake of the Party and the leader and carrying out the orders of the Supreme Commander in the spirit of self-sacrifice.

A revolutionary and militant climate should be created in the People's Army, by which the entire army accepts and executes without condition the orders of the Supreme Commander, obeys military orders without question and works and lives in accordance with military discipline.

To display the traditional trait of unity between the army and the people at a high level is very important in reinforcing the People's Army and bringing it to full combat readiness. When the army and the people form an inseparable whole, with the army helping the

people and the people aiding the army, the People's Army will develop into an invincible military force and emerge victorious in the battle with the enemy. All Party organizations should lead the people to attach great importance to military affairs, to love the servicemen as they would their own kith and kin, and to assist them wholeheartedly. Party organizations should ensure that regular assistance is rendered to the People's Army, while guarding against any deviation in this work.

To develop a self-supporting defence industry is an important matter that is related to the destiny of the country and socialism. Had we not built a self-supporting defence industry capable of producing a variety of modern weaponry, our country would have long ago been occupied by the enemy. However severe the strain on the country's economic situation, we should never neglect munitions production. We should give effective Party guidance to developing the defence industry and performing supply work for this sector. The policy of fortifying the whole country and arming all the people should be carried out, so as to turn the whole country into an impregnable fortress.

In order to carry out the revolutionary tasks facing the Party successfully, we should enhance the functions and role of Party organizations at all levels so as to make them militant organizations that perform their work with the people from a fresh approach. Only then will a new change take place in Party work and a revolutionary upsurge be achieved in all sectors and units.

Several Party organizations are guilty of mixing Party work with administrative and economic work, and are still performing administrative work themselves; this has resulted in the work with the people and Party guidance to administrative and economic work becoming ineffective. In order to ensure that Party organizations get out of the habit of taking over administrative and economic work and place emphasis on the work with the people, the Party has recently taken steps to reform its machinery. All Party organizations should do Party work, work with the people, true to the intentions of the Party.

A proper system of working with lower Party organizations should be established. Currently, several senior Party officials are working only on the basis of reports compiled by members of their staff, and are thus going over the heads of the leading officials in the Party organizations they deal with. Senior Party officials should work with their subordinate Party organizations not by relying only on their staff, but by approaching the leading officials of these Party organizations directly. They should pay regular visits to the units they deal with and help and lead their Party organizations and Party officials to work with the people on a substantial basis.

The organizational and information departments of Party committees at all levels should enhance their role. The organizational department should take control of and guide the activities of lower Party organizations and the Party life of cadres and other Party members. The information department should give political guidance to the organs it deals with in accordance with its functions, without interfering in their business affairs. The two departments should rid themselves of their departmentalism and launch combined operations, discussing together the problems that arise in Party work in detail and solving them through a joint effort.

By undertaking Party work effectively as the Party intends, all Party organizations and Party officials should further consolidate the revolutionary position of socialism and bring about a fresh upsurge in the revolution and construction.

## **ON THOROUGHLY TRANSFORMING CADRES INTO REVOLUTIONARIES AS REQUIRED BY THE DEVELOPING REVOLUTION**

**Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*May 24, 1994*

We have defined this year as a year for the revolutionary transformation of cadres, and identified it as an important task for cadres to strive to transform themselves along revolutionary lines.

At the beginning of this year we took issue with the misuse of cars that should be used only for business purposes and ensured that Party organizations made an effort to combat the abuse of authority, bureaucratic behaviour and high-handedness. As a result, many cadres have been educated and reinvigorated. But we cannot say that their revolutionary transformation is progressing as the Party intends. Party organizations and officials are yet to have a correct understanding of the importance of this undertaking, and they are not promoting it steadily in breadth and depth. Party policy cannot be carried out if its implementation is advanced only when the Party sends out a strong message and makes strong demands, and is then abandoned.

The revolutionary transformation of cadres is an urgent demand of our developing revolution and an important task Party organizations must keep abreast of.

Cadres are the backbone of our Party and the commanding personnel in the revolution. It is only when we prepare our cadres as

staunch revolutionaries by transforming them along revolutionary lines that we can strengthen our Party and revolutionary ranks and enhance the Party's leadership role in stepping up the revolution and construction. Doing so will also facilitate the work of modelling all the members of society on the revolutionary and working-class pattern.

In view of the importance of the position and role of cadres in the revolutionary struggle and construction work, our Party has, at every period and stage of the revolution, directed its primary efforts to the work of educating them in a revolutionary manner; and in conformity with the requirements of the new, higher stage of the developing revolution, when the task of modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea has come to the fore, the Party has put forward the policy of transforming cadres along revolutionary lines and has made a vigorous effort to implement it. In this process, the ranks of cadres have been built up with officials who are loyal to the Party, and a great change has taken place in their ideological and spiritual traits. Today our cadres are firmly rallied around the Party and their leader with a high sense of loyalty and are devoting themselves to the revolutionary struggle and construction work with firm faith under the leadership of the Party. This is a brilliant victory for our Party's policy of making cadres revolutionaries, and a priceless success achieved in implementing this policy.

The present complicated situation and the revolutionary tasks confronting our Party and our people demand that cadres be transformed into revolutionaries more thoroughly.

The imperialists and reactionaries, in league with each other, are resorting to vicious schemes to stifle our Republic, the bulwark of socialism, and destroy our socialism in the political, economic, cultural and military fields. Their schemes have laid great difficulties in the path of our revolution. In this grave situation, we must build socialism and achieve national reunification, the long-cherished desire of the nation. Defending and adding lustre to our people-centred socialism, reunifying the country and accomplishing the revolutionary cause of Juche in the face of the challenges and schemes of the imperialists and

reactionaries to isolate and stifle our country are the noble historical responsibilities our Party and people have shouldered.

If we are to carry out our honourable revolutionary duty successfully, we must, first of all, make our cadres, the commanding personnel of the revolution, revolutionaries. Our cadres must train themselves as indomitable revolutionaries who, whatever the adversity, maintain an unwavering faith in the revolution and brave all manner of difficulties, and as steadfast revolutionaries who are immune to foreign influence of any hue. If they are not prepared politically and ideologically, they will be unable to overcome the grave trials of the revolution and will waver in the face of the imperialists' offensive, or degenerate under the influence of evil ideas. If cadres degenerate, the Party will suffer from ideological maladies and its leadership ability and combat effectiveness will be paralyzed, with a resultant failure to advance the socialist cause and defend the achievements of the revolution. This is a bitter lesson taught by the collapse of socialism in the former Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe.

The present level of our cadres' revolutionary transformation is unsatisfactory in view of both the prevailing situation and their revolutionary duties and the requirements of the Party, and this is being revealed in many aspects. Some officials only pay lip service to working with devotion for the Party and the revolution; at the same time, cowering in the face of the difficulties, they are resorting to formalism and expediency in carrying out the Party's lines and policies. There are others who, regarding their positions as special, abuse their authority, behave in a bureaucratic and autocratic manner and pursue their individual interests and fame. Unless the struggle to transform them into revolutionaries is strengthened, various negative tendencies may appear among them, with serious consequences for the revolution and construction.

Transforming cadres along revolutionary lines is not a business-like matter, but an important issue that has a bearing on the destiny of the Party, the destiny of socialism. It can be said that whether we

defend and advance the socialist cause victoriously or not depends mainly on whether we remould our cadres on a revolutionary pattern or not. We must hold fast to the Party's policy of transforming cadres into revolutionaries and implement that policy thoroughly.

What is important in this is to instil into cadres a high degree of loyalty to the Party and the leader, boundless devotion to their revolutionary tasks and the spirit of faithful service to the people.

These are the main traits of communist revolutionaries of the Juche type. Only those who are possessed of these traits can do their duty as fighters of our Party, as communist revolutionaries, and make a splendid contribution to the revolution and construction.

Cadres must, first of all, be faithful to the Party and the leader.

Loyalty to the Party and the leader is the hallmark of cadres and the fundamental element in their revolutionary transformation. Our officials have grown up in the bosom of Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Party, where they have learned the truth of the revolution, and they have become the commanding personnel of the revolution thanks to the Party's political trust. The honour and happiness our officials enjoy today would be inconceivable apart from the trust and care of Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Party. Remaining loyal to them to the end of their lives is the duty and moral obligation incumbent on officials.

Loyalty to the Party and the leader becomes pure and lasting when it is cherished by the people as their political faith and, based on their revolutionary conscience and moral obligation, becomes a matter of their everyday concern.

Our officials should cherish a comprehensive revolutionary outlook on the leader and on loyalty to the Party, and be firmly resolved to entrust their all to the Party and share their destiny with the Party, whatever the adversity. Their support for the Party's ideas and leadership should be absolute and unconditional. They should acquire the spirit of refraining from doing what the Party has instructed them not to do and of performing any task, however difficult, without reservation, if the Party has instructed them to do it.

Cadres should follow the Party and the leader and hold them in high esteem with a pure revolutionary conscience and sense of obligation. At present some officials are failing to perform the revolutionary tasks assigned to them by the Party with conscience and sincerity, or to live up to the care shown them by the Party. This is a manifestation of stained loyalty to the Party. Those who lack conscience and a sense of obligation say polite words about the Party and cheer it in good times but may forsake the Party's trust and betray the Party and the revolution when times are bad.

Loyalty to the Party and the leader must be practised and demonstrated in one's daily work and life. The revolutionary determination and spirit to share one's destiny with the Party does not necessarily find manifestation only in the grim days of the revolution or on the field of battle. Those who are unquestioning in performing their revolutionary tasks and who work and live in pursuance of the Party's ideas and intentions at any time and in any place, regardless of whether their efforts are appreciated or not, are sincerely loyal to the Party. Some officials talk a great deal about how they will not hesitate to dedicate their lives for the good of the Party and the revolution, yet they are sceptical of the Party's policies or fail to implement them to the letter and without condition in their daily work and life; this means their claimed loyalty to the Party and ideological preparedness are nothing but empty talk. Those who have not made it their habit to work and live in accordance with the Party's ideas and intentions can neither display a self-sacrificing spirit nor become staunch defenders of the Party in the days of severe trials. Our officials should remain unchanged in their view of, and attitude to, the Party's ideas and leadership in both good times and bad, and stay loyal throughout their life.

Cadres should establish the revolutionary practice of carrying out their revolutionary tasks by displaying a high sense of responsibility and devotion.

Their loyalty to the Party and the revolution is expressed in the implementation of their revolutionary tasks. Our cadres should

acquire a consciousness appropriate to masters of the revolution, a high sense of responsibility, a sense of devotion and an indomitable fighting spirit in carrying out their revolutionary tasks. Considering the way they are working at present, however, our officials lack the fighting spirit and traits becoming revolutionaries.

The present failure to bring about an upswing in implementing the revolutionary economic strategy advanced by the Party and to solve the problems that arise in improving the people's standard of living can be attributed mainly to the fact that officials are not working in a militant manner with their revolutionary spirit running high. Some leading economic officials, instead of holding fast to the Party's economic strategy and policies and pushing ahead with economic work in a bold, resolute and revolutionary manner, are marking time, and merely expressing their apprehension concerning problems while doing nothing about organizing economic work and guiding production with a sense of responsibility. A considerable number of leading economic officials, daunted by the temporary difficulties and falling prey to defeatism, are not making the necessary tenacious efforts to implement Party policy; they are striving neither to find ways of achieving breakthroughs nor to solve even those problems the solution of which is within their reach. We should combat these deviations and help the officials overcome them as early as possible. Unless leading officials set about their work with a high sense of revolution and responsibility, the Party's strategy and policies, however good they may be, can neither be carried out properly nor prove effective.

Officials should get out of the habits of acting formalistically and expediently. These are ways of working for form's sake without any tangible substance, and are fundamentally detrimental to the attitude that befits the masters of the revolution; they are also an attitude of dishonesty towards the Party and the revolution. Those who perform their work in such ways may lapse into the habit of whitewashing their work, grow indolent and end up deceiving the Party without a second thought.

Such tendencies as evading responsibility and finding excuses,

which are unbecoming to revolutionaries, should be done away with among officials. Some officials, when given uphill tasks or faced with difficulties, do not enter boldly into implementing the tasks, but complain about this or that condition, out of fear of being held responsible if the result is failure. This shows that they are not ideologically prepared to devote themselves to the revolution. Those who shirk their responsibilities and put their interests before their revolutionary tasks are not qualified to be leading officials. Officials should also decisively root out the unsound and irresponsible attitude of not performing a task, despite pledging to do it. This is an obstacle to establishing revolutionary discipline in work and to carrying out the Party's policies properly.

Currently, departmentalism is another major hindrance to our advance. Departmentalism is a very harmful tendency, in that it involves pursuing the minor interests of one's sector and unit at the expense of the interests of the revolution and the state, and it impedes unified leadership and cooperation in Party, administrative and economic work. Officials should eliminate departmentalism and acquire the habit of solving all problems by dint of a united effort and united wisdom in line with the interests of the revolution and from the standpoint of the Party and the state.

If the revolution and construction are to advance vigorously, officials must give full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. The only way for us to overcome our manifold difficulties and defend and add lustre to socialism, is through self-reliance and fortitude. All officials should stand in the van of the masses to brave the obstacles and difficulties in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and with a strong will.

Since they are under the correct leadership of the Party, and since the masses' spirit is running high, leading officials should be fully able to bring about a new upsurge in all fields of socialist construction by overcoming the difficulties, as long as they adopt a responsible and revolutionary approach in planning, organizing and commanding.

Cadres should become true servants of the people who fight with complete devotion for them with the spirit of devoted service to them.

Our Party exists for the people and fights for their interests. An official who serves the people with devotion and enjoys their support and love can be called a true official of our Party. Loyalty to the Party and loyalty to the people are intrinsically linked, and the former should be expressed and judged in the latter. Loyalty to the Party and the leader that is separated from loyalty to the people is inconceivable. For our officials, faithful service to the people should be their starting point and purpose in all aspects of their work and life.

Our Party has advanced the slogan “We serve the people!” and has stressed that all officials should make the people’s demands and interests their first consideration, fight to realize them, and share good times and bad with the people. But many of them, regarding themselves as superior beings, are failing to work sincerely to meet the people’s demands and interests; instead they abuse their authority, resort to bureaucratic behaviour and pursue privilege like feudal aristocrats, all the time seeking their own interests and comfort. None of these can ever be tolerated among our officials, who ought to serve the people. If they resort to these malpractices, they will become separated from the people, like oil on water. Worse still, however correct our Party’s policies and however excellent our socialism may be, the people will become sceptical, and the Party will end up losing the support of the masses. Any negative practices revealed among officials, whether they are serious or not, undermine the Party’s authority, harm its achievements, infringe on the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses, and tarnish the image of our socialism.

Officials should regard the masses as the masters of the revolution and their comrades in the struggle for the Party and the revolution, become their servants, serve them with devotion and share their joys and sorrows. They should always go among the masses, mingle with them and lend an attentive ear to their opinions, and they should

strive to meet their pressing demands. They should refrain from acting high-handedly or behaving autocratically by abusing their authority, and should never seek any special favours or benefits. They should lead a frugal life, eating the same food that the people eat and living in the same type of houses where the ordinary people live. It is especially important for them to rid themselves of any material desires. The pursuit of gain is the first step towards ideological degeneration. If they are prey to material desires, they will become interested in lining their pockets and degenerate ideologically. They should not fall prey to material desires, but be pure-hearted and clean-handed in their economic and moral life.

Remoulding officials on a revolutionary pattern is a struggle between socialism and capitalism in the ideological field—a struggle between the revolutionary ideology of the working class and the reactionary ideology of the bourgeoisie.

Owing to the imperialists' schemes of ideological and cultural infiltration aimed at fragmenting our Republic, capitalist liberalization and other alien trends of various hues are encircling our country. If we fail to prevent the infiltration of such alien trends, they may have an impact on our people and paralyze them ideologically. The remnants of outdated ideologies still retained by our officials and working people are not only ideological elements hampering their revolutionary transformation but also a hotbed where alien trends can take root and grow. Therefore, transforming officials along revolutionary lines can be conducted successfully only through a struggle to prevent the infiltration of reactionary ideas and their trends from outside and to root out the remnants of the old ideologies within.

We should guard against the infiltration of bourgeois reactionary ideas and other alien ideas and trends from outside, and reject them. In addition, we should further intensify the struggle to root out the remnants of outdated ideologies from the minds of the people and prepare them politically and ideologically, so as to leave no room for reactionary ideas and trends.

The struggle between socialism and capitalism in the field of ideology is, in essence, the struggle between collectivism and individualism. It is impossible to transform officials thoroughly along revolutionary lines without a struggle to overcome the individualism and egoism that are evident among them and arm them with collectivism.

Individualism and egoism are the main obstacles to the revolutionary transformation of officials and the main target in the struggle. The various practices evident as a result of the fact that some officials have not transformed themselves into revolutionaries, which are practices that are detrimental to the Party and socialism, are, without exception, the products of individualism and egoism. Seeking one's own comfort in disregard of society and the collective runs counter to the nature of a social being, and it is a shameful act of abandoning proper human traits. Individualism and egoism are like a narcotic to revolutionaries. A man who is affected by individualism and egoism will grow indifferent to his revolutionary work, turn his back on his collective, comrades, conscience and obligation in pursuit of his own interests and fame, and end up betraying the Party and the revolution. A man who entertains selfish interests cannot be wholeheartedly loyal to the Party and the leader, be truly devoted to the implementation of his revolutionary tasks, or be a genuine servant of the people.

Officials can remain faithful to the Party and the revolution and serve the people with devotion only when they rid themselves of individualism and egoism and fully equip themselves with the collectivist idea. Since man is a social being, his worth is estimated by how much he contributes to society and the collective. We are making the revolution not only for ourselves and our generation but also for society and the collective, and for the happiness of the rising generation. A revolutionary derives genuine pride and happiness from the struggle for society and the collective, and he proves his dignity and worth in this struggle. Only officials who regard it as the most valuable and worthwhile thing in life to make a practical contribution

to society and the collective can be sincerely faithful to the Party, the leader, the country and the people; they can possess the Party spirit, the working-class spirit and the serve-the-people spirit, and be equipped with the true traits of a revolutionary only on the basis of the collectivist outlook on life.

Ultimately we can say that the level of revolutionary transformation of officials depends on how thoroughly they rid themselves of individualism and how firmly they arm themselves with collectivism. All officials should conduct a vigorous struggle against individualism and all its manifestations, firmly establish the collectivist outlook on life and work and live according to collectivist principles.

In order to transform themselves along revolutionary lines, all cadres should approach this undertaking with complete willingness.

Their revolutionary transformation is an undertaking for their own benefit as well as a demand of the revolution. Only once they have transformed themselves into revolutionaries can they perform their duties as revolutionaries in the sacred struggle for the completion of the socialist cause under the leadership of our Party, and exalt their political integrity on the glorious road of the revolution.

The driving force for the revolutionary transformation of cadres is the cadres themselves. Only when they accept from an ideological point of view the Party's policy on this undertaking and make voluntary efforts to train themselves as genuine revolutionaries, can the policy be crowned with success. They should always remember that unless they transform themselves into revolutionaries, they may become stragglers in the revolution. Our Party's policy on this work reflects its warm care for the cadres, who have grown up enjoying its affection, as well as its will to train them as revolutionaries and lead them so that they join the honourable struggle for the accomplishment of the revolutionary cause of Juche. All cadres should have a profound understanding of the Party's ideas and intentions and make voluntary and conscious efforts to transform themselves along revolutionary lines.

In order to transform cadres into revolutionaries, it is necessary to strengthen their study and organizational life and to train them ceaselessly in revolutionary practice.

Officials should develop the revolutionary habit of studying, and study steadily and substantially. It is an excellent tradition in our Party, inherited from the period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, and a major way of transforming cadres along revolutionary lines, for them to intensify their habit of studying. Whether or not they have rich experience in the revolutionary struggle and whether or not they have graduated from university, all cadres should study hard.

Studying should, to all intents and purposes, be oriented to acquiring the ideological sustenance needed for the revolution. Studying for its own sake is pointless and is not beneficial to their revolutionary transformation. Studying should be oriented to ideological training and to securing ideological and theoretical weapons for the revolution and construction. Our officials should do away with formalism in studying and study hard to train themselves as true people of the Party, so as to better carry out the revolutionary tasks the Party has entrusted them with.

Officials should have a correct attitude to studying and make it their habit. For them to neglect their studies is tantamount to abandoning their ideological training and ignoring the Party's policy on the revolutionary transformation of cadres. All officials should, without exception, take part in collective studying, including regular study sessions, intensive study courses and political lectures, and learn in earnest from them, and also study diligently with a book always to hand.

Officials should take a willing part in Party life, with a high sense of appreciation for the organization.

As Comrade Kim Il Sung said, Party life is a furnace for ideological training and a school of revolutionary education. Their Party life enables cadres to improve themselves in a revolutionary manner, train their Party spirit, correct their mistakes promptly, and

work and live as required by the Party.

Cadres should set an example in participating in Party life, observe organizational discipline willingly, and strive consciously to place themselves under the guidance and control of their respective Party organizations. People may be different in their work positions, but not in their Party life. If dual standards are permitted in Party life and cadres are allowed to remain outside the guidance and control of a Party organization, they may grow arrogant and degenerate. Cadres should take part in Party life more sincerely than anyone else, and the demands made on them should be stronger than those made on others. All cadres should, with a proper attitude towards their organization, take part in Party life with the attitude of a rank-and-file Party member and obey unitary organizational discipline.

What is important in Party life is to step up the struggle against outdated ideas. Explanation and persuasion are the main things in educating the masses, but this struggle must be the main thing in the revolutionary transformation of cadres. Cadres should participate in the struggle with a high degree of political consciousness and revolutionary principle and criticize both their own mistakes and those of others, and thus train themselves in a revolutionary manner.

Revolutionary practice has an important influence on the revolutionary transformation of officials. The noble ideological and spiritual traits of a revolutionary are formed and consolidated in the course of revolutionary practice.

Revolutionary practice is, for our cadres, the struggle to implement the Party's lines and policies at the revolutionary posts entrusted to them by the Party; therefore, the process of fulfilling their revolutionary tasks should be the process of their revolutionary transformation. Cadres should adopt a revolutionary way of working and living in a militant fashion at all times and carrying out their revolutionary tasks without condition and on time; in the course of this they should enhance their loyalty to the revolution, the Party, the

working class and the people and transform themselves along revolutionary lines.

Cadres should immerse themselves in the pulsating reality of socialist construction. Only when they explore the reality and mingle with the masses can they confirm the correctness and vitality of the Party's policies, learn the revolutionary spirit, sense of organization and discipline of the working class, gain strength and wisdom from the masses and reinforce their conviction in victory.

In order to make sure that officials go deep into the reality, we have seen to it that starting this year they work for a period at factories, enterprises and cooperative farms as leading officials experiencing the reality. If they work with the workers and peasants at production sites and conduct organizational and political work while smelling the oil or soil, it will benefit their revolutionary transformation and help them learn how to work with the masses and run the economy, how to promote the work of the units concerned and how to educate the masses.

Emulating the communist revolutionaries, including the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters who were boundlessly faithful to the Party and the revolution, is an important way of the revolutionary transformation of cadres.

The arduous and complicated revolutionary struggle and the work of construction from the period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle to this day have produced many loyalists, communist revolutionaries of the Juche type, who have been exemplary in supporting the Party and the leader. Their absolute loyalty to the Party and the leader, boundless devotion to the people, and indomitable revolutionary spirit and revolutionary style of work are shining examples of the ideological and spiritual traits that our officials should adhere to.

Our officials should learn from the ideological and spiritual world of Ri In Mo, an unconverted long-term prisoner. With his comprehensive revolutionary outlook on the leader, he placed absolute trust in the Party and the leader and yearned after them in

south Korea; as the incarnation of faith and will, he believed in the victory of the revolution and stuck to his revolutionary principles. He is now striving with sincerity to repay the affection and benevolence bestowed on him by the Party. Cadres should cultivate themselves constantly by comparing their spirit of service to the Party and the revolution with Ri In Mo's outstanding spiritual world.

Cadres should also focus on their families' revolutionary transformation, so that their children refrain from abusing their parents' position in order to pursue their own self-indulgence and attempting to live differently from others, and instead inherit their parents' loyalty to the Party and the revolution.

Enhancing the role of Party organizations is also important in transforming cadres along revolutionary lines.

Implementing the Party's policy on the revolutionary transformation of cadres is largely dependant on how Party organizations keep abreast of the policy and organize and guide its implementation. In the past, Party organizations failed to view this work as an important political issue and as a serious problem related to the destiny of the Party and socialism, and to combat the negative tendencies revealed among cadres. This being the case, deviations are still evident among officials despite all the talk about the need to transform them along revolutionary lines and despite the struggle against the abuse of authority and bureaucratic behaviour. Party organizations should step up the revolutionary transformation of cadres as required by the present situation and our developing revolution.

This work should be conducted in an intensive way first among the officials of the commissions and ministries of the Administration Council and other central institutions, and among senior officials in units at all levels. A Korean saying has it that "Clean spring has clean streams." Only when these officials are transformed first in a thorough revolutionary manner is it possible to model all the officials at lower units successfully on the revolutionary and working-class pattern. Party organizations should pay primary attention to

transforming these officials along revolutionary lines and then all other officials by employing the method of one educating and transforming ten, the ten one hundred, and the one hundred one thousand.

This work should be conducted regularly and persistently using a concrete methodology. Party organizations should strengthen their guidance and control of the organizational and ideological life of cadres, discover any deviations that reveal an inadequate revolutionary transformation among them, and adopt appropriate measures to educate them. When shortcomings are revealed among cadres, Party organizations should take issue promptly and combat them. As for those who refrain from throwing themselves into their work, and continue to abuse their authority or behave in an autocratic and bureaucratic manner regardless of all advice and criticism, Party organizations should mete out penalties according to the seriousness of the misconduct.

The revolutionary transformation of cadres is, to all intents and purposes, an undertaking to prepare them as revolutionaries who can exalt their political integrity until the last moment of their lives, and an undertaking to further strengthen the main force of our revolution. Party organizations should take control of and guide this undertaking properly to ensure that it is conducted successfully without any deviation, in line with the Party's intentions and policies.

In this way, Party organizations can raise the political and ideological standard of our cadres, further strengthen the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses, and advance the revolution and construction along the road of victory.

**LET US HOLD THE GREAT LEADER  
IN HIGH ESTEEM FOREVER AND  
ACCOMPLISH HIS CAUSE**

**Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*October 16, 1994*

One hundred days have passed since the death of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. During these days our people have felt even more keenly how great he was and how much they were blessed by having him as their leader. We admired him for his greatness in his lifetime, and his greatness becomes even more conspicuous in death.

Comrade Kim Il Sung was the great leader whom our people held in high esteem for the first time in their history of thousands of years, and the sun of humankind who was looked up to by the whole world. Having embarked on the road of revolution in his early years, he devoted his all to the people's freedom and welfare, overcoming every manner of hardship. And, with the absolute support and trust of our people and of the progressive people the world over he led the revolution to victory, accomplishing immortal exploits that will shine in history. He led our Party and people for half a century after Korea's liberation, not to mention the period when he led the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Had he lived one year longer, he would have witnessed the celebration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of Korea's liberation and the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea. No leader anywhere in the world has led his party, state

and people for 50 years and created such shining achievements as Comrade Kim Il Sung did. His immortal exploits in achieving the victory of the cause of the independence of the masses, the cause of socialism, constitute the greatest achievements in the history of humankind and the international communist movement. He was truly a great philosopher, statesman, military strategist and artist of leadership, who glorified modern history with his outstanding ideas and theories and wise leadership. We must feel very proud that we were led by such a great man.

Comrade Kim Il Sung was also an outstanding revolutionary, a great man and the benevolent father of the people. He trained our people into excellent people, established our advantageous socialist system and worked energetically to the last moment of his life to provide our people with still greater happiness. He treasured the people, regarding them as his God, and had everything honourable named after the “people”—the names of the state, of the armed forces, of a palace of culture, of a study house and of hospitals.

He was infinitely gracious and humble. On July 6, he telephoned me and told me about the problems arising in north-south relations, and asked me the Party’s opinion. When I answered that the Party would do as he resolved, he said he would act in the belief that he had the Party’s approval. That was the last time he called me.

He completed all his work before his death, as if he had foreseen what was to happen.

Although he was in his eighties, he has in recent years met all the surviving veterans of the anti-Japanese revolution and the orphaned sons and daughters of the martyrs of the south Korean revolution and other martyrs. When writing his memoirs, he recalled everyone who had been associated with his revolutionary struggle, and met not only those in the country but also those who live abroad. Whenever he met the bereaved sons and daughters of revolutionary martyrs and those associated with his career, he would say that he owed his good health to me and asked them to support me loyally. He presented them with wrist watches and showed them every manner of affection and kindness.

He posed for souvenir photographs on numerous occasions. This year alone he posed with the participants in the National Meeting of Agriculture and the National Meeting of Workers in the Coal-Mining Industry, as well as with numerous other working people.

This year he met officials in various sectors and gave them valuable instructions. On April 25, he met commanding officers of the Korean People's Army and gave them instructions for strengthening the armed forces. It was his last behest to the army. That day he said that the army should loyally support its Supreme Commander. This year he presided over several consultative meetings of leading agricultural officials, and on July 5 and 6, just before his death, he convened a consultative meeting of senior officials in the economic sector and gave them instructions to be strictly followed in socialist economic construction.

This year he conducted energetic activities in the external field, meeting many foreigners; he met former US President Jimmy Carter and created favourable conditions for us in the DPRK-USA talks.

In his lifetime, he brought every problem to a perfect solution, with the exception of that of national reunification. Even so, he laid down solid foundations for the early resolution of the problem of national reunification. He said that the Korean nation, though divided at present, would lead a happy life in a reunified country before long.

Thus he died after completing his work in all spheres and leaving a lingering influence in the hearts of the Korean people and of the revolutionary people the world over. No other leader in the world has ever completed all his work prior to his death.

Comrade Kim Il Sung died of heart disease. He had suffered from heart disease for several years, but we kept the state of his health from the people, lest they should worry about him. This year, he was suffering from eye trouble, so he read the manuscript of his New Year Address with difficulty. He underwent an eye operation. Even a young man must rest for at least a month after such an operation. However, a few days after the operation, he met Son Won Thae, and had a photograph taken with the participants in the Fifth Congress of the Children's Union of

Korea. Subsequently he met Carter and other foreign dignitaries on their visit to our country. He was working to a tight schedule, formulating the political and economic issues our side would present at the north-south summit, going over the many documents that were submitted to him and giving on-the-spot guidance to farms in Onchon County and on the outskirts of Pyongyang. Although he had been suffering from heart disease for several years, he never stopped working. Because he worked with such a superhuman effort even at the advanced age of 80-plus, his condition went from bad to worse. There can have been no other leader in the world who worked so dynamically even in his eighties right up until his death, as he did. Since he worked so hard for the benefit of the people right up until his sudden death, our people feel even more heartbroken.

He worked with vigour for the Party and the revolution, the country and his fellow people until he died in his office. He died at his post. He is the only leader in the world who completed his work through energetic activities right up until the last moment of his life. In view of this, he was the greatest of great men. He was a great leader, a great revolutionary and a great man beyond comparison with all other great men.

His great traits and great image, characterized by his brilliant ideas and theories, his unexcelled leadership, his noble virtues, his outstanding personality, his informal manner and his frugal life, have moved the world's people and presented to them the image of the most outstanding man in history. As the days go by, we feel more keenly that he was inherently a great man.

We must have many books about his greatness written to inform our contemporaries and posterity about it.

Our people's boundless loyalty to and reverence for him has been more evident since his death. They have, by displaying their noble spiritual and moral traits to the full, conveyed the feeling that they will not forget the gratitude they owe him for providing them with genuine happiness.

In bitter grief over his death and with an earnest longing for him, our people have visited statues of him by day and at night. They have

all mourned him and paid great tribute to his memory with full honour. A few days after his death, while I was touring Pyongyang, I drove to his statue on Mansu Hill. There I saw numerous citizens, in spite of the rain, extending their condolences to the deceased in the concourse in front of the statue, and many others awaiting their turn at the foot of the steps leading up to the concourse. Among them were five university students who were waiting their turn to lay a wreath of flowers; although they were soaked to the skin, they were covering the wreath with their shirts to keep it from getting wet. I gazed at them for a while, and shed tears; all I could think was, these are the students of the new generation.

Today on my way back from the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee after the national memorial service on the occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> day following Comrade Kim Il Sung's death, I saw some housewives who had attended the ceremony, requesting to be allowed into the Kumsusan Assembly Hall. They apparently were doing so out of their unquenchable desire to see the late leader. Last night when I went to Mansu Hill during my tour of Pyongyang, I saw endless crowds of people visiting the leader's statue, in spite of the rain. I was so sorry to see them exposed to the cold rain that I called an official and told him to dissuade the people from doing so. During the mourning period, our people demonstrated their high moral standards to the world.

I was greatly moved by the noble morality of our people in holding their deceased leader in such high esteem. Our people are truly a noble people who are incomparable to any other people in the world with regard to the ideological, spiritual and moral qualities with which they support their leader. They are highly laudable. The world will never know another people as excellent as ours.

Our people are our blessing. It is because we have these excellent people that we can defend socialism in confrontation with the allied forces of imperialism. Even our enemy, not to mention the progressive people of the world, express admiration at the loyalty and filial devotion with which our people follow their leader. Some

businessmen and specialists from a capitalist country, who had been in our country during the mourning period, were interviewed by journalists upon their return home. In the interview, they said that all the Korean people cherished unqualified reverence for the late President Kim Il Sung and wailed with bitterest grief over his death, and that they had never seen such people anywhere else. CNN International and NHK broadcast the scenes of the Korean people expressing their heartfelt regret and indescribable grief over the President's death. Now, the world is speaking highly of our people's spiritual and moral qualities.

The enemy, when they see the noble ideological and spiritual qualities of our people who are unfailingly faithful to the Party and the leader, are afraid of us because we have such excellent people. In the documentary film *The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung Is Immortal*, the enemy can see not only images of Korean people in their grief but also the might of their single-hearted unity. The might of the single-hearted unity of our people is greater than that of an atomic bomb. No enemy, however formidable, and no weaponry, however advanced, will prevail over such people as ours who are infinitely loyal to the Party and the leader. Our people are a great people. We should use the adjective "great" in describing our people. I am very grateful to our people for expressing their condolences over the passing of the late leader with such bitter grief.

That we are blessed with such people is thanks to Comrade Kim Il Sung. He placed great political trust in us and appointed us to important posts of the Party and the state. He edified our people and brought them up to be an excellent people with a proper attitude towards their leader and Party. Always mindful of his achievements in this, and with a sense of great pride and honour in having such an excellent people, we should serve them more faithfully.

We should conduct education among cadres, Party members and other working people so that they consummate the revolutionary cause of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung in the belief that he is always with us.

Although his heart has stopped beating, he is with our people as ever. As the brain of the unity of the leader, the Party and the masses and as the sun of the nation, he is immortal. It can be said that his history will continue as the country grows prosperous, as he wished in his lifetime.

We should hold him in high esteem through the ages and undertake all work as he did. The founder of our nation was Tangun, and the founder of socialist Korea was Comrade Kim Il Sung. Without him, we could not conceive of Korea today, shining over the world, or of the great dignity, honour and pride of the Korean nation. He is the great father of the nation; under his leadership the Korean nation has become the most dignified and happiest nation in the world. Overseas Koreans call their nation Kim Il Sung's nation. We should work with greater devotion to enhance the dignity of the nation that is named after him. Without this national dignity, we may repeat the history of worshipping big countries and suffering humiliation. We should ensure that all cadres, Party members and other working people give fuller play to the Korean-nation-first spirit, taking pride in having built the most advantageous people-centred, Korean-style socialism under his leadership.

We should add eternal glory to Comrade Kim Il Sung's great ideology, cause and undying exploits by displaying a noble moral outlook.

The moral quality of communists finds concentrated expression in holding their leader in high regard. Some people are of the opinion that new Party and state leadership bodies should be formed right away, now that the President has passed away, but this cannot and need not be done.

In view of the noble moral outlook with which we hold him in high esteem, we cannot rush such a reorganization. As you can see in the documentary *The Great Life in 1994*, Comrade Kim Il Sung vigorously conducted his last revolutionary activities in 1994, refusing to rest even for a moment. In view of this, we should make the rest of the year a mourning period. In olden times, our ancestors

mourned a death for a period of 100 days or a year or three years. We should form the new leadership after the work has been completed of preserving his body. It is not appropriate for new Party and state leadership bodies to be formed and hailed while the people, in their grief, are still lamenting at his bier.

Since our political system is based on the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses, it will never waver. The People's Army is boundlessly loyal to its Supreme Commander, and the people are also demonstrating undivided loyalty to their leader. Our people, who are more solidly rallied behind the Party without the slightest vacillation since Comrade Kim Il Sung's death, are persevering to consummate the revolutionary cause of Juche that he pioneered. In the mourning period the solid single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses fully demonstrated its solidity; the creation of this unity is one of the great achievements of Comrade Kim Il Sung. If he had not built up the driving force of the revolution and constructed socialism of the Korean style by realizing this unity, we would not have been able to surmount the current difficulties. Because the People's Army is boundlessly loyal to its Supreme Commander, the Party maintains a harmonious whole with the masses and the leadership system of the Party is firm, we need not hurry over forming new leadership bodies.

Instead of concerning ourselves with the formation of a new leadership, we should think about how to safeguard the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered by Comrade Kim Il Sung and carry it forward successfully. We must follow only the road of revolution that he travelled and concentrate all our efforts on carrying out his cause.

A communist should seek satisfaction in waging the revolution regardless of his post. Comrade Kim Il Sung did not have in mind the posts of party general secretary and head of state after Korea's liberation when he was leading the anti-Japanese revolution in his early years at the head of the Korean revolution. He waged the bloody anti-Japanese revolution for some 20 years simply to liberate the country and provide the people with freedom and happiness.

I have always considered myself to be one of his men. I will carry forward his revolutionary cause as his loyal man as I did in his lifetime. Our pledge after his demise cannot differ from the one we made in his lifetime; we must remain true to our noble moral obligations as his revolutionary fighters.

As the days go by, our people are longing for him more eagerly, visiting his statues to lay wreaths and flowers and to pay tribute to him. I ensured that the mourning period was prolonged in line with the people's wishes, so that they could continue to extend their condolences. In the mourning period our people have nurtured the conviction that Comrade Kim Il Sung is always with them. We must ensure that they hold him in high esteem forever and remain faithful to his will.

If we undertake the work of holding him in high esteem for eternity, we can exert a significant influence on establishing a true communist moral outlook in the international communist movement. Communist morality is pure, noble and genuine. The core of communist morality is loyalty to the leader. In the past revisionists such as Khrushchev who appeared in the international communist movement, seriously undermined communist morality. Khrushchev, by slandering Stalin, gave the negative impression to the world that communists were ignorant of their forerunners in the revolution and fought one another. Lenin, the founder of the first socialist state, is today slandered by the renegade socialists, seventy years after his death. Similar phenomena have been witnessed in other parties in the international communist movement. As a result, the communists lost the people's trust and support, and this ended with the collapse of socialism in several countries. By holding Comrade Kim Il Sung in high esteem forever, even more so than we did in his lifetime, we should demonstrate to the world the outlook on morality with which communists support their leaders. Thus we can actively contribute to safeguarding and adding glory to the noblest communist morality and to its worldwide rehabilitation, after it was marred by the revisionists and renegades of socialism.

Those who took the floor at today's national memorial service pledged to carry forward as ever the revolutionary cause of Juche that was pioneered by Comrade Kim Il Sung. The armed forces and the people should struggle vigorously in pursuance of this pledge. We should safeguard and glorify his great revolutionary exploits as we did in his lifetime and carry out the revolution and construction at all times as he intended and as he did. By faithfully carrying forward the socialist cause, the revolutionary cause of Juche that he hewed out, we will demonstrate the Korean communists' noble moral outlook.

At the same time as we are setting fine examples for the revolutionary people of the world in political, ideological, moral and all other fields, we must produce a lot of literature on the subject. I am currently writing a treatise, titled, *Socialism Is a Science*. I intend to publish it in November or December this year. We must not only defend and develop socialism of our own style, but also intensify our theoretical information work so as to offer encouragement to the people who aspire after socialism.

Edification through documentary films should be conducted in an effective manner.

Documentaries are an effective means of ideological education. Such films help Party members and other working people recognize the greatness of their leader. Recently, several documentaries, including parts one, two and three of *The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung Is Immortal*, and *The Great Life in 1994* were produced. We should make arrangements for these films to be shown for educational purposes. When *The Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung Is Immortal* was produced, the officials concerned proposed organizing showings of the three parts of the film. I ensured that the first part was shown initially, and that the second and third parts were shown on the occasion of the memorial service marking the 100<sup>th</sup> day after his death. Showing the film in such a way has proved effective in educating Party members and other working people. When the documentary *The Great Life in 1994* was in the production stage, I ensured that the voice of Comrade

Kim Il Sung was inserted in the scene in which he is speaking at a consultative meeting of senior officials in the economic sector on July 6, 1994. This is the first documentary in which his voice appears. I was told that cadres, Party members and other working people were very moved to hear his voice when they watched the film. This shows that documentaries serve as a powerful means of educating Party members and other working people.

The first and second parts of the documentary *President Kim Il Sung Meets Foreign Heads of State and Prominent Figures* have been produced. The subsequent parts will also be produced. From the day of Korea's liberation until his death Comrade Kim Il Sung met over 70 000 foreign figures, including heads of state. No other leader in the world has ever met so many foreign figures. How good it would have been if we had produced the documentary in his lifetime so that he could see it! We should make arrangements for these documentaries to be shown to cadres, Party members and other working people so that they fully realize his greatness and hold him in high esteem through the ages.

The documentary *President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il Were Always Together on the Road for the Well-Being of the People* contains scenes of Comrade Kim Il Sung and myself working together. In the film there is a scene in which Comrade Kim Il Sung sings *Nostalgia*. It is a song he used to sing in the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Once he sang a Chinese song, *Song of Su Wu*, which he also used to sing in those days. In his memoirs *With the Century* he recollected that song with deep emotion. The song reflects the patriotic sentiments of the Chinese people. After Korea's liberation he sought out the text of the song, and he finally obtained it just a few years ago. He was so delighted that he sang it. I have a tape recording of him singing *Nostalgia* and *Song of Su Wu*; it is something to treasure. It will be good if the scene of him singing *Song of Su Wu* is inserted in a documentary. Our people will be greatly moved to see him singing the song. Although it is a Chinese song, it will be all right to broadcast the scene because he was a great internationalist.

The Pochonbo Electronic Ensemble produced the song *We Pledge* after Comrade Kim Il Sung's demise. I had it broadcast on the occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> day after his death. The text of the song is clear and simple. The song sings about the will of our people to remain faithful to the Party's cause to the last and make their country ever more prosperous, true to Comrade Kim Il Sung's last behest. As the song says, we must make our country more prosperous by remaining faithful to his last will. Only by making our country more prosperous can we add lustre to our socialism and hasten national reunification.

In order to safeguard Comrade Kim Il Sung's revolutionary cause and accomplish it, we must strengthen the Party and consolidate the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses.

The Party is the destiny of the country, the nation and the people. The decisive guarantee of victory in the revolution lies in strengthening the Party and enhancing its leadership role. We should continue to direct great efforts to building up the Party organizationally and ideologically and thus make it invincible.

We should, first of all, build up the Party ranks and cement its unity and cohesion centred on the leader by conducting effective organizational work. We should prevent any alien element from infiltrating our Party ranks and any negative factor, however negligible, from undermining its unity and cohesion.

Along with organizational work, Party ideological work should be conducted in a substantial manner. Education in the Juche idea constitutes the essence of ideological education among Party members and other working people. The Juche idea is the only ideology guiding our revolution and construction, and it is the lifeline of the Korean people. If our people are truly to exist, they must firmly equip themselves with the Juche idea and follow the road indicated by it. By conducting education in the Juche idea in a more effective manner, we can ensure that all Party members and other working people arm themselves firmly with the idea, accept it as their unshakeable conviction and make positive efforts to apply it in practice.

It is important in strengthening the Party and enhancing its

leadership role to establish the leadership system of the Party. The development of the Party and the victorious advance of the revolution and construction are inconceivable apart from the system in which the entire Party, all the people and the whole army move as one under the unified guidance of the Party Central Committee. We should consolidate the monolithic leadership system of the Party and create in the entire Party and the whole society a revolutionary habit of accepting and carrying out the Party's lines and policies unreservedly.

We should continue to develop the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the masses, a weapon with which we will emerge victorious in the confrontation with the enemy. This unity will make us a match for any enemy, however formidable, and enable us to surmount any trial and emerge victorious. We should continue to develop this unity in depth, so as to rally all the people more firmly around the Party and the leader and by dint of this unity overcome the trials on the road of revolution.

We should channel great efforts into economic work.

Although nearly a year has passed since a new revolutionary economic strategy was adopted at the 21<sup>st</sup> Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party, economic work is not being conducted with the vigour that the Party demands. The revolutionary economic strategy of the Party is, in essence, a strategy for developing agriculture and light industry, and for improving the people's standard of living. The most conspicuous shortcoming in the implementation of this strategy is the failure to grasp the main link in the whole chain, and this is due to efforts being dispersed and too many construction projects being undertaken.

Comrade Kim Il Sung worried about economic work until the last moment of his life. We should implement the Party's economic strategy by any means and put his lifetime wish into reality. We should, by strictly adhering to this strategy, carry out the agriculture-first policy, light-industry-first policy and foreign-trade-first policy and thus rapidly improve the people's standard of living. The commissions and ministries of the Administration Council and the

departments of the Party Central Committee should orient their work to carrying out these tasks and, in particular, focus their efforts on agriculture and light industry.

The Administration Council and the State Planning Commission should reexamine the overall national economic plan and amend it to facilitate the implementation of the economic strategy. The plan should be mapped out along the line of concentrating all our efforts on agriculture and light industry in reflection of the main targets and requirements of the economic strategy, so as to improve the people's standard of living radically. Without focusing on agriculture and light industry, we can neither improve the people's standard of living quickly nor maintain our existence. In order to support agriculture and light industry, we should also direct efforts to the vanguard sectors in the national economy, principally the power industry. Without electricity, we can neither produce fertilizer nor farm well nor run our light-industry factories at full capacity. And, based on a feasibility study of the projects that are now under construction, we should suspend the infeasible ones and divert the equipment, materials and funds to agriculture and light industry.

In order to implement the revolutionary economic strategy of the Party, the Administration Council should enhance its role. The Administration Council is the economic headquarters that organizes and commands the overall economic work of the country in a unified manner; it is answerable to the Party on economic matters. Success in economic work depends on how the Administration Council works. The Party has established a system by which the Administration Council assumes full responsibility for economic affairs and performs the central role in the economic sphere, and has created favourable conditions for it to do its work so that it can undertake economic work as the economic headquarters of the country. The Administration Council, fully aware of the Party's intention, must apply the system thoroughly and organize and command the country's economic work with a high sense of responsibility. All economic bodies, including the commissions and ministries of the

Administration Council, should bring any problems that arise in economic work to the attention of the Administration Council and solve them under its unified command.

If a fresh upsurge is to be achieved in economic work, officials must give full play to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. It is true that there are some difficulties in economic work, but they can be surmounted if officials work hard in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. One thing Comrade Kim Il Sung used to emphasize in his lifetime was the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. I ensured that, during the mourning period, officials inspected the cooperative farms on the Yonbaek Plain, the Jonchon County Commercial Management Agency and Maengsan County as a way of encouraging them to implement the Party's revolutionary economic strategy thoroughly and perform the work of their own units well by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. The Jonchon County Commercial Management Agency and Maengsan County are model units; they have been working well, in the spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. The provinces should strive to emulate the example of Maengsan County, and in the commercial field the Jong Chun Sil movement, which aims at following the example of the Jonchon County Commercial Management Agency, should be conducted more vigorously. In view of the great importance of officials displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, I emphasized it at today's meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee. Leading economic officials in every sector and at every unit should, based on a clear understanding of the Party's intention, fulfil the economic tasks assigned to them by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude.

We should strengthen the People's Army and create a climate in which prominence is given to military affairs throughout society.

We are waging a revolution in direct confrontation with the US imperialists, the chieftain of the world's reactionaries, and have yet to accomplish national reunification. The road of our revolution is beset

with many trials and obstacles, and the US imperialists and reactionaries are intensifying their moves of aggression and war against our country. In these circumstances, if we are to overcome all the trials and hardships facing us and safeguard and advance the socialist cause, we must resolutely strengthen the army as well as the Party. Without strengthening the army, we cannot defend the gains of the revolution, step up socialist construction or accomplish the reunification of the country.

What is important in strengthening the army at present is to make it boundlessly loyal to the cause of the Party. Our People's Army is the army of the Party. The People's Army as the army of the Party must hold high the red flag, the flag of the Workers' Party of Korea. That it fights bravely and in defiance of death for the cause of the Party constitutes the essential feature and is the source of the invincibility of the People's Army. The army must remain loyal to the cause of the Party, whatever the adversity, and establish the revolutionary trait of sharing destiny with the Party.

For the sake of victory in the revolutionary struggle, the Party and the army should form an integral whole. Both are inseparably linked to each other; a party that fails to command the army cannot display its might, and an army that does not enjoy the party's leadership cannot be a strong combat force. An army that is separated from the leadership of a party cannot win a revolutionary war. The military command system can bring the army into action but it cannot mobilize the civilian masses. It is the party that mobilizes broad sections of the masses. Only when the party and the army form an integral whole can the entire party, all the people and the whole army move as one. The revolutionary party, when the army defends it by force of arms, remains invincible; and the revolutionary army, when the revolutionary party guides it and enlists the masses, can display its formidable might. If the party and the army pool their strength they can defeat any enemy and emerge victorious in the revolutionary struggle. In this sense, it can be said that in our country today the Party is the army and the army is the Party. The People's Army should create a revolutionary climate

within itself, based on the climate within the Party. The People's Army should staunchly defend the Party, be loyal to its leadership and defend its cause by force of arms.

We should ensure that relations between the army and the people are good, since they are a key link in the preparedness for combat. Unless they are united in one mind and one will, they cannot defeat the enemy. We must give free rein to the traditional traits of unity between the army and the people so that in times of emergency they will defeat the aggressors and defend the socialist homeland, united in one mind and one will.

We should create a climate in which prominence is given to military affairs throughout society. By doing so, we can ensure that all the people love and support the army and make the country a "porcupine" by placing all the people under arms and fortifying the whole country.

Combat sports should be developed. As our country is in direct confrontation with the enemy, we must develop such sports as shooting and boxing.

Achieving national reunification is of great importance in accomplishing Comrade Kim Il Sung's cause and implementing his last will. He, more than anyone else, grieved over the nation's division, and he directed unremitting efforts to the cause of national reunification. He wished for reunification with such fervour, but he died before its realization. One of his last wishes was national reunification; he wanted to see the whole nation enjoying a harmonious life in a reunified country. We should achieve, at any cost, the historic cause of national reunification for which he wished so fervently, and thus fulfil his desire.

We must continue the struggle to bring back the unconverted long-term prisoners from south Korea. Because of the country's division, many people are undergoing hardship in the south. The unconverted long-term prisoners in the south are waging an active struggle to return to the north. We should, come what may, bring back the many unconverted long-term prisoners from the south.

In order to safeguard and consummate the revolutionary cause of Comrade Kim Il Sung, we should hold fast to the principle of independence. Political independence is a major hallmark of a sovereign state, and adhering to the principle of independence is the main guarantee for winning victory in the revolution. It is because we have firmly adhered to our independence that we have been able to defend socialism without the slightest vacillation under the difficult and complex situation created by the continuing vicious moves by the imperialists and reactionaries. Lack of independence leads a country to ruin. The Eastern European socialist countries imploded because, lacking political independence, they acted according to the dictates of big countries. Just as we did in the past, so in the future, too, we should strictly adhere to independence in all spheres of Party and state activities.

We must hold fast to the independent foreign policy of our Party.

In the whole course of leading the revolution and construction, Comrade Kim Il Sung always followed an independent foreign policy. In the past, big-power chauvinists tried to pressure our country into joining the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Comrade Kim Il Sung, however, did not bow to the pressure, and instead adhered to independence. Our country was absolutely right to have refused to join the Warsaw Pact and the CMEA. If we had joined these organizations, there is no knowing what disaster might have befallen us. Comrade Kim Il Sung was, indeed, a remarkably far-sighted leader of the revolution and construction. We should, in the future, too, adhere to an independent and principled foreign policy, true to his will, and thus defend our national dignity and consolidate international solidarity with our revolution.

Long ago, the Party proclaimed the slogans “Let us live our own way!” and “Let us give fuller play to the Korean-nation-first spirit!” No other slogans could be more readily accepted by us.

We should, by holding higher the banner of the Juche idea, adhere to the principle of independence, and at all times live our own way.

**LET US BRING ABOUT A FRESH IMPROVEMENT  
IN THE PEOPLE'S STANDARD OF LIVING BY  
ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THE COUNTY**

**Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*October 20, 1994*

Today all our working people are joining in the struggle to carry out the instructions of their fatherly leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, out of loyal support for the leadership of the Party. This reflects their unshakeable faith and will to add lustre to his noble idea and revolutionary exploits by further stepping up the revolution and construction, true to the pledge they made while praying for the repose of his soul.

The most important aspect of this struggle is to improve the people's standard of living. In his lifetime, the thing that concerned him most and to which he devoted most efforts, was economic affairs and the people's livelihood. Out of his boundless love for the people, he worked with painstaking efforts to ensure that they were well-off and had no need to envy anyone in the world, and he laid solid foundations for them to lead an affluent and cultured life. It was his life-long wish to see the people well-fed and well-clad and living in fine houses. In the past, however, our officials failed to work true to his noble intentions and to make effective use of the existing economic foundations, with the result that the people's standard of living was not raised to the high level he wished. At a consultative

meeting of senior officials in the economic sector, the last meeting he presided over, two days before his death, he gave earnest instructions concerning economic affairs and the people's livelihood.

Our officials must feel remorseful for causing him anxiety about the people's livelihood and making him work without a day's break until his last moment, and realize his wishes by improving the people's standard of living, true to his instructions. This is the way to honour the loyalty we owe him and perform our obligations as his men.

Improving the people's standard of living is the top priority in economic work at present. The revolutionary economic strategy advanced by our Party is oriented towards radically improving the people's livelihood. Once we have solved the problem of the people's livelihood, we will be able to bring about a fresh upswing in all sectors of socialist construction by giving full play to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. And when we shore up the national economy and improve the people's standard of living, we will be able to lead the people so that they harden their faith in socialism and fully demonstrate the advantages and might of our style of socialism that is centred on the masses. We should orient all forms of our work to solving the problem of the people's livelihood, and focus our efforts on it, as required by the revolutionary economic strategy of the Party, so as to achieve a radical improvement in the people's standard of living.

It is very important, if we are to improve the people's standard of living by implementing the revolutionary economic strategy of the Party, to inspire the regions to display their creative spirit and mobilize their local resources and potential. In particular, the counties should be encouraged to enhance their role and strive to improve their inhabitants' standard of living by their own efforts, on the principle of self-reliance.

In our country, the county plays a key role in improving the people's standard of living. The rural economy is managed with the county as a unit, and local industry, which accounts for a significant proportion of consumer goods production, is also run by the counties. It is the same case with the welfare services for the people, such as

commodities supply and public amenities. As a regional base and unit in socialist construction with responsibility for one two-hundredth of the national territory, each county is furnished with a whole range of economic sectors and cultural facilities, all of which have a direct bearing on the people's livelihood, and it also has a variety of resources, both natural and latent. If each county enhances its role and makes effective use of its local resources and potential, it will be able to solve by its own efforts all the problems facing its inhabitants in their living and steadily improve their standard of living without imposing too great a burden on the state. If counties boost their economies and improve their local people's livelihood by their own efforts, they will contribute significantly to ensuring the balanced development of the whole country and to stepping up overall socialist construction.

Comrade Kim Il Sung long ago provided clarification of the position and role of the county in socialist construction, indicated the direction and ways for managing it, and ensured that a solid basis was built for developing local industry and the rural economy and improving the people's standard of living. These are priceless instructions and a valuable wealth he bequeathed to us, and adding lustre to them is the noble mission of all our officials, especially those in the counties.

At present several counties are exemplary in managing their economies true to his intentions. To be specific, the Jonchon County Commercial Agency and Maengsan County are, by doing their work assiduously, solving the problem of the livelihood of the local people by their own efforts. Some days ago I had members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, senior officials of central organs and the chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees visit these two units. All officials should model their work on these examples. All the counties should emulate these units in order to develop their rural economies and industries, improve the appearances of the county seats and rural villages, and raise the standard of living of the local people rapidly, all by their own efforts.

In order to improve the local people's standard of living, the counties should focus their efforts on agriculture, local industry and earning foreign currency, in accordance with the Party's policy of giving priority to agriculture, light industry and foreign trade. Developing agriculture, increasing production at local-industry factories and earning more foreign currency will help address the problems arising in the local people's livelihood, and help the counties thrive.

The counties should direct their primary efforts to farming.

The most essential element of the people's livelihood is food. In view of the importance of the problem of food, Comrade Kim Il Sung long ago had the expression "clothing, food and housing" changed to "food, clothing and housing," which underlined the necessity of solving the problem of food. Agricultural production is under the direct guidance of the counties, and increased grain output in all the counties will guarantee sufficient food supply for the country and the local populace.

The Juche farming method created by Comrade Kim Il Sung should be implemented to the letter, in order to increase the per-unit-area yield radically on all arable land. It is especially important to make the arable land fertile and weed it promptly and properly. The Jonchon County Commercial Agency, by applying plenty of manure to the terraced fields it had brought under cultivation and weeding them carefully, gathers 12 tons of maize per hectare every year. The counties should apply plenty of manure to their fields, weed them properly and do all farm work in the correct season, and thus increase the per-hectare yield. They should also realign and protect the land that is under cultivation, if it means yielding even a single ear of grain extra. They should give free rein to the consciousness and enthusiasm of the farmers as befit masters, while intensifying their support for the rural communities. All the labour and materials needed must be made available on a priority basis for farming. They should be available in the periods of rice transplanting, weeding and harvesting, and quality manure must also be produced and sent to the countryside. At the

same time as increasing grain output, the rural communities should develop stockbreeding extensively, for example raising pigs, chickens, ducks and geese, increase fruit production and develop sericulture.

It is important to increase the production of consumer goods by running local-industry factories at full capacity. Local industry is so called because it depends on the raw materials and resources available in local areas, and its main aim is to satisfy the demands of the local people. If central industry supplies them with electricity and certain kinds of materials, the counties will be fully able to run these factories by their own efforts. Instead of complaining about the lack of raw and other materials, they should build up the bases that produce the raw and other materials and fully mobilize their latent resources and reserves, so that their local-industry factories can operate normally, and thus they should produce daily necessities on a large scale for the local people. Local-industry factories should step up their technological innovation with the objective of modernizing their equipment and production lines, improving the quality of consumer goods and increasing the variety of their output. The large-scale factories and enterprises in the counties should assist them in modernizing their equipment and streamlining their technological processes. At the same time as operating their local-industry factories on a normal basis, the counties should conduct the August 3 consumer goods production movement on a mass basis by making active use of the waste and by-products from central-industry enterprises and organizing housewives' workteams and sideline workteams.

Earning foreign currency is an important way for the counties to develop their local industry and improve the standard of living of their populace. If they earn foreign currency they can buy the raw and other materials that are unavailable locally in order to normalize production at local-industry factories, and they can also purchase the commodities that the people are in urgent need of. It is necessary for them to build up their own production bases for the purpose. At

present, many counties are said to be striving to earn foreign currency, but have no bases worth mentioning for doing so. This is not the way to earn foreign currency in any sizeable amounts. All the counties should build up their bases and make positive efforts to earn foreign currency over and above the quota. The foreign currency they earn in this way must be used by the counties themselves to improve the standard of living of their local people. Strict discipline should be established by which the central organs and provinces are prevented from allocating the counties' foreign currency earnings for other purposes, and the central and provincial institutions that are engaged in foreign trade should act responsibly to help the counties make the best use of their foreign currency earnings.

County seats and rural villages should be built up in a civilized fashion. For this purpose, construction work in the counties should be well arranged and conducted according to a clear master plan and supplementary phase-by-phase plans. Residential buildings, public amenities and welfare facilities should be built with the convenience of the people using them in mind, and they should be in excellent condition not just for the time being, but also in the future.

The counties should refrain from starting construction projects now on the plea of improving their appearances. Some of them are currently doing so, claiming that they are following the example of Maengsan County. This is wrong. Spreading construction projects across the capital and provinces will hamper the implementation of the new economic strategy of the Party. Counties should neither try to build gymnasiums, houses of culture and other public buildings on a large scale, nor build or renovate factory buildings and public facilities; instead, they should suspend the ongoing projects for the time being. It is a kind of affectation to have attractive public buildings built, instead of solving the problems facing the people in their daily life, and it is pointless to have attractive factory buildings when the factories themselves are not running properly. Instead of spreading construction projects, counties should work on the principle of focusing their efforts on resolving the key issues affecting the

people's livelihood. In the period of adjustment they would do well to build residential buildings and production bases for earning foreign currency and push forward with land development by relying on the materials available locally. Apart from these, no construction projects should be undertaken, while the existing buildings and facilities should be kept in a good state of repair and put to effective use. Supervision should be strengthened, especially over projects that are not envisaged in any plans so that their construction is halted.

The counties, in managing their economies, should make effective use of their local natural and geographical conditions and make maximum use of all the resources and potential available in them.

From the early days when he was building a new country after liberation, Comrade Kim Il Sung said that all the provinces must make their people prosperous by making the best possible use of the mountains in mountainous areas and of the sea in coastal areas. By this he meant that counties are fully capable of developing their local economies and improving the standard of living of their people, if they make effective use of their own natural and geographical conditions. The officials in many counties are currently not striving to improve the standard of living of their local people, claiming that the local natural and geographical conditions are unfavourable and there is a lack of resources for earning foreign currency, but these are merely unfounded excuses. It is by no means thanks to favourable conditions that the Jonchon County Commercial Agency and Maengsan County have been arranging their economic life properly. Conquering and transforming nature and making it serve the people's well-being effectively is the mission of communists and their way of working. A saying has it that a diligent peasant is not worried about the land. Likewise, officials who are loyal to the Party and are determined to devote their all to the well-being of the people will not complain about the conditions in their regions. If officials wrack their brains and make painstaking efforts to improve the people's well-being and enlist their might and wisdom in every

possible way, they are sure to make unfavourable conditions favourable and discover unknown resources, and thus provide the local people with affluent living conditions wherever they may be—on the mountains, the plains or the coast.

All officials in the regions should, by ridding themselves of their habit of relying on the central authorities and complaining about conditions, discover every last local resource and material, create them if necessary and make maximum possible use of them. They should lay out fields of raw materials, mulberry trees and medicinal herbs in conformity with the natural and geographical conditions of the counties, and conduct in a planned way such nature-reforming projects as river improvement works and tree-planting, which are within their capacity. They should also push ahead persistently with the work to extract underground resources and process such natural materials as wild fruit and edible greens. The coastal counties should promote fishing and offshore culture in order to make wider use of the marine resources. Procurement should be regulated, so that the acquisition of agricultural produce stored by the people and various outdated and idle materials is placed on a mass and planned basis. It is pointless to develop and enlist local resources and materials if it is done in such a way that one undertaking is abandoned in the interests of pursuing some other undertaking. Officials should draw up plans based on detailed studies and calculations and, once started, press on with them to completion and consolidate the success.

If the counties are to be administered successfully in such a way that the people's standard of living is improved it is important to enhance the role and sense of responsibility of the senior officials of the counties, such as the chief secretaries of the county Party committees, the chairmen of the county administrative and economic committees and the chairmen of the county cooperative farm management committees. How effectively the provinces, cities and counties are managed depends on the approach to and style of work of the officials in charge. The senior county officials in particular

play a pivotal role in county management. The experience of the Jonchon County Commercial Agency and Maengsan County demonstrates that when senior officials who cherish loyalty to the Party and the leader, strive to improve the people's livelihood and lead the masses with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude and the revolutionary way of setting personal examples, they can raise the people's standard of living and manage their counties effectively in any circumstances, however difficult those circumstances might be. Senior and other county officials should fulfil their duties and responsibilities in improving the people's living standards by devoting their energies and talents and rousing the masses with the spirit of loyalty to the Party and devoted service to the people.

Our people are excellent, in that they are unfailingly faithful to the Party and the leader and are possessed with a high revolutionary spirit and noble spiritual and moral traits. Serving these excellent people and working hard to make them live more affluently without experiencing any worries or troubles is the most honourable and sacred mission for our officials. It is my hope that the senior officials of all the counties will work heart and soul to improve the people's livelihood as befit men of the Party and genuine servants of the people, just as the senior officials of the Jonchon County Commercial Agency and Maengsan County have done. Officials who always pay close attention to the people's living and solve the problems arising in them can be said to be truly faithful to the Party and to be supporting it with sincerity. The loyalty to the Party and work ability of senior county officials should be judged by the living standards of the local people.

For a county to be built in a far-sighted way and its people's standard of living to be improved in a systematic manner, it is necessary to keep senior officials in place in the county for a long time. They should be sincere and energetic in their work, armed with the ideological will and responsibility to raise the standard of living of the local people and improve the overall economy of their county

to the level required by the Party, without fail even if it would take ten or twenty years.

For regions to manage their economies by their own efforts, the Administration Council and the central organs should create the necessary conditions and help them display their creative abilities. Giving full play to the creative abilities of the regions while guaranteeing the state's centralized guidance is an important principle that should be adhered to in socialist construction. Many regulations adopted by the Administration Council and its commissions and ministries, however, oblige them to take charge even of matters that are beyond their capabilities, binding the regions hand and foot to the regulations and acting to deter the creative abilities of the regions. If central organs take over responsibility for solving even those problems that can be solved by the provinces or counties by dint of their own creative abilities, neither the overall economic affairs nor the work of improving the people's living standards will proceed successfully; nor can the centralized discipline of the state be established. I have already spoken about straightening out this matter on several occasions, but it still persists in our work, apparently because of the subjectivism and self-centredness of the officials of the Administration Council and its commissions and ministries. The Administration Council and central organs should conduct a comprehensive review of the existing regulations, including those concerning economic management, in the interests of the revolution and be bold in revising those that place unnecessary restraints on subordinates.

In addition, the central organs should observe the discipline of providing the regions with what they are due, without fail. At present, whenever electricity is running low, some officials cut off the power supply first to the local-industry factories, even though they consume less power; and whenever salt is in short supply, they suspend the supply of salt to soya-processing factories. Such actions affect the people's living. Our officials should ensure that the materials planned

to be supplied by the central organs to the provinces are supplied without fail and on time, especially those that the people are in urgent need of.

All the officials of Party, administrative and economic organs, factories, enterprises and cooperative farms in the regions should work in a revolutionary and militant manner by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and with a conviction in certain victory, and thus bring about a radical turn in improving the people's standard of living.

**MESSAGE OF THANKS TO THE ENTIRE  
POPULATION WHO DEEPLY MOURNED  
THE DEATH OF THE GREAT LEADER  
COMRADE KIM IL SUNG**

*October 28, 1994*

We bade our last farewell to Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great leader of our Party and our people, in great sorrow.

The passing of the great leader, who led our people along the road of victory and was always among them throughout the 80 and more years of his life, was the bitterest grief ever experienced by our nation in its 5 000-year history and the greatest loss, which nothing can ever make up for.

Our people, in the whole course of carrying out the revolution and construction under the guidance of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, were always deeply aware of what a great man they had as their leader. Now that they have lost him, they feel this even more keenly.

On hearing the unexpected sad news that the great leader, who had brought our people such great glory and happiness and who had gone through every manner of hardship throughout his life, had passed away, all 70 million Korean people shed bitter tears, unable to suppress the sadness that welled up in their hearts—not only our Party members and other working people but also the south Korean people and our overseas compatriots.

Everyone throughout the country—our workers and cooperative farmers, the officers and men of our People's Army, our intellectuals,

our youth and students, and even our children, who had been loyal to the great Comrade Kim Il Sung all along and had deeply cherished the nation's great fortune in having him as their leader—burst into convulsive fits of sobbing due to their indescribable sorrow. All of them expressed their deepest grief while mourning him.

All our Party members and people repeatedly pledged oaths of loyalty before the bier of the respected leader. They swore always to uphold him in the future, as they had done in the past, and to accomplish his behests under the leadership of the Party.

I gained enormous strength from and was deeply moved by the great reverence our people expressed in their earnest longing for the great leader, and by the intense loyalty of all the people, who are resolved to uphold him forever, down through the generations.

As I watched the endless streams of people extending their condolences before the statues of the great leader on Mansu Hill in the capital and at historic sites all over the country, even on rainy days and at dead of night, I felt more intensely that our people are truly a great and admirable people and that we are blessed with a wonderful people.

The unanimous demonstration of mourning by the entire population over the death of the leader, and their loyal oaths to fulfil his behests, were a powerful demonstration of our great single-hearted unity, whereby the leader, the Party and the masses form a large family in a harmonious whole.

I extend warm thanks to our heroic working class, our cooperative farmers, the officers and men of our People's Army, our intellectuals, our youth and students and all the other people, the south Korean people and Koreans overseas, who so deeply mourned the death of respected Comrade Kim Il Sung and who are firmly determined to overcome their sorrow at the loss of the leader and to fulfil his behests faithfully.

State leaders, leading figures in various fields and broad sections of the people in many countries also expressed their heartfelt condolences and extended deep condolences to us, upon hearing the sad news of the death of the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. I am very grateful for this and will always remember it.

The fundamental guarantee for victory in the revolution and the noble duty of revolutionaries is to defend and carry forward, generation after generation, the revolutionary ideas and achievements of the leader who started the revolution.

Our Party, regarding the revolutionary ideas of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung as its sole guiding principle, will resolutely defend the revolutionary traditions of Juche that were established by the leader and his immortal revolutionary achievements, and will accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche, which he pioneered.

I will, as ever, devote my all to the country and the people, bearing deep in mind our people's absolute trust in and expectations of our Party.

It is my hope that the entire population will transform their sorrow at the loss of the respected leader into a thousand-fold strength and courage, and fight more vigorously to accomplish with credit the revolutionary cause of Juche, to which the leader devoted such great efforts, as well as his heart and his soul, until the last moment of his life.

# **SOCIALISM IS A SCIENCE**

**Treatise published in *Rodong Sinmun*, organ of the Central  
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*November 1, 1994*

Socialism is a science. Socialism has been frustrated in a number of countries, but scientific socialism is as alive as ever in the minds of the people. The imperialists and reactionaries are fussing about the “end of socialism,” with regard to the events in some countries which had been building socialism. The renegades of socialism try to justify their despicable betrayal, claiming that the ideal of socialism itself is invalid. However, the truth cannot be concealed or obliterated. The crumbling of socialism in various countries does not mean the failure of socialism as science but the bankruptcy of opportunism which has corrupted socialism. Although socialism is temporarily experiencing a heart-rending setback because of opportunism, it will without fail be revived and win ultimate victory for its scientific accuracy and truth.

## **1**

Socialism is the ideal and the revolutionary banner of the masses who are fighting for independence. The masses achieve their independence by means of socialism and communism.

The people's independence was ruthlessly trampled upon in the hostile class society. Where there is oppression, there will be resistance; where there is resistance, revolution will break out. The masses have vigorously struggled to win their independence for a long time. During this, class societies have changed and the struggle of the masses for independence has developed. However, the only changes brought about when hostile class societies were replaced, were in the forms of oppression of the masses' independence; the masses were not freed from social and political subordination.

The failure to attain the masses' independence in hostile class societies was because all these societies were based on individualism. Individualism is the product of private ownership. Society, based on private ownership and its product, individualism, inevitably splits into hostile classes, produces class antagonism and social inequality, and is accompanied by the exploitation and oppression of the masses by a small ruling class. History shows that independence for the masses cannot be realized in a society based on individualism. A historical review of the development of human society proves that, in order to realize the masses' independence, a society based on individualism must be replaced by a society based on collectivism, by socialism and communism.

Capitalism has turned individualism into the unlimited greed of a handful of capitalists; it has precipitated antagonism in the society of individualism to the utmost. Meanwhile, the masses' struggle for independence has entered a new stage of development. Ours is an age of independence, when the masses have emerged as masters of their own destiny, as masters who dominate the world. This shows that the transition of a society based on individualism to a society based on collectivism is an inevitable demand of historical development.

Collectivism is man's intrinsic need. People can exist and develop only when they work as a social collective. People can transform nature and society and meet their desire for independence, not as individuals, but only through collective cooperation among members of society. If people are to live in a social collective, they must meet

both their collective and individual demands for independence. The collective demand for independence is the common requirement of members of society for the existence and development of the social collective. The individual need for independence is the need as an equal member of a social collective; it is the need which should naturally be met through collective efforts in return for his contribution to the social collective. The individual need for independence fundamentally differs from selfish greed, which ignores the collective and subordinates everything to the interests of an individual. Both the collective and individual needs for independence can be satisfied to the fullest only through collectivism. Individual demand divorced from collectivism becomes selfish greed. Such greed encroaches upon the demands of other members of the collective for independence, and hampers the unity and cooperation of the collective. Collectivism alone makes it possible to strengthen the unity and cooperation of the collective, to stimulate the creative zeal of all collective members and to properly combine both the collective and individual demands for independence and thus fully meet them. Because working in a social collective is the mode of man's existence, and because man's demand for independence can be satisfied only through collectivism, society based on collectivism, socialist and communist society, is the most progressive society which conforms with man's independent nature.

Certainly, collectivist principles are not fully applied in all spheres of social life immediately after the establishment of a socialist system, because in socialist society the vestiges from the old society remain for some time. The survival in socialist society of the remnants of the outmoded society is a passing phenomenon. With the development of socialism, these vestiges are gradually overcome and collectivist principles are implemented more fully in all areas of social life.

Although socialism is an inevitable stage of historical development and socialist society is the most progressive one which conforms with man's independent nature, socialism will never be

realized spontaneously. In order to realize socialism, we must prepare the revolutionary forces capable of doing this and evolve a correct method of struggle. Unless the revolutionary forces and the method of struggle are prepared, the desire for independence of the masses who aspire after socialism will remain a mere wish.

The idea of eliminating exploitation, oppression and social inequality, as well as the private ownership on which these are based, and of setting up an equal society based on public ownership, was put forward by Utopian socialists a long time ago. However, the Utopian socialists, despite their sympathy for the misery of the exploited working masses, failed to see them as the revolutionary force capable of burying the exploitative society and building a new society. They considered that the irrational aspects of capitalist society could be corrected by enlightening people and appealing to the “good will” of the exploiter class. It is an unscientific illusion to expect “good will” from the exploiter class, whose nature is greed. The Utopian socialists’ expectation of “good will” from the exploiter class was their historical limitation.

The exploiter class and their stooges put forward the “theory of class cooperation” and tried to block the struggle of the exploited working masses against exploitation and oppression. Within the communist movement, reformists and revisionists demanded “class cooperation” and seriously harmed the revolutionary movement. Today, traitors to socialism are also clamouring for a return to capitalism, harbouring illusions about capitalism and expecting “aid” and “cooperation” from the imperialists. History shows that to expect “good will” or “class cooperation” from the exploiter class is to make a mess of the revolution.

Marxism combined the demands of working people who aspire to socialism, with revolutionary forces and a revolutionary fighting method. Marxism made clear that contradictions existed between the productive forces and relations of production in capitalist society; that these contradictions could be resolved through the class struggle of the exploited working people against the exploiter class; and that the

working class would take charge of and lead this class struggle. Thanks to Marxism, the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and the victory of socialism was proved, and the demands of exploited working people who aspire to socialism were linked with practical revolutionary forces and a revolutionary fighting method capable of meeting their demands. Socialism was thus converted from a Utopian scheme into a science, and a revolutionary change took place in the history of humanity's struggle for liberation.

However, the theory of socialism in the preceding age, based on a materialist outlook on history, was not free from historical limitations. This theory did not regard the social and historical movement as a movement of the motive force, as a movement which begins and develops on the initiative and through the role of the masses, its motive force, but as a natural historical process which changes and develops due to material and economic factors. According to the materialist outlook on history, the more the productive forces develop in a capitalist society, the more intensive the incompatible contradictions between the productive forces and relations of production and the antagonism between the exploiter class and the exploited class grow, the more the working class and other revolutionary forces develop in strength and, accordingly, the more the revolution matures. Seeing material and economic factors as fundamental in the revolutionary struggle, the preceding theory of socialism failed to raise the task of strengthening the motive force of the revolution and enhancing its role as the basic way to carry out the revolution.

As for the influence exerted by the development of productive forces in capitalist society, we must not approach it from only one side. The development of the productive forces in capitalist society intensifies the bipolar differentiation which results from the increasing imbalance between rich and poor. It sharpens class contradictions, while at the same time, it provides the monopolists with increasing possibilities to spend part of their high profits on soothing class contradictions. In addition, the development of the

productive forces results in the expansion of the ranks of industrial workers by their incorporation of peasants and other petit bourgeois classes, and also in an increased proportion of workers engaged in mental and technical labour in the productive sectors, as well as those in non-productive sectors.

Of course, objective conditions have a great influence on the revolutionary struggle. But the decisive factor in the victory of the revolution lies not in objective conditions, but in how to strengthen the motive force of the revolution and how to raise its role. Whether in a developed capitalist country or an underdeveloped one, socialism can emerge victorious if the motive force of the revolution is strengthened and its role enhanced through efficient work. History shows that socialism first triumphed in relatively backward countries, not in the countries where capitalism had developed. The experience of our revolution, which has advanced under the banner of the Juche idea, shows that if we strengthen the motive force of the revolution and enhance its role, we can not only avail ourselves of the given objective conditions but also turn unfavourable objective conditions into favourable ones and ensure the victory of the revolution by turning a misfortune into a blessing.

The limitations of the preceding theory based on the materialist outlook on history have been revealed more clearly in the course of socialist construction since the establishment of the socialist system.

In general, the more a society develops, the greater the role played by the masses, the driving force of social movement, becomes. This is because their consciousness of independence and creative ability increase with the development of society. The role of the masses as the driving force of social movement is raised to an unprecedented level in socialist society. Socialist society develops thanks to the creative power of the masses, who are armed with a high level of ideological consciousness and are united as one. In socialist society, the transformation of man, his ideological remoulding, becomes a more important and primary task than that of creating the material

and economic conditions of socialism. Only when precedence is given to the transformation of man, will it be possible to strengthen the driving force of the revolution and increase its role, and thus build socialism successfully. If the ideological remoulding of the masses is regarded as a matter of secondary importance and the work of strengthening the driving force of the revolution and enhancing its role is neglected in socialist society, while attaching decisive importance to the objective material and economic conditions and concentrating only on economic construction, the building of socialism as a whole cannot be carried out properly and economic construction itself cannot avoid stagnation. These practices were very apparent in some countries which had been building socialism in the past. Taking advantage of this, the renegades of socialism carried out “reforms” and committed counterrevolutionary acts, destroying the socialist economic system itself.

In the past, the founders of Marxism evolved socialist theory by putting the main stress on material and economic conditions. This is to do with the fact that it was regarded as an important historical task to disprove the bourgeois reactionary theory which consecrated capitalism and preached its “eternity”, while maintaining mysticism and fatalism. But now, the renegades of socialism are advocating the material-is-almighty doctrine and the economy-is-almighty doctrine in order to restore capitalism, of which they harbour illusions.

Putting socialism on a new, scientific basis was regarded as a very urgent task, not only to overcome the historical limitations of the preceding theory of socialism, but also to defend socialism against all kinds of opportunist distortions and imperialist attacks.

The historical task of putting socialism on a new scientific basis was successfully solved by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, who created the Juche idea and, on this basis, evolved an original socialist theory. The respected Comrade Kim Il Sung discovered the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything. He explained a new law which governs social movement, the movement of the motive force, and he thus put

socialism on a new, scientific basis. The socialist and communist cause as clarified by the Juche idea is the cause of the masses for their complete independence. Socialism as scientifically systematized by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung is man-centred socialism and socialism centred on the masses. Ours is a socialism where the masses are the masters of everything, where everything serves them, and which is developing through their united efforts. The Juche-oriented theory of socialism scientifically clarified the essence of socialism and the law governing its development, by placing man at the centre. On this basis, the theory explained that if the building of socialism is to succeed, a vigorous struggle must be waged to occupy the two fortresses of socialism and communism, the ideological and material fortresses, and that here, absolute precedence must be given to the struggle to take the ideological fortress.

The scientific accuracy and truth of the Juche-oriented theory of socialism have been proved by the practical experience of our revolution. Our people began to wage the struggle for socialism in the backward circumstances of a colonial semi-feudal society. They had to carry out the revolution and construction under unusually difficult circumstances. Despite this, our Party could successfully blaze the trail for socialism by constantly making its main task that of firmly uniting the masses around the Party and the leader, organizationally and ideologically, as required by the Juche idea, thus strengthening the driving force of the revolution and enhancing its role. Our Party is increasing the political and ideological might of our revolution in every possible way by giving definite priority to the transformation of man, to ideological remoulding, in all work in the building of socialism, while at the same time, strengthening our self-reliant national economy and defence. As a result, it is vigorously advancing the revolution and construction without vacillation, even under the present complex circumstances. Practical experience clearly shows that our socialism, the embodiment of the Juche idea, is the most scientific and viable socialism.

Our socialism is based on the Juche-oriented view of and attitude to man.

The view of and attitude to man are the basic questions concerning what view and attitude one has in one's understanding of the development of society and the revolution. They constitute the standard for the scientific character and validity of ideas and theories, and of lines and policies. The scientific character and truth of our socialism lies in the fact that it is based on the absolutely correct, Juche-oriented view of and attitude to man.

The Juche idea has given a scientific definition of man's essential qualities, for the first time in history.

Understanding man's essential qualities is not merely a matter of science but a socio-political issue which reflects class interests. Throughout history, serious philosophical arguments have taken place on this issue between progressive and reactionary classes.

The reactionary ruling classes and their mouthpieces distorted man's essential qualities in the interests of the exploiting class in order to justify their exploitative society. Philosophical arguments on man's essential qualities formerly boiled down to two dominant views; one regarded man as a spiritual being and the other considered him a material being. According to the religious, idealist view, which regards man as a purely spiritual being, man is a product of a certain supernatural, mysterious being and his destiny is also decided by the latter. By means of their religious, idealist view of man, the reactionary ruling class and its spokesmen preached that the miserable lot of the working masses who suffered exploitation and oppression was their unavoidable fate and therefore, they had to submit to their predestined lot. The view which regards man as

simply a natural, biological being makes it impossible to understand the qualitative difference between man, who acts purposefully and consciously under the regulation and control of consciousness, and a biological being which is governed by instinct. The reactionary ruling class and its spokesmen used this view to justify capitalist society, which is ruled by the law of the jungle. Having recourse to the reactionary viewpoint and attitude towards man, the renegades of socialism are restoring capitalism through the introduction of bourgeois liberalism and the capitalist market economy.

Man is neither a purely spiritual being nor a simple biological being. Man is a social being who lives and acts in social relationships. The fact that man is a social being is the major quality which distinguishes him from other biological beings.

Marxism defined man's essential quality as the ensemble of social relations. This definition rendered a historic service by shattering the unscientific, reactionary view which regarded man as a purely spiritual being or a simple biological being. However, the definition of man's essential quality as the sum total of social relations does not provide a comprehensive elucidation of man's own essential qualities. Consequently, it cannot correctly explain the relations between man and the world, or the position and role of man in the world.

The Juche idea has, for the first time, found a scientific solution to the question of man's own essential qualities. On this basis, it has thrown a new light on his position and role in the world.

In the past, too, many attempts were made to elucidate man's essential qualities by dealing mainly with his own features, for example, attempts to define man as a speaking, working, or thinking being. These attempts, however, all dealt with some aspects of man's actions, which are the expression of his essential qualities.

Man is a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness. Herein lie his essential qualities.

Independence is an attribute of social man, who wants to live and develop independently as the master of the world and his destiny, free from any fetters or restrictions. Creativity is an attribute of social

man, who transforms the world and shapes his destiny purposefully and consciously in order to meet his needs. Consciousness is social man's attribute. It regulates all his activities for understanding and transforming the world and himself. Independence and creativity are ensured by consciousness. Man is distinguished qualitatively from animals, which act instinctively, in that he conducts independent and creative activities with consciousness. The course of man's activities is the process whereby he expresses his independence, creativity and consciousness. Independent, creative and conscious activities constitute man's mode of existence.

Man as a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness is inconceivable outside his developed organism, especially his highly developed brain. His developed organism is the biological basis of his independence, creativity and consciousness. However, the organism itself does not give birth to independence, creativity or consciousness. Man's independence, creativity and consciousness are social attributes which are formed and developed through a socio-historical process, where he acts in social relationships.

Because he has independence, creativity and consciousness, man can shape his destiny through his own efforts. The fate of a biological being depends on how it adapts itself to its objective environment. A biological being is a part of nature and its fate is decided by objective environments, so to speak. Unlike biological beings, man is the master and transformer of the world. He shapes his destiny on his own, by transforming the objective world to meet his needs. With the development of his independence, creativity and consciousness, man's position and role as the master and transformer of the world are strengthened. This is expressed in his transformation of nature and society. As man's ideological consciousness of independence and creative ability develop and his role increases, social wealth increases and social relations improve. In historical development, each generation starts with the social wealth and social relations created by its predecessors, in other words, with the existing objective

conditions, and uses these. These objective conditions have an important effect on social development, but these conditions themselves are the historical product of man's independent, creative and conscious activities. They are also used and developed by man. Favourable as the existing objective conditions may be, if the independence, creativity and consciousness of man, who exploits and develops these conditions, are not high and brought into full play, society cannot develop quickly. Even if objective conditions are disadvantageous, society can rapidly develop when man's independence, creativity and consciousness are high and put into full effect. This means that the historical process of social development is decided by the level of development and of mobilization of man's independence, creativity and consciousness. For a long time, the exploited working masses wanted to live in an equitable, new society free from exploitation and oppression, but they could not fulfil their desire in the past because their ideological consciousness of independence and creative ability were not high and their role was at a low level. Man transforms nature and society and develops history. With the rapid development of his ideological consciousness of independence and the enhancement of his role, the development of society and history is promoted and the revolution and construction are successfully speeded up. The history of social development is, in the long run, the history of the development of man's independence, creativity and consciousness, so to speak.

Because he is independent, creative and conscious, man is the most precious and powerful being. Man is the only master and remaker of the world. Nothing in the world is more precious or powerful than man.

However, bourgeois reactionaries do not regard man as the most precious being, but as a means for material production and an insignificant being who possesses only labour power, which is bought and sold as a commodity. They also consider him a powerless being dominated by money, not as a powerful being who shapes his destiny through his own efforts. The betrayers of socialism are restoring

capitalism and eliminating all the people-oriented policies established by socialism. They regard unemployment and poverty as means for pressurizing people, in order to force them to compete, and in order to increase labour intensity. They grovel at the feet of imperialists, expecting “aid” and “cooperation” from Western capitalist countries, instead of believing in the strength of their people. All this is due to their reactionary bourgeois view of man.

Man-centred socialism is based on Juche-oriented socio-historical principles, which provided a new, scientific clarification of the law of socio-historical development, by focusing on man. Socialism centred on man is the most scientific socialism. It makes everything serve man and solves every problem by enhancing his creative role, based on the Juche-oriented view of and attitude to man. Our socialism champions and thoroughly ensures man’s independence, and quickly improves and gives full play to his ideological consciousness and creative ability in order to strengthen, as never before, the position and role of man as the master and transformer of the world, and to press on with the revolution and construction.

The Juche idea also newly clarified the essence and the value of man’s life.

When man is regarded as an organic body, his life means a physical life. However, he is not a being who only leads a physical life. The Juche idea indicated, for the first time in history, that a man has socio-political integrity, as well as a physical life. Physical life is a man’s life as an organic body, whereas socio-political integrity is a man’s life as a social being. Socio-political integrity is the life which is unique to man as a social being.

For a man, physical life is valuable. Only when he has a physical life, can he acquire socio-political integrity. In this sense, we can say that the material life which implements the demand for physical life is the life which implements his primary needs. As man is a social being who is different from a simple biological being, his demand for material life constantly increases as his independence, creativity and consciousness develop and as society develops. His material life

affects his socio-political integrity. A stable and sound material life fully guarantees his demand for physical life, and at the same time, it constitutes a material guarantee for the maintenance and development of his socio-political integrity.

For a man, physical life is precious, but his socio-political integrity is more precious. It is the intrinsic need of man as a social being to value his socio-political integrity more than his physical life. If a man only seeks to satisfy his demand for physical life, and not his demand for socio-political life, his life can never be an honourable one, no matter how affluent he is. Such a material life will be reduced to a deformed and abnormal life, no better than an animal life, and will run counter to man's intrinsic nature.

Independence is the life and soul of man. Man, an independent social being, desires to live independently, free from any subordination or shackles. The fact that man lives independently means that he lives as the master of the world and of his own destiny, maintaining his position and exercising his rights as such. Only when man lives as a social being, exercising his right to independence and implementing his demand for independence, can he be said to enjoy a dignified life, maintaining socio-political integrity. If he loses his independence and is subordinated to others, he is as good as dead socially and politically, even though he is alive. Man's desire to live independently is realized, first of all, through an independent political life. When man is subordinated socially and politically, he cannot lead any kind of independent life.

As socio-political integrity is man's most precious life, a noble life for him is to maintain and exalt socio-political integrity. Man receives socio-political integrity from the social collective. The social collective is the parent body of man's socio-political integrity. Therefore, the worth of man's life depends on how he is connected with the social collective. Man's life becomes noble when he is loved and trusted by the social collective; it is worthless when he is forsaken by it. Man enjoys the love and trust of the social collective when he considers the interests of the social collective to be dearer

than those of individuals and when he faithfully serves the social collective. In the final analysis, the greatest value and worth of man's life is to lead an independent and creative life, enjoying the love and trust of the social collective, while at the same time combining his own destiny with that of the social collective and serving it heart and soul. This is the way for man to enhance his socio-political integrity and lead a worthy human life as a social being.

Today, the bourgeois reactionaries and renegades of socialism regard the exploitation and domination of man by man as something normal and consider man as a base being who only pursues his own material desires. This clearly demonstrates the reactionary nature of the bourgeois viewpoint and attitude towards the essence and worth of man's life.

True human life, which enables everyone to enhance their most precious socio-political integrity and fully meet the demands of their physical life, can only be realized admirably in a socialist society based on collectivism. In this society, people are free from all manner of exploitation and oppression, domination and subordination and can lead an independent and creative life in social, political and all other areas. In socialist society, we must organize people's organizational and ideological life properly, as well as their cultural life, in order to enable them to lead an independent and creative life, with a high consciousness and ability which befits the masters of society. People can make great contributions to society and the collective and lead a worthy life as proud members of society and the collective, only when they are fully equipped with ideological consciousness of independence and have comprehensively developed creative ability, through their revolutionary organizational and ideological life and their moral and rich cultural life.

Our socialism is genuinely man-centred socialism. It regards man as most precious and fully meets his intrinsic requirements. It thus enables everyone to keep and greatly enhance their socio-political integrity. It also fully meets the demands of their physical life. Man-centred socialism enables all members of society to live in harmony,

enjoying the love and trust of society and the collective, and to lead a completely noble and worthy life, while working devotedly for society and the collective with a high degree of ideological consciousness and creative ability.

### 3

Our socialism is based on the Juche-oriented view of and attitude towards the masses of the people.

The truth and advantages of socialism are demonstrated in the people's support of and trust in it. Now that our socialism is based on the Juche-oriented view of and attitude towards the masses of the people, it has become the most advantageous and powerful socialism and enjoys the people's absolute support and trust.

The masses of the people are the motive force of history. The masses of the people means a united social community which centres on working people, due to their common demand for independence and creative activity.

The phrase "the masses of the people" assumes a class character in class society. An exploiter society is divided into the exploiter class and the exploited class, or the ruling class and the ruled class, depending on who owns the means of production and who controls state power. The exploited class, the ruled class, forms the majority of the masses of the people. The class structure of the masses of the people is not immutable. It changes as social history develops. In capitalist society, not only workers and peasants, but also working intellectuals and many other classes and strata which champion and struggle for independence, form the masses of the people. In socialist society, all people are transformed into socialist working people, so everyone is a member of the masses of the people. Of course, in socialist society, too, the manoeuvres of minor hostile elements

continue and traitors may appear in the revolutionary ranks. Therefore, it is also necessary in socialist society to clearly distinguish between the masses of the people and elements hostile to them.

The phrase “the masses of the people” reflects a social and class relationship, but it is not merely a class concept. Naturally, the masses of the people consist of different classes and strata. In order to distinguish whether one is a member of the masses of the people or not, his social and class status should be considered, but this must not be regarded as absolute. Man’s ideas and behaviour are not subject solely to the influence of his social and class status. If he undergoes revolutionary influence and acquires progressive ideas, he can serve the masses of the people regardless of his social and class status. The basic criterion for deciding whether one is a member of the masses of the people or not is not one’s social and class origin, but one’s ideas. The ideological foundation on which to unite people from all walks of life into the masses of the people is not just the idea of socialism and communism. Anyone who loves the country, the people and the nation can serve the people and accordingly, is qualified to be a member of the masses of the people.

From such a point of view, at every stage of the revolution, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung united everyone who was ideologically ready to serve the country, the people and the nation into one revolutionary force, and he successfully carried out the revolution and construction. Our Party trusts people of different classes and strata who are interested in the revolution. It considers them everlasting companions, not chance fellow travellers, on the road to revolution, and it is leading them along the road to socialism and communism.

The class nature of the imperialists and reactionaries makes them antagonistic to the masses of the people. Accordingly, they are afraid of the word “people” itself. Frequently using the word “nation,” they try to cover the class confrontation and conflict of capitalist society. The traitors to socialism also try to disguise their anti-popular

manoeuvres with the word “citizen.” They purport to be building a “society for citizens.” It is true that one can often hear reactionaries and traitors hypocritically using the word “people.” But those hostile to the people, the betrayers of the people, cannot hide their anti-popular nature, just because they use the word “people.” “People” is a noble word that only those who are faithful to the people, can say proudly, the communists who fight and devote themselves wholly to the interests of the masses of the people.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung regarded the people as “Heaven,” since his youth. He ensured that the country, the army, monuments and many noble and beautiful things in the country were named after the people. Because our socialism regards the people as such valuable beings, it has become a socialism centred on the masses, the most advantageous socialism which fully embodies the demand of the people for independence.

The masses of the people are the masters of everything in society. This is because everything in society is created by the masses of the people.

The masses possess the greatest creative power for transforming nature and society. An individual’s strength and wisdom are limited, but those of the masses are unlimited. If there is an omniscient and omnipotent being in this world, it is none other than the masses. By drawing on their unfathomable strength and wisdom, the masses create everything in society, they advance history and drive the revolution forward.

The masses transform nature, develop the productive forces and create material wealth. Of course, the capitalist class takes an interest in developing the productive forces in order to gain more profit, but capitalists do not create material wealth with their own hands. The masses create ideological and cultural wealth directly, and also produce progressive thinkers, prominent scientists and talented men of art and literature. The exploiter class also put forward their own ideological and cultural mouthpieces, but the ideas and culture they produce obstruct a moral social life and development. The masses

transform society. The reactionary exploiter class is only interested in maintaining and consolidating the outmoded exploitative system, not in social transformation. The farce of “reform” staged by the ruling bourgeoisie is essentially aimed at extricating themselves from the crisis of capitalism. Social transformation on progressive lines can only be carried out by the awakened and united masses. Since everything in society is created by the masses, they must naturally be the masters of everything. Only in socialist society, where state power and the means of production belong to the people, can the masses be the real masters of everything in society.

Since they are the masters of everything in society, the masses must occupy the position of masters. They must exercise their rights, fulfil their responsibility and role as masters, and enjoy a worthy and happy life as masters.

As they are the masters of everything in society, the masses must hold the position of masters and exercise their rights as such.

The masses’ desire for independence is to occupy the position of masters and exercise their rights as such. Independence is the lifeblood of the masses, and their independent status and right to independence are the basic conditions on which their destiny depends. As they are the masters of state and society, the masses must occupy the position of masters and exercise their rights as such in politics, the economy, culture and in all other fields of social life.

In order to thoroughly champion and implement the masses’ independence, it is necessary to formulate all lines and policies by making them reflect the masses’ desire for independence, and carry them out in reliance on the efforts of the masses.

The masses’ desire for independence is the criterion for judging the correctness of lines and policies. The only way to avoid subjectivism and tortuous events in the revolution and construction is to mix with the masses and listen to what they want. The masses are teachers of everything. The masses’ desire for independence, when integrated into a system, will become ideas, lines and policies. When formulating its lines and policies, the working-class party must

always go among the masses and listen to their desires. In doing their work, officials must also begin by listening to the masses' desires. Even in complex and difficult circumstances, our Party has been able to establish the best socialist system and develop it continuously, because it has laid down its lines and policies by going among the masses. It is also because it reflected the masses' desire for independence in its lines and policies and carried these out by relying on their efforts. This is the secret of the triumphant advance of socialism in our country, an advance which has been made along an absolutely scientific path, without the slightest deviation or setback.

In order to champion and realize independence for the masses, we must totally safeguard the independence of the country and nation.

Our Party's consistent revolutionary principle is to achieve independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence. Our Party and our people have treasured the independence of the country and nation. They have thoroughly implemented the revolutionary principle of political independence, economic self-sufficiency and self-reliant national defence despite the pressure of the imperialists and dominationists. They have thus firmly safeguarded national sovereignty and dignity and continue to advance. They consistently adhere to their convictions and hold the socialist banner high.

The imperialists now violently interfere in other countries' affairs and trample upon other nations' sovereignty. They try to justify these acts under the excuse of "defence of human rights". Human rights cannot be conceived separately from the independence of countries and nations. Human rights can never be ensured for people who are dominated by foreign forces. Human rights are rights to independence which must be exercised by the people in the political, economic, ideological, cultural and all other spheres of social life. The "human rights" advertised by the imperialists are privileges of the rich, privileges to do anything on the strength of money. The imperialists do not recognize the right of unemployed people to work, or the right of orphans or people without support to eat and survive, for instance,

as human rights. As they do not grant working people elementary rights to existence and as they pursue anti-popular policies and policies of racial and national discrimination and colonialism, the imperialists have no right to speak about human rights. The imperialists are the most heinous enemy of human rights. They violate the people's right to independence and interfere in the internal affairs of other countries on the pretext of "defending human rights." We will never tolerate any imperialist interference or arbitrariness aimed at infringing upon the sovereignty of our country and nation, which we will staunchly safeguard.

The masses, as the masters of everything in society, should fulfil their role and responsibilities.

Only then can they defend their position and rights as befitting masters. The revolution and construction are undertakings for the masses and are their own undertakings. They must be responsible for and must solve all problems arising in the revolution and construction through their own efforts.

In order to make the masses fulfil their responsibility and role as masters of everything in society, their consciousness as masters should be enhanced. To this end, priority should be given to ideological transformation and political work, over all other undertakings. This is an intrinsic requirement of socialist society. In socialist society, where the masses are the masters of state and society, the main driving force of social development is the high revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative of the masses, who are equipped with ideological consciousness of independence and who are united rock-firm behind the Party and the leader. It is only when all members of society are transformed in a communist way and their revolutionary zeal and creative initiative are boosted by giving priority to ideological transformation and political work, that they can press on with the revolution and construction and fully demonstrate the advantages of socialism. In socialist construction, therefore, efforts must always be concentrated on educating the masses of the people and on boosting their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative

activeness, by giving priority to ideological transformation and political work. There is no other masterstroke for propelling socialist construction than that of giving priority to ideological transformation and political work, in order to enhance the role of the masses. Trying to move a man by means of money contradicts the intrinsic nature of socialist society; the advantages of socialism cannot be demonstrated by that method. Such a capitalist method cannot enhance the people's revolutionary enthusiasm or creative initiative and, worse still, it may degenerate the socialist system itself and throw it into jeopardy. By giving definite priority to ideological transformation and political work, our Party could dynamically advance the revolution and construction and display the advantages of socialism to the full, relying on the masses' great revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative. The high revolutionary zeal and creative initiative of the masses, who are united firmly behind the Party and the leader, is the source of the strength on which our socialism centred on the masses can demonstrate its advantages and invincibility as the most scientific socialism.

In order to make the masses of the people fulfil their responsibility and role as the masters of everything in society, their creative strength should be cultivated. This is an important matter to which primary attention should always be given in the revolution and construction. As the masses create everything in society, the success of the revolution and construction depends on how to train the people into powerful beings. Training them into powerful beings means developing their creative ability along with their consciousness of independence. In capitalist society, the masses' demand to boundlessly develop as independent and creative beings cannot be realized properly. The imperialists and capitalists need slaves who produce surplus value and follow them obediently, not independent and creative people who have been brought to their consciousness of independence and who are developed in many ways. That is why they resort to every possible means and method to degrade working people into slaves of capital, degenerating them ideologically and deforming

their creative ability. The masses' demand to develop into independent and creative beings can be fully realized only in socialist society. Our Party has established the most superior socialist education system and a system under which the entire population studies. It is running these at the expense of the state and society, and is thus brilliantly carrying out the task of bringing up all members of society as full-fledged builders of socialism and communism. As a result, our people are pressing on with socialist construction and they are solving every problem through their own efforts and wisdom under the banner of self-reliance even in an extremely difficult situation.

The masses of the people must enjoy a worthwhile and happy life as the masters of everything in society.

Material life occupies an important place in their worthwhile and happy life. It forms the basis of social life. As they are the masters of state and society in socialist society, the masses of the people should lead an affluent and civilized life. By stepping up economic construction, our Party has consolidated and developed the socialist economic system and built a powerful socialist and independent national economy. It has thereby laid solid foundations for satisfying the people's material life through our own efforts. The potential of the independent national economy we have built up through self-reliance and fortitude is quite enormous; it is a valuable asset for providing a moral and stable material life for everyone. We must continuously invest great effort into the construction of the socialist economy, in order to further strengthen the country's economic power and steadily improve our people's standard of material life according to socialist demands.

What is essential for the masses in their worthwhile, happy life is to lead a dignified life, while adding lustre to their socio political integrity and enjoying the love and trust of the social community.

Naturally, the people need to live such a life, but this is impossible in the exploiter society. The exploitation and oppression of man by man is incompatible with love for and trust in the people; there

cannot be genuine love and trust between the exploiter and the exploited. In capitalist society, the personal value of man has been converted into an exchange value and is appraised by means of money and wealth. Here, love for and trust in the masses is inconceivable. The bourgeois reactionaries' advocacy of love which transcends class is a crafty act to disguise the reactionary nature of the capitalist exploiting society and to pacify contradictions between classes. The preceding theory of the working class laid bare the reactionary nature of the hypocritical love which transcends class, advocated by the bourgeois reactionaries. It made clear that, in class society, love also assumes a class character. The fact that love assumes a class character does not mean that love and trust can be exchanged only between people of identical social and class status. The relationship of love and trust between people can be established between those who, despite the difference in their social and class status, fight together to defend the independence of the masses and who carry out creative activities together.

When the socialist system is established, class contradictions are eliminated and relationships between people are transformed from those of contradictions and mistrust into those of love and trust. In socialist society, love and trust flourish in the social community and between its members and among the individuals in society; they are demonstrated in the most sublime form between the leader and his men. When all members of society proudly maintain their socio-political integrity with the result that the leader and his men, and the Party and the people are all tied by love and trust and the whole of society has been transformed into a socio-political organism, their life is the most worthwhile and beautiful life. The society that has realized this is a most solid and dynamic society.

Socialism centred on the masses fully embodies comradely unity and cooperation and the relationship of love and trust in all spheres of social life. It transforms politics into politics of love and trust. Love and trust constitute the essence of politics in socialist society, where the masses of the people have been transformed from objects of

politics to the masters of politics. We call the politics of love and trust, benevolent politics. Although the imperialists embellish bourgeois politics and sling mud at socialist politics, clamouring about things like the “multi-party system” and “parliamentary democracy,” black cannot be made white. Bourgeois politics, as a plutocracy, are the harsh and crafty politics of oppression and plunder.

In order to realize genuinely benevolent politics in socialist society, a political leader who unfailingly loves the people must come forward. A political leader of socialism should be a master in leadership but, first of all, he must be a man of virtue who loves the people boundlessly. This is simply because socialist politics is, in essence, benevolent politics. An incompetent political leader of socialism may bring about a delay in the development of socialist society, but one who has no virtue may betray the people and even lead socialism to ruin.

If the politics of love and trust are to be exercised in socialist society, the socialist party in power must be built into a motherly party.

The working-class party is the leading political organization of society; accordingly, the way the state organs and all other organizations in socialist society serve the people relates to how the party is built. Building the party as a motherly party is a prerequisite for making state organs and all other organizations in socialist society into servants of the people. Building the party as a motherly party means that the party should become a genuine guide and defender of the people, which takes meticulous care of the destiny of the masses under its charge, just as a mother deeply loves her children and looks after them warmly. In the past, the party was regarded mainly as a weapon in the class struggle. The working-class party should naturally wage class struggle; however, all party activities must, to all intents and purposes, proceed from a boundless love for and trust in the people. It must give priority to defending the people’s interests and it must fight against those who violate their interests. Not a few

parties lost the support and trust of the masses and came to an end in the long run. This is because they were not built as motherly parties which take warm care of the destiny of the people under their charge. They degenerated into bureaucratic parties which wielded power and abused their authority.

If the socialist ruling party is to be built as a motherly party, all cadres and party members should be educated in the spirit of boundless love and sincere service for the people.

In order to sincerely serve the people, one must first think of the people before oneself and regard the pleasure and pain of the people as one's own. Loyal service to the people is a communist's sacred duty. Herein lies the true value of communist's life. A man who works for the revolution enters the working-class party not for his self-interest, fame or authority, but to serve the people more faithfully. Those who undergo hardship before anybody else, and put it before pleasure, and who take charge of difficult tasks on their own, while giving credit for success to others—they are the true communists and members of the working-class party. In order to bring up those party members, ideological education should be intensified among them so that they serve the people devotedly.

It is important while building the socialist ruling party as a motherly party to thoroughly transform the cadres in a revolutionary fashion and to actively struggle against the abuse of power, bureaucracy, irregularities and corruption among them, which are the main factors that obstruct the implementation of benevolent politics in socialist society. Socialism is opposed to all privileges. With the establishment of the socialist system, the privileged class disappears. As long as the people possess state power and the means of production, the privileged class cannot come into being in socialist society. But if a struggle is not waged against the abuse of power, bureaucracy, irregularities and corruption in socialist society, some ill-prepared cadres can deteriorate ideologically and become divorced from the masses, and thus grow into a privileged class. However good the policies pursued by the party and state may be, they cannot be carried out properly if the cadres resort to abuse of power and

to bureaucracy, because all policies of the party and state are implemented through the cadres. If the cadres exercise privileged power, act bureaucratically and indulge in irregularities and corruption, the socialist party in power will lose the support and confidence of the masses and, without their support, the party cannot maintain its existence. The historical lesson shows that it is tantamount to digging its own grave for the socialist ruling party to tolerate the abuse of power, bureaucracy, irregularities or corruption among the cadres.

Our Party saw through the danger of the deviations that could manifest themselves in a ruling party early on, and it has tirelessly struggled against them. Under the Party's slogan, "We serve the people!", our cadres are now faithfully serving the people as their servants. But we cannot in the least neglect struggle against the abuse of power, bureaucracy, irregularities and corruption, because they are rooted in the vestiges of outdated ideas, and because the imperialists continue their schemes of ideological and cultural infiltration in order to implant anachronistic ideas in our country. We should continue to vigorously wage educational work and an ideological struggle among cadres to root out these deviations.

Our Party's politics are characterized by love and trust and are benevolent politics. They constitute the basic factor that defines our socialism's advantages and invincibility.

Thanks to the benevolent politics of the Party and the leader, our people enjoy a most worthwhile and dignified life. Their noble socio-political integrity is enhanced under our own style of socialist system, which is centred on the masses. It is a true feature of our society that all its members form a large harmonious family. They trust, love and help each other, and enjoy a worthwhile and happy life together.

In our country, everyone regards and supports the leader as they would their own father. They trust and follow the Party, regarding its embrace as that of their own mother. The leader, the Party and the people form one socio-political organism, and share the same destiny. The whole of society overflows with communist morality. For instance, one devotes one's own life without hesitation to save one's

revolutionary comrade from danger, and young men and women become life companions of honourably disabled soldiers and take warm care of orphans and old people without support, as they would their own relations. This is a proud result of the benevolent politics of our Party.

The vitality of the benevolent politics of our Party finds expression not only in our people's noble spiritual and moral traits, but also in their upright and equitable material and cultural life, which improves as the days go by. All our people are free from worries about food, clothing and housing. They continue to learn throughout their whole life and enjoy long lives in good health, thanks to free and compulsory education and free medical care. In our country, the state provides stable jobs for all able-bodied working people. It looks after the whole population under its responsibility and even takes warm care of those who have temporarily lost the ability to work, those without this ability and old people without support. Aged revolutionaries and war veterans, honourably disabled soldiers and meritorious people enjoy their worthwhile life under the state's care, held in the people's high esteem and love.

The younger generation is basking in the great benefits of the Party's benevolent politics. They are successors to the revolution, and the future of our country and nation. The future of the revolution and the destiny of the country and nation depend on how they are brought up. Therefore, their upbringing cannot be the sole responsibility of their parents. In capitalist society, where the future of the younger generation depends on their parents' purse, they cannot avoid falling victim to social inequality and social evils. Due to the aggression and intervention of the imperialists and the plunder of the exploiter class, many of the young generation throughout the world lose their lives or are maimed by war, social conflict, disease and hunger or they wander about the streets, committing crimes and degenerating. By contrast, in our socialist society with its benevolent politics, the state brings up all the younger generation. Our Party and state accord them the warmest love and solicitude. In our country, they study to their

heart's content under the best 11-year universal compulsory education system, and are supplied with school uniforms and school things by the state. Thanks to the warmest love and care of the Party and the leader, the state and society, our younger generation is growing up happily without envying anyone.

All the people-oriented policies enforced in our country today prove the superiority of our own style of socialist system, which is centred on masses. These policies emanate from the noble love of the Party and the leader for the people. Benevolent politics is the traditional method. Its historical root had already been created by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung in the days of the anti-Japanese revolution and was further deepened and developed by him as the revolution and construction advanced.

The respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung was the benevolent father of our people, who cherished the warmest love for them. Under the motto, "The people are my God," which he adopted when he was young, Comrade Kim Il Sung mixed with people, shared weal and woe with them and devoted his all for them, throughout his life. Because it held the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung, who was endowed with the noble virtue of boundless love for the people, as its leader, our country could record a brilliant history of genuine politics for the people, benevolent politics.

Our Party continues to carry forward the brilliant traditions of benevolent politics established by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. Our Party's benevolent politics are politics of extensive love and trust; the Party loves and trusts people from all areas of society, without discrimination. In this sense, we call our Party's benevolent politics all-embracing politics. They are politics of invariable love and trust. Our Party is responsible for everyone's socio-political integrity and guides this. Even when a man has committed an error, our Party does not put him in the cold but reeducates him, to lead him onto the right track. It shows constant care for him, so that he will exalt his socio-political integrity to the last.

The noble love and trust shown by our leader and Party for the people have produced unfailing loyalty to the Party and the leader from the people. Our people have been well-known since olden times as a diligent and courageous people with a strong sense of justice, a noble sense of obligation and a high sense of decorum. Our people's fine traits now flourish and develop in every respect, based on new spiritual and moral qualities. Our people are deeply grateful to the Party and the leader for their benevolent politics and work heart and soul to repay the favour with loyalty. Our people's loyalty to the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung is shown on a nobler plane today, after they suddenly lost their fatherly leader. It is our people's unshakeable will to loyally uphold the respected Comrade Kim Il Sung forever as the leader of our Party and revolution. Under the leadership of the Party, our people are working with redoubled efforts to win fresh victories, true to the behests of their fatherly leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. No other people are equipped with such noble spiritual and moral qualities as ours. They are unfailingly loyal to the Party and the leader, and work devotedly for their country, society and the collective. We take great pride in having such excellent people. For our Party to have trained ours into such an excellent people is its great achievement and a brilliant victory for its benevolent politics.

Our Party's benevolent politics are the source of the single-hearted unity of the leader, the Party and the people. The single-hearted unity of the leader, Party and people, based on love and loyalty, is the most solid unity, and our own style of socialism, rooted in this single-hearted unity, is ever-victorious.

People throughout the world express their great admiration for our socialism, saying that it is the most ideal socialism. This is because our socialism is genuine socialism centred on the masses, which fully applies the principles of love for and trust in the people.

The reason why our own style of socialism, centred on the masses, is an invincible socialism which enjoys their full support and trust is that here, the masses maintain their position and exercise their rights as the masters of the state and society. They discharge their

responsibilities, play their role as the masters and lead a worthwhile and happy life in such a capacity.

Our Party will invariably and fully pursue genuine politics for the people, benevolent politics which regards the masses, the masters of everything in society, as supreme beings and bestows everlasting love and trust on them. Our Party and people are faced with the heavy yet honourable task of carrying forward and consummating through generations, the socialist cause of Juche which was initiated and led by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. As it has always won victories in the past by believing in and relying on the people, so too in the future, our Party will accomplish the socialist cause of Juche by believing in and relying on them.

Man-centred socialism, socialism centred on the masses, is absolutely scientific, and the most advantageous and powerful socialism. For its scientific accuracy and truth, socialism is sure to be victorious.

**LET US MAKE OUR COUNTRY, OUR  
MOTHERLAND, EVER MORE PROSPEROUS,  
TRUE TO THE GREAT LEADER COMRADE  
KIM IL SUNG'S INTENTION**

**Talk to Senior Officials of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*December 31, 1994*

We are seeing out this year, still grieving over the death of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

The great leader dedicated all his efforts to the freedom and happiness of our people and to the prosperity and development of our country. Making our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous was his intention and his cause. We must remain true to his intention and cause and make our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous.

I am going to send our people and the officers and men of the Korean People's Army New Year greetings to the effect that we should work energetically, with a single heart and with one purpose, to make our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous. Our country is Juche Korea, home to Kim Il Sung's nation, and our motherland is our socialist country. In this sense, I will use the words "our country" and "our motherland" in my New Year greetings. It is my firm determination to bring further prosperity to our country, our motherland. I will make no concessions in carrying forward Comrade Kim Il Sung's intention and cause.

What is important in making our country, our motherland, ever

more prosperous is to ensure that all Party members and other working people nurture an unshakeable faith in socialism.

Only then can they strive to defend their socialist motherland and make it prosperous. Nurturing an unshakeable faith in socialism is all the more important after socialism collapsed in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries and since the imperialists and reactionaries are manoeuvring craftily to crush our country's socialism. The people of the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries failed to defend socialism and returned to capitalism, simply because they did not nurture a faith in socialism. Only now are they admitting that socialism was better and regretting its loss.

Although socialism collapsed in several countries, it still remains alive in the hearts of the people. I wrote the treatise *Socialism Is a Science* and published it in order to deal a blow at the imperialists and reactionaries who are opposed to socialism, and to instil confidence in the sure victory of socialism in the hearts of the people. The treatise clarifies the scientific accuracy and truthfulness of socialism.

People all over the world say that the treatise is my political programme by which Korea will follow the road of socialism without vacillating. Our country is politically stable and all the people are firmly united. International social circles recognize the solidity of our socialism.

Ours is socialism that is centred on the masses, where the people are masters of everything and everything serves them. Today, the progressive people of the world, the people of the countries where socialism collapsed in particular, are envious of and look up to our socialism that is centred on the masses. Recently some scholars from a country where socialism had collapsed visited our country; I was told that after looking round Pyongyang, they said they had learned a lot from Korea's socialism, adding that they could not find anyone who was begging, drunk or dressed in jeans.

Party organizations should intensify ideological education among cadres, Party members and other working people in various forms and by various methods so that they cherish a strong faith in socialism

and devote themselves to the victory of the socialist cause. In order to make our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous, the Party's leadership system must be firmly established. Our prosperous and powerful country and motherland would be scarcely conceivable, separated from the system by which the whole Party, all the people and the entire army move as one under the Party's leadership.

In establishing the Party's leadership system, it is important to establish the revolutionary discipline of accepting the Party's policies unconditionally and implementing them to the letter. Recently, the Party put forward the policy of enhancing the role of the county so as to bring about an upturn in the people's standard of living; the chief secretaries of all county Party committees should work with a sense of responsibility by giving play to the spirit of carrying out the Party's policies without any qualification. We should make stronger demands on officials so that they all accept the Party's policies without any conditions attached, and carry them out. They should display burning loyalty in implementing the Party's policies until the last moment of their lives. The greatest shortcoming of our officials is their way of working with an initial blaze of enthusiasm that quickly cools. They should not work in such a manner. One's burning loyalty to the Party must never cool, right up until the last moment of one's life. Party organizations should not take over administrative and economic work and act high-handedly on the plea that they have been instructed to establish the Party's leadership system. As I always say, the Party must exercise political guidance over administrative and economic work.

In order to make our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous, we should all unite with a single heart and single purpose.

The single-hearted unity of the revolutionary ranks is an important guarantee for making our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous. It is only when we strengthen the unity of the revolutionary ranks that the driving force of the revolution can be consolidated and the building of socialism stepped up. Our revolutionary ranks are now united with one heart. We must not rest

content with this, but continue to strengthen the single-hearted unity of the revolutionary ranks further, as required by the prevailing situation and the revolutionary tasks facing the Party.

What is important in strengthening the single-hearted unity of the revolutionary ranks is to ensure that the whole Party, all the people and the entire army uphold the leader with loyalty.

Above all, cadres should uphold the Party's leadership with loyalty. A general by himself is no general. I formulate policies and implement them by relying on people who are faithful to me. As there are faithful men beside me, so I exist; and as I exist, so there are faithful men beside me. In the past, the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters did not know that Comrade Kim Il Sung would become the general secretary of our Party or the generalissimo, but they were convinced that they could accomplish the Korean revolution only when they held him in high esteem, and they travelled the road of the long-drawn-out revolution without wavering, following him. What is precious is their belief that they could accomplish the Korean revolution only by following him. Cadres should learn from the noble revolutionary spirit of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters and, whether in good times or bad, maintain their loyalty to the Party. A day lived loyally in bad times is more important than a hundred loyal days in good times. Those who follow the Party in good times but abandon it in bad times are devoid of a sense of obligation. Revolutionaries must value their revolutionary obligation and remain true to it, to the last.

We should ensure that the young generation, too, learn from the noble revolutionary spirit of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters and support the Party's leadership with loyalty. In particular, we should see to it that the young people are faithful to the Party's leadership and support it to the end. The young people are the successors to our revolution; and when they are faithful to the Party's leadership and support it to the last, the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered by Comrade Kim Il Sung will be carried forward and completed with success through the generations. This is why I pay

such deep attention to the young people and direct such great efforts to the work with them. I ensured that the joint editorial to be published on New Year's Day was written in the name of the organ of the Youth League, along with those of the Party and the People's Army. The young people will be pleased about this.

The People's Army is faithful to the Party's leadership. The officers of the People's Army place absolute trust in me; they are prepared to fight a life-or-death battle if I order them to do so. I meet the officers of the People's Army now and then to give them encouragement. I intend to visit a unit of the People's Army tomorrow, New Year's Day, to encourage the soldiers. I feel most happy when I am among them. We should ensure that all the officers and men of the People's Army defend the socialist motherland with their arms, loyally supporting the Party's leadership.

Class education should be strengthened among Party members and other working people.

Party organizations and officials are paying inadequate attention to class education. The low level of people's class consciousness and the poor demonstration by the working people of the revolutionary spirit of Mt Paektu, the revolutionary spirit of fortitude, which the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters cherished, can largely be attributed to their poor class education.

The current standard of living of our people cannot be said to be very high, but it is still higher than it was in the past. The young generation, not knowing what hardship is, are enjoying a life in which there is nothing in the world for them to envy. If class education is not conducted effectively, there may appear such tendencies among the rising generation of complaining about their life today, oblivious of the past when their grandfathers and grandmothers were exploited and oppressed and, worse still, of them abandoning the revolution and seeking a comfortable life for themselves, because they are enthralled by revisionist ideas; then it will be impossible to defend socialism, which was built by the blood and sweat of the preceding generations. In recent years socialism collapsed in several countries,

mainly because they neglected class education and abandoned the class struggle. After assuming state power, Khrushchev weakened the function of the dictatorship of the state as a weapon of the class struggle. As a result, socialism could not be defended in the Soviet Union. Since socialism collapsed there and the Soviet Union itself was broken up, those who schemed against Soviet power in the past and their descendants have become parvenus, and those who fought in defence of Soviet power and their descendants have become beggars and unemployed. Historical lessons show that for a working-class party to neglect class education and abandon class principles amounts to digging its own grave.

We are now defending socialism and conducting the revolution and construction in direct confrontation with US imperialism. We are waging what could be called a war without gunfire. We should get ready to wage a bloody struggle should the enemy attack us, and we must win the fight against the US imperialists by any means. Only when class education is intensified among Party members and other working people so as to raise their class consciousness can they rise up in the struggle against the US imperialists and safeguard socialism with their lives and make our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous.

We should intensify class education among Party members and other working people, especially the rising generation, to ensure that they do not entertain even the slightest illusion about their class enemy. For this, we need a proper methodology. Telling the young generation what the landowners and their agents were like, what it was like to wear hemp clothes and straw sandals, and about other aspects of life in the days of their grandparents' generation does not amount to adequate class education. Informing them of how hard their parents worked in their youth is also a form of class education.

Class education should also be conducted by means of works of art and literature. Whenever the sector of art and literature is instructed to create works that can contribute to class education, the writers attempt to write only about the exploitative nature of

landowners and capitalists, and not about how the parents of the rising generation fought to defend the motherland in the period of the Fatherland Liberation War, how they rebuilt the devastated cities, farm villages and factories on the debris by tightening their belts and built socialism in the period of post-war reconstruction, or how they devoted their youth to the motherland and people in the period of the grand construction of socialism. Few of the songs and films created in recent years are about the worthwhile way in which the parents of the rising generation spent their youth. We should see to it that works of art and literature depicting how our people built our socialist motherland in the difficult circumstances in the past under the leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Party are created in large numbers for educating the young generation.

In order to make our country, our motherland, ever more prosperous, we should rapidly develop science and technology.

Only by doing this can we make our people's life more bountiful and cultured, humble the imperialists' pride in their "technological superiority" and bring about the prosperity of the socialist motherland.

In order to develop science and technology as quickly as possible, we should train the next generation of scientists and technicians in a planned way. It seems that such training is not being organized in detail. Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out that after Dr. Won Hong Gu passed away we had no ornithologist worth mentioning, and that it had been wrong for us not to have assigned young scientists for him to train as able scientists. Experts on Chinese characters have been trained because young scholars were apprenticed to Hong Ki Mun, and they proved their worth in the translation and publication of the scores of volumes of *Rijo Sillok* (Chronicles of the Ri Dynasty).

While training a large number of young scientists, we should maintain an appropriate proportion of them in the ranks of old and middle-aged scientists. Scientists must achieve success in their research in their twenties or thirties and thus establish their reputation. They must become doctors and associate doctors in their

twenties and thirties and academicians in their forties and fifties.

In order to develop science and technology, we should increase investment in this sector. The sufficient supply of the latest research equipment and experimental apparatuses is essential for conducting successful scientific research work. For the present, the state-of-the-art equipment needed for the development of the electronics industry should be imported. We must raise the electronics industry to the world standard at an early date.

We should, at the same time as increasing investment in the scientific research sector, strengthen the education of scientists. Party organizations should strengthen their ideological education and organizational life so as to ensure that they all devote their wisdom and energy to scientific research with a high degree of loyalty to the Party, a strong will and the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude.

We should conduct effective external work so as to create circumstances favourable for our revolution.

We should be assertive in the talks with the United States. Recently we took the step of opening our territorial airspace to passenger planes from foreign countries. Having done so, we had to shoot down a US military helicopter that had intruded into our territorial airspace. The United States once again submitted an apology to us. This was a great victory for us. We returned the pilot of the helicopter only after receiving the apology. Afterwards, the pilot said that he had not been confined to a jail or barracks but had been treated well and given good accommodation. We must entertain no illusions about US imperialism. We must not make concessions or retreat in the confrontation with the US imperialists, but set our face against them.

