

**KIM IL SUNG**

**WORKS**

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

# KIM IL SUNG

## WORKS

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## **NEW YEAR ADDRESS**

*January 1, 1973*

Comrades,

We have seen out the year 1972 which will go down as another brilliant year in our nation's history, and are welcoming a hopeful New Year, 1973.

Allow me to offer warm New Year congratulations and greetings to all the Korean people on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic.

Last year, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, our people worked hard to carry through the decisions of the Fifth Party Congress and achieved brilliant victories in all political, economic, cultural and military spheres.

Last year we successfully conducted elections of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly and other organs of power at different levels amid the unprecedentedly great political enthusiasm of all the people. Through the elections our people expressed their unreserved support for and profound trust in the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and demonstrated the steel-like unity and solidarity of the whole of society firmly bound together with one idea and purpose based on our Party's Juche idea.

At the historic First Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly held a few days ago we adopted the Socialist Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and reorganized the structure of our state bodies in conformity with the conditions of our revolutionary development and formed a new Government of the

Republic. With the adoption of the Socialist Constitution, we consolidated the great victories achieved in our socialist revolution and construction and strengthened the revolutionary power of the workers and peasants still more, and came to have a new mighty weapon in the campaign for the complete victory of socialism and the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

On this New Year's Day, I extend warm greetings to all comrades who attended the historic First Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly, including the deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly who, with the unanimous support of the entire electorate, have been elected as representatives of the people.

In 1972 we attained great success in the building of the socialist economy and culture.

Last year the working class and all other segments of the working people worked hard for the successful fulfilment of the three major tasks of the technical revolution, and performed splendid feats of labour in all fields of the national economy. Many branches of the national economy achieved the admirable result of surpassing the production level envisaged for the end of the Six-Year Plan, and a large number of factories and enterprises overfulfilled the three years' targets of the Six-Year Plan.

Last year in the domain of education a start was made on the full-scale introduction of ten-year compulsory senior middle-school education, and a firm foundation for the creation of a million-strong army of intellectuals was laid through a sharp increase of factory colleges and various other higher institutions of learning.

Last year our scientists commemorated the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Sciences with the brilliant success they achieved in scientific research. The Party Central Committee has a high opinion of the scientists, who have worked devotedly in accordance with the Party's policy of developing our sciences along Juche-motivated lines and thus scored good results in their researches which are of great importance in socialist economic construction and the country's scientific and technological progress.

Last year our cinema workers and other Red writers and artists produced many revolutionary militant works of literature and art. In this way, they demonstrated to the whole world the vitality of our socialist literature and art which is blossoming and developing gloriously under the leadership of the Party, and made a great contribution to the revolutionization and working-classization of our working people. The Party Central Committee is satisfied with the brilliant achievements made by our writers and artists.

The men and officers of the People's Army and the People's Security Forces stood firm at their posts to defend the security of the country and the people resolutely, and the Worker-Peasant Red Guardsmen and the Young Red Guardsmen also carried out their revolutionary tasks with credit. Through the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army last year, we demonstrated to the whole world the indestructible might of our revolutionary armed forces with the People's Army at the core.

Great strides were also made in the battle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country last year. Thanks to the persistent efforts of our Party and the Government of the Republic, an historic North-South Joint Statement was published last July, the keynote being the three principles— independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. In accordance with the agreements in this statement, the North-South Coordination Commission has been established. Since the announcement of the joint statement the north-south Red Cross talks have made good progress. As a result, bright new prospects have been opened up before our people in their struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. This is a great victory of our Party's policy of independent, peaceful reunification which is based on the Juche idea, and it is striking proof of its correctness and unflinching vitality.

All these brilliant successes we achieved in the revolution and construction last year are the fruit of the heroic labours the working class and all other sections of the people, closely united around the Party Central Committee, carried out with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and creative activity.

Greeting the New Year, I extend warm thanks and hearty congratulations to our heroic working class, cooperative farmers, working intellectuals, men and officers of the People's Army and the People's Security Forces, the public security personnel, Worker-Peasant Red Guardsmen and Young Red Guardsmen who, upholding the Party's lines and policies, carried out their revolutionary tasks with honour.

I also extend my New Year greetings to all the people in south Korea who fought valiantly for the democratization of south Korean society and the independent, peaceful reunification of the country last year.

Last year the Korean nationals in Japan under the guidance of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) were at great pains to defend their democratic, national rights and accelerate the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. On this New Year's Day, I extend warm congratulations and greetings to all the officials of Chongryon and the 600,000 Korean nationals in Japan and to all other Koreans abroad.

Thanks to the vigorous activities of our Party and the Government of the Republic in their external relations, the international solidarity of our revolution was further strengthened last year. Greeting the New Year 1973, I, on behalf of all the Korean people, extend warm congratulations and greetings to the people of the socialist and many other countries of the world who support and encourage our people in their exertions for socialist construction and the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

Comrades,

The year of 1973 is the halfway point in the achievement of the Six-Year Plan. This year all Party members and other working people must accomplish another great revolutionary improvement in all domains of the national economy in accordance with the programmed tasks set forth at the First Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly, and thus achieve a decisive victory in the task of fulfilling the Six-Year Plan.

This year we shall work effectively to develop all domains of the national economy quickly as envisaged in the state plan and, in

particular, make great efforts to advance the mining industry, the first process of production.

In the mining industry we must introduce mechanization and comprehensive mechanization in pit work in the existing coal and ore mines in order to increase production. On the other hand, we must obtain sufficient reserves of deposits and develop new coal and ore mines extensively. To do this, we have to increase geological survey work.

The engineering industry and many other branches of the national economy should produce sufficient heavy machines and various kinds of equipment and materials for the mechanization of coal and ore mines and the development of new ones.

This year in the work of construction, we must fulfil a huge task of building large, modern metallurgical centres and large aggregate chemical industrial centres which are of great importance in increasing the independence of our industry and improving the people's living standards. In capital construction, by carrying through the Party's policy of concentrated construction, we must concentrate our efforts on the early completion of the steel and rolling shops at the Kim Chaek Iron Works and of the Sungni Chemical Works which are now under construction, as well as on the creation of a giant chemical plant in the western region. At the same time, we must energetically accelerate the construction of the Sodusu Power Station and Pukchang Thermal Power Plant so that they will be completed soon.

One of our main tasks this year is to increase the quantity and variety of consumer goods and improve their quality radically. In light industry this year we must work hard for the modernization of the textile, clothing, footwear, daily-necessities and food industries, and thereby produce larger quantities of high-quality consumer goods for the people and surpass the production level envisaged for the end of the Six-Year Plan.

As regards transport, we must reinforce its material and technological foundations and improve its organization in order to meet the growing demand for transport fully. Especially in railway transport, determined efforts must be made to establish revolutionary

discipline and order and expand transport and traffic capacities.

We must accelerate the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture, as well as using chemicals on a wider scale to increase agricultural production sharply. The experience of last year clearly proves that the Party's policy of rapidly developing agriculture in the intermediate areas is entirely correct. This year we must supply them with more tractors, lorries and other modern farm machines, and more chemical fertilizers and other agricultural chemicals, so as to effect an innovation in farming in these areas. We must also improve the management and operation of cooperative farms as demanded by the new system of agricultural guidance and, in particular, organize manpower properly and concentrate it on agricultural production without dispersing it.

The extensive application of the latest achievements of science and technology in production is an important task to introduce mechanization and semi- and full-scale automation in the different branches of the national economy and thereby increase production speedily and deliver our working people from arduous labour. Scientists and technicians must strive to raise all our sciences and techniques to the world level, and at the same time, boldly apply the results of scientific researches to production.

In order to bring about a further improvement in socialist construction and carry out our tasks successfully this year, we must improve the role of state bodies. All state bodies must quickly change their work system and perform their functions satisfactorily, as stipulated in the Socialist Constitution.

We have recently taken a new step to merge some central executive bodies which had been subdivided too much. This is an important measure to eliminate departmentalism and regionalism in the work of state and economic institutions and to guarantee coordinated leadership in production. Departmentalism and regionalism are incorrect ideological opinions which place the interests of one's own organization and one's own region above the national interest as a whole; they are harmful work methods which greatly impede socialist

construction. All state and economic officials must put an end to departmentalism and regionalism. They must always pay particular attention to the general work of the state and ensure that their quotas of cooperative production are carried out without fail.

Success in all work largely depends on the efforts of cadres, the commanding personnel of the revolution. Experience shows that innovations and miracles are wrought where leading officials fight bravely, standing in the van of the masses and setting practical examples to them, and that work goes ahead slowly where they do not do so.

This year all senior officials must stand in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle and construction, organize and guide the masses skilfully, and set an example to them through their own selfless endeavours. In particular, senior officials must work hard to eliminate bureaucratism and subjectivism in their work. They must always visit shop floors, obtain a complete understanding of the desires of the producer masses and of the actual conditions at lower units, working and living with the workers and farmers, before they give guidance to any work. They must give priority to political work and actively bring out the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative talents of the masses.

The most important revolutionary task facing us is to intensify the ideological revolution and revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society. We must never ignore the ideological revolution, content with our success in the building of socialism. With the successful progress of socialist construction and with the rapid improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the people, we must intensify the ideological revolution all the more and thoroughly revolutionize and working-classize all the working people.

We must continue to intensify the education of the working people in Party policies and the revolutionary traditions to arm them firmly with Marxist-Leninist ideology, our Party's Juche idea, so that they all become true Red soldiers of the Party, communist revolutionaries who fight devotedly for the Party and the revolution.

This year, too, we should thoroughly implement the Party's military line, the main content of which is to turn the entire army into an army of

cadres, modernize it from top to bottom, arm all the people and fortify the whole country, and increase the nation's defence capabilities.

This year the organizations of Chongryon and Korean nationals in Japan, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea, should work continuously and spiritedly to defend their democratic, national rights and hasten the independent, peaceful reunification of the homeland, to strengthen international solidarity with the Japanese people and other peoples of the world. The Korean nationals in Japan must completely smash all the divisive and subversive activities of the reactionaries, build the Chongryon organizations more solidly and keep up their work, helping and leading each other forward, rallied closely around Chongryon.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic will this year, too, strengthen militant solidarity with the international revolutionary forces and develop friendship and cooperation with all the peoples of the world so as to turn the international situation still more favourably to our people's revolutionary cause. We shall also fight resolutely to check and frustrate the imperialists' policies of aggression and war and safeguard peace in Asia and the world, under the unfurled revolutionary banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

Comrades,

The revolutionary tasks facing us this year are immense and very difficult. All the working people must valiantly overcome all difficulties and obstacles and bring about a new, great revolutionary turn in socialist construction by giving fuller scope to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and thus make the year 1973 a decisive year in the carrying out of the Six-Year Plan.

Our efforts are fruitful and our prospects are bright. Only victory and glory are in store for our people who are advancing under the wise leadership of our Party.

Let us all unite rock-firm around the Party Central Committee and march forward dynamically to fulfil the Six-Year Plan ahead of schedule and achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country and the complete victory of socialism.

## **FOR A GREAT CHANGE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION**

**Speech at a Consultative Meeting of the Officials  
in Charge of Agriculture from South Hwanghae Province,  
Pyongyang, and North and South Phyongan Provinces**

*January 17, 22 to 24, 1973*

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I should like first to offer New Year greetings to all the agricultural workers who are fighting on the agricultural front in support of the Party's agrarian policy and to the officials in charge of agriculture who are attending this meeting.

The Party originally planned to hold a national conference of the workteam leaders and managerial workers of the cooperative farms in mid-February. But meeting then might interfere with this year's farming, so we changed the plan and decided to meet earlier on a regional basis. That is why we have first convened this consultative meeting of the officials in charge of agriculture from South Hwanghae Province, Pyongyang, and North and South Phyongan Provinces.

As you all know, farming results in our country last year were not good. Agriculture in our country was most successful in 1968. In that year, as a result of the success in farming, the farmers were provided with sufficient food, and the nation's economic life went smoothly. In that year, we supplied 300 to 400 kilogrammes of food grain per head of the farming population, and placed a great deal of food in reserve. In addition, we stored an adequate amount of animal feed and were able

to produce a large amount of meat the following year. But since 1969 grain production has not increased quickly.

It is a serious matter that agricultural production is not increasing rapidly. At present, our population is growing by hundreds of thousands every year. This is due to the rise in the birth rate and the continued drop in mortality, which is a result of the people-oriented policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic. Growth of the population should be accompanied by as speedy an increase in agricultural production, but at present the latter is failing to keep pace in our country.

Since farm production has not increased rapidly in recent years, the Party Central Committee has held many debates on the agricultural question and also given the workers in this field a good dressing-down. But the shortcomings in the agricultural sector have scarcely been rectified and farm production is making little progress. So, we decided to discover the real state of affairs in agriculture and ascertain what was obstructing its development and, at the same time, to take revolutionary steps to boost farm production.

For this purpose, we have, since the beginning of this year, toured North and South Phyongan Provinces, the City of Pyongyang and North and South Hwanghae Provinces to guide the work of their cooperative farms on the spot. In the process of on-the-spot guidance, we formed a clear idea on what the principal shortcoming in rural work is and what the main cause of the slow development of agricultural production is.

We talked to rural workers and some of them said that the fundamental reason for the poor showing on farms in recent years lay in the diversion of many work hands from the country areas. They are mistaken. It is true that, after the *Pueblo* incident in 1968, a considerable number of rural youths were taken to the People's Army to build up the country's defence power. But this was by no means the main cause of poor crops in recent years. Compared with other nations with a developed agriculture, our country still has a large agricultural population. In advanced countries, the farming population only

accounts for either 20-30 per cent or 15 per cent of the total population or thereabouts. Our figures are much higher. In South Hwanghae Province, in particular, those engaged in farming make up the vast majority of the population.

Some rural workers attribute the poor crops in recent years to bad weather. They are also wrong. They say that in 1968 a good grain harvest was reaped because the weather was dry and the sunshine lasted for a long time, whereas in the following years the short period of sunshine was responsible for a small harvest. Of course, the weather has a bearing on the grain yield, but it can never be said that a long period of sunshine always results in a good harvest and that short hours of sunshine mean a poor harvest.

Even when the sunny hours are short, very good crops can be grown. The facts are eloquent proof of this. Last year our country had bad weather, but some cooperative farms grew splendid crops. I visited the Samsong Cooperative Farm in Junghwa County, where, last year, two crops were planted in the dry fields, so that 8.7 tons of grain were produced per hectare. They said that wheat was sown as the first crop to reap six tons per hectare and dwarf millet was planted as the second crop to harvest 2.7 tons. Many instances of high yield were also furnished elsewhere last year. At Ripsok-ri, Mundok County, South Phyongan Province, 6.2 tons of rice were produced per hectare and at Tongsa-ri of the same county—6.5 tons. The Migok Cooperative Farm in Pongsan County in North Hwanghae Province produced 5.8 tons of rice per hectare. On the sideline stock farm of the Administration Council in Junghwa County two crops were grown on the dry fields to gain a high yield of 10.1 tons per hectare. On this farm wheat was sown as the first crop to yield 5.1 tons per hectare and maize as the second crop to harvest five tons. On the sideline farm of the Administration Council in Sunan, six tons of maize was harvested per hectare as the first crop and 100 tons of vegetables as the second crop. These examples clearly show that the weather does not decide the issue of farming.

Let me take the examples of other countries. As is known to those who have studied the geography of the world, the Netherlands and

England have only a few bright and clean days in a year, the weather being cloudy, rainy or foggy at all times. Norway has the worst weather conditions for farming. Nevertheless, a good showing is made in crop farming in these countries every year. I have heard that they harvest over four tons of wheat per hectare and 25-40 tons of potatoes. Therefore, our rural workers are quite wrong when they ascribe the poor crops to short hours of sunshine.

What, then, is the principal cause of the poor showing in farming in the past few years?

Above all, it is the failure of the Party organizations at various levels to carry out ideological education properly amongst rural officials and farmers.

As we frequently say, the building of socialism and communism requires a vigorous promotion of the struggle for capturing both the material and ideological fortresses. Without strong efforts to take the ideological fortress, it is impossible to capture the material fortress successfully, and one may even spoil the successes already achieved in economic construction. This is why we defined in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* that it was a task of top priority in the building of the socialist countryside to keep the ideological revolution ahead of everything else.

In recent years, however, Party organizations at different levels have done a bad job of pushing forward the ideological revolution in the rural areas. The Organizational Leadership, Information and Publicity and Agricultural Departments of the Party Central Committee have failed to organize the ideological education of the agricultural cadres and farmers properly, and the local Party and working people's organizations have also made poor work of it.

The first priority in the ideological education of the rural cadres and farmers is to rid them of the remnants of capitalist thoughts including selfishness and equip them all with communist ideology and, above all, to educate them in the spirit of industry. In order to rid them of the last vestiges of their mistaken ideas such as of hating to work and caring only for their own well-being, their education and ideological struggle

should be increased. But in the past the Party organizations have dealt with this work very perfunctorily. Under the guidance of the higher Party organizations, meetings were held to review the implementation of the Chongsanri teachings in the rural areas every year, but these meetings proceeded in a casual manner, without an exhaustive ideological struggle. Party meetings in the rural areas including the meetings of Party cells were more often than not conducted inefficiently. Moreover, the meetings ended by being only meetings, and the Party organizations did not carry on the ideological education of rural workers and farmers tirelessly as a day-to-day task.

That rural ideological education work has been in a bad way in the past is due also to the lack of the necessary conditions. In order to raise the ideological level of rural officials and farmers, it is essential to hold the necessary meetings and organize many study sessions on the farms. But in summer when the farmers are busy, it is impossible to have many meetings and study sessions. They should be held often in winter, but at present the farmers have little time for that. In winter they should not only make various preparations for the next farming season, spreading soil on the fields and carrying out manure, but also weave straw ropes, make straw bales, transport the state-purchased grain, and do many other things. The farmers are burdened with many tasks, and so they have no time to study in winter and even meetings cannot be held properly in the rural areas.

Party organizations' failure in the past to carry out ideological education properly in the country areas is now yielding bitter fruit in the work of rural officials. It is most obvious in the fact that the rural cadres loaf on the job without conscientiously participating in productive labour at the head of the farmers and seek to get many work-points while doing little work. It is now a common practice for the chairmen, chief engineers and other managerial personnel of cooperative farms to take no active part in farm work. Farmers say in their conversations with us that the managing staff of cooperative farms do work a little in the rice transplanting season, but even then, they often go away elsewhere on some pretext after doing field work

for a couple of hours. They also say that these people scarcely work but only stand around in the weeding season. Not only the managing staff of farms but also the secretaries of Party cells and ri Party committees and the workers of primary working people's organizations seldom join in farm work. In the first place, the cooperative farm management board chairman is under an obligation to contribute more than 80 days of productive labour annually, and the workers of primary Party and working people's organizations are also supposed to do productive labour. Nevertheless, at present few rural cadres participate in productive labour as they should.

The rural cadres' aversion to farm work is alien to the revolutionary working spirit. One of the most important features of the revolutionary working spirit is to stand at the head of the masses in difficult and arduous work. In the past the commanding officers of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army used to charge the enemy at the head of their men during an attack and to bring up the rear in retreat, covering their men's withdrawal. No matter how difficult the conditions and circumstances, they taught their men through their practical example and led the fight to victory. Herein lay an important factor of victory which our revolutionary army was always able to secure over the mighty enemy force in firm unity. And herein lies the feature of the revolutionary army entirely different from the imperialist aggressor army or colonial mercenaries. Unlike the situation in the revolutionary army, officers in the imperialist aggressor army and colonial mercenary troops remain in the rear and drive their men forward during an assault and take to flight first in a retreat. So, it is obvious that such an army cannot be united nor can it possess great fighting power.

Our rural cadres should emulate the revolutionary work style of the commanding officers of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army and be models for the farmers in difficult and arduous jobs. But in the past they have failed to do so. The managerial personnel of cooperative farms and the officials of primary Party committees and working people's organizations are ready to obtain many work-points while hating to work.

Cooperative farm management board chairmen, workteam leaders, junior workers of Party and working people's organizations are all our Party's rural hard core. So they should carry on work with people while engaging in farm work, and they may earn smaller work-points than others on account of their work with people. When their work-points are small, the farmers can propose giving them more work-points in return for their work with people. But it will not do for our Party's rural hard core to receive more work-points than they have earned. Work with people is Party work and revolutionary work, and it is wrong to measure revolutionary work in terms of a few work-points. If farmers suggest giving more work-points to rural cadres when the latter have failed to earn many work-points because of work with people, they should not accept them but say, "Thank you for your kindness. But how can I accept more work-points without working to earn them? If I do so, it will be an infringement of the Cooperative Farm Rules. I have done political work because it is my duty. Since I have contributed less to farm work than others, it is logical to receive fewer work-points. I therefore do not accept more work-points." This is the way they should behave as members and the rural hard core of our Party. But our rural workers are now sadly devoid of this quality.

In the rural areas dislike for work is manifested not only amongst the cadres but also amongst ordinary farmers. Some cooperative farmers do not show a proprietary attitude in the work of their farms and only care for easy jobs, shirking difficult tasks on one pretext or another. They harbour a false idea that "I do not care what may happen after I have earned enough to support myself."

This is because they retain capitalist thoughts in their minds and are lacking in revolutionary consciousness as socialist farmers that the rural cadres fail to act as pioneers in farm work and the cooperative farmers shirk burdensome tasks. Today, our farmers have a very important duty to fulfil in the building of socialism. They are entrusted with the heavy task of producing grain, vegetables, fruit and meat in large quantities to feed all the people including the workers. Our agricultural workers are not simple farmers but honourable

revolutionary soldiers engaged in the building of socialism and communism in the countryside. But some rural cadres and farmers lack this consciousness. This is why they show a tendency unworthy of masters to be slipshod either in farm work or in the management of the cooperative farms. In the event, this is chiefly due to the unsatisfactory ideological education of the rural cadres and farmers, and the Party and working people's organizations are to blame for it.

Another reason for poor crops in recent years is that the state has failed to provide enough materials and technical requirements for agricultural production.

As everybody knows, the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* set the technical revolution in the rural areas as one of the fundamental tasks of socialist rural construction and clearly laid down that the state should produce and supply sufficient material means for the rural technical revolution. The theses on the rural question is the programme of our Party and state for socialist rural construction which was discussed and adopted at a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee and a session of the Supreme People's Assembly. All state bodies and cadres, all Party members and other working people are in duty bound to carry out the tasks set out in the theses.

Despite this, some senior government officials have so far failed to work hard for the implementation of the tasks put forward in the theses. Many of them thought of the theses as only a theory and did not accept it as a militant programme of the Party and the state, and so did not get down to carrying it into effect in a revolutionary manner. As a result, the tasks of technical revolution in the rural areas which were stipulated in the rural theses have not been carried out properly.

It is pointed out in the rural theses that enough tractors and up-to-date farm machines and chemical fertilizer should be supplied to the country areas to carry out the rural technical revolution, but none of these tasks has been performed well.

Let us first take the subject of tractors. At present the rural areas are short of tractors. Wherever I go in the provinces, the farmers unanimously ask for more tractors. In the farming districts not only is

the number of tractors low, but also many of the existing tractors are left standing idle because of the lack of trailer farm implements and machine parts. This has come about precisely because the state has failed to produce many tractors, trailer implements and tractor parts.

First of all, the State Planning Commission has done a bad job in the past. In working out a plan for the development of agriculture, its officials should naturally follow the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* on the principle of fulfilling the tasks specified in it. But so far they have adopted a low-key plan for tractor production on the pretext that steel was in short supply. Every time they did so, we criticized them at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and increased the figures in the plan. In this way the state plan was expected to produce large numbers of tractors every year. But steel was not supplied as required for the plan to be carried out, with the result that the production of tractors suffered.

Our present tractor production capacity is by no means small. If enough steel had been supplied to the tractor factory during the past few years and if the state had insisted on this, the production of tractors would have increased considerably and at least three tractors would now be available for each 100 hectares of fields. But, so far, no change has been made in tractor production because the Party organizations have failed to conduct organizational and political work properly and the state cadres have shown no revolutionary enthusiasm for the matter.

This can be said about the question of chemical fertilizer. In order to increase agricultural production rapidly, our Party has kept emphasizing the need to boost the production of chemical fertilizer in general and, at the same time, the need to improve the quality of its composition and, in particular, to produce and supply to the countryside large quantities of microelement fertilizer. But this problem remains unsolved.

Nitrogenous fertilizer alone will not help increase crop yields. The proper combination of three essential fertilizers is indispensable for increasing grain yields. The state should have insisted on the

production of phosphatic fertilizer, but it failed to do so. In consequence, the farms received insufficient quantities of it and so were unable to harvest as much grain as would have been possible.

The failure to produce enough microelement fertilizer is also a result of the lukewarm attitude on the part of our officials. Our land was placed under cultivation a long time ago and so is largely lacking in microelements. In order to improve the soil and increase grain yields, microelement fertilizers must be applied. In some countries the missing microelements are replenished by introducing the system of crop rotation, but our country does not allow us to use this system because it has a limited area of land. For us there is no better way than to produce and apply large quantities of microelement fertilizer. We discussed more than once and adopted relevant resolutions on the question of producing large quantities of microelement fertilizer at meetings of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet. But the resolutions remain as they are and little has been done.

If quantities of slaked lime are produced, at least, and applied to the fields, the land could be improved. But this is also neglected. Basically, a large part of our land is acidified and, moreover, because a great deal of ammonium sulphate is applied, the land is becoming more and more acid. Acid land weakens the effect of fertilizers. Slaked lime prevents land from becoming acid and increases the effect of fertilizers. It is not difficult to produce slaked lime. Its production is well within the power of cooperative farms themselves. Nevertheless, until now, few of them have made and applied a great deal of it to the fields. This is partly due to the neglect of the matter by the management staff of cooperative farms. But the biggest cause is that the state has not supplied enough coal for the production of slaked lime.

In the past senior government officials have been lax in the work of producing and supplying sufficient tractors, up-to-date farm machines and various chemical fertilizers to the rural areas as required by the rural theses, and this is because they retain the capitalist idea of despising the rural areas and are deficient in the revolutionary

determination to give effect to the rural theses.

The capitalist idea of neglecting the rural areas found in our officials is strikingly manifested in their tendency to cut state investment in the work of developing agriculture. If it were possible to increase agricultural production and build a civilized countryside without making state investment, it would doubtlessly be fine. But this is impossible. Without state investment, we cannot produce grain in great quantities nor eliminate the backwardness of the rural areas. But, at present our government officials seek to solve all problems at the expense of the farmers if possible without making state investment boldly for agricultural development.

For a long time we have stressed that the farmers should not be made to produce straw bales but that some other methods should be adopted to relieve them of this toilsome work. I have given instructions on many occasions that if no other method is available immediately, the farmers should be left to make straw bales for the time being, but large numbers of bale-making machines should be produced and supplied to ease their work. Nevertheless, our officials have so far initiated no positive steps to solve the question of straw bales and have produced no machine for the farmers.

Further, for the purpose of relieving the discomfort of the farmers, we instructed the officials concerned to ensure that the state supplied some 500,000 tons of coal to the country areas every year. But this instruction, too, is not being carried out properly. Since the state does not supply coal, the farmers now go to coal mines and cut coal for their own use. They not only cut coal for themselves but also fell trees to build their own houses. The state does not supply timber, but directions are given to build many houses in the country areas, and so the farmers have no alternative but to fell trees for themselves.

The farmers find it hard to raise crops alone, and, in addition, they have to do a wide variety of laborious jobs such as making straw bales, mining coal, and felling trees. Because the state burdens the farmers with such onerous loads without providing them with what it should, they cannot be freed from heavy work and, moreover, efforts cannot be

concentrated on farming at the cooperative farms. So, in the end, agricultural production cannot increase rapidly.

Yet another reason for poor crops in recent years is that the cadres have guided agricultural work in a bureaucratic, subjective and perfunctory manner.

At present, bureaucracy, subjectivism and perfunctoriness are obvious amongst the cadres in charge of agriculture. Not only administrative and economic officials but also Party workers guide agricultural work in a bureaucratic, subjective and perfunctory way. This is a serious matter.

As we often say, after the working-class party comes to power, the officials are apt to show shortcomings in the style and method of their work, which is to contravene the mass line and behave bureaucratically. When the communists are engaged in clandestine activities to seize power, they seldom act in violation of the mass line and employ bureaucratic ways. In order to carry on revolutionary activities before seizing power, the revolutionary workers should go among the masses and rely on them in work. If they do not do this, they will, first of all, be unable to protect themselves from the enemy and even to get meals anywhere. Therefore, while they are engaged in underground work, they all go deep among the masses and become one and share life and death, joy and sorrow with them. In the country areas, they mix with the peasants and act in concert with them; in the towns, they make friends with the workers and cast in their lot with them; and when they go to schools, they become intimate with the students and teachers and act in unison with them. When they are engaged in an underground struggle, the revolutionary workers have faith in their comrades and the masses and love and take good care of them.

After the seizure of power by the working-class party, even if the cadres do not go among the masses but administer their work in a bureaucratic and subjective way, there is no situation in which they are arrested or have to skip their meals as in the days of underground activities. So the officials are liable to become bureaucratic and offend

against the mass line. In particular, our cadres today are mostly people who joined our Party and were educated and trained after its foundation after the country's liberation, and so they have no experience of underground activities and have no clear idea what to do to carry out the mass line and have no firsthand knowledge of how harmful the violation of this line is. This is why, once they are appointed cadres of Party organizations or administrative or economic bodies, they consider themselves important dignitaries as in the official hierarchy of the old days and largely adopt bureaucratic ways, giving themselves airs, without mixing with the masses and respecting their opinions.

In past years we have made unremitting efforts to prevent the officials from becoming bureaucratic. Last year alone, we many times stressed the need to break away from the bureaucratic ways at the meetings of the Political Committee and the department directors of the Party Central Committee and at the general meetings of the Party Central Committee headquarters. In order to abolish the bureaucratic practices of the workers of the administrative bodies, the newly-adopted Socialist Constitution stipulates that the people's committee and the administrative body are separated and that the people's committee composed of representatives of the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals will always supervise and control the activities of the administrative bodies.

Until now, we have waged a tireless battle to prevent the cadres from becoming bureaucrats, but they are not yet free from bureaucratic, subjective and perfunctory methods of work, which are causing great harm to the revolution and construction work.

We have recently reviewed agricultural work as a whole, and a principal cause of poor crops in our country last year is precisely that the cadres who became bureaucrats did not provide the necessary conditions for agricultural production but imposed many unwanted tasks on the farmers.

One of the important questions in increasing grain yields is to plant varieties which are suited to the natural and geographic features of a

given area on the principle of the right crop on the right soil. Therefore, the cadres should decide on the varieties to be planted at the cooperative farms after discussing the matter widely with the farmers. But in the past the agricultural cadres thoughtlessly instructed the lower units to plant different varieties without finding out in detail the specific features of these varieties and the natural and geographical conditions of the relevant area. These instructions were issued by either the provincial or the county organizations. Since the varieties of crops to be planted were named by the upper units, the farmers did as they were told against their better judgement. This prevented the increased production of grain.

The main reason for the failure to increase grain production in North Phyongan Province is that the farmers were ordered to plant a late-ripening variety of rice which requires the application of a large amount of fertilizer. If one wants the farmers to plant a variety which needs so much fertilizer, one should supply them with sufficient fertilizer, and if this is impossible, one should make them plant a variety which requires only a small amount of fertilizer. Nevertheless, the cadres of this province forced the farmers to plant a variety of rice which requires a large amount of fertilizer when they were unable to supply enough of it. We have recently visited North Phyongan Province and had discussions with workteam and sub-workteam leaders of cooperative farms; they all criticized the cadres. They said that last year the cadres of the province and counties instructed them to plant a variety which needs a large amount of fertilizer, of which they promised to supply large quantities, and so they planted it. But sufficient fertilizer was not supplied, so that the crops were not successful. This is probably not limited to North Phyongan Province, but seems to be something which is common to all the other provinces.

Because agricultural cadres gave instructions to plant varieties incompatible with the natural and geographical characteristics of the given area last year, in violation of Party policy, the crops even suffered damage from storms in some regions. At one time our country would often suffer storm damage, so I emphasized many times that

low-growing crops should be planted in the areas susceptible to storms, and even sent out suitable directives. Agricultural cadres did as they were told for some time, but again made the farmers plant long-stemmed maize because there had been no storm for a few years. As a result, last year many counties suffered storm damage and the yield of maize dropped.

Because some cadres forced the cooperative farms to carry out the decision of the Party to complete the bedding out of rice seedlings before May 25 without taking into account the actual situation on the farms, they actually hindered the production of rice. When we said that the bedding out of rice seedlings should be completed by May 25, we meant that well-grown rice seedlings should be transplanted before that date, but not that immature seedlings should be bedded out. Nevertheless, in some places, the cadres insisted that the bedding out of young rice plants should be completed unconditionally before May 25 and ordered the farmers to transplant immature rice seedlings. In consequence, some cooperative farms were unable to increase the rice yield because they bedded out rice plants before they were old enough.

In South Hwanghae Province, the officials did their work in a bureaucratic and subjective manner, with the inexcusable result that thousands of hectares of paddies which had been painstakingly cultivated by the farmers were flooded. The reservoirs had been needlessly filled with water which had to be let out in the rainy season, so that all the paddies in the vicinity were inundated and the rice harvest was insignificant. Why should they keep the reservoirs filled with water when they did not know whether there would be little or heavy rain? It is obvious that if reservoirs hold too much water beforehand, there will be floods in the rainy season, isn't it? The natural purpose of reservoirs is to prevent floods in the wet season. However, the officials have done their work in such a careless manner that the reservoirs have caused damage instead.

It is nearly ten years since we identified the task of avoiding the damage caused by standing water, but the matter has not yet been solved completely, which is detrimental to farming. The subject of

minimizing the damage of standing water was advanced by us for the first time in 1966 when we visited South Hwanghae Province, and works for draining standing water were started in that province. Yet, I am told that the province is still suffering from damage by standing water. I cannot understand what the rural economy committee of the province is doing. If the works for draining standing water have not yet been completed, something like a rural construction station should be established in the province, which should get supplies of the necessary equipment and materials and complete the projects.

Our officials still have a tendency of neglecting the tasks put forward by the Party and of carrying them out carelessly. This will not do. It will not be hard to create a society where the working people who make up the vast majority of the population are poor and only a handful of people are rich, but it is not an easy job to build a socialist-communist society where all are equally prosperous. Therefore, all our workers should always work in a way befitting revolutionaries to carry out the tasks advanced by the Party, tackling them stubbornly with a high sense of responsibility.

On this occasion we have visited the Haeju Trailer Farm Machine Factory and there, too, we sensed once again that bureaucratism is apparent in the work of the agricultural cadres. That factory was built immediately after the armistice. The senior officials and workers of this factory are all good comrades. Agricultural cadres, however, instructed this factory to make innumerable kinds of farm machines which are seldom used in the country areas without even knowing the actual state of affairs. Thus, hundreds of maize planters, chemical sprayers and the like were produced, although they are used in only a few places. In this way a large quantity of steel is being wasted by giving instructions to make many farm machines which are not widely used. If a large number of tractor-operated trailers had been manufactured with the steel and sent to farms, they would have made a great contribution to relieving the hard toil of the farmers and to increasing grain production.

Not only the cadres of state and economic bodies, but also the

management personnel of cooperative farms and workers of primary Party and working people's organizations have become bureaucratic to a large degree. As I have already pointed out, work-shyness and the failure to set a good example in farm work are now in evidence among management personnel, and this is proof that they have become bureaucratic. I am told that when the farmers are engaged in laborious operations like weeding, some cooperative farm management board chairmen absent themselves on the plea of illness or go away with a briefcase under their arm on the pretext of obtaining materials. This is a gross manifestation of bureaucratism. The cooperative farm management board chairman is not on any account supposed to go looking for materials. He should work for agricultural production with the farmers. When likened to the army, he is no less than the battalion or company commander. In the army the battalion or company commander will never tell his men to fight on their own and go off somewhere else in the thick of a battle because he has an errand to do. If some materials have to be fetched from somewhere, a People's Army commander will send a frail soldier to transport them, saying, "I'll fight on here, so you must go and fetch such and such things." The cooperative farm management board chairmen should also act in this way. They should only go to the county seat to settle their business and procure what is needed after finishing arduous jobs like the transplanting of rice seedlings, weeding and harvesting.

The main reason for bureaucratism, subjectivism and perfunctoriness which can be flagrantly seen in the work of the agricultural cadres at present is that the Party organizations and Party workers themselves neglect work with people and lapse into administrative methods in their work.

When officials of administrative and economic bodies conduct their work in a bureaucratic, subjective and perfunctory manner, Party organizations and Party workers at all levels should wage a resolute ideological struggle against them and educate them properly to prevent them from becoming bureaucratic. But they do not do so. Instead of combatting the outdated work methods of administrative and

economic officials, the Party workers tend rather to ride with them and adopt their bureaucratic and subjective ways and their perfunctory practices.

Take the matter of the complaint lodged from South Hwanghae Province. This example alone is enough to show how terrible the bureaucratic practices of the Party Central Committee and provincial and county Party committees are at present. The farmers were so annoyed at the meagre supply of materials needed for farming that they filed a written complaint with the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee. The Party organizations concerned took them to task for lodging a complaint rather than investigating the facts in detail and settling the matter for them. This is a shocking case of bureaucratism. The local Party organizations should conduct their work adroitly to solve all problems promptly in the rural areas, but they do not do so. The farmers, therefore, do not have anywhere to turn but to the Party Central Committee, do they? This fact alone tells us that at present the workers of the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee and provincial Party committees have become terribly bureaucratic.

Because the cadres work bureaucratically without listening to the opinions of the masses, the farmers refuse to open up their minds to them and refrain from airing their views. Then, when we go out to the country, they stand up one after another and express their opinions, repeating what others have already stated, so as to get us to settle even trivial matters for them. It is bad that things should happen like this.

If time allows, I think it will be a good idea to prolong this meeting into a short training course. If it only continues for about ten days, problems of every sort and kind will emerge and we shall be able to find out in detail the cadres' practices of transgressing the Party's mass line in guiding agricultural work and to find better remedies for them. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, too, we always paid particular attention to ensuring that the commanding officers did not violate the mass line. In those days we went to all regiments in turn and joined the soldiers in actions, spending a winter with this regiment and

the next winter—another regiment. Joining the men on the march and eating and sleeping with them, we studied at first hand how much the commanding officers prized and loved their men and how they administered their units and, on this basis, instructed them.

But at present we have no time to do so or to hold lengthy meetings because we attend to all the Party and state affairs and so have many tasks on hand. Although we are pressed for time, we intend to make time to hold as many similar consultative meetings as possible in the future.

As we always say, Party work is nothing less than work with people. If all Party workers, including the personnel of the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee, had gone out to the lower units and conducted work with people skilfully as required by the Party in the past, such serious shortcomings as pointed out today would not have appeared among the administrative and economic cadres and cooperative farm management staff, and even if some people had revealed defects, they would have been corrected without delay. If Party organizations and Party workers do not skilfully carry on work with people nor guide and control organizational life properly, it is the rule that people, no matter who they might be, will degenerate and fall ill ideologically and turn bureaucratic.

Party workers are supposed to conduct work with people. A Party worker who is efficient in carrying on work with people is a genuine Party worker. Only when Party workers execute work with people properly will it be possible to make the administrative and economic officials truly faithful workers who abide strictly by our Party's mass line. If Party workers neglect work with people and use administrative methods in their activities, the administrative and economic officials will tackle their work in a bureaucratic, subjective and perfunctory way, and this will render it impossible for our Party to be militant and mighty and to push forward the revolutionary struggle and construction work efficiently.

An analysis of the reason why the management personnel of cooperative farms failed to set a good example in farm work in the past

shows that it was largely due to the fact that the officials of the county Party and cooperative farm management committees lapsed into bureaucratic ways themselves and provided no conditions for the cooperative farm management personnel to concentrate on farm work. Even now, the county Party and cooperative farm management committees summon the ri Party secretaries and cooperative farm managing staff including the chairmen time and again during the busy farming seasons such as transplanting rice seedlings, weeding and harvesting. This method of working is flagrantly wrong. If the chief secretary of the county Party committee or the chairman of the county cooperative farm management committee has something to discuss with the managing staff of a cooperative farm, he should go and meet them at the site of their work rather than calling them to the county seat. When the ri Party secretary and cooperative farm management board chairman are working hard tackling a difficult task, the chief secretary of the county Party committee and the chairman of the county cooperative farm management committee should also go to the spot in work clothes and discuss work with them while bedding out young rice plants or weeding the fields with them. This will be both salutary and encouraging to them. But since the chief secretary of the county Party committee and the chairman of the county cooperative farm management committee send for the lower-level personnel time after time during the busy farming season, it is obvious that this cannot be instructive to the people at the lower level and will interfere with the farm work.

Still another reason for poor crops in the past few years is that the rural work force was dispersed and efforts were not concentrated on farm work.

When we gave guidance to the Chongsan Cooperative Farm in 1960, we defined it as the most important subject in the management of agriculture to concentrate all forces on farm work without dispersing labour. But in recent years it has become quite common practice to waste and disperse rural manpower without concentrating on farm work.

At present, some rural officials complain piteously about the shortage of work hands, but the fact is that the rural areas are not short of hands but that the existing manpower is wasted and dispersed on jobs which have nothing to do with farming. When we visit the farming areas, we find that on almost all cooperative farms, a large number of young and middle-aged people are diverted to other tasks such as hewing coal and felling trees. And in the summer which is the busiest season, a considerable number of youths go away from farm work to attend correspondence course classes. Although it is prohibited to call meetings in the country areas between May and the end of August, the county authorities act against this injunction and summon many rural workers for various meetings and short courses in summer. Because the county authorities call up many rural workers and, to add to this, the rural workers themselves are work-shy, almost all of those who occupy responsible positions in the rural areas are walking about with briefcases under their arms for meetings, short courses and what not in the busy farming season.

According to the farmers, in the rice-transplanting season few people are allocated to other jobs and large numbers of helpers arrive, the country bustles with activity, but once the transplantation of young rice plants is over, silence reigns over the scene. They also say that in the weeding season nearly all the men go away to attend meetings, short training courses, and correspondence course classes, and to transport coal and timber and such like, and so only women go out and weed the fields. This being the situation, weeds are left to spread, to the detriment of grain production.

The reason for the excessive dispersal of rural manpower like this is, for one thing, that work is not meticulously organized on the cooperative farms and, for another, that the higher organs bureaucratically and forcibly issue orders for a large part of the rural labour to be mobilized for other work.

In the country areas nowadays it is not only the work force which is dispersed, but even tractors are often used for other tasks and are not employed effectively in farm work. Originally, tractors were allocated

to the cooperative farms to be used for farm work. But at present the transportation of everything—coal, timber, commodities and so on—is done by tractors on the cooperative farms. Not only that, the county offices forcibly mobilize them for various purposes from time to time. In order to grow good crops on the cooperative farms, tractors should not be used often in winter but kept in good repair and used effectively in the farming season. But because tractors are mobilized and overworked in operations which have nothing to do with farming in winter, they often go out of order and have to be left to stand idle in the farming season.

While we were giving guidance in Jaeryong County, South Hwanghae Province, a long time ago, we advanced the task of thoroughly establishing the system of bedding out young rice plants after ploughing the paddy fields three times every year by making good use of tractors. In the course of conversation with tractor drivers in that county at the time, we learned that the establishment of the system of ploughing the soil three times is an important way of increasing grain production. If you plough the paddy fields in autumn and once more in spring using tractors and then harrow them and remove all the grass roots after draining off the water when the grass shoots come up in the flooded paddies, and then bed out the rice seedlings, there will be fewer weeds in the paddies and the rice yield will increase. But at present tractors on the cooperative farms are mobilized and overworked in other work all through the winter, and so there is no time to repair them, with the result that the paddy fields are not ploughed properly. Some cooperative farms flood the paddies which have been ploughed once during the previous autumn and harrow them before bedding out the rice seedlings, instead of ploughing them three times. So it is obvious that rice yields cannot be as high as they should be.

In addition, the fact that cooperative farms are not concentrating their forces on farming is manifested in various other forms.

If the cooperative farms had concentrated their work force and tractors on farming through proper organizational work instead of

diverting a great part of them to other purposes in recent years, agricultural production would have risen rapidly. If rural cadres and all farmers are united in working to grow crops more efficiently, concentrating all their resources on farm work, agricultural production will inevitably go up rapidly in spite of bad weather. The good crop harvested in 1968 was by no means due to good weather. It was due to the fact that all the rural cadres and farmers who displayed a high degree of enthusiasm to mark the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, applied sufficient manure, ploughed the fields and bedded out rice seedlings scrupulously in good time, removed the weeds thoroughly and carried out all other farm operations correctly. If you do not do all farm work efficiently at the right time to grow grain crops properly, fine autumn weather is of no use at all, no matter how good it might be.

Our experience shows that good crops do not, on any account, depend on the weather or other conditions, but largely on whether all the officials and working people in agriculture come out ideologically ready and work hard to increase farm production or not, and on whether the state fully provides various material conditions for the development of agriculture.

Since we have clearly identified the shortcomings in agricultural work, we can and must rectify them. From this year onwards we should boldly get rid of all the shortcomings I have mentioned and bring about a great change in agricultural production.

The decisive guarantee for increasing agricultural production lies in vigorous promotion of the technical revolution in the rural areas. To push ahead with the rural technical revolution is a task decided on at the Fifth Congress of our Party and so all Party members are in duty bound to work hard to carry it out. Party, state and economic officials who fail to work for the implementation of the tasks of the rural technical revolution decided on at the Party congress are not qualified to work at their posts.

But, in the past, some officials of state and economic bodies did not take positive measures to carry into effect the decision of the Party

Congress on pressing ahead with the rural technical revolution. The Cabinet remained unconcerned about the technical revolution in the country areas and therefore made little investment in this area and failed to give proper guidance in the production of tractors. As a result, the production of tractors did not rise as it should have done for years after the Party congress. We criticized these shortcomings sharply at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and ensured that more investments were made in the agricultural field and, above all, that resources were concentrated on the production of tractors which is the key to the rural technical revolution.

It is true that the poor showing in tractor production in the past is partly due to the inadequate supply of materials and incapable guidance by the state, but the principal reason is that the Party Committee of the Kiyang Tractor Plant, which is directly in charge of production, failed to work hard for the implementation of the revolutionary task assigned to it by the Party.

At present an innovation of manufacturing 800-1,000 tractors a month is being made at the Kiyang Tractor Plant, and their production is being increased to meet the goal of manufacturing 12,000 tractors this year. If we had maintained such a level of production for the past few years, we would have been able to supply more tractors to the country areas even without building a new plant.

But it is not yet too late. Of our total area under cultivation about 1.4 million hectares are suitable to be worked by tractors. Of the 12,000 tractors produced this year, if some 2,000 are allocated to industry, forestry and other branches and about 10,000 supplied to the farms, there will be more than 0.5 tractors per 100 hectares. Then, if the production capacity of the tractor factory is increased to the level of 20,000 units by May Day this year, one more tractor can be supplied per 100 hectares annually from next year. At this rate, the number of tractors per 100 hectares will reach five at the end of the Six-Year Plan.

Needless to say, it is not an easy task providing five tractors per 100 hectares of land. But if we choose to do this and buckle down to it, we can manage to accomplish it successfully. After raising the capacity of

the tractor factory to the level of 20,000 units by May Day this year, we intend to proceed to expand it to 30,000 units. At present the workers of the tractor factory are making every effort to supply the farms with more tractors. Cooperative farms will do well to organize work to encourage them in their production efforts. If the farmers write letters to the workers of the tractor factory each time they receive tractors to the effect that they are grateful for the supply of the machines, congratulate them on their success in work and say that they want to get more tractors for farm mechanization in the future, the workers will be stimulated to show greater enthusiasm in their work.

Five tractors for every 100 hectares of farmland do not mean the completion of the task of farm mechanization. Comprehensive farm mechanization requires at least 6-7 tractors per 100 hectares of land. For the attainment of this goal, great efforts will have to be made for some more years even after the fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan. We shall certainly accomplish this objective in the not too distant future.

It is our plan to allocate the tractors produced this year to the western region, which is a grain belt, first. The eastern region of our country produces less grain and has a small area of fields where tractors can operate, and so it can wait for tractors until next year. We intend to distribute tractors to the western region so that their number, including the existing ones, will total three per 100 hectares in the areas which produce abundant grain and 2.5 in the intermediate zones. When this has been done, almost every field team can have one tractor in the western region.

Since farms are supplied with large numbers of tractors, it is extremely important to keep them in good repair and use them efficiently. If they are not used efficiently, they are of little assistance, no matter how many there may be. A campaign should be conducted energetically to raise the operation rate of tractors and make efficient use of them.

In order to increase the operation rate, the repair and accessory plants should be developed properly to provide immediate repair if they break down.

Arrangements should be made to do medium repairs on tractors and motor vehicles in the county seats and large ones in the provincial centres. The chief secretaries of the provincial Party committees and chairmen of the provincial rural economy and administration committees should undertake the responsibility for developing tractor and vehicle repair and accessory plants. In view of the increased number of tractors, the state cannot guarantee a unified standard of tractor repair and the supply of the necessary accessories for this work. It is therefore necessary to build tractor repair and accessory plants in every province. The building of these plants should be financed by the state. The provinces must also have motor vehicle repair plants. It will be wise for the tractor accessory plants to produce vehicle accessories at the same time. This will make for economy in materials and manpower and tend to limit the number of managerial personnel.

Some managing workers of cooperative farms are asking for machine tools so that they can repair tractors and motor vehicles. But we cannot afford to give this machinery to cooperative farms. Our country now has 4,000 cooperative farms, and at the rate of only three machine tools to each farm, we need 12,000 of them. Supplying so many machine tools even to the cooperative farms, the state cannot bear all the burden. I consider it more reasonable to make and provide several mobile repair vans fitted with machine tools and implements to the county cooperative farm management committee than to supply machine tools to the cooperative farms. It will be advisable that the county cooperative farm management committee keep mobile repair vans so that they can send one to the scene upon receiving a telephone call from a cooperative farm requesting that its tractors be repaired.

In order to increase the operation rate of tractors, it is also necessary to keep reserves of oil. In the past there were many instances where tractors were standing idle because there was no oil, which interfered with the ploughing of fields. This was due to the poor organization of work on the part of the county cooperative farm management committee. Every county should build oil tanks and store reserves of oil at all times. If there is oil in reserve, you can use it in time of

shortage and replace it later when there is an improved supply.

Trailer farm machine factories should be built up substantially and large numbers of various types of trailers needed for the mechanization of agriculture should be manufactured. Only when large numbers of these machines are produced and supplied can tractors be used effectively and farmers be freed from heavy work.

The workers in the rural economy should strive, in particular, to relieve the rural women from carrying loads on their backs. When we were giving personal guidance in South Hamgyong Province in 1957, we visited a cooperative farm. Women on that farm asked us to relieve them from carrying loads on their backs. So we told them that there were only two ways in which they could be relieved of carrying burdens on their backs—either by giving up farming or by mechanizing farm work. But we told them that without farming, people would have no food, and so the only way to be freed from carrying loads on their backs was to mechanize farming operations. Although it is nearly 15 years since the rural women made this request, we have not yet fully mechanized farm operations and achieved this. Now, however, it is high time we complied with their request. We have the material foundation for mechanized farming. It all depends on whether our personnel work from the ideological standpoint that they will, at all costs, emancipate the rural women from loads carried on their backs, or not.

Proper priorities must be determined in the production of farm trailers. Preference has to be given to trailers, loading machines and the like which permit women to be relieved of carrying loads on their backs, and then the rice transplanter and weeder should be perfected so as to do the work of bedding out rice seedlings and weeding by mechanical means.

As many trailers as possible should be manufactured, but materials and manpower should not be wasted by producing new types of machines which have not been thoroughly tested. The county farm implement factory should concentrate its forces on the production of small implements. At the present time it sometimes happens that

precious steel is wasted in county farm implement factories because inventions are being produced. Since we have to manufacture tractors, weapons and factory equipment, the state needs large quantities of steel. Is it right, therefore, to waste steel in this way? Of course, I do not say you ought to give up the campaign for new inventions. But you should only introduce full-scale production of the trailer implement after the provincial conference for technical examination has examined and tested it adequately once it has been invented.

In order to increase the amount of use made of tractors, long-distance transport by tractors should be discontinued. If tractors are used for long-distance transport, they will soon break down and, further, a great deal of oil will be consumed. Hauling loads by tractor should be confined within the limits of their own county. In future, public security organs should tighten control over the operation of tractors to keep them from going beyond the boundaries of their own county. However, I do not mean that even the tractors of cooperative farms situated nearer to the seats of neighbouring counties than their own county seat should be banned from going out of their county limits. If, for instance, a cooperative farm in Sinchon County is situated at a shorter distance from Jaeryong County seat than from Sinchon County seat, the tractors of this cooperative farm should be allowed to go and transport fertilizer and other farming materials from Jaeryong County seat. The point we are making is that tractors should be prohibited from running long distances so as to use them more effectively in field operations including ploughing, harrowing, and the transport of fertilizers and harvested grain.

Long-distance transport should not be done by tractors but by trucks. It is our plan to provide a truck for every 200 hectares of fields within one or two years and to supply one for every 100 hectares in the future. The trucks supplied to the rural areas should not be used carelessly for work other than agricultural production and rural construction. I am told that at present management personnel of cooperative farms ride in a truck as though it was a passenger car when they have to go somewhere on business. They should not do so in future.

The management and operation of trucks allocated to the rural areas should not be put under the charge of the county motor vehicle station but the county cooperative farm management committee. This committee should form separate motor transport teams in the farm machine station and assign them to cooperative farms to do hauling operations for them. Assigning motor vehicles to the cooperative farms means that the motor transport teams of the county farm machine station carry timber, coal, slaked lime, fertilizer and other materials wanted by the farms for farming and also the harvested grain crops lying piled in distant fields. Only when motor transport teams are formed at the county farm machine station and are allocated to the cooperative farms, will the vehicles be used efficiently and controlled properly.

The county cooperative farm management committee should exercise strict control over the motor vehicles supplied to the agricultural branch and ensure that they are not mobilized for purposes other than agricultural work. A strict system must be established under which the vehicles assigned to agriculture can be used for military purposes in the event of war and to ensure that nobody is allowed to mobilize them at will for any work other than farming.

To prevent these cars from being used for other purposes, more vehicles must be provided for the counties. At present the chairman of the county administration committee has no car at his disposal and so frequently mobilizes agricultural vehicles belonging to the cooperative farm management committee for various purposes. If he has trucks, he will be able to move commodities to cooperative farms and rapidly bring in the cereals and other farm products purchased by the procurement and food administration agencies. In future the cooperative farms must not fetch commodities from the county seat or transport the state-purchased cereals to it. Of course, when the county organizations are very busy with transport work, the cooperative farms can help them. But there must be an end to the system under which the cooperative farms are obliged to transport the state-purchased cereals and the like to the county seat as they did in the past.

In order to speed the mechanization of agriculture, the fields must be realigned properly. It is advisable to turn terraced paddies, which give a low yield per hectare and are difficult to farm by mechanized means, into dry fields. In our country now the problem is not to increase the production of rice; an important task before us is to mechanize farm work and raise overall grain yields. Therefore, terraced paddies which do not lie in damp land should be converted into dry fields to allow mechanization.

Let me take the Jangchon Cooperative Farm in Pyongyang as an example. The chairman of this farm management is a woman. She has made up her mind that she would not marry before her farm produced more than six tons of rice per hectare of paddy field, and she is striving to carry out her determination. In order to help her carry out her decision, we have built them good irrigation facilities and supplied a large number of tractors and large amounts of fertilizer to them. Nevertheless, the farm has not so far carried out its plan, even once. The reason is that the farm has a large tract of terraced paddies. When it was fashionable in the cooperative farms to change dry fields into paddies, that farm, too, converted many dry fields into terraced paddies. At present, they say, the farm has 60 hectares of terraced paddies, with a large number of 30-40 *phyong* plots among them. No matter how well rice may grow in terraced fields, the per-hectare yield cannot be high because these fields have many ridges between plots. It is therefore very difficult to produce six tons of rice per hectare in terraced fields. When we last visited that cooperative farm, we advised them to turn the 60 hectares of terraced paddies back into dry fields. I am told that if they turn the terraced paddies into dry fields and plant them with maize, five to six tons of maize can be harvested per hectare. It is said that since vegetables grow well in that area, one can produce 100 tons of vegetables as the second crop per hectare after harvesting four to five tons of wheat as the first crop. If two crops are grown in this way, much more yields can be obtained than on the terraced paddies.

It is not bad to convert the terraced paddies into dry fields and grow

maize on a large scale. If maize is processed well by machine to make riced corn meal, it will be good to eat. Only when there is plenty of maize is it possible to produce an abundance of meat. It is therefore advisable to turn the terraced paddies, which had not originally been swamp but dry fields where crops used to grow well, into dry fields again.

The realignment of plots requires *Phungnyon* tractors. The state is going to provide one *Phungnyon* tractor for every 400 hectares of farmland. The *Phungnyon* tractors should not be allocated to cooperative farms. A *Phungnyon* tractor workteam should be organized at the county farm machine station and run in a uniform manner by the county cooperative farm management committee. We have recently discovered that, in many counties including Pakchon and Mundok Counties, the utilization of *Phungnyon* tractors which have been attached to the cooperative farms is very low.

On cooperative farms the *Phungnyon* tractors are now left to stand idle all year round after they have been used just once at the time of ploughing. Although many coal and ore mines have to be developed, the state has given preference to providing *Phungnyon* tractors to the country areas because grain production is important. At present the shortage of these tractors prevents the production of more coal and ore at the mines. Then, is it right to have such precious *Phungnyon* tractors standing idle doing nothing? In future a *Phungnyon* tractor workteam should be formed at the county farm machine station, which should do the ploughing for cooperative farms at the right season and, when ploughing is over, should work at river improvement and road construction sites. In winter they should be used in such operations as land realignment. In this way the *Phungnyon* tractors will not be left unused but can be utilized throughout all seasons.

It would be a good idea to conduct research at tractor factories to put *Phungnyon* tractors on wheels. If *Phungnyon* tractors are wheeled, they can be used for transportation, and so will be useful for carrying heavy loads.

Since large numbers of tractors will be supplied to the rural areas

from this year, agricultural officials must work hard to raise the utilization rate of tractors and mechanize more farm work. From now onwards they must not think of obtaining more manpower but of introducing mechanization on a wider scale. They should now say “machine, machine,” instead of “manpower, manpower” a word which was formerly on their lips. You cannot bring about innovations in agricultural production by means of increasing the work force without introducing mechanization. Ours is a time of mechanization and automation, and so young people do not want to go and carry loads on their backs in the country. Therefore, you should make great efforts to mechanize farm work, so that you can till, sow, weed and harvest by machine.

In step with mechanization, chemicals should be used more widely in farming. If you only supply machines but do not provide chemical fertilizer, herbicide and the like to the farms, grain production cannot increase and the farmers cannot be freed from hard labour. The state also intends to make large investments in the production of agricultural chemicals so that in the future the per-hectare application of nitrogenous fertilizer will reach 600 kilogrammes, superphosphate of lime—400 kilogrammes and potash fertilizer—200 kilogrammes.

Since a new chemical fertilizer factory with a capacity of hundreds of thousands of tons is now under construction, more than one ton of chemical fertilizer can be supplied per hectare of farmland in the not too distant future.

In the production of chemical fertilizers, great attention should be given to phosphatic fertilizer. Because sufficient phosphatic fertilizer is not supplied at present, the crops will fall and not mature well. Together with nitrogenous fertilizer, therefore, superphosphate of lime should be produced and supplied in large quantities. Large amounts of various kinds of microelement fertilizers should be produced so as to improve the soil.

This year it seems difficult to supply large amounts of chemical fertilizers to the farming areas. At present the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory is not in a position to carry out production properly.

As chemical fertilizers are not to be supplied in large amounts this year, people in agriculture should make effective use of them, practising strict economy. Chemical fertilizers are being used wastefully at present. Much of the fertilizer applied to the paddy fields, in particular, flows away with the water. Ways to increase the efficacy of fertilizer should be studied by the chemical industry. In our opinion, it will be profitable to make pellets of chemical fertilizer, although this may entail somewhat complicated production processes. If chemical fertilizer is produced in the form of pellets instead of powder and applied to rice crops, one to each cluster, only a little will be wasted and its efficacy will be great. Moreover, the farmers will find it convenient to use.

A campaign should be developed to produce large quantities of slaked lime. The chemical fertilizers like the ammonium sulphate and nitrate which we are now using are mostly acid, and so continue to acidify the land. It is therefore necessary to neutralize the acid land by applying slaked lime. Particularly because the supply of chemical fertilizer will not be great this year, a large quantity of slaked lime should be applied to remove the acid. This is essential to raise the efficacy of chemical fertilizer. The state should not delay the supply of coal which is needed for the production of slaked lime.

As well as slaked lime, compost should be produced in large quantities. I have discovered that, in the rural areas, there is at present no source from which compost can be produced. In the plains far away from the mountains, decayed rice straw should be used to make compost. But after straw is used to make bags and ropes and then purchased by the state, nothing remains. For the plentiful production of compost, steps should be taken to allow the cooperative farms to use rice straw freely. In the future kraft paper and plastic should be used for making bags and the rice straw formerly used for that purpose should all be diverted to the production of compost. Therefore, it should be made a principle to use straw which comes from rice fields as compost to be applied to the same fields.

Good weeding is a question of importance for improving the

effectiveness of fertilizer. If grain fields are weeded cleanly, the crops will take in all the nutrients formerly shared by the weeds, and so even a small amount of fertilizer will produce a good effect. Every effort must be concentrated on weeding to kill all weeds.

The most laborious rural operation now is weeding. With the object of relieving the farmers of this labour, we intend to supply some imported weed killers this year and from next year to ensure the supply of a locally-made kind. We have not so far built a weed killer factory because they say that the rice produced by using weed killers is toxic. So we have discussed at length whether we should build such a factory or not. Our scientists analysed the rice produced in the plot where a weed killer made in a certain country had been applied, and established that it contained toxicants. Even if a man eats it for a couple of years, he will not die and the aftereffect will not be very serious. But if it is taken for many years on end and the toxicants accumulate within his system, the man will be disabled, I am told. In a certain country weed killers have been used for more than 20 years, and it is said that at present many women of that country have given birth to deformed children. It is therefore dangerous to use weed killers produced in that country.

They say that an analysis of the rice produced in our country with the use of locally-produced weed killers shows that it has few toxicants. So, this year we are going to build a weed killer factory in spite of the difficult labour situation and supply weed killers of our own from next year. In the scientific research field, research to make weed killers harmless must be intensified. Furthermore, research should be made on the process of neutralizing the toxic effect of herbicides with another chemical immediately after using them to kill weeds, so that the toxicants will not affect the rice.

The best way is to use a small amount of weed killer and remove weeds by machine. To prevent weeds from thriving in the paddies, the system of triple ploughing should be established without fail as on the Sinhwanpho Cooperative Farm of Jaeryong County. Since a large number of tractors will go to work in the rural areas in the future, it must be made a rule to plough the paddies three times and the dry fields twice.

An important matter in farm production is to put farming on a scientific and technical basis. No change can be brought about in agricultural production simply by hanging on to old experiences and outdated knowledge.

In order to farm along scientific and technological lines, all the agricultural university graduates who are now working in other branches should be sent to the cooperative farms. The graduates of agricultural universities whom we have trained number almost 20,000, but only a small number of them are now working on the cooperative farms. As was criticized at the recent meeting of the Political Committee, the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee is not doing its duty properly, so that it is not even sure where the agricultural university graduates have been assigned and what they are doing. According to the information obtained by the Agricultural Department after our criticism, of the 20,000 graduates from agricultural universities only 3,800 are now working in agriculture, and the remainder are all serving in other fields. I am told that there are even people who graduated from agricultural university and are working in the General Bureau of Metallurgical Industry. What on earth do agricultural university graduates have to do in the General Bureau of Metallurgical Industry? In the past the allocation of personnel has been done incorrectly.

At present our country has about 20,000 field teams. If the agricultural university graduates had not been allocated at random but had all been assigned to the cooperative farms, every field team would have an agriculturist. If there had been one agriculturist in every cooperative farm field team and he had guided farm work on a scientific and technological basis, great successes would have been achieved in our agricultural production. The Taepyong Cooperative Farm in Mangyongdae District, Pyongyang, has an average of two agriculturists and assistant agriculturists for each field team, and this farm has rapidly increased production every year since 1968. This shows that success in agriculture depends largely on whether crops are grown in a scientific and technological way or not.

Chief secretaries of provincial and county Party committees and Party secretaries of factories and enterprises must seek out and register the agricultural university graduates working in miscellaneous branches and send them to cooperative farms. The graduates of agricultural universities have a good scientific knowledge of what kinds of crops and fertilizers are suited to which type of soil and what time and method are suitable for ploughing. Therefore, if they are sent to the farms and appointed leaders or deputy leaders of field teams, farming will make a good showing.

Scientific and technological farming presupposes the intensification of technical studies amongst cooperative farmers. Because agriculture is also a scientific production process, it is impossible to increase agricultural production without scientific knowledge. At the current consultative meeting a certain cooperative farm management board chairman from North Phyongan Province said that urea fertilizer is unfit for use in cold and damp zones. This attests to his poor understanding of fertilizers. Members and managerial personnel of cooperative farms should all learn how to apply the three basic and microelement fertilizers, how to use agricultural chemicals, how to water the paddy fields and how to handle farm machines. In the future chairmen and workteam leaders of cooperative farms should all acquire knowledge of soil science, manure science and biology and learn to drive a tractor. It is advisable that a tractor driver be appointed workteam leader and that in the plains where there are many tractors, even the post of sub-workteam leader be filled by a tractor driver. At present a woman tractor driver is working as workteam leader on a cooperative farm in Junghwa County. She performs difficult operations herself by using a tractor instead of having them done by farmers, and is attempting to mechanize every job.

Technical studies on the farms should be combined with farming operations. I am told that at present drivers' licenses are only issued to those who have learned driving techniques at the training school for one year, but this is wrong. Under circumstances where the country areas are short of labour, I consider it unwise to send youths and

middle-aged people to the training school for tractor or vehicle drivers for one year. It is possible to master the techniques of driving a tractor while engaged in farm work on a cooperative farm. Farmers should learn the techniques of driving the tractor and motor vehicle and various technical expertise of farming, but should do so at their workplaces without being detached from agricultural production. A stop must be put to the practice by which rural youths and middle-aged people leave the farms in the busiest farming seasons for reasons such as attending classes of correspondence courses and taking training courses for tractor and vehicle drivers.

In future the General Bureau of Higher Education should establish the system of sending the students of the pregraduation class of agricultural universities to the rural areas for one year to guide the farmers' technical studies and of assigning them after graduation to cooperative farms to work there. Since they have completed the university course by favour of the state, the university graduates should go to cooperative farms and work there for some five years if only by way of repaying the favour.

To proceed, it is essential to establish correctly the system of preserving pure varieties and strictly observe the principle of planting the right crop on the right soil.

The greatest shortcoming in the work of seed selection at present is the failure to establish the system of preserving pure varieties thoroughly. Only when pure varieties are preserved well and hybrids of the first filial generation are produced from them and sown every year, can high crop yields be obtained. But, the Academy of Agricultural Sciences itself has no pure varieties to speak of, and although the provinces have a large number of agriculturists and seed plots, the work of seed collection is not going well. Because they sow any kinds of seeds haphazardly now, the seeds degenerate and the yields fall. In future the agricultural organizations and research institutions of agricultural science should thoroughly establish the system of preserving pure varieties and produce and sow hybrids of the first filial generation every year.

There must be no attempt to impose a variety believed to be a choice one, uniformly, on the lower level without having regard to the specific local conditions. If a new variety is to be introduced, it must be tested under different conditions. The variety of *Ryongsong No. 26*, for example, should be tested either in conditions of sufficient application of the three basic fertilizers or in other conditions. And it should also be examined in comparison with other varieties as to the results of application of the same amount of fertilizer. But nowadays the experimental farms carry on seed production in such a way that they judge whether a given variety is good simply by the results of tests conducted in conditions where sufficient application of various elements such as nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium, which are essential for the growth of plants, has been made. It is evident that varieties produced in favourable conditions will not yield good results when sufficient chemical fertilizer is not applied.

It is a fault of the Agricultural Commission that varieties regarded as superior have been imposed on the lower level without adequate testing. It will not do, either, for cooperative farms to accept without question what the upper level imposes on them. As we have already said many times, our climate and other natural features differ between the west and east coastal areas and between the sunny and shady places and even between the spurs of a mountain and the mountain valleys in the same region. Therefore, crops and varieties congenial to a given area and plot of land should be planted on the principle of growing the right crop on the right soil.

In addition, the communal property of the state and the cooperative farms must be used sparingly and handled with care.

It is common knowledge that in socialist and communist societies all property belongs to the people and it is a valuable asset to ensure a happy life for the people. Many of our communal assets will not only be used by our generation but also be handed down to posterity. Land, forests, roads, houses and the like will be used continuously by our descendants in the future.

Socialist and communist societies are harmonious societies where

everyone is engaged in production and prosperous and where the working people are the masters of everything. Therefore, the working people should all conduct everything with the attitude of a master. Cooperative farmers should adopt the attitude of a master both in managing their farm and in dealing with communal property, including farm machinery, or in working.

And yet, I see, in the countryside, a great deal of evidence that the cooperative farmers lack the proprietary attitude and do not look after and care for common property as though it was their own.

The thin vinyl film now in use on cooperative farms has been imported from abroad for a great deal of foreign currency and if they use it with care, it will last two or three years. Nevertheless, on cooperative farms they do not use it with care but handle it negligently, so that it is quickly spoilt.

A farm implement is to the farmer what a weapon is to the soldier. The farmer should look after and use the farm implement as carefully as the soldier handles his weapon. But at present the farmers do not maintain and take care of farm implements well. As a result, although the state supplies hundreds of thousands of spades and hoes every year, the farmers keep on complaining that they do not have enough of them. In the past our grandfathers would use a spade for nearly ten years. But at present a spade or a hoe will not last for even a year on cooperative farms.

Land is also not taken care of scrupulously. The cooperative farms now fail to take good care of land and so a large tract of land is washed away in floods or buried under landslides. If they were private farmers, they would take measures to protect the land in case their fields should be lost. But our farmers now do not protect the land as they would their own, and have very little interest in caring for the land.

We have emphasized many times the need to protect the land efficiently. We gave instructions that in order to prevent land from being washed away, willows should be planted on the edges of plots or that the ridges of the fields should be reinforced with stone, or else stakes should be driven into the ground and willow sprigs should be

woven between them. We had willows planted on the edge of a field as a model and showed this to the chief secretaries of county Party committees, chairmen of the county cooperative farm management committees and chairmen of the county people's committees, telling them to follow this example. But this procedure is now followed at few places and no one feels any distress because the fields are being continuously washed away.

In the past, our grandfathers who had no land suffered all kinds of insults and humiliation from the landlords in order to rent a patch of land. But today our farmers are engaging in farming freely as masters of the land. But some cooperative farmers do not know its value.

The forests are a precious national asset. Cooperative farms should develop the campaign for planting trees to increase the forest resources and preserve and take care of them meticulously. But some cooperative farms fell trees on the mountains at random and encroach on the forests on the pretext of creating tussah oak groves and mulberry fields. Mulberry trees could be planted quite easily on the burnt land or patches which cannot be worked by machine, but they are planted after clearing fine trees.

The apple trees planted through a nationwide campaign in the past have also been neglected, so that they are affected by disease or are falling into decay. But no one is worried about this.

The farmers do not even keep their houses in good condition. The modern rural houses built by the state for the farmers are several times better than the official residences of Japanese imperialist days. The official residences were occupied by the Japanese imperialists who held posts in government bodies. When we visited the Chongsu Chemical Works for personal guidance, we saw the former Japanese imperialists' official residences there. They were small brick houses. But only Japanese imperialists were entitled to live in them and Koreans were not even allowed to enter them. There are our modern houses beside the residences, and our modern houses are incomparably better. At present, however, the modern houses in the rural areas are not well maintained. Even when floor paper and window paper are torn, they are not repaired

quickly and the yards are also left in disorder.

If everyone fails to look after and take loving care of the common property of the state and society, we cannot hope to live well nor build socialism and communism successfully.

We should encourage the cooperative farmers to look after and care for communal property jealously with proprietary self-consciousness by intensifying their ideological education.

At the same time, checks and controls should be tightened to keep the farmers from spoiling communal property or using it wastefully.

Some people are now averse to the tightening of legal control, but if they are to dispense with the law, everybody must work and live conscientiously. However, since outdated thinking is still lingering in the minds of the working people, the law cannot be abolished. Needless to say, in a communist society in the future there will be no law nor prison nor public security men as at present.

As well as strengthening the ideological education of the farmers, we should control them effectively. At present they are left alone even when they neglect the roads so that the road facilities are spoilt, no quick control is exercised over the bad practice of neglecting farm implements and modern farm houses, and no one is taken to task even when motorcars and tractors are damaged. It appears that our present law is too lax.

We should promptly check and exercise strict control over the practice of treating communal property without care and affection. I think it would not be wrong to inflict a fine on the cooperative farm and cooperative farmers who, against every kind of advice, continue to allow land to be washed away or neglect the modern houses and farm implements.

Fines should be clearly divided into categories payable either jointly or individually. If an individual has taken liberties with communal property, the fine should be levied on the individual. But when common property has been used by an individual not for a private purpose but for the sake of the collective, then the individual should not be fined.

It was mentioned in one speech that a cooperative farm management board chairman was fined for using some thin vinyl film in building a creche. Indeed, it is wrong and liable to legal sanction to use thin vinyl film imported with foreign currency for purposes other than farming. But he did not use it for himself but for the good of the children in the creche. If so, how can you levy a fine on the chairman? The executors of the law should give proper consideration to such things.

If you want to strengthen the system of fines in order to establish discipline, you should enforce it correctly. While the cooperative farm management board chairman is fined for using some of the farm's vinyl film in the interests of the children of the creche, why is it that no fine is imposed on the procurement agency for failing to carry away the heaps of maize stalks piled up after their pith has been removed by women of the farm at the cost of tremendous labour under the procurement plan so that eventually, after several years, they are washed away in a flood? This is all because the people concerned do their work inefficiently.

Our officials often find fault with people for no reason these days. In the past, we stressed more than once that the officials should refrain from acting against the interests of the people. In spite of this, our officials are not yet rid of the practice of being overcritical of the people.

In order to get rid of practices which are detrimental to the interests of the people, it is necessary above all that the upper organs take special care. When giving out some kind of decision or directive, they should seriously consider beforehand whether it will suit the people's interests or not.

While the upper bodies must be careful, all Party members and other working people should promptly report to the Party Central Committee any decision or directive issued by an upper body in contravention of Party policy or any unpopular act of an official in order to prevent anything which is injurious to the people's interests. Only then will we be able to know about it and set matter right quickly. And only then will our Party organizations operate efficiently without

becoming indolent and our state power be worthy of the name of the power of the workers and peasants led by the Party.

The Administration Council and other state bodies should re-examine the directives and regulations they have already sent out to the lower level and rectify any of them which are outdated or incorrect. At the same time, they must enact legislation which will rigidly check the practices of damaging or wasting the common property of the state and cooperative farms. Needless to say, when this legislation is introduced, care must be taken that it does not infringe on the people's interests. We should make popular laws which the people can accept readily, so that all the working people observe them willingly.

Furthermore, the Cooperative Farm Rules have to be observed faithfully and the ten-point tasks thoroughly implemented in the guidance of agricultural production and in the management of cooperative farms.

The Cooperative Farm Rules and the ten-point tasks in the guidance of agricultural production and those in the management of cooperative farms are regulations binding on all the agricultural population. They clearly specify how to manage and run the cooperative farms and the way the farmers should work and live. At present, however, many cooperative farms act contrary to the Rules and fail to carry out both kinds of ten-point tasks thoroughly. Because of this, the cooperative farms cannot be managed properly and, moreover, the farmers cannot be roused to show enthusiasm of their own accord.

Full scope should be given to democracy on the cooperative farms in order to ensure that the Cooperative Farm Rules are faithfully observed and the two ten-point tasks are carried out thoroughly. A high degree of democracy on the cooperative farms is the key to the consolidation of the farms. If the democratic principles of management are strictly followed, it will be possible to check the management personnel of the cooperative farms from abusing their power and adopting bureaucratism, end fraudulent acts and rouse the farmers to show their enthusiasm voluntarily. It can be said that to ensure the strict observance of the democratic principles of management is an

important matter ranking next to Party work on the cooperative farms.

In observing the democratic principles of management, it is important that the management board reports to the farmers on its work regularly. In particular, it is necessary to disclose to the farmers the state of financial operations, work-points which they have earned, the amounts of food grain and materials consumed and so on every month or every quarter.

Various methods can be used to make the state of management activities of the cooperative farm known to the farmers. The subject can either be dealt with at a general meeting of the farmers or, if it is impossible to assemble all the farmers at one place because the cooperative farm is too widely dispersed, at a conference of farmers' deputies. Or else, the accounts can be displayed on every workteam notice board.

It will suffice, for instance, if you briefly write up: This month, so much money and food grain have been spent in total, for the whole cooperative farm, of which so much money has been lent to so-and-so and so much grain advanced to so-and-so. And this month how many work-points have been credited to each person. Then the farmers who see it will question: "Why has money been lent to that man when he has money, and why have so many work-points been awarded to this man when he has not done a great amount of work? This is a mistake and so we must call a meeting and discuss the matter." When a meeting is called at the farmers' request, they will criticize the fault of the managerial staff of the farm by saying: "It is a mistake that money has been lent to that man when he has money. So it is desirable to withdraw the loan." If democracy is promoted in this way on the cooperative farms, their management staff will find it impossible to award work-points to the farmers randomly, or to commit fraud. But at present there is no system in operation on the cooperative farms under which the management board is bound to disclose its work to the farmers. Party organizations raise no question about this, and no one mentions it. The farmers are entitled to criticize and help rectify the errors, if any, committed by the management personnel in disregard of

the requirements of the Rules, but they do not exercise their rights. So it is only natural that the affairs of cooperative farms should go awry and their chairmen should behave bureaucratically. Party workers, including the secretaries of ri Party committees, should make every effort to improve democracy on the cooperative farms and wage an uncompromising battle against violations of the democratic principles of management by their managerial staff.

The placing and transfer of the work force on the cooperative farms should also be considered and decided upon at general meetings of the farmers. Since the work force is not disposed or transferred under the farmers' control, the chairmen take the liberty of sending work hands of their farm to other places at their discretion and the farmers do not know about it. In future the chairmen of cooperative farms should be forbidden to transfer their work force to other places at will, and such transfers should always be discussed and decided upon at general meetings of the farmers.

The chairmen should not be afraid of showing the management activities of their farm to the farmers. If they committed a fraud or made a mistake in the past, they should sincerely criticize themselves before the farmers and remedy their fault.

The management personnel of cooperative farms, including the chairmen, should take an active part in production labour as required by the Cooperative Farm Rules and take the lead in all undertakings.

Some comrades now say that the managerial staff can scarcely participate in production labour, but we cannot accept this view. Of course, when farm mechanization is completed in the future, we can revise the number of obligatory workdays for the managerial staff. But since rural mechanization has not yet been completed, the managerial staff have to participate in production labour as required by the Cooperative Farm Rules. The chairmen of the cooperative farms are in duty bound to do production labour for 80 days, of which 20 days should be devoted to transplanting rice seedlings, 40 days to weeding and 20 days to harvesting. In this way, the chairmen should work at the head of the farmers when work is tough and busy as at the time of rice

transplanting, weeding and harvesting.

Managerial workers who are work-shy and will not lead the way in work should be replaced by other people in accordance with the demand of the farmers. A man who enjoys the great confidence of the farmers, is exemplary in everything and can work selflessly for the farm should be elected chairman.

In addition, the work of rural labour administration must be conducted efficiently on the principle of concentrating all forces on farm work without dissipating labour power.

All the farmers who have been sent by the cooperative farms to lumber camps and coal mines should be recalled. The problem of supplying coal and timber needed by the cooperative farms should be considered and solved by the Party Central Committee and the Administration Council.

In the rice transplanting and weeding seasons, the members of all workteams of the cooperative farm, whether the mechanization workteam or livestock farming team, should participate in farming activities. Tractor drivers should also weed the fields. When weeds cannot be removed by machine, all the people should start a campaign to weed by hand.

The rural work force must remain where it is and not a single man should be taken away to another branch. In the rural areas there should be no military recruiting for some time.

This year assistance to the farming areas should be further strengthened. The principles of the towns assisting the country side and of the working class helping the peasantry are set out in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. These principles must be thoroughly observed this year.

All establishments and enterprises should collect and carry compost, coal ash and similar substances to the cooperative farms and turn out as one in the work of assisting the country areas.

In the rice transplanting and weeding seasons the personnel of the county Party committee and other county organizations headed by their executives should go out to the farms and help in farm work for

two months. Only the secretary in charge of organizational affairs and some of the officials of the organizational department and the confidential documents section should remain in the office of the county Party committee and everyone else must go out to the farms to bed out young rice plants and weed the fields.

The People's Army soldiers who went to the country areas to give a helping hand in the past say that when they were bedding out rice seedlings and weeding the fields, the cadres of the county did not even put in an appearance, and this spoiled their interest in the work. In order to prevent this sort of thing from occurring in future, the cadres should take the lead in going out to the farms in the rice transplanting and weeding seasons.

A further point is that the socialist principle of distribution should be strictly observed.

A large measure of outdated thoughts still persist in the minds of the farmers. If equal distribution is applied on the cooperative farms when the farmers are not yet fully equipped with communist ideas, loafers may appear. Before all farmers become communists, the socialist principle of distribution should be followed without fail.

From now onwards, a strict system should be established on the cooperative farm so that anyone who has earned no work-points cannot share in the distribution of the proceeds, and the distribution should be strictly based on the quality and quantity of work done.

The sub-workteam management and workteam premium systems should be kept in force and their advantages should be made use of more fully.

In addition, procurement work should be improved and strengthened.

As pointed out by many comrades in their speeches, procurement work has many imperfections at present. There are cases in which procurement workers embezzle money, and the methods of procurement are also defective. Shortcomings in the procurement work should be put right without delay.

First of all, the methods of procurement should be revised. In

future, grain should be purchased under the contract concluded by the procurement and food administration department of the county administration committee directly with the farmers. The procurement and food administration department may purchase grain on contracts made individually with cooperative farms or on a general contract with the county cooperative farm management committee. The latter is the better way.

In future, rice should not be purchased in the husk but should be hulled and purchased as brown rice. The farmers should hull their rice and keep it in the granary as brown rice before they sell it to the county food administration agency when its personnel come for it. When they sell hulled rice, they can use the chaff for fuel and the rice bran for animal feed. This will also make it unnecessary to use motor vehicles to transport the chaff, which uses petrol.

In order to enable the farmers to hull rice and sell it as brown rice, the state and also the cooperative farms themselves should repair and keep rice-cleaning machines in good repair.

The regulations for the procurement of agricultural produce excepting cereals should be re-examined. Cabinet Decisions Nos. 28 and 100 issued in 1972 should be repealed. The Administration Council must re-examine the old procurement regulations and issue new regulations which will not infringe upon the people's interests. In this way the practice of causing inconvenience to the people by establishing inordinately complicated regulations in regard to procurement should be stopped.

From now onwards, it will be good to carry out procurement in the country areas through village shops. Our country now has trading establishments in all ri. Since procurement is also a form of trade, it can be conducted efficiently through village shops. The procurement agency may as well consign the procurement of products to the village shops and then, when the latter inform it of the quantity of procured products and ask it to take them away, go and fetch them by lorry. If it carries out its work in this way, the farmers will prefer it because their products are purchased, not by the procurement workers who are too critical for the

farmers, but by the staff of the village shops whom they know.

In the purchase of agricultural products, grades should be abolished. Since various grades have been instituted in the purchase of agricultural produce, some procurement workers have been able to commit fraud. For example, some of them purchase cocoons from the farmers as third-grade stuff and deliver them to the state as first grade, thus stealing money. In order to put an end to such frauds practised by procurement workers, the grading of the goods purchased should be abolished. Needless to say, it is most important to intensify ideological education for that purpose. But ideological education alone is not enough to make a clean sweep of fraudulent practices. The people living in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism still retain a great many capitalist ideas in their minds, and so there are people who try to embezzle money by cheating as soon as an opportunity offers. In order to do away with frauds practised by procurement workers, conditions that can breed them should be eliminated while ideological education is strengthened.

Since agricultural products to be purchased by the state are classified in many grades, the farmers are extremely discontented. Take the purchase of cocoons by the procurement workers as an example. They do not willingly purchase cocoons which have been produced by rural women at great pains, haggling about them as third grade or so. They demand that the cocoons be brought to them after being sorted into grades. Because the procurement workers are overcritical in this way, the rural women say they cannot raise silkworms on a large scale, although they want to, because it is difficult to sell the cocoons to the state.

When cocoons are being purchased, they should not be classified in many grades; there should be only two classes, pass and reject. If many grades are introduced and different prices are set accordingly, there will inevitably be fraud. It would be a good idea to abolish grades and purchase all cocoons which meet the required standard at a uniform price. And rejects should also be bought at a slightly lower price. Cocoons should be sorted out by machine at the silk mills to which

they are delivered after they have been bought by the state. In this way, any loss that there might be ought to be suffered by the state. The farmers who have produced cocoons should not be the losers.

In the procurement of grain grades should also be abolished; grain should be classified as acceptable or unacceptable. If it is fit to eat, all rice should be purchased. But spoiled rice should not be bought. If necessary, this rice should be bought cheaply.

Industrial products should also not be classified in many grades. Instituting various grades in industrial products will also provide suitable conditions for fraud. Industrial products, too, should be classified in two grades—acceptable and rejected.

Furthermore, the supply of commodities to the rural areas has to be improved.

The uninterrupted supply of goods to the rural areas is of great importance in raising the living standards of the farmers and increasing their enthusiasm for production. If rural stores sell quantities of excellent goods, the farmers will work better to weed well and increase grain production in order to buy them. Rural shops should be stocked with such a plentiful supply of goods that people will feel sorry because they do not have the money to buy them. Then they will realize the value of money and try to make a success of the sub-workteam management system and the workteam premium system.

At present, the cooperative farmers receive large amounts of grain and cash as their share every year, so that they have plenty of money. But there is a scarcity of goods in rural areas. While the farmers have a great amount of money, the rural areas are short of commodities. So the farmers do not know the value of money. When they are asked to pay for a lost hoe, for instance, they do not consider it a large sum. Since farmers have a great deal of money while there is a shortage of commodities in the rural areas, it is evident that the farmers' zeal for production will not rise. We have repeatedly stressed that if the country areas are not well supplied with goods, it will cause inconvenience to the farming population and, further, directly affect their enthusiasm for

production. In spite of this, the supply of goods to the country areas is still poor.

There are several reasons for the present dearth of goods in the country areas.

As we pointed out in the report to the Fifth Congress of the Party, enormous funds have so far been appropriated for the building of our defences, with the result that it has been impossible to concentrate on light industry. This restricted the production of commodities to some extent. But now we have suitable conditions to develop light industry quickly. During the past year, large investments have been made in light industry, and the results are good. In order to provide everyone with sweaters and other kinds of knitwear, knitted goods factories are being built everywhere. In South Hwanghae Province a knitted goods factory with the capacity to supply a sweater to everyone in the province every year, is being built, and large knitted goods factories are also being constructed in North and South Phyongan Provinces. In the past we had only a few knitted goods factories, and so were unable to supply the country areas with large quantities of sweaters and other kinds of knitwear. But in the future, knitted goods produced in each province alone will be enough to meet the needs of its population. We are also striving to expand the capacities for cotton spinning and chemical fibre production. We have already built the large September Textile Mill which is equipped with up-to-date machinery, and are expanding the February 8 Vinalon Factory so that it will have an annual capacity of 50,000 tons. The problem of light industry goods, I think, will be solved in two or three years.

Another reason for the shortage of goods in the country areas is that the local factories do not carry on production properly. It is common knowledge that we built many local factories in the past. Nevertheless, these factories do not produce products as they should because of the short supply of coal and materials. As for the work of these factories, we intend to look into it just as we have done the work of cooperative farms on this occasion.

The present shortage of goods in the rural areas is also due to the

irresponsible allocation of commodities by trade workers. These workers do not allocate goods equally, but at random, and so some places are short of them and other places have more than enough. If goods are not sold quickly but are kept too long on the counter, they become old stock. Because production continues to develop and new and better commodities are continually being produced, no one will buy old goods. At present the wholesale storehouses of the General Commercial Bureau are piled high with unbelievable quantities of old stocks. This on no account means that our country has a great wealth of commodities; it is due to the careless allocation of goods by the trade workers. If these workers had allocated goods speedily and evenly, there would be no outdated stock and it would be possible to sell goods when they were required by the rural population.

The supply of goods to the rural areas must definitely be improved in the future.

So that there can be more efficient supply of goods to the rural population, the provincial Party and administration committees must improve the role that they play. The country's economic life has attained colossal proportions today, compared with the past. There are several thousand factories alone. In the past when there was a small number of factories, we were able to give detailed personal guidance in their work on the spot, but in the present conditions when the country's economic life has reached such large proportions, this is impossible. The provincial Party and administration committees should now play their role satisfactorily. They should assume control over the branches of production which relate directly to the people's lives and steadily increase the guidance of these branches.

The construction of important factories, including the knitwear factories, which have a direct bearing on the people's lives should be finished at an early date and production should be normalized. In South Hwanghae Province, factories to produce women's and children's garments have been well built, but so far as the knitted goods factory is concerned, only the building has been erected. In this province, the construction of this factory should be completed quickly, so that it can

go into production. If knitted goods factories, and women's and children's garment factories in the provinces alone are operated well and properly, the people's living standards will be improved considerably. In all provinces the construction of important factories, including knitted goods factories, directly connected with the people's lives must be accelerated and their production normalized so that more goods can be provided for the people.

At the same time, the local factories should produce larger quantities of sundry goods which are indispensable for the people's daily life. As I have already said, the supply of light industry products like sweaters and fabrics will be improved soon, within two or three years. At present, however, sundry goods necessary for the people's daily life are not being produced. This is a great fault. Our stores are short of general goods in daily use, such as window paper, laminated paper for covering heated floors and hairpins, and many commodities indispensable to the people are not on sale. In future the local factories must produce large amounts of high-quality general goods.

The local factories have to put production on a normal basis. As we have recently seen, many of these factories are hampered in their production by a lack of coal. They should be supplied with sufficient coal to carry on production normally.

In order to supply coal to the local factories, coal should be used economically in all branches. The campaign to save anthracite should be carried out particularly strongly in the country areas. To speak plainly, the situation with regard to anthracite does not allow us to use it as fuel in the rural areas as well. It is too good to use in place of firewood. It is used to make vinalon and vinyl chloride, and there is almost no industrial branch which does not use it. Nevertheless, it is now largely wasted in the rural areas.

In the country areas such things as rice hulls should be burnt as far as possible. On this occasion, we have taken steps to burn rice hulls in the rural areas. In future, rice hulls should be used as fuel there and anthracite should be sent to the local factories.

Cooperative farms should plant large tracts of firewood forests. Such forests can be created by the cooperative farm or by each of its workteams for itself. Fast-growing acacia trees should be planted for firewood. We have emphasized many times that cooperative farms should plant acacias for use as firewood. Kangso County did so in a small way for a time, but abandoned the project. If acacias are planted on wide areas, large numbers of bees can be kept.

Steps should also be taken to use oilstoves for easy cooking in all rural houses in summer. The provincial administration committees should see to it that oilstoves and oil are sold to everyone in the country areas.

On cooperative farms which have no rice hulls for fuel and find it hard to establish a firewood forest, anthracite will have to be used. But even at such places, oilstoves should be used instead of anthracite in summer. If oilstoves are used for cooking in summer, the floor will be a little too cool. This, however, can be remedied by putting in couches as in nursery schools. If all country households cook on oilstoves, the rural women's work load will be reduced and, moreover, a great deal of coal can be saved.

While sufficient coal is supplied to the local factories to normalize production, labour administration at these factories should be carried out properly.

As these factories are not large, they can be run quite efficiently with a small staff of management workers. Nevertheless, they have many management workers who are separated from production work such as a manager and deputy manager for business or supply services. Workers actually engaged in work are few, but there are many "chiefs". So, production cannot proceed properly at the local factories.

In the local factories too, as on the cooperative farms, the management staff should participate in production, and all forces must be concentrated on production. In our opinion, work in this branch has many things which must be remedied.

In order to improve and strengthen the supply of goods to the country areas in the future, quotas for the supply of goods will have to

be set separately. This means that goods earmarked for these areas should never be diverted elsewhere. This is essential for improving the supply of goods to the rural areas.

A vigorous struggle should be waged continuously to free the rural women from the heavy burden of household work. The Machine-Building Industry Commission must produce utensils for making maize noodles and supply them to the rural areas. If maize noodles are made and stored in a dry state in rural households, they can easily be cooked in a shorter time than it takes to cook rice, and they taste better than cooked corn meal. A few years ago, we met a woman whose husband had been murdered by the reactionaries during the war in Jongpho-ri. Janggang County, Jagang Province. Her son was in the People's Army and she was living alone. She was working well on the cooperative farm. On that occasion I saw a large stock of maize noodles made by machine, at her home. So I asked her how she liked them. She said that they tasted good and, further, that they were convenient to eat soaked in cold soup in the evening when she came back from work on the farm and found it a nuisance to cook rice. In the future, the food industry has to be further improved and the processing of staple food, in particular, must be organized widely, so that the rural women can prepare meals easily and quickly at home.

Every farm village without fail must be provided with its own water supply. For about a year after the Fifth Congress of the Party, people made a great noise about introducing water services in the rural areas, but now they have become quiet. One of the greatest faults in the work of our officials is that when the Party sets a task, they fuss about it for a time at first and then they soon grow quiet. The introduction of water supply services will have to be expedited so that rural women will no longer have to carry water jars on their heads. In order to provide a water supply in the rural areas at an early date, rural houses should be built in clusters. If houses are spread over a wide area, the introduction of a rural water supply will use a great deal of materials and labour. In laying water pipes priority should be given to the villages where houses are grouped close together.

Now I wish to speak briefly about the subject of the system of management in agriculture.

In our country today the Agricultural Commission, provincial rural economy committees and county cooperative farm management committees guide agriculture. On this occasion we want to revise the organizational system of the county cooperative farm management committee, while leaving the Agricultural Commission and provincial rural economy committees undisturbed. In future the county cooperative farm management committee should be turned into a unit of management which is solely responsible for the productive activities of the cooperative farms within the county and operates them comprehensively.

For this purpose, the chairman, vice-chairmen and department chiefs of the county cooperative farm management committee should be elected directly by representatives of the cooperative farms. It is advisable to include and insert the terms of activity of the county cooperative farm management committee in the Cooperative Farm Rules and elect the executive officials of the management committee at the representative conference of the cooperative farms in the county every two years. The other officials of the management committee need not be elected. It will be sufficient to provide for necessary offices and personnel after obtaining approval at the representative conference for a staff plan which will conform to existing conditions worked out in accordance with the state's standard schedule of staff.

When the executive officials of the county cooperative farm management committee are not appointed by the state but elected freely by representatives of cooperative farms, and are dismissed when they work badly, the cooperative farmers' control over the officials of the committee will be strengthened and, further, these officials will start to work more responsibly for the cooperative farms in the county.

The Party secretary of the county cooperative farm management committee should be appointed and sent out by the Party.

It will be a good thing if, from now onwards, the officials of the county cooperative farm management committee are not paid by the

state but receive their share of grain and cash according to the results of production on the cooperative farms in the county. Their share may as well be decided on in conformity with the average level of shares on the cooperative farms in the county. But it would be as well to exclude the Party secretary from the distribution of grain and cash and to ensure that he receives his pay from the Party and gets his supply of food from the state.

If the cooperative farms in the county produce a great deal, the share of the other officials may rise above the salary of the Party secretary. But this does not matter. The Party secretary is not a man who works for a high remuneration, and it is a matter for rejoicing that the other members of the management committee should work well and earn a big share. This system of income distribution for the staff of the county cooperative farm management committee should come into force from October when the new grain year begins.

While talking of the question of remuneration for the Party secretary of the county cooperative farm management committee, it is necessary to reappraise the remuneration for the Party secretary.

At present it appears that various problems arise due to the Party secretary's partaking of the income distribution on the cooperative farm with its management personnel. So we have various plans in mind, but it seems we have to discuss them further with the officials concerned. We can arrange for the Party secretary to receive his pay from the Party and get his food supply from the state, like the Party secretary of the county cooperative farm management committee, so that he is excluded from the distribution of grain and cash on the cooperative farm. But it seems more appropriate to see that the Party secretary receives only his pay and gets his food supply through the cooperative farm's income distribution. And members of his family should work on the cooperative farm with other farmers and live on the grain and money they get as their share. In my opinion, this is the best way.

Because the Party secretary takes part in the income distribution with the cooperative farm's management workers at present, he

neglects the need to remedy the shortcomings of the chairman of the farm and, moreover, he sometimes receives an unfair share and thus discredits the Party in the eyes of the farmers. It is therefore reasonable that he gets his pay from the Party whether the cooperative farm has reaped a rich or a poor harvest. But he should participate in the production labour on the cooperative farm and earn some work-points, so that he gets the necessary food as his share. The ri Party secretary has to make many journeys to the county Party committee and needs time to make a thorough study of the Party's policy. Therefore, he may find it a bit difficult to participate in production labour in the same way that the chairman of the farm does. So, if the latter contributes 80 days to production labour, the former may do some 50 days' labour. In this case, he should divide the time equally between the rice transplanting and weeding seasons.

The ri Party secretary has many calls to respond to; he conducts meetings and trains Party members at all times, and so it may be difficult for him to do even 50 days' labour. In fact, it is preferable for him to give good ideological education to the Party members and other farmers than to participate in labour for many days. If he does not train Party members properly, they may stray and, further, the work of the cooperative farm will not progress as it should. Therefore, if 50 days are too many for him, some 40 days will do. But in any case, the ri Party secretary must join in labour for a definite period. If he does not take part in the monetary distribution on the farm but gets his pay from the Party and is allowed to do less production labour than the farm's chairman, he might abuse his authority. This must be checked by the county Party committee and strictly controlled by the Party members on the cooperative farm.

The personnel of the county cooperative farm management committee must be cut down. I am told that at present the fixed number of officials of the cooperative farm management committee in a first-class county is 54. This is too large. The post of vice-chairman in charge of administrative affairs should be removed from the list of staff. It will do to place a vice-chairman charged with business affairs

and a chief engineer under the chairman. And it is desirable to institute under the chief engineer such posts as an instructor in charge, an engineer in charge, engineers and technical instructors instead of setting up many departments. As for the fixed number of personnel of the county cooperative farm management committee, 25 or so are appropriate for the first- and second-class county, and the county where sericulture or vegetable growing flourishes can have up to 30 officials. I have heard that the third-class county now has 38 officials. This is excessive. It is proper that the third-class county should have 20-25 officials.

A material supply agency should be organized in each county within the limits of 10 persons with people released through the reduction of personnel of the county cooperative farm management committee. This agency does not belong to the management committee; it is a state agency in the service of the committee. The post of director of the county material supply agency should be filled by a cadre equivalent to the chairman of the county cooperative farm management committee.

The primary duty of the material supply agency is to provide the necessary materials for farming in the county. It should procure oil, farm machinery accessories, steel and other materials in good time and sell them to the county cooperative farm management committee. The work of procuring materials needed for farming in the county should all be undertaken by the personnel of the agency. In future the officials of the county cooperative farm management committee will not be allowed to travel around seeking materials. In short, the material supply agency has to assume full responsibility for the work of furnishing the cooperative farms in the county with materials in the future. Incidentally, the county cooperative farm management committee should purchase materials from this agency and send them to each cooperative farm.

Furthermore, the material supply agency must collect fees for work done by farm machines, depreciation expenses of tractors and the like paid by the cooperative farms to the state.

It will be a good thing to revise the system of agricultural management along these lines and operate it for two or three years. Shortcomings may appear in the course of operating the new management system, but you can perfect it by making the necessary changes.

As for enterprises like the farm machinery repair factory and irrigation administration office, the county cooperative farm management committee should administer all of them on its own while comprehensively managing agriculture in the county. Today the cooperative economic system in our country areas is, in fact, little short of a system of all-people ownership. At present the cooperative farms set aside only a portion of their produce for the farmers' consumption and sell all the rest to the state. The difference between the cooperative economy and all-people ownership, if any, is only limited to the absence of the system of monthly pay on the cooperative farms. Therefore, it does not matter if the cooperative farms are left to use tractors and trucks as they please and the county cooperative farm management committee is allowed to administer the irrigation facilities, the farm machinery repair factory and the like for itself. All that is required of the material supply agency is that it undertakes the supply of materials such as oil, farm machinery accessories and steel. Transactions in materials should be carried on between this agency and the county cooperative farm management committee. Then, the latter will come to play the role of the representatives of the cooperative farms in the county.

The reform of the system of agricultural management in this way means a step forward in the implementation of the task of converting cooperative property into public property in the country areas as specified in the theses on the rural question. It is true that this measure appears to be slightly premature for our present conditions, but it will not be a gross mistake in the light of the fact that the workday system and the principle of distribution according to work-points remain in force as before. In fact, the same principle of distribution is applied on the state farms at present. The difference between the state farm and

the county cooperative farm management committee is that the manager of the former is appointed by the state, whereas the chairman of the latter is elected in accordance with the democratic wishes of the farmers. It is not bad to go through a stage of this kind in developing the cooperative economic system.

Now I should like to speak about the need to strengthen Party work in agriculture.

Party work should be further strengthened in the agricultural sector in order to increase agricultural production rapidly and consolidate the rural position of the Party. As I have already said, the Party organizations in the agricultural field bungled their work in the past. They should rectify the errors in their former work as soon as possible and acquit themselves better in Party work.

Party organizations must convert their work entirely into work with people and pay primary attention to ensuring success in this work. Party work is basically work with people. Party work is organizational and political work which consists of filling all cadres, Party members and the masses with our Party's ideas, uniting them solidly around the Party and mobilizing them for the implementation of Party policy.

Man is the master of nature and society and the basic factor who decides everything. If you raise the people's ideological level and induce them to discharge their revolutionary duties as masters by working efficiently with them, everything will go perfectly. If the Party organizations and officials in the agricultural field make a success of their work with people, the farmers will use materials economically, the utilization of tractors will rise, grain production will increase and every undertaking in the countryside will make good progress. Therefore, Party organizations must turn their work completely into work with people and concentrate all their efforts on it.

In work with people it is important to encourage everyone to value and strive to bring eternal glory to his political integrity and to work hard to carry out faithfully the revolutionary tasks which the Party sets. As we often say, a man's parents give him his body, but his political integrity is given him by the Party. For a man, his physical life is

precious, but his political integrity is far more precious.

People ought to consider it to be the most grievous thing to forfeit their political integrity. If a man stands aloof from politics and revolutionary struggle, he is of no use as a social being. If he has no political integrity but only eats and spins out his life, he is no better than an animal. Today, in capitalist countries, people are kept utterly ignorant so that they will spend their time drinking and indulging in depraved living. If people spend their time in a dissolute life divorced from political activities and revolutionary struggle, what is the purpose of their life, and if they merely exist leading this sort of life, what good will they do?

Our Party members have joined the Party to live honourably with dignity as social beings who possess political integrity. When people take part in the revolutionary struggle and political life to reunify the country, build a socialist, communist society where all will live prosperously in our country, wipe out imperialism from the earth and provide an equally abundant life to everyone as specified in our Party's Programme and Rules, they will really feel it worthwhile to live and have revolutionary confidence and high pride that they are fulfilling their duties as social beings. Even in a communist society in the future, people will only find life worthwhile when they take an active part in communal labour and collective life to make everyone well-off and enjoy a socio-political life as the masters of nature and society.

Our Party rears children collectively at nurseries and kindergartens and, when they reach school age, gives them a communist education based on the science of socialist education at schools of various levels and, moreover, trains them to be members of the Party or working people's organizations and revolutionaries in order to make everyone political activists and communists who possess political integrity. This is far more worthy and honourable than the parents giving physical life to their children. It can be said that under our social system the credit of the parents is, in fact, nothing but physically giving birth to children. They have merely produced the bodies of people. In our society it is our Party which gives children schooling and revolutionary education

to become laudable communists and puts them in the revolutionary ranks. All our Party members have grown up in the embrace of the Party and live proudly and work fruitfully with the precious political integrity of members of the Workers' Party and enjoy the value of a true life while studying and developing equally, free from exploitation and oppression.

Party organizations and Party workers should conduct work with people tactfully, so that all of them will prize their political integrity, participate faithfully in Party political life for the Party that has given them political integrity and for bringing eternal glory to it, and strive with devotion to carry out the revolutionary tasks assigned to them by the Party.

The political integrity of our Workers' Party members will shine by virtue of the Party's political life. Our Party's political life immediately means the revolutionary activity to embody its revolutionary thought, the Juche idea, in all fields of the revolution and construction. For the Workers' Party members, there can be no political life and political integrity apart from the Party's revolutionary thought, the Juche idea. All Party members in the agricultural field should work hard to equip themselves closely with our Party's revolutionary thought, the Juche idea, and work in a way worthy of masters, to bring it into reality. The Juche idea which regards man as the master of everything demands that people adopt a proprietary stand and attitude in all their activities. The rural Party members and cooperative farmers are the masters of the countryside. If all Party members in the agricultural sector and the cooperative farmers expedite socialist rural construction by working hard as masters, they will enjoy a happy life and if not, they will not prosper. Only by accelerating rural construction will it be possible to bring about rapidly our desire to free the farming population from hard labour as soon as possible and provide them with a prosperous life.

Recently, the puppet rulers of south Korea started a "new community movement" in the rural areas. This is not meant to improve the lives of the peasants but to carry out a face-lift for the dilapidated country areas, and help the capitalists secure profits by selling goods to

the rural population. But our undertakings are aimed at making all farmers prosperous and hastening the building of socialism and communism through accelerated rural construction. Therefore, the Party organizations in the agricultural sector must make all farmers do farm work honestly with the attitude of a master through efficient work with people.

In conducting work with people it is forbidden to complain of their social origins. Even if a man has a bad family background, it does not matter as long as he works well for the Party and the people today. We have recently lost Comrade Jong Jun Thae who was an alternate member of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the Administration Council. He was an old-time intellectual who came from a well-to-do family and was educated in the former days. But he worked well with full devotion for the Party and the people. After the country's liberation, we brought together the technicians who were scattered all over the country in order to build a new society. At that time, we personally sent a man to fetch him from the mine where he was working. We told him: "You are a Korean and have technical knowledge, and so let us work together for the country and the people." He pledged that although he had served the landlord and capitalist classes in the past, he would from now serve the people unselfishly to the last under the General. He worked faithfully for 27 years. There were people who spurned him at first because he came from a wealthy family.

We were amply justified for embracing and working in cooperation with technicians like Comrade Jong Jun Thae. We believed firmly that only by doing so would we be able to build a new society quickly. This was why we actively embraced and worked with such people. The intellectuals we trusted and took on worked well for us. Even now we trust and work in unity with the old-time intellectuals who work loyally for the Party and the people. Our Party's emblem stands precisely for the unity of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Indeed, among the old-time intellectuals there were some who vacillated and others who were traitorous. But because we patiently re-educated the

old-time intellectuals, they worked well to help us and, as a result, it was possible to build a new society quickly in our country.

From immediately after liberation we took intellectuals under our wing and saw to it that as many as possible of them were brought together. Thus, large numbers of intellectuals flocked to us from Seoul and many other places. Many of our renowned scholars and actors and actresses came from Seoul. In fact, there were few intellectuals in Pyongyang immediately after liberation. In the days of Japanese imperialist rule our country had only one university in Seoul, and so there could not be many intellectuals in Pyongyang. Therefore, we invited large numbers of intellectuals from Seoul after liberation, and those who came in at that time have been working faithfully with us ever since.

Needless to say, both activists and waverers can be found amongst the old-time intellectuals. During our temporary retreat an intellectual of a factory decided to evacuate with our Party and followed the Party committee chairman. Nevertheless, the Party committee chairman of the factory was so hidebound that he deserted the man against the latter's will, saying that he should not follow them because he was a man of wealthy origin. But the intellectual did not go over to the enemy's side. He hid himself behind a mountain spur before following them when the Party committee chairman was almost out of sight and then hid himself only to follow them again. In this way he tagged along after our Party to the last. Even today he is working faithfully for our Party. While there are intellectuals who have been active in this way from the first, there is a different kind of intellectual. The chief engineer of a certain factory wavered when he heard that the enemy forces were coming and thought that he would not come with us. But the Party committee chairman of that factory took the man along with him. After the Americans were all driven away, he tearfully acknowledged his mistake. We forgave him and they say he is now working faithfully. Some other intellectuals went into hiding without coming along with us during the retreat, only to be humiliated by the enemy. When they saw Americans who came, killing Koreans right

and left and looting the people of their effects, their national conscience revived and they returned to us and have been working well ever since.

I mention this today to show you that even people with a heterogeneous social origin can all be educated and reformed if the Party organizations and officials conduct their work with them tactfully.

Even now, there are many amongst our people who have a heterogeneous social origin. We must trust and re-educate all of them. It is now 27 years since our country was liberated. We should trust all of the people who have followed us and worked loyally during this period and provide conditions for them to work the best they can. If Party organizations and officials deal with people of heterogeneous social origin well and generously, they can all be won over. However heterogeneous a man's social origin may be, he can be brought to serve the people with devotion if he is educated well so that he acquires a high degree of political preparedness. This is proved by history.

People of heterogeneous origin themselves should not feel nervous about their social origin, wondering whether the Party trusts them or not. The Party puts faith without distinction in all who have a heterogeneous social origin and questionable socio-political records. This is why it has placed important posts in their charge. So, they should carry out their assigned tasks with a will instead of being nervous for no good reason. The Party organizations and officials in the agricultural sector should conduct work with people of different social backgrounds skilfully to rally them closely around the Party and encourage them to carry out farm work faithfully.

Work with people is creative activity with living human beings who have different characteristics. Character and tastes and level of knowledge differ from man to man. And as people differ from each other in class origin and the circumstances in which they have grown up, they differ in their ways of thinking as well. Work with people is therefore the most difficult undertaking and it is a creative work which defies any fixed process.

Party organizations and officials should go about the work with people in a creative way in keeping with the characteristics of every individual person. When you meet an intellectual, you should deal with him in a way which suits his characteristics; when you meet a farmer, you need to treat him in terms to suit his specific character; and when you are in a worker's company, you should treat him in a manner which is congenial to his character. In dealing with cadres, too, you should distinguish between cadres of worker and peasant origin in the manner of conversation, and also between a Party worker and a working people's organization official, and between a government body official and an economic worker in the way of talking. Therefore, Party workers must rid themselves altogether of formalism in their dealings with people, and employ different forms and methods suited to the specific features of each person.

Work with people is an extensive undertaking intended for cadres and Party members in all fields of activity and for the broad masses. It is therefore impossible to conduct it successfully by involving only a few cadres in it. Party workers must educate cadres first, and then these cadres should educate Party members and people at large in their turn. Thus, all Party members and the masses should be educated and united around the Party by the method of one educating ten and ten, a hundred.

I should like to stress once again that it is the basic duty of Party workers to carry on the work with people successfully. On the farms, it is sufficient to leave the care of tractors to their drivers and material supply to the chairmen. Party workers should deal tactfully with people and thus encourage all Party members and other working people in the agricultural sector to work faithfully for the Party which has granted them political life and re-educate everyone so as to unite them firmly around the Party.

In order to ensure the unity and cohesion of the Party's ranks and enhance the fighting power of the Party, iron discipline should be enforced within the Party. Without maintaining strict Party discipline, it is impossible to eliminate all manner of irregular and

unhealthy practices from the Party and to educate its members in a principled way. It is therefore essential to establish Party discipline strictly.

Party discipline should always be applied correctly so as to educate Party members and, in particular, those who have faults, and thus redeem them. It is forbidden to expel Party members from the Party carelessly, or thoughtlessly dismiss cadres and put them to labour simply for the sake of enforcing Party discipline. Officials can make a temporary mistake, but they should not all be dismissed indiscriminately and put to labour for this reason. Those who have made an inadvertent mistake should be criticized individually by the Party secretary at first to rectify it through self-struggle. If they fail to reform in spite of the individual criticism and commit the same mistake again, they may be subjected to collective criticism at a Party cell meeting. If they mend their ways after this, it will be welcome. If they do not rectify their fault in spite of this criticism, it will then be right to dismiss them and put them to labour for disciplinary purposes. Party discipline should be applied in this way to educate and save people by allowing scope for them to remedy their faults.

It has been proposed that the people who have committed errors and are doing labour should not be moved elsewhere and I have no objection to the idea. It is advisable that the cadres of a farm who have made a mistake should be allowed to remain at the farm and reform themselves through labour.

In establishing Party discipline, such faults as can be remedied by force of criticism should be corrected through criticism and those which are past redemption through criticism should be rectified through labour under the control of the masses.

At present few of our officials commit political errors such as turning against the Party. Errors common to our rural officials are mainly economic irregularities and those which are connected with their style of work. Needless to say, even these errors, if allowed to grow, can develop into political ones. Party organizations and officials should strictly maintain Party discipline and increase ideological

education and struggle amongst Party members, so that they do not make even a trivial mistake.

Communist education should be further strengthened amongst Party members and farmers. We have already referred to communist education on many occasions, and so today I would like to emphasize only a few points.

In communist education it is of primary importance to educate people to regard labour as an honourable thing and to work willingly. Doing labour gladly and engaging in communal labour conscientiously is an important expression of communist beliefs. Party organizations and officials in the agricultural sector should educate all Party members and cooperative farmers to love labour and take an active part in farm work, doing their work honestly. In particular, Party organizations should educate Party secretaries, farm management board chairmen, leaders of workteams and sub-workteams and all other cadres on their farms to take the lead and show an example in production labour and wage a resolute ideological struggle against the old ideas of hating labour and receiving work-points without working.

Another important thing in communist education is to teach everyone to prize and take good care of public property, to manage the joint economy properly and to endeavour to build up the farm's economic life assiduously.

Education in the spirit of caring for the community and organization occupies an important place in communist education. Party organizations and officials should strengthen education to foster among Party members and cooperative farmers the spirit of caring for the community and organization and working with devotion in their interests and in the interests of the Party and the revolution everywhere and at all times, without pursuing their own life of ease and self-interest. They should train all Party members and cooperative farmers in this way to be socialist agricultural workers, builders of socialism and communism, who are equipped with a high degree of Party spirit, working-class spirit and fidelity to the people.

Party organizations should educate Party members and other

working people to acquire the noble communist ways of loving their comrades, regarding their comrades' pains as their own, and helping and guiding each other forward.

Party organizations and officials in the agricultural sector have to strengthen the communist education of Party members and cooperative farmers to equip them all closely with communist ideology.

In conclusion, I should like to make some brief remarks on the need to make good preparations for this year's farming immediately.

On all cooperative farms, all farmers should turn out, as they did in 1968, and prepare a large quantity of compost and take it out to the fields without delay. It is necessary to keep tractors and small and medium farm implements in good repair so that there will be no hindrance in farm work. Seeds and cold-bed nurseries for rice seedlings should be well prepared and these nurseries carefully tended so that strong young rice plants can be bedded out at the right season.

The work of ensuring suitable living conditions for the cooperative farmers should be conducted properly in advance to prevent them from going here and there to buy goods during the farming season. This kind of work is done skilfully at the Jamjin Cooperative Farm in Kangso County. Here sufficient quantities of bean paste and soya sauce are supplied in advance for the farmers to dispense with going to the shops for them in the rice-transplanting and weeding seasons. Even medicines are kept ready to dress injuries at once if farmers hurt their hands or feet while bedding out rice seedlings or weeding. All cooperative farms should make arrangements of this kind properly by learning from the experience of Jamjin-ri.

Good preparatory work should be done to make effective use of the work force coming to the farms to give help. At present many farms do not make any preparations to receive helping hands, and when they receive them, assign them to any job that comes along, before they send them back at the end of their time. This year preparations for rationally using the work force coming to help in farming should be meticulously and properly done. All cooperative farms should thus transplant rice seedlings in good time and weed the fields many times

during the appropriate season this year.

While striving to increase grain production in the current year, we should further consolidate the material foundation of agriculture and thus make sure of the production of six to seven million tons of grain in the years to come.

When you return home, all comrades attending this meeting should repeat all the contents of the matters discussed here to the cooperative farmers and organize work properly to complete the tasks in hand. All Party members and cooperative farmers should thus be made to turn out as one to bring about a great increase in agricultural production and attain the goal of grain production for this year without fail.

We intend to hold a further meeting of agricultural workers after the completion of farm work this autumn. We hope that then we will receive a victorious report from you comrades who will have achieved the goal of grain production for the current year.

# **FOR ENTERPRISING IDEOLOGICAL, TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS IN THE LIGHT INDUSTRY SECTOR**

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting  
of University Instructors and Students Who Had Been  
Mobilized to Help Light Industry Factories  
during the “Month of Light Industry”**

*January 31, 1973*

At this consultative meeting, the university instructors and students who had been mobilized to help light industry factories during the “Month of Light Industry” reported on the situation in the factories where they had worked. We consider that all your reports are correct. It is very gratifying that you have visited light industry factories, although it was for a short time, and given them assistance during the “Month of Light Industry”.

You all know that during the Seven-Year Plan we were unable to make a large investment in light industry because we had to concentrate on increasing our defence power. But since the beginning of the period of the Six-Year Plan, we have made a large investment in light industry. As a result, we have completed the construction of the September Textile Mill and the Sariwon Textile Mill and are now working hard to increase the number of spindles at the Pyongyang Textile Mill. Last year we built knitwear mills capable of producing enough sweaters and jackets to provide one per head of our population every year, in addition to the amount produced by the knitwear mills

which were already in existence. Many footwear factories have also been built since we began the Six-Year Plan.

The present capability of our light industry in all its branches is by no means small both in terms of technical equipment and production capacity.

The textile industry, for instance, has as many as 750,000 spindles. In the days immediately after liberation, there was a small textile mill in Sariwon and another in Sinuiju, and their spindles totalled scarcely 10,000 or 20,000. We are going to increase the total number of spindles to one million during the Six-Year Plan. This means that we have to obtain 250,000 additional spindles, and this is not a big problem.

Our textile industry lacks nothing from the point of view of its structure. It is equipped with facilities for weaving cotton, woolen and flax textiles as well as for spinning both high and low count yarn. We can say that the textile industry has a good variety of equipment.

In spite of this, the quality of the fabrics which are produced in our country is not yet good. The quality of the material of your clothes is also low. Because of their low quality our textiles cannot find a large market around the world. At present, we are exporting some fabric items, but only small amounts of them.

If the light industry sector operates its factories efficiently, puts production on a steady basis and improves the quality of our products, we shall be able to supply good-quality suits and underwear to the people and provide children with good clothing.

The capacity of our textile industry is very large. Those comrades who have visited the September Textile Mill on this occasion must have seen that the mill looks like a palace. It is a large textile mill which was constructed so that it would be able to provide clothing for the people even in the event of a possible war. The Sariwon Textile Mill is also equipped with modern facilities capable of spinning high count yarn. It will be enlarged by the addition of new looms and dyeing facilities at some time in the future. It will then become even more modern. With the addition of 50,000 spindles, the Pyongyang Textile Mill will account for nearly one third of the total number of spindles in

our country. Few textile mills in the world are equal to this mill in the number of spindles.

All our textile mills are modern. All of them have been built since the end of the war and equipped with modern facilities. Few of them have machines which have been used since the time of Japanese imperialism. If there is any such machinery, there is a small quantity in the Pyongyang Textile Mill. There are now very many small and medium textile mills in our country in addition to the large ones, and most of them are also provided with modern equipment.

There is no great problem in the supply of raw materials for the textile industry. As many as 20,000 tons of vinalon were produced last year. It is true that in recent years vinalon production has been hampered to a considerable extent by the acute shortage of electric power because of the dry weather. The reservoir of the Suphung Power Station has not been full for approximately four years, and this was also the situation at the reservoir of the Unbong Power Station from the time of its construction until only a few years ago. This impeded carbide production and also vinalon production. But in the autumn of the year before last Lake Suphung filled, and the power situation began to improve. As a result, last year the February 8 Vinalon Factory was able to work at capacity and produce 20,000 tons of vinalon.

At present, the extension of this factory to a capacity of 50,000 tons is under way. The Minister of Chemical Industry reported that the extension project will be finished by May Day this year. When the project is completed, 50,000 tons of vinalon will be produced every year. We have an annual capacity to produce 30,000 to 40,000 tons of staple fibre and rayon yarn. As you can see, we shall have an annual capacity to produce nearly 100,000 tons of chemical fibre alone. In addition, we import tens of thousands of tons of cotton lint every year. This means that in the future nearly 150,000 tons of fibre will be available every year and that the problem of raw materials for the textile industry will then be solved.

There are also a considerable number of footwear factories in our country. In Pyongyang, for instance, there is a modern leather-shoe

factory with the annual capacity to produce 1.5 million pairs. If we operate this factory well, we shall be able to produce more than enough shoes to supply every citizen of Pyongyang with a pair every year. There is also a factory which produces plastic shoes and other kinds in each province. In the past when we had only one shoe factory in our country, the whole country had to suffer a shortage of shoes if that factory did not work well. So we got each province to build a shoe factory. There will be no problem for the existing shoe factories alone to produce 50 to 60 million pairs a year. But the problem is that the shoes produced in our country are neither good-looking nor durable.

As matters now stand, we are using all the raw materials that are needed, but we are not improving the quality of products. This is why we are not better off. Of course, we need not wear opulent clothes as the bourgeoisie does because we are revolutionaries. But we must produce good-quality fabrics and shoes so as to ensure that the people are dressed neatly and attractively. We have, for a long time, been stressing the need to improve the quality of textiles and other consumer goods, but this problem has not yet been overcome.

At present, people are not provided with good clothing, and this is not because the Party's policy is wrong or because there are no factories. The trouble is that our officials do not know how to ride the good riding horses which are available to them. They do not know how to make use of the large assets which are in their hands.

The light industry sector has built all the large, excellent factories, but few of them operate as they should.

When I was visiting Ryanggang Province last year in order to participate in the celebrations arranged in honour of the 35th anniversary of the victory of the Pochonbo Battle, I made an inspection tour of the Hyesan Flax Textile Mill. The factory was ten years old, but it was not operating efficiently. I made enquiries about the situation, wondering whether a shortage of raw materials was the cause of inefficient production at the mill. But this was not the case. The mill had a large stockpile of raw materials. The executives of the mill had numerous excuses to offer for their inefficient operation of the mill—the

shortage of steam and so on.

This is a large textile mill with an annual capacity of 12 million metres of linen. But we cannot see many people who are dressed in clothes made of the fabrics produced by this mill. Although it is ten years since the mill was built, the people have not benefited from it. At the plenary meeting of the Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee, I severely criticized the executives for their neglect of the management of the good mill after its construction. In spite of this, the mill is still not operating as it should.

The situation is the same at the Hamhung Woolen Textile Mill. This is a very good mill which was constructed during the Seven-Year Plan and equipped with an imported plant. But this mill, too, has not been operated efficiently so far. It is true to say that the inadequate supply of raw materials has been a cause of irregular production at this mill. But the main reason is that the mill's equipment has been managed so carelessly that machines are not running smoothly. The mill has never been worked to capacity, and yet the situation is such that its looms have already had to be replaced.

The management of equipment is also unsatisfactory at the Sariwon Textile Mill. This mill is not producing a great deal of cloth because looms are now being installed; it is producing some thread for the production of knitwear. Because of the negligent management of the equipment, new machines of this mill are becoming unusable. According to the report of the university students who have been to this mill, an electric motor bearing with the rated life span of five years has been damaged within two years of use. If the equipment is managed in this manner, the Sariwon Textile Mill will become worn out before it produces the first supplies of good-quality fabrics for the people.

The same situation prevails at the Pyongyang Textile Mill. Having read your reports on the situation of the light industry factories, I inspected the Pyongyang Textile Mill yesterday in order to confirm the facts. I found that it was very dirty.

As you know, on our visit to the Kusong Textile Mill after the war I said that the production of fabrics was an art. At that time the mill was

very dirty. So I criticized the senior officials in charge of light industry and ordered the mill to suspend production, instructing that it was not to resume production before it was cleaned up and kept in good order. All factories, and textile mills in particular, must be clean.

The Pyongyang Textile Mill is undertaking the extension project for more spindles carelessly. It has constructed a building by rushing the work in order to house the machines which spin threads from chemical fibre. We said that, on completion of the factory building, the machines should be installed quickly so as to start operation. On this account, machines were being installed in the dirty and dusty building which was still incomplete and even lacked windows. This is not the way to guarantee the life span of the machines.

We are working day and night to improve the people's standard of living, but light industry factories are working carelessly in this manner. We can only regard it as a harmful activity which is intended to prevent our people under the socialist system from being provided with good clothing and from being prosperous by shortening the life span of the good machines and making it impossible to produce high-quality fabrics and knitted goods.

Yesterday we sent a secretary of the Party Central Committee and a vice-premier of the Administration Council to see how nightwork was being done at the Pyongyang Textile Mill. According to the report of these comrades, a considerable number of workers on night shift at this mill and at the Pyongyang Silk Textile Mill were sleeping. This shows how slack our people are in ideology. As we always say, the ideological revolution must be given priority over all other work. Otherwise, the economy in our country would inevitably stand still as it does in some other countries.

The Pyongyang Daily Necessities Combine is also carelessly managed. On my way back from the Pyongyang Textile Mill yesterday, I inspected the building in which the combine is located. Originally the building was very good. But the factory has neglected its repair and maintenance, using the funds provided for this purpose for other ends. As a result, the building is now in a bad condition. At

present, the daily necessities combine, the Songyo Knitwear Factory and the Pyongyang General Clothing Factory are housed in this building. But, because of self-centredness, these three factories arranged their own compartments for use as cinemas, study rooms and offices. At first, the building was spacious and sturdily built because it was intended to house machines. As matters now stand, however, cinemas, study rooms and offices have been arranged by each factory in separate compartments so that not only is the proper management of the building impossible, but there is also no room for the storage of raw materials and products. The Songyo Knitwear Factory uses the threads from the Sariwon Textile Mill as raw material, and as it keeps the threads in hemp sacks and leaves them to roll about anywhere, the threads become entangled and unusable. The factory is now wasting a great deal of labour, reeling the threads again.

The textile industry is not developing a repair centre worth mentioning, although its machines are wearing out. If it develops a repair centre and uses it effectively, it will be perfectly able to repair textile machines on its own. The Sinuiju Spinning Machine Factory was formerly making textile machine parts. But the fame-seeking executives of this factory gave up the production of machine parts and started producing spinning machines, allegedly to make higher speed ones than those of foreign make. The result was that the factory manufactured neither efficient spinning machines nor spare parts. Because of their lip service, a large number of machines at textile mills had to stop working since spare parts were not available. Last year we learned of this and ordered it to resume the production of textile machine parts.

Clothing factories are also making clothes carelessly. Last year they produced approximately six million padded taffeta coats for children, and the standard of manufacture was generally bad, although some of them were made well.

At present, light industry has many other shortcomings which must be corrected. If these defects are not corrected as soon as possible, light industry will be unable to develop.

The light industry sector must press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. Only when it maintains factories neatly, manages equipment well and improves the workers' technical standard quickly by carrying on the three revolutions forcefully, can it produce high-quality cloth, shoes and jackets. Otherwise, we shall never be able to produce high-quality consumer goods and improve the people's standard of living.

The Party intends to send university students again to help the light industry factories. Over the last three months, university lecturers and students have achieved no small success by helping these factories, but this is not enough. They will have to go to these factories again and press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions.

We are going to carry out the three revolutions in our own way and organizationally under the leadership of the Party. The students must reform the ideas of the people at light industry factories and raise their technical standards by means of education and personal examples, so that they can manage factories well and establish modern practices in production. In other words, the students must play the role of the bodyguards, the guards, to the Party in carrying out the three revolutions.

At first, when I read your reports, I thought it necessary to send university students again to work in light industry factories for approximately six months more. But on my visit to the Pyongyang Textile Mill yesterday, I thought that six months would not do. I think it desirable for the students to go to these factories and work there for approximately one year and a half until May Day next year so as to spark off the revolution. At today's consultative meeting, some comrades said that they had emerged victorious in the fight at light industry factories. But I do not think that there was any signal victory. You have not improved these factories noticeably. You have only learned about the situation there during the "Month of Light Industry". The fact that you have repaired a few damaged electric motors for them cannot be regarded as a victory. Whether the students are victorious or not will be proved by the results of the struggle they are going to wage at the factories for one year and a half. Light industry factories must be maintained neatly, and

high-quality goods must be produced there. In other words, you can only say that you have triumphed when high-quality knitted goods, high-quality suiting, high-quality shirting, high-quality footwear, and high-quality clothes are produced by these factories.

University students must not report that they have carried out the task given by the Party until they have reformed the ideas of the people, effected technical innovations and established modern production practices at the factories and other enterprises in the light industry sector by carrying on the three revolutions. When the light industry factories have been put into good order, I shall inspect them. If I cannot inspect them myself, I will let other cadres do it in my stead.

In order to press ahead with the three revolutions in the light industry sector, it is necessary for the officials of the Light Industry Department of the Party Central Committee to take the lead in visiting factories with university students. All the officials of this department except those in charge of personnel affairs must visit factories to work for the three revolutions. There they must work well with people and help the conservatives to correct their shortcomings through the ideological struggle rather than dismiss them.

This time more university instructors and students will have to be mobilized than during the “Month of Light Industry”, so that students can visit nearly all the light industry factories. They must even visit repair shops and rubber factories in the light industry sector.

The teams which are sent to help the light industry sector must be composed of students from different branches of science. As light industry involves many chemical production processes, students of the University of Chemical Industry must be included in the teams. It was a mistake that these students were not mobilized last time. The University of Light Industry must mobilize many of its girl students. The students of the faculties of philosophy and economics of Kim Il Sung University must also be mobilized. The students of this university must engage mainly in giving lectures on Juche philosophy and in the ideological struggle at the factories. The students of the University of Construction and Building Materials must also be

mobilized. They can, for instance, help the workers maintain their factories and surroundings in a clean condition. The students of electronics will also have to be sent to factories to help them in mechanization and automation.

The responsibility for organizing the teams to be sent to the light industry sector must be assumed by the secretary of the Party Central Committee and the vice-premier of the Administration Council who are in charge of light industry, and the responsibility for mobilizing university lecturers and students by the officials of the Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee. The officials of this department must unreservedly mobilize an adequate number of people who are needed for the organization of the teams.

Presidents of universities may worry about the possibility of having to suspend university education if large numbers of their lecturers and students are mobilized. They need not worry about that. Since only senior classes are mobilized in these activities, universities can continue to teach the junior classes. The students' participation in the three revolutions is a part of their study. When they find themselves in difficulties while working in factories, they will naturally refer to books. We, too, read more when we are faced with difficulties in building socialism or when we have to write about a subject. If books cannot give you the answer to your problem, you have to think it out for yourself. We are of the opinion that natural science is easier than social science. Since many countries, though capitalist, are developed in science and technology, there are a large number of reference books on science and technology. By contrast, not many books have been written on social science, and so we have to find solutions to many problems by ourselves.

If we send students to work in factories amongst the working class for approximately one year and a half, it will also greatly facilitate the working-classization of the students. In the course of fighting at factories as bodyguards and guards to the Party, the students will be hardened further and develop to be revolutionary technical cadres.

Since the students will stay in the factories for 18 months, it is

necessary for them to have temporary Party organizations and League of Socialist Working Youth organizations. The students who are members of the LSWY must prepare themselves for Party membership through this struggle. Each of the teams must review its work every month, and the review of their work on a national basis will have to be made at suitable intervals. University instructors must teach their students at factories. The Party must ensure the supply of material necessities for the mobilized university lecturers and students including working clothes for the students.

What, then, are the specific tasks of the university lecturers and students who are going to work in factories again?

First of all, they must fight to reform people, that is, press ahead with the ideological revolution.

Most of the cadres now working in the light industry sector were educated at Kim Chaek University of Technology and other universities in our country. But they were trained not by lecturers who were armed with the Juche idea as they are now, but by those who were greatly affected with the idea of worshipping the large powers. Therefore, they are under the influence of conservatism, flunkeyism and revisionism. They are not as good as the new generation who have been equipped with our Juche philosophy.

The people who were given university education in the past consider themselves perfect. They do not educate themselves, nor do they participate in group study, neglecting even the reading of newspapers, so that they are now out-of-date. They do not manage factories as they should, nor are they willing to hold themselves responsible for their own work. Many of them are like the commercial instructor in the film *Salesgirls on the Train*. They neglect their duties, only paying lip service to them, and try to shift the blame onto others. We can say that the ideological state of the commercial instructor in this film represents the ideological state of some of our officials at present.

At present, some officials are conservative and think highly of foreign things only. Certainly, the equipment for light industry which is produced in some countries, developed capitalist countries in

particular, is good. Capitalist countries earned money by developing light industry first, and then developed heavy industry. That is why light industry in these countries is highly developed. Socialist countries develop heavy industry first and, on this foundation, develop light industry, so that for a certain period their light industry may lag behind that of capitalist countries. But this does not mean that the policy of socialist countries is wrong.

As they have powerful heavy industry centres, the socialist countries are perfectly able to develop their light industry to a high level and overtake and outstrip capitalist countries. None of the textile machines and other equipment of light industry is beyond the manufacturing capability of our country. Even the latest automated textile machinery of some capitalist countries has nothing which is beyond ordinary understanding, except some electronic blocks. These things can all be made in our country. It depends on whether our officials work hard to make an effective use of the foundations of our heavy industry and develop light industry, or not.

We must provide all our children, women and men with fine clothes made of domestically produced fabrics and raise the quality of consumer goods to world standards within the next three years, so that they will not be inferior to any goods on the international market in the final year of the Six-Year Plan.

We must intensify the struggle against outdated ideas amongst officials in the light industry sector, the struggle to root out revisionism and flunkeyism in particular.

We must also combat manifestations of the lack of Party spirit, working-class spirit and people-oriented spirit amongst officials. We must fight against those who are not trying to provide the people with better clothing and to improve their living standards, but who shirk responsibility for their work and are content with maintaining the status quo, going through life in a happy-go-lucky fashion. These people cannot be regarded as communists; they can only be considered opportunists. There are many such people in the light industry sector.

Let me give you an example.

When we were told that 1,800 tons of cocoons, which had cost painstaking efforts, might have to rot because the Pyongyang Silk Textile Mill did not have the capacity to process them, we asked the Hamhung Woolen Textile Mill if it could produce lint from the cocoons. The mill fed some of the cocoons to its carding machines on an experimental basis, and said that the results were good. At present, the mill is producing lint from cocoons and experimenting with spinning it into yarn. I think it will succeed. There is no reason why yarn cannot be spun from the lint now that lint can be produced from cocoons.

In spite of this, senior officials in charge of light industry have done nothing to explore any reserve. They simply said that there was no alternative but to import the necessary machines to make up the shortage in the capacity of the Pyongyang Silk Textile Mill. Since the carding machine of the Hamhung Woolen Textile Mill is not running at full capacity because of the shortage of raw material, it can be fed with the cocoons so as to produce lint. Then, the cocoons will not have to rot. If the chrysalises are removed from the cocoons, the 1,800 tons are not a large amount. Is it a proper attitude to do nothing beyond wishing to import machines to process this small amount? If the spinning capacity is too small, it will have to be increased by importing the necessary equipment at some time in the future, but it is imperative to take every possible step to spin yarn from the cocoons which are on the brink of rotting. In fact, this is not a difficult problem under the present conditions in our country.

Some light industry officials do not study their work intensively, nor do they work out in detail how to solve their problems. These people are like the commercial instructor in the film *Salesgirls on the Train*. The fact that they even neglect measures to prevent cocoons from rotting, thinking only of importing machines, is an example of the harmful effect of living in a careless and casual manner. We must intensify the struggle against the opportunists who work in an irresponsible manner because they have got into the habit of slovenly working.

It is advisable to show the students films about the wasteful practices in the light industry sector as well as the films *Rolling*

*Workers and Salesgirls on the Train*, in order to help them to fight effectively when they work in the factories. These films will encourage them to fight better there.

We must also combat conservatism.

It is a long time since we imported efficient spinning machines with the rated spindle speed of 13,000 revolutions. But officials in the light industry sector are not operating them at full capacity, not even at the rated capacity, because they are afraid of being held responsible if anything should happen to the machines. They can be likened to a man who is afraid of falling, and so rides a horse at the speed of only four kilometres, although it can run 400 kilometres. As matters now stand, our officials have good riding horses, but they are spoiling them because they do not know how to ride them. If the machines have a rated capacity of 13,000 revolutions, they ought to be operated beyond the rated capacity, but operation at even the rated capacity is not ensured. Just as a good horse requires a skilful rider, the Chollima requires a man who knows how to ride it. We cannot afford to place horses capable of running 400 kilometres at the disposal of the conservatives who run only four kilometres and to wait until they give up their conservatism and become reformed. If we wait like that, good-quality fabrics will never be produced.

University students must fight against the conservatives and reform them as soon as possible. They must also oppose the loafers who work in a slipshod manner.

You must also give lectures to equip the workers and technicians with the Juche idea of our Party. You must hold a great many collective discussions and fight effectively, instead of working quickly because your mobilization period is short. You must educate executives and workers and technicians and put them on the right track.

Next, you must carry on the technical revolution.

At factories and enterprises, students must work with people on the one hand, and on the other work with their equipment. The machines and other equipment of the light industry factories have been obtained at the cost of the blood and sweat of our people; they have been imported for a

large sum of foreign currency. Can it be tolerated that they are damaged or made unusable before they are twenty years old? In this period of struggle you students must ensure that all the existing machines are maintained properly like new ones. You must consider how to increase the production capacity of factories to the maximum so that the existing equipment of the light industry sector can produce as much cloth as possible and weave it most attractively and durably for the people, how to use raw materials most economically, and how to produce spare parts on our own, and you must work hard to solve these problems.

The spare parts which are needed for the maintenance of machines at given factories can be produced by the factories concerned or by other factories through the arrangement of the task by mutual contact between team members. Necessary spare parts can also be obtained from factories of the machine-building industry by getting into touch with them. In North Phyongan Province, for instance, there are many machine factories. So, if you get in touch with them, you can obtain as many spare parts as you need. You say that last time, when you students alone went to work in factories, you had contacts with other factories in your own individual capacity and persuaded workers there to make the spare parts for you. But this time you will not have to do so. This time the teams consist not only of students but also instructors of the Party Central Committee, so you can obtain things like spare parts locally with the help of the heavy industry department of the provincial Party committee concerned. Items which are beyond the authority of this department can be obtained by bringing the matter to the central headquarters of the three revolutions. That is why you need not worry about things like spare parts in your work, but must ensure the maintenance of the equipment.

You must not only maintain the equipment well, but also work hard to mechanize and automate production processes. If you find anything wrong in the supply of materials and in other activities while carrying out your mission on this occasion, you must report it to the Party Central Committee without delay. We will then take the necessary steps. Your work will be supervised by the Party Central Committee.

You say that the present machine oil supply system is unsatisfactory. You must see to it that it is put right. In addition, it is desirable that you should study the possibility of producing machine oil domestically, instead of importing it.

You must also study how to save manpower further and work out a suitable way of doing this.

At present, many of the newly-built factories cannot work because of the shortage of labour. However, manpower is being wasted everywhere, particularly because of self-centredness on the part of factories and other enterprises. Therefore, we are now going to reorganize part of the management structure. Through this structural change the present management bureau system will be abolished, and new operational bureaus will be set up on a regional basis. This step is intended to eliminate the practice of concentrating too many technicians in central authorities and send them to subordinate units, closer to production sites. The present management bureaus within ministries have mainly exercised the functions of administrative leadership; they supervise the productive activities of subordinate factories and other enterprises, but they are not directly responsible for these activities. By contrast, the new operational bureau will combine several factories and enterprises as an operational unit under its jurisdiction and direct it in the field on its own responsibility.

The Pyongyang Textile Mill and the Pyongyang Silk Textile Mill, for instance, are now managed as two separate mills, although they are located in the same premises and there is no particular reason for this. Being self-centred, the managers of the two mills waste a great deal of labour. We are planning to merge these two mills into one mill and call it the Pyongyang Textile Combine in the future. The towel factory and the mill which weaves cloth for umbrellas and other similar mills which are in Pyongyang will be made branch mills of the textile combine and managed as an operational unit which balances its own budget. This will save hundreds of work hands who are being wasted because of the self-centred attitudes of the Pyongyang Textile Mill and the Pyongyang Silk Textile Mill. In addition, if the Pyongyang Textile

Combine supplies raw materials and spare parts to its branch mills, the large staff at each of these branches in charge of supply of these items can be taken away.

In Sinuiju factories of the same category can also be amalgamated. In this city, the Sinuiju Textile Mill can be made the parent factory and, on this basis, the Sinuiju Woolen Textile Mill, the Sinuiju Towel Mill and other similar state-run mills can be merged into an operational unit. In addition, small factories can be amalgamated according to the types of industry and managed by an operational bureau to be organized. In Pyongyang there are many small footwear factories, for instance, and they can be grouped under one operational bureau with a staff of approximately ten people who will direct production at these factories on their own responsibility. The staff members of the operational bureaus will be responsible for technical guidance, the supply of materials and all other activities for the operation of the factories under their jurisdiction, and they will be paid according to the fulfilment of the production plans by these factories in terms of items.

We are going to reorganize the system of managing light industry factories and enterprises in this direction, and this will save a great deal of labour. At the moment, you need not be involved in the problems related to the organization of the new management system, but in the future you should express your opinions if you find any irregularities in the operation of the new management system.

University students must not make a mystery of technology, but teach it to workers and help them to use modern machines skilfully.

They must also fight against empiricists.

At present, many officials, lacking scientific knowledge, perform their duties according to their past experience. When we visit factories, we meet cadres. If we ask them which university they have graduated from, most of them answer that they have been educated at Kim Chaek University of Technology. Many of them have completed the industrial cadres course of this university. It was a two-year course which was aimed at teaching officials the method of managing factories in order to meet the shortage of cadres in the past. Many of

the people who took this course are now chief engineers and managers of light industry factories. In their university days, they learned only how to manage factories rather than being given a rich knowledge of science and technology, and the method of factory management they learnt was a dogmatic copy of a foreign method at that. That is why they are now working simply from their experience. Sometimes their experience can work, but often it is not useful because it is not based on scientific theory. Their experience can be likened to a prescription made out by a doctor of Korean medicine.

Korean medicine is a collection of experiences in treating patients for thousands of years. It has not yet been systematized scientifically and theoretically, so that its prescriptions are sometimes effective and sometimes not, depending on the cases. That is why we say that Korean medicine has something unscientific, although it is scientific. When medicines which are administered in accordance with prescriptions of Korean medicine suit the physical conditions of the patients and are, therefore, effective, we can consider the prescriptions scientific, but with a patient of different physical qualities even the same medicine for the same disease may not be effective, and in this case we cannot say that the prescription is scientific.

Of course, this is not to say that Korean medicine can be ignored. We intend to speak at some time in the future about the need to develop Korean medicine. We can say now offhand that the conventional method of diagnosis in Korean medicine must be combined with the modern method of medical examination. Diagnoses in Korean medicine also require blood tests, urine tests and various other tests just as the modern method of examination does. Feeling a patient's pulse cannot find out the number of his red and white corpuscles. It is necessary, therefore, for the doctors of Korean medicine to make a thorough study of new methods of diagnosis which combine the conventional and modern methods of examination and work out scientific methods of prescription and publish them in written form. If this is done, Korean medicine will be able to make an effective contribution to the treatment of patients.

The same principle applies to the question of eliminating empiricism from the economic sector. Experience alone is not enough to increase production successfully. The main reason for unsuccessful farming in recent years is that crops are not grown on scientific and technological principles but on the basis of empiricism. That is why the Party is now looking for the people who have graduated from the university of agriculture and sending them to work in rural communities. If all these agriculturists had been appointed to cooperative farms in the past, they would have grown crops on scientific and technological principles.

But graduates of the university of agriculture have been appointed elsewhere, and cooperative farms, lacking agriculturists, have had to depend on the experience of farmers in growing crops. On the use of fertilizer, for instance, farmers have only a vague notion, based on their experience, that some fertilizer is suitable for clay fields and that some fertilizer is suitable for sandy fields. In his speech at the consultative meeting of the agricultural workers from South Hwanghae Province, Pyongyang, North and South Phyongan Provinces a few days ago, a chairman of the management board of a cooperative farm said that urea fertilizer was not suitable for damp and cold land. Why does it not suit damp and cold land? The Netherlands and Norway have a heavy rainfall, but they cultivate potatoes by using urea fertilizer and harvest scores of tons per hectare. There is no reason why this fertilizer should affect crops badly in our country. Agriculture is not developing quickly because agricultural workers cultivate crops simply on their experience, knowing neither biology nor the method of using fertilizer.

The same thing can be said of light industry. Our light industry is not developing rapidly because the graduates of Kim Chaek University of Technology who did not learn a great deal of advanced science and technology in the past are now working empirically at light industry factories. If these people are not changed, they will not be able to manage modern machinery skilfully, choose the colours of fabrics harmoniously or weave cloth on the scientific principle of textile structure. On this occasion, university lecturers and students must,

therefore, teach them advanced science and technology and persuade them not to depend on empiricism. The lecturers must give them lectures on world trends in technological progress and re-educate them by various methods just as they teach their own students. The instructors of Kim Chaek University of Technology and other universities are better than the technicians who graduated from Meiji University and similar universities in former days.

Let me give an example.

We had the problem of increasing the capacity of the dressing plant of the Musan Mine to six million tons of concentrate so as to process more iron ore. The best way to increase the dressing capacity is to modernize the existing dressing equipment rather than to build a new plant. But some technicians suggested that because the space of the existing one was too small, a new dressing plant would have to be built. Their suggestion not only involves a very large construction project but also a long period of construction time. So we explained to the officials in this sector that in foreign countries large machines were used in small dressing plants so as to process large amounts of ore and that it would be a good idea for them to do the same. Hearing our explanation, the officials of the General Bureau of the Metallurgical Industry of the Heavy Industry Commission accepted the Party's idea and discussed the matter with instructors of Kim Chaek University of Technology. The university instructors said that if it had large machines and modified its interior a little, the existing dressing plant would be able to increase its capacity. The Premier of the Administration Council visited the mine and gave the task of equipping the dressing plant with large machines so as to increase its capacity. But even after this, the old-line technicians were reluctant to accept the idea, complaining that he had given them an impossible task. They were set on worshipping large powers.

In order to overcome their objection, it was necessary to confront them with foreigners. I told our officials to ask the opinion of foreign dressing technicians who happened to be visiting our country at that time. The foreign technicians visited the Musan Mine to study the

question posed by our officials. On their return, they said that if the dressing plant of the mine was equipped with modern machinery, it would be able to increase its capacity to not only six million tons, but 6.5 million tons, within the existing space. There is no reason for the old-line university graduates to be complacent. They must not talk nonsense, without even knowing world trends, nor studying because they learned a little technology in the remote past when tigers were in the habit of smoking.

People who neglect study are bound to stand still, being blind to what is happening in the world. The instructors of Kim Chaek University of Technology affirmed the possibility of increasing the capacity of the dressing plant of the Musan Mine because they had studied at all times, reading many books on science and technology and knew world trends. But the old-line technicians doubted the possibility because they had become the slaves of routine and were ignorant of world trends as a result of their neglect of study. Of course, I do not mean to say that they are all wicked people. They were doubtful because, affected with conservatism, they were afraid that they might fail and cause loss to the state by adopting the opinion. It is necessary, therefore, to combat the idea of conservatism and that of making a mystery of technology. The technical revolution can only be successful when it is combined properly with the ideological revolution.

We must also develop the cultural revolution.

A great revolution is needed to establish modern production practices in the light industry sector. Without establishing these practices, it is impossible for light industry to produce high-quality goods. Modern production practices will enable people to work with clear minds and make high-quality goods. As matters now stand, however, these practices have not been established in the light industry sector.

The university students who are going to work in factories and enterprises must wage an ideological struggle against the outdated idea and habit of careless factory management and help factory management by practical deeds.

In the first place, all the machines in the factories must be kept

absolutely spotlessly clean. Factory buildings must also be repaired where repairs are needed. The students from the University of Construction and Building Materials must repair the floors of factories so that they are clean and tidy, mend the roofs so as to prevent leaks, and teach sound methods for keeping factory surroundings clean. They must also study how to put exposed heating pipes underground so as to prevent the waste of heat, and how to reorganize the factory environs in a cultured way, and organize a campaign to put exposed heating pipes underground, mobilizing the LSWY members.

Ventilators will have to be made and installed in factories like the Pyongyang Textile Mill. Yesterday I visited this mill and found that it was dusty. In this mill, the workshops which are to be built should be provided with ventilators first, and then the existing ones. The lecturers and students from the University of Construction and Building Materials must design the ventilators for the mill and help it in installing them.

It is necessary to raise the cultural standard of the workers.

The university lecturers and students who are now going to work in light industry factories are entrusted with a very heavy task. You must carry out the task given by the Party without fail. If you press ahead with the three revolutions in light industry factories, both the existing factories and new factories will operate smoothly. Then, a large quantity of footwear will be produced, high-quality suiting will be turned out, and the people's standard of living will rise considerably in the next two or three years.

If the students press ahead with the three revolutions in the light industry sector, the light industry centres which have been built will prove their worth even more. Old factories will become like new ones, and the new factories will operate efficiently from the start. If the three revolutions are not pushed forward forcefully in the light industry sector, the people who are affected with outdated ideas will be unable to operate their factories at full capacity because they will continue to be afraid of being held responsible for possible mistakes, the old machines will go from bad to worse, and the new machines will be

damaged within a short time. Then, high-quality cloth and footwear will not be produced, and the consumer goods produced in our country will be unable to match world standards.

The three revolutions are not only needed in light industry but also in the machine-building industry and all other industries.

Some time ago, we visited the tractor spare parts factory in Sariwon. This is the first of its kind in our country, which was built immediately after the armistice. So we imagined that it would be highly developed and that its technical standard would be high. But on our recent visit, we found it disorganized.

If we had let them know in advance that we were going to visit the factory, the executives would have come out to meet us and would have shown us to well-kept areas only. Then, we should have been unable to understand the situation at the factory clearly. So we went to the factory unexpectedly at about nine o'clock in the evening, without telling anybody of our intention to visit it. When we were inspecting the factory, more than half the machines were at a standstill, machines were unpainted, and it was very cold in the factory. So I criticized the senior officials of the provincial Party committee and the secretary of the Party Central Committee concerned. I asked why so many machines were idle, and the provincial Party committee secretary for industry answered that, although all the machines were operated on the daytime shift, only half of them were worked because of the shortage of work hands on the night shift. That was a lie. This factory is said to have 120 machines and as many as 900 employees at present. If it operates on two shifts, 250 men will be sufficient. Why does it need 900 workers when it has only 120 machine tools? The present way of calculating the norms of work forces in the machine-building industry is wrong. Officials of the machine-building industry say that six workers are needed for every machine tool according to the old norm which they learnt when they were studying abroad. If this old norm is applicable to our estimate, the factory will have to have so many work hands. But what is the use of this outdated foreign norm for us? Many of our officials are now ideologically backward. They know nothing

about developments in the world nor do they understand how high the revolutionary enthusiasm of our working class is.

In my treatise, *On Some Theoretical Problems of the Socialist Economy*, which was published several years ago, I already raised the question of making effective use of the form of value and other economic levers in economic management to suit the characteristics of the socialist society, a transitional society, and clarified the principles and ways of solving the question. But our officials who are in charge of directing economic affairs have accepted them merely as a theory. They have not organized practical work to implement the theory. Certainly, there are some regulations which have been issued by the Cabinet. But even these regulations are not observed strictly by subordinate officials.

As matters now stand, no one cares about the practice of factories and enterprises employing an unreasonably large number of men and wasting labour, their practice of keeping large stockpiles of materials which are not used, is passed over, and nothing is done to rebuke the factory executives and men who keep their machines idle. Consequently, these executives want to receive as much manpower, equipment and materials as possible without calculation. When directing agricultural work in South Hwanghae Province a few days ago, we inspected the trailer farm machine factory and the tractor spare parts factory in Haegu. The former had a good gear cutter, but the rate of its operation was scarcely 20 per cent because it had not much work to do. But the spare parts factory, which is nearby, was experiencing great difficulty in making spare parts because it had no gear cutter. In this situation, the trailer farm machine factory ought to have operated the gear cutter without suspension even by requesting work from the tractor spare parts factory. If it had been in a capitalist society, the owner of the factory would have done everything to obtain work to keep the machine operating lest the factory should incur a loss. But our officials do not care about idle machines.

In the management and operation of factories and enterprises at present, there are many occurrences which are contrary to the laws of

the socialist economy. So I gave the officials of the State Planning Commission and the Party Central Committee the task of making regulations which stipulate a higher rate of payment for depreciation account or taking any other measures to prevent these occurrences. When the new regulations are completed, we are going to issue them to the factories and other enterprises.

We intend to mobilize more university lecturers and students for the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the machine-building industry and other sectors in the future.

In connection with the students who are going to work in factories again, there is the question of the graduation and appointment of those who complete their university courses this year. It is advisable to give them diplomas. I was told that many of them are asking for their diplomas. They say that they are impatient with the conservatives now hampering production in factories and enterprises by their continued practice of conservatism, and that they would like to finish their courses quickly and go to fight against the conservatives in factories and correct the situation. This is a good determination. It is desirable, therefore, to issue diplomas to them and send them to factories to fight as bodyguards to the Party. Their struggle for one year and a half at factories amounts to having so much practice.

Their appointment should be settled after their return from the struggle at factories and enterprises.

It would be a good idea to give approximately ten days' leave to the students who are mobilized on this occasion so that they can visit their homes. They need not stay at home long. We are revolutionaries. They have no reason to stay at home for a long time. They should change their clothes at home and come back immediately.

In conclusion, I should like to offer my thanks to all the comrades who have helped light industry factories by working there for the last three months. I hope that on your return the comrades present here will tell all the comrades who have been to factories that the Party has ordered them to go to factories again to press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the light industry sector.

# **ON SOME PROBLEMS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE MANAGEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY**

**Concluding Speech at the Enlarged Meeting  
of the Political Committee of the Central  
Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*February 1, 1973*

At present there are many shortcomings in the management of the economy. Because of poor organization of production and mismanagement of equipment, some factories and enterprises fail to utilize their machines and other production facilities fully, wasting a great deal of labour. The work of material supply is also in poor shape. These shortcomings show that the senior economic officials are not guiding and managing the economy in an appropriate way conforming to the specific features of a socialist society, a transitional society.

We have spoken time and time again of the need to manage the economy wisely to suit the specific features of a socialist society. The proper use of the law of value is of great importance in managing the socialist economy sensibly. But in recent years many economic executives have deviated in one way or another in applying the law of value.

At one time they ignored the function of the law of value in a socialist society and did not apply it. When the Party criticized them, they then applied this law carelessly, thereby causing harm in the management of the economy. When they applied the law of value

recklessly, the workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works said, “Away with your law of value or ‘law of valves’. Feed us, that’s all, and we’ll work as hard as we can for the country and the people.” The Party criticized the economic executives for their incorrect application of the law. Then once again they proceeded to disregard it. As a result, the cost-accounting system is not used properly in factories and enterprises and the material incentives to labour have practically disappeared.

Because the senior economic officials did not apply the law of value correctly, committing Right and “Left” deviations, we dealt at length with the problems of the means of production in the form of commodity and the use of the law of value in a socialist society in the treatise *On Some Theoretical Problems of the Socialist Economy* which was published in March 1969. This treatise sets forth in simple and concrete terms the principles and ways applicable to the use of the law of value in the management of the socialist economy. However, our officials do not study this treatise sufficiently well and they do not make every effort to put the matters set out in it into effect.

It is four years since the treatise was published. But to date practically no corresponding measures have been taken. This is why difficult problems in the management of the economy still remain unsolved. Factories and enterprises obtain as much labour and materials as possible without due consideration and then waste them, or keep machines and other production facilities standing idle without using them efficiently. In spite of this, they are not seriously reprimanded. So, the officials of some factories and enterprises keep on asking for more labour, materials and equipment instead of studying how to produce more with what they have.

Some time ago when we were giving guidance to the rural economy in South Hwanghae Province we inspected the Haeju Trailer Farm Machine Factory and the Haeju Tractor Parts Factory. The Haeju Trailer Farm Machine Factory had a good gear cutting machine, but its utilization rate was no more than 20 per cent because there was little work for it to do. Meanwhile, the nearby Haeju Tractor Parts Factory had great difficulty in making parts because it had no such machine.

Naturally, the former factory ought to have asked it for work so as to operate the gear cutting machine at full capacity. If they had been capitalists, they would have done everything to get work and keep the machine operating so as not to run it at a loss. Nowadays, some of our officials think nothing of letting machines stand idle for a considerable time.

Here is another example. At present there are three factories in the building where the Pyongyang Daily-Necessities Combine is housed. Each of these factories has its own cinema, as well as its own offices and dormitories in the building. The original structure was strongly constructed and spacious enough for machines to be installed. But some of the sections, partitioned into many parts, are used for other purposes, and the necessary machines and equipment have not been installed. In spite of this, these factories are not given a blow.

Nowadays cases are rare in which cooperative farms casually obtain tractors and other farm machines and then keep them standing idle. If the cooperative farms have many tractors, they have to pay extra for the tractors' depreciation account and the oil consumed. Then the share due to the farmers will drop to that extent. That is why when too many tractors are supplied, the cooperative farms voluntarily offer to give them up. But no state enterprise ever offers to give up the equipment and materials it keeps idle.

These failings manifested in the guidance of the socialist economy and the management of enterprises are due largely to the fact that as yet senior economic officials have no correct idea of the transitional nature of our society and the economic laws operating in a socialist society.

In a socialist society the old thinking persists in the minds of people and the productive forces are not advanced enough to ensure that each man works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. Moreover, in this society labour is not yet the prime requirement of life as in a communist society. Particularly in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, people retain a good many relics of the old thinking, and economic management also retains many vestiges of the old society.

In the transition period when the survivals of the old society linger on in various aspects of social life, it is vital to use such economic levers as the law of value correctly in order to manage the economy rationally. While it is not permissible to overestimate the importance of the law of value in a socialist society and attempt to manage the economy in a capitalist way, it is also a mistake to ignore the importance of that law totally in disregard of the transitional character of a socialist society.

It is common knowledge that the law of value is an economic law governing the production of commodities. Even in a socialist society the law of value will operate because commodity production exists. It is essential to use this law in a planned way as a subsidiary instrument for the rational management of the economy in a socialist society.

Although state enterprises in a socialist society are state property, they have relative independence in their own operations. This is why even state-owned enterprises make distinctions between things that are mine and thine, and conduct transactions on a strict equivalent-accounting basis. In view of the fact that state-owned enterprises should deliver and receive the means of production on this principle, the law of value must be applied in form.

In a socialist society it is important to combine political and moral labour incentives properly with material incentives.

In a socialist society the main thing in raising the working people's enthusiasm for production and inducing them to assume the attitude of owners to production is to increase the political and moral incentives to labour by conducting work with people, political work, in advance. This is an essential requirement of our Party's Juche idea and of the nature of the socialist system. As we often say, it is the working masses who handle the means of production and create the material wealth of society, and it is also the working masses who build socialism and communism. We should encourage all the working people to work willingly with the attitude of owners by conducting work with people, political work, in advance and increasing the political and moral incentives to labour. This is essential to ensure that production,

management of the economy and all other work run smoothly.

When we say that the emphasis is on the political and moral incentives in raising the working people's enthusiasm for production, this is not to say that material incentives should be ignored. In a socialist society where the old thinking lingers on in the minds of people and essential differences remain in labour, it is impossible to raise the zeal of the working people for production sufficiently by political and moral incentives alone.

Nowadays some cooperative farmers consider that all they have to do is earn enough to live on, and they do not work hard to boost agricultural production. Needless to say, such a phenomenon among the peasants is primarily due to the agricultural officials' neglect of the ideological education of the peasants. Another major reason is that the supply of commodities to the country areas is inadequate and thus no real material incentive is given to stimulate the peasants' zeal for production.

In a socialist society, it is only possible to raise the productive enthusiasm of the working people, accelerate the development of the productive forces and speedily eradicate the old habits of hating to work and seeking to live at others' expense, by combining political and moral incentives properly with material incentives.

Although it is not permissible to give the working people insufficient ideological education and weaken political and moral incentives, it is also wrong to put a one-sided emphasis on ideological education, neglecting the material incentives to labour. It is our Party's consistent policy in managing the socialist economy to give priority to political and moral incentives to labour, combining them properly with material incentives. We must continue to follow this policy in the future, too.

In order to manage the socialist economy sensibly it is essential to apply the cost-accounting system properly in state enterprises.

The cost-accounting system is a method of planned management of the socialist state enterprises. This system is based on the principle of material interests in the results achieved by enterprises and

presupposes the use of the law of value in form in running the economy. It is a transitional economic category necessary to a socialist society, and will become unnecessary in a communist society. It is only possible to raise the productive enthusiasm of those who produce and rationalize the running of the enterprises when the cost-accounting system is correctly applied in a socialist society.

Of course, it is not easy to apply the cost-accounting system correctly. To do so, we should adhere firmly to the principle of centralized planned management by the state and combine the political and moral incentives with material incentives correctly, and also utilize the economic levers such as cost, price and profit. If we are not careful in using the cost-accounting system, we may commit this or that deviation. But there is no need to be afraid. If deviations appear while using the system, they should be rectified without delay.

The application of the cost-accounting system should be no reason to ignore the income of the state. We once criticized the officials of some enterprises because they took no account of the state revenue on the ground that they were using the cost-accounting system. In a socialist society the state revenue should be augmented to promote the prosperity and development of the country and the people's well-being. If enterprises pay little heed to the income of the state and share out all their returns amongst themselves, selfishness will be fostered among people and, finally, the building of socialism and communism will become impossible. It is therefore very important in the application of the cost-accounting system to observe the principle of steadily increasing state income strictly.

In order to apply the cost-accounting system properly, it is necessary to fix the work norms and the standards of material consumption correctly and assess the capacities of the equipment correctly and, on this basis, provide workable plans for enterprises. If an enterprise is given excessive tasks it cannot carry them out, and this will prevent it from applying the cost-accounting system correctly.

It is also important to make a fair assessment of the fulfilment of plans. At present the fulfilment of enterprises' production plans is

assessed mainly on the money index, and so their officials are not very concerned about producing the amount of goods stipulated in the plans. It would be better to assess the fulfilment of production plans by the items produced rather than by the money index.

After enterprises have fulfilled their plans it should be explicitly defined what portion of their profits is to be delivered to the state, what portion is to be set aside for themselves, and how many bonuses are to be awarded on what conditions. At the same time, the managers of factories and enterprises should be authorized to use the reserve funds and other funds set aside in the enterprises. This is essential for the managers to run their enterprises efficiently. All the state has to do is to control whether managers use the funds properly for the designated purposes.

Measures should be introduced to use the machines and other production facilities of the enterprises sensibly.

This requires, above all, working out correct production plans, ensuring smooth cooperative production and supplying sufficient equipment and materials. Moreover, all enterprises should be made to face serious consequences if production facilities remain idle and are not used properly. Although the actual measures may need further study, we think that fines should be imposed on these enterprises. Thus, when production facilities are kept idle, the enterprises will suffer and those who produce will also feel the effects. If the word “fine” is not suitable, some other appropriate expression could be found.

Work norms should be fixed correctly.

It is only possible to make an accurate assessment of the work performed and apply the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done by fixing work norms correctly.

These days, when technical innovations are made in factories and enterprises, work norms immediately go up even before their results are confirmed. This will not do. Of course, when equipment is improved, production processes are mechanized and automated, and advanced technical processes are introduced through technical

innovations, the work norms should go up. But even when a technical innovation has been introduced, it will not do to raise work norms immediately, without fully confirming its effectiveness. If work norms are raised as soon as a technical innovation is made, this may possibly affect the wages of workers and dampen their enthusiasm for technical innovations. When a technical innovation is introduced, the innovator should be awarded a bonus, and the workteam or factory which has incorporated it into production should be allowed to gain by it.

One of the important questions related to improving the management of the socialist economy is to ensure a steady supply of materials.

It is only possible to normalize production in all branches of the national economy and develop the country's economy rapidly when there is a regular and adequate supply of raw and other materials.

The main thing in material supply is that the higher levels must assume responsibility for keeping the lower echelons supplied with materials. This is one of the principal requirements of the Tae'an system. When introducing the Tae'an work system, we set up materials supply agencies whose sole duty is to supply enterprises with materials. To improve the role played by these agencies we introduced measures several years ago so that ministers would also be the directors of the materials supply agencies.

Yet the ministers and the directors of general bureaus of the Administration Council do not give detailed guidance to the agencies' work nor do they try to run them according to the requirements of the Tae'an system. As a result, the advantages of the new materials supply system are not fully apparent. Even though materials supply agencies have been organized under all ministries and general bureaus, the officials of factories and enterprises are rushing around in the same old way to obtain materials. In some places production is impeded because of the lack of materials; in other places, materials are lying about unused or have been wasted through carelessness. These things are still going on.

In order to improve the work of material supply in keeping with the

Taan work system, we should first of all trim the work system of materials supply agencies and enhance their role.

It is advisable to investigate whether it would be a good idea to sell the materials produced by factories and enterprises to their counterparts in other fields through the sales agencies of ministries and general bureaus, or if it would be preferable to sell them through the central supply agency under the General Materials Supply Bureau of the State Planning Commission.

At present materials supply agencies are placed directly under ministries or general bureaus, and conclude contracts and deal in materials with each other personally. For example, the materials supply agency under the General Bureau of the Metallurgical Industry makes contracts with its counterparts under other ministries and general bureaus to secure materials for factories and enterprises under its own general bureau, and under these contracts it obtains materials from the relevant agencies and delivers them. The agency also concludes contracts with the materials supply agencies under other ministries and general bureaus to sell products manufactured in the factories and enterprises under the General Bureau of the Metallurgical Industry, and delivers them according to the contracts.

The chief drawback of the present materials supply system is that it makes it impossible for the state to control and guide the work of material supply in a uniform way. Today the ministries and general bureaus, with only their own interests at heart, keep bigger stocks of materials than they need and yet do not report this to the General Materials Supply Bureau. And they are unwilling to carry out the instructions of this bureau to hand over surplus materials to other branches.

If a central supply agency is set up under the General Materials Supply Bureau and the products manufactured by factories and enterprises are sold and supplied through this agency, I think it will be possible to eliminate the present defects. It is true that this may complicate the business to a certain extent. But control over the work of material supply will be tightened much more than at present.

The fuel oil supply system is organized that way. The central fuel oil supply agency is responsible for providing oil to the whole country. That is why little oil is wasted and the flexible adjustment of supply works well. If steel materials and cement are also supplied through a central supply agency, I think it will be advantageous in many respects. If the central supply agency is established and branch agencies are opened in the provinces and in large factories, the centre will have a good picture of what quantity of the materials produced has been supplied and how much is left in storage and, accordingly, will be able to reorganize the supply of materials correctly.

It will need further consideration to decide whether the central supply agency should be set up to supply all materials, or whether the central supply agency should only handle the supply of some kinds of important materials, leaving the rest to be supplied through the materials supply agencies under the ministries and general bureaus.

To improve the materials supply service, we must reform the work system of the materials supply agencies and, at the same time, utilize the commercial form in material supply properly.

The proper application of the commercial form in material supply is a prerequisite for an effective use of raw and other materials without waste.

In the past, materials supply agencies supplied materials to enterprises regardless of whether they had money or not, providing there were contracts. This gave rise to a state of affairs where some places had surplus materials while others suffered from a shortage. In future, the agencies should make it a rule to know beforehand whether an enterprise has enough money to buy materials or not, and to sell them to the enterprise only when it has the money.

If an enterprise has no money, materials should not be supplied to it even if there is a contract. The supply agency concerned should lay in a stock of such materials and keep them, and should sell to enterprises only when they have the funds, or it should sell them to other enterprises which have funds. In this way the materials supply agencies will be able to prevent such a state of affairs where a large quantity of

materials goes to factories which have not kept up with their plans, only to lie unused in heaps, and factories capable of increasing their production are allowed to remain idle for lack of materials.

In order to economize in materials and use them efficiently, it is also necessary to adopt the system of awarding bonuses to factories and enterprises when they save raw and other materials and of taking fines from their wage funds when they waste materials or let them stand idle. If factories and enterprises have no money to purchase urgently needed materials because they bought extra quantities of some other materials or wasted them, the state should offer them loans, with the interest on these loans paid from the wage funds. If this is done, the interests of the producer masses will be affected. Then everyone will strive for economy in materials. The Central Bank should not give too many floating funds to factories and enterprises. This may result in materials being kept unused.

In order to improve materials supply work, personnel at the supply agencies definitely need to develop a greater sense of responsibility.

Although some materials supply agency officials do not ensure a steady supply of materials for production, they feel no sense of responsibility and receive their full wages. Some time ago we went to South Hwanghae Province to check on how matters stood there. We found that production in the Ragyon Mine was being hampered because the Haeju region supply agency did not even ensure the supply of carbide to the mine even though many of its people were sitting idle. No matter how acute the country's carbide shortage may be, we can supply it to the mines. The trouble is that the materials supply agency workers do not have the attitude of masters who are answerable for production. In future, they must be held responsible for the fulfilment of production plans of the factories and enterprises in their charge, and their work must be assessed according to the production at the factories and enterprises.

One of the important problems in supply work is to prepare reserves of materials and use them correctly. Only when there are reserve materials is it possible to carry out important assignments over and

above the plan and normalize production.

When state plans are drawn up, reserves should be set aside, out of the total amount of materials available, for Presidential use and the use of the Administration Council. With the remaining materials, production plans and materials supply plans should be integrated. The reserves for Presidential use are to be used for fulfilment of new urgent tasks of the state. Only structural steel, cement, automobiles, tractors and other important equipment and materials should be set aside as Presidential reserves. The reserves at the disposal of the Administration Council are used to carry out plans for increased production and additional state assignments. They are to be used wherever materials cannot be supplied as planned for various reasons. If we set aside the Administration Council reserves and use them correctly, such things as a state plan being upset or a big fluctuation in production because of a shortage of materials will not occur.

If we are still short of materials to carry out additional state assignments and urgent and important tasks after reserve materials have been made available for the purpose, the state plans should immediately be altered. Suppose an urgent task of national importance arises, such as rapidly increasing the production of tractors and there is not enough steel. Then the Administration Council should immediately make changes by cutting the production plans of other factories to some extent and supplying more steel to the tractor plants.

To improve the management of the socialist economy, the Administration Council and the State Planning Commission should carry out their duties better.

At present the Administration Council and the State Planning Commission have many shortcomings in their guidance and management of the national economy. Their most serious defect in this connection is that they direct economic affairs without scientific calculation, with no clear idea as to which branch of the national economy has what kinds of production equipment and in what quantities, and what their capacities are. Since the officials of the Administration Council and the State Planning Commission are

working by rule of thumb without full knowledge of the means of production in the country, they do not take prompt steps to make effective use of the production equipment throughout the country.

A considerable number of machine-building factories are now having difficulty in maintaining production because of a shortage of stamping machines, but the Sungni General Motor Works keeps them idle. They are modern and their capacities are enormous. If these capacities are used to the full, it would be possible to produce large quantities of various kinds of stamped goods which are necessary not only for the combine itself but also for other factories. However, the present utilization rate of the stamping equipment is no more than 20 per cent. Of course, the executives of the Sungni General Motor Works are to blame for this. The main reason is, however, that the officials of the Administration Council and the State Planning Commission have failed to understand the country's production equipment fully and have not got down to the organizational work for using it properly.

There is little difference between guiding the economy and commanding an army in battle. For a commanding general to direct a battle correctly, he has to know clearly, like the palm of his own hand, which unit has what kinds and quantities of weapons. Without knowing this he cannot direct the battle correctly or win the battle against the enemy. Equipment is for production what weapons are for the army. Unless senior economic officials fully understand the means of production in the country, they cannot guide the economy in a scientific way.

If the Administration Council and the State Planning Commission have a thorough knowledge of the country's means of production and guide the economy in a scientific way, it is possible to do away with departmentalism in the economic bodies, factories and enterprises, not to mention utilizing the equipment better. At present, a great deal of departmentalism is apparent in the state economic bodies, factories and enterprises. This is largely due to the inadequate control exercised by the Administration Council and the State Planning Commission. If these bodies which direct the country's economy as a whole always

know the state of production equipment and the production and consumption of materials exactly and tighten control accordingly, the economic bodies, factories and enterprises will be prevented from slipping into departmentalism and keeping materials and equipment idle or wasting them.

In future, the Administration Council and the State Planning Commission must always know the means of production in the country like the palms of their hands. They should know exactly, for instance, the total number of machine tools which the machine-building industry has, how many of them are gear cutting machines, how many—grinders, and how many of the gear cutting machines are for cutting spur gears, how many—helical gears, and how many—bevel gears. And they should also know which branch and which factory has what type of equipment and the quantity involved. The Administration Council and the State Planning Commission should be well-informed not only about production equipment but also about materials. Every day they should be informed in detail of what kinds of materials have been produced and in what quantities, and how much has been consumed and how much remains.

The necessary regulations should be drawn up for managing the socialist economy rationally.

As soon as we published the treatise *On Some Theoretical Problems of the Socialist Economy* senior economic officials should have worked out the necessary regulations for managing the economy rationally in accordance with the new economic ideas and theory laid down in the treatise. While speaking at length about the correctness of the new economic ideas and theory, they have so far failed to take concrete steps to put them into effect in economic management and make the necessary regulations. Although it is rather late, the necessary regulations must be worked out without delay.

First of all, new regulations should be drawn up on the cost-accounting system of state-run enterprises.

The regulations should state exactly how to apply the principle of cost accounting within the framework of the enterprise, the workshop

and the workteam respectively.

Various questions may arise in drawing up the new regulations on the cost-accounting system of state-run enterprises. Let us look at an example. The question may arise as to whether to call it an intramural cost-accounting system or a premium system in applying the principle of cost accounting within the framework of workshop and workteam. It would be advisable to unify economic terms with due regard to the current terms. We think it would be preferable to call it a premium system rather than an intramural cost-accounting system in the sphere of industry because the term “workteam premium system” is now current in agriculture. If the principle of enterprise cost accounting applied within the framework of workshop and workteam is called intramural cost-accounting system, it would seem to give too much autonomy to the workshops and workteams, which is not desirable. Moreover, the term “intramural cost-accounting system” gives the impression that a workshop or a workteam shares out all the gains amongst its members.

We should draw up new working regulations for materials supply agencies.

The new regulations should state in detail the functions and role of the central supply agency, branch supply agencies, supply agencies under management bureaus, and local organs' supply agencies. Matters concerning materials supply agencies include the question of the functions and role of the central supply agency and some other questions to which we have not yet given clear-cut answers. These questions should be specified in the regulations after further study and wide discussion.

A state committee should be formed to draw up new regulations on the cost-accounting system of state enterprises and new working regulations for materials supply agencies. Its members should, first of all, make a thorough study of our Party's documents regarding the question of management of the socialist economy and, on this basis, work out regulations after earnest collective discussion.

**UNITY BASED ON REVOLUTIONARY  
COMRADESHIP IS THE SOURCE  
OF THE INVINCIBILITY  
OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY**

**Speech at a Banquet Given in Honour of the 25th  
Anniversary of the Foundation of the Heroic  
Korean People's Army  
*February 8, 1973***

Comrades,

Today we celebrate the auspicious 25th anniversary of the foundation of the heroic Korean People's Army, our Party's revolutionary armed force.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I am going to say a few words about the need to bring into full display the fine tradition of revolutionary comradeship in the People's Army.

Organization and unity are most important in the revolutionary struggle. No one can make revolution single-handed. To win the revolutionary struggle there must be a strong revolutionary organization composed of men with one idea and purpose and their ideological unity and cohesion must be guaranteed.

The unity and cohesion of a revolutionary organization can only be achieved when all its members arm themselves with the same idea, and trust and sincerely love each other. In other words, such unity and cohesion is based on the comradely love of its members.

The word "comrade" has a deep meaning. It means an associate in

purpose, that is, a person with the same idea. We address a person as “comrade” when that person has the same idea as ours and fights for the same goal. So, the word “comrade” is an honourable and noble form of address between revolutionaries; it expresses trust in and love for a revolutionary comrade-in-arms.

There may be a spurious comrade within the revolutionary ranks. A spurious comrade is one who, while belonging to the revolutionary ranks and outwardly working for the sake of the revolution, has an axe to grind. If a man and wife have different ends to serve, though sharing the same bed, they are not a couple in the real sense of the word and there will be no true love between them. Likewise, he who has a different idea, has an axe to grind within the revolutionary ranks, is not a true but a spurious comrade. There can be no true comradeship amongst pretended comrades.

True comradesly relationship and revolutionary comradeship between people never grow of themselves. They are formed and consolidated only through a revolutionary struggle. Without this there can be no revolutionary comradeship. If there is no revolutionary struggle there will be neither revolutionary comrades nor revolutionary comradeship; there will be only acquaintanceship such as between friends, cronies and brothers. Through a revolutionary struggle people come to trust and love each other as comrades and develop their comradesly love.

There are different kinds of love. There is love between man and wife, love between father and son, love between mother and son, love between brothers, love between friends and love between comrades. Of these, the most valuable, the most priceless is love between revolutionary comrades. Love between father and son, love between mother and son, or love between man and wife will deepen when it is linked with comradesly love.

Parental love is important for a man when he is young. However, when he sets off on the road of revolutionary struggle comradesly love becomes more precious for him. A revolutionary cannot live for even a moment without his revolutionary comrades, although he can do

without his parents. Love between revolutionary comrades enables one to preserve one's political integrity and fight to the last in the glorious revolutionary ranks.

Throughout my revolutionary struggle from my childhood I have keenly felt that revolutionary comradeship is more precious than parental love. I have been more loved by my comrades than by my father and mother. I was receptive to my father's love until I was 14, and since then, have lived under the loving care of my comrades.

In the past when we were engaged in underground activities and the anti-Japanese armed struggle, many of my comrades helped and protected me in the teeth of hardship and danger. They looked after me with genuine sincerity; being anxious about my health, they took pains to get millet for me, whereas they themselves subsisted on maize. Among the anti-Japanese guerrillas there were many who laid down their precious lives to protect their headquarters from the enemy. Thus, I have lived by my comrades' love.

A noble spirit of revolutionary comradeship always prevailed amongst the anti-Japanese guerrillas. Although the anti-Japanese armed struggle was of an unprecedented arduous nature, the anti-Japanese guerrillas were able to overcome all difficulties and trials valorously and win brilliant victory, because they fought in firm unity, with one ideology and will, giving full play to their communist spirit of revolutionary comradeship. Indeed, the whole course of the anti-Japanese armed struggle was a glorious road of battle in which our anti-Japanese guerrillas endured every hardship and privation with a lofty spirit of revolutionary comradeship, and defeated Japanese imperialism.

If the anti-Japanese guerrillas had failed to establish the rock-like unity and cohesion of their revolutionary ranks based on revolutionary comradeship, they would have been unable to carry on the armed struggle against the formidable Japanese imperialists for 15 long years. When a revolutionary army is firmly united in revolutionary comradeship it will be able to fight the enemy not for 15 years but for 20 years, even for 100 years, and emerge victorious from any difficult and complicated situation.

Our People's Army has carried forward the sublime tradition of revolutionary comradeship established during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and strengthened and developed itself in the course of its 25 years of existence, enriching this tradition.

Unity based on revolutionary comradeship is the source of the invincibility of the People's Army. All personnel of the People's Army—from the rank and file to officers and generals—are revolutionary warriors who are fighting for the revolution with arms in hand; they are revolutionary comrades who shed their blood and share life and death, joy and sorrow in their battles against the enemy. If all soldiers of the People's Army strive for the rock-like unity and cohesion of their ranks, giving full play to their noble spirit of revolutionary comradeship, they can overcome all difficulties and always win the battles against the enemy.

We have raised the slogan of "Unity between officers and men, unity between superiors and subordinates". And this slogan can only be put into effect when every serviceman displays the noble spirit of revolutionary comradeship to the full. Officers and men, superiors and subordinates, can only be fused into one body and one will when they are strongly bound in revolutionary comradeship.

Amongst the comrades present here some have more than 40 years of comradeship with us and others 25, 20 or 15 years. Of course, those who have worked with us from the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle may have deeper comradeship with us. Those who have served in the People's Army for 25, 20 or 15 years are revolutionary comrades who have the same aim as we have. Since "in ten years even mountains and rivers will change" as the saying goes, 15 or 20 years is by no means a short period. We can say that those who have worked for over 15 years with us in the People's Army are also our revolutionary comrades tested by the Party.

At the time we founded the People's Army, we only had a core of a few thousand revolutionary elements who had been tempered in the revolutionary struggle. Today, however, there are tens of thousands of revolutionary comrades who have been steeled in the struggle to found

the People's Army, in the three years of the Fatherland Liberation War against the armed invasion of the US imperialists and through the struggle to defend the gains of the socialist revolution after the war. This shows that our People's Army has developed into an indestructible force of revolutionaries who have been firmly united with one ideology and one will on the basis of revolutionary comradeship.

There can be no unity based on comradeship in an imperialist army of aggressors or a colonial mercenary army. Take the south Korean "National Army" for example. It has no comradely relationship but only monetary relationship and relationship between a superior and an inferior according to rank. Therefore, it is beset with distrust, conflicts and contradictions. How great the differences within the south Korean "National Army" are can be seen clearly in the relationship between the south Korean rulers and the corps commanders. The former replace the latter within three years of their appointment, because the south Korean rulers do not trust the corps commanders and fear that they will establish their own position. An army lacking comradely unity and cohesion is no more than a rabble.

Our People's Army is invincible because all its officers and men are fused in revolutionary comradeship and closely bound by one ideology and one will.

Today we are faced with the task of further strengthening the People's Army into a revolutionary armed force, in which every man is a match for a hundred, for a thousand. In order to strengthen the People's Army, we must bring into fuller play the traditional revolutionary comradeship amongst the soldiers and achieve the steel-like unity and cohesion of the entire army based on revolutionary comradeship.

What is important here is to intensify the ideological education of our soldiers in revolutionary comradeship and launch a forceful ideological struggle amongst them.

People from the same locality do not always become true comrades or form comradely unity. Only when they have the same idea and will

to carry out revolution can they become true revolutionary comrades and achieve revolutionary unity. Therefore, men's comradely unity should be judged by whether they have the same idea and will to carry out their revolutionary struggle, that is, whether they are armed with the same revolutionary idea.

What is most important in cementing unity based on revolutionary comradeship is to equip all the soldiers firmly with our Party's monolithic ideology, the Juche idea. When they are firmly armed with our Party's Juche idea and think and act as required by this idea, revolutionary comradeship will be fully displayed and revolutionary solidarity further cemented.

Soldiers must not cover up each other's defects or fail to criticize these defects in excuse of displaying revolutionary comradeship and strengthening comradely cohesion within the People's Army. Only praising one's comrade and not criticizing his faults by no means displays comradely love. Criticizing and punishing a revolutionary comrade for his errors is an essential means with which to equip him firmly with our Party's revolutionary idea, the monolithic ideology, and enable him to join us in carrying the revolution through to the end. If one truly loves one's comrade, one should help him to rectify his errors promptly through criticism and punishment. Only in this way is it possible to achieve truly revolutionary cohesion built on the Party's monolithic ideology.

When our comrades commit any errors we criticize and, at times, punish them. Of course, we feel very sorry after punishing our comrades. So we telephone or meet these comrades in person and explain to them in detail what was wrong with their work and how to correct it.

It would be wrong for you not to punish your revolutionary comrade for his faults because it is painful for you to do so. In order to rectify his faults you must criticize and, if necessary, punish him. Of course, you must not use coercive methods in the army, such as putting soldiers into the guardhouse for their errors. By coercive methods, you can neither educate the soldiers properly nor strengthen the

revolutionary cohesion of our troops.

Long ago, we abolished the guardhouse system in the People's Army. At that time some people insisted that the guardhouse was necessary for the army to enforce discipline. Their assertion that the guardhouse was indispensable for an army in order to maintain its discipline and train its men showed that they lacked revolutionary comradeship and the ability to educate them. Some people were worried that the abolition of guardhouses in the People's Army would bring about a great deal of trouble. But we dispensed with them and instead, intensified ideological education. The result was that the discipline and combat capacity of the People's Army were strengthened still more.

Life proves that giving full play to the fine tradition of revolutionary comradeship amongst soldiers is a major guarantee for increasing the might of the People's Army. Therefore, taking advantage of this auspicious occasion, I should like to ask you earnestly to keep up within the People's Army the work of giving full play to revolutionary comradeship, the noble moral quality based on the Party's monolithic ideology.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the heroic Korean People's Army, allow me to propose a toast to the unbreakable unity and cohesion of the ranks of the People's Army based on revolutionary comradeship, to the health of the comrades who have worked with us for more than 40 years, to the health of the comrades who have worked with us for 25, 20 and 15 years, to the health of new cadres and all other comrades present here.

# **ON FORCEFULLY ACCOMPLISHING THE THREE REVOLUTIONS—IDEOLOGICAL, TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL—IN INDUSTRY**

**Speech at a Short Training Course for the Members  
of Three-Revolution Teams for the Industrial Sector**

*February 10, 1973*

Comrades,

The ideological, technical and cultural revolutions are the most important revolutionary tasks in the building of socialism and communism. If we do not accomplish these revolutions, we cannot achieve the complete victory of socialism and build communism. As the experience of the international communist movement shows, socialism and communism cannot be successfully built solely by laying their material foundations. Therefore, our Party has put forward the policy of pressing ahead with the struggle to capture the two fortresses, material and ideological, in the building of socialism and communism simultaneously.

We put forward the slogan of carrying forward the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions a long time ago. But, this task is not being implemented satisfactorily now. Provincial Party committees and other Party organizations are not forcefully promoting the three revolutions, nor are the departments of the Party Central Committee directing them the way they should.

As we always say, Party work is work with people. Party organizations should conduct ideological education and cultural work

for Party members and other working people forcefully and rouse the officials of administrative and economic bodies to carry out the technical revolution. But, at present, they are not pursuing political work, work with people, well.

Although we have built many factories, they are unable to achieve the desired results because Party organizations and state and economic bodies are not promoting the three revolutions dynamically.

Our country has factories everywhere. In fact, it is not too much to say that it is a land of factories. But, nowadays some of these factories are not operating as they should; their equipment is not working to full capacity. Therefore, the gross industrial output value is not high when compared to their productive capacity and the national income is also below the appropriate level.

If we operate existing factories to full capacity and normalize their working, we can substantially increase the total value of industrial production, without building more factories.

Why is it, then, that at present some factories are not working regularly and at maximum capacities? Various reasons can be given. Sometimes production does not go smoothly because of the inadequate provision of raw materials and supplies; sometimes, machines stop working, because they do not undergo prompt repair and maintenance. The shortage of manpower is another reason.

At the factories, you will notice that the senior officials ascribe their failure to operate the equipment fully and normalize production, to the unsatisfactory provision of raw materials, supplies and spare parts and the shortage of labour. But this is not the main reason for the irregular operation of factories. The basic reason why some of them do not operate normally and to full capacity is that their executives are obsessed with conservatism, bureaucratism, empiricism and expediency.

Our officials have so far made no analytical efforts to probe the root cause of the failure of factories and enterprises to run efficiently. In order to discover this, they must investigate every aspect of the overall operations of the factories. However, senior personnel have made no

analysis of this sort, but have been prepared to accept the managers or Party secretaries of the factories at their word. That is, they have not mixed with the masses so as to study the situation which prevails in the factories.

Nor are state planning bodies aware of the real conditions in factories. It is a long time since the system of unified planning came into effect. But regional planning commissions have worked in such an offhand manner that they have failed to understand the real state of affairs in factories and enterprises. They must prepare ledgers of the equipment and manpower in factories and enterprises and maintain records of their technical conditions and productive capacities. Having done this, they should keep a continual check on how the plans are being fulfilled and explore possibilities for growth in production. However, state planning bodies only use old rating capacities and norms as points of reference and do not really know how matters stand at factories. And, in many cases, the Administration Council directs economic affairs by issuing decisions and instructions, solely in accordance with the unilateral claims made by ministers.

The Party Central Committee and the Administration Council have not undertaken a close analysis of the work of factories and enterprises, unreservedly accepting what the factory managers and Party secretaries tell them. The result is that the conservatism, expediency and subjectivism of the latter are justified and further encouraged, which in turn hampers the nation's present economic progress. Champions of expediency run around pretending to work, but they only gloss over things superficially and although their claims are plausible, these are not put into practice. In order to bring about innovations in production we must strongly combat conservatism, bureaucratism, empiricism and expediency, while making proper provision for equipment and supplies.

Last spring, with the intention of carrying out the rural technical revolution and increasing grain production, we assigned the workers of the Kiyang Tractor Plant the task of increasing its output of tractors to the level of 20,000 or 30,000. At first they made some small effort to

expand the factory, but soon quietened down and did not make certain of the even production of tractors. Last September we went to the factory to inquire into the situation at first hand. We found that there was nothing to prevent the normal production of tractors, nor were there any reasons for the delay in the expansion of the factory. The problem was that the senior officials were indolent, conservative and irresponsible. So we criticized them and had the factory Party committee reorganized using the active Party members who had been tested through hard work.

After criticizing the work of the factory and reorganizing its Party committee, the Party members of the Kiyang Tractor Plant woke up and joined the fight against inertia and conservatism. From then onwards, innovations began to take place at the factory. This shows that an improvement can be effected in production through criticism and ideological struggle.

We are unable to improve our people's living standards at a faster pace at present. This is not because the nation's material base is weak. We have both the manpower and the materials. The problem is that people obsessed by bureaucratism, conservatism and expediency are entrenched in senior positions and do their work in a slipshod manner, neglecting manpower administration, the good maintenance of equipment and the supply of materials.

Some time ago, while giving guidance to agriculture in South Hwanghae Province, we held a discussion with the people engaged in the mining industry there and learned about the administration of manpower at the Unnyul Mine. We discovered that they were wasting a large amount of manpower. Even after retaining a work force large enough to operate lorries, excavators, well-drills, trams and other machines and equipment at full capacity in three shifts and to take care of the sifting centres and other sectors, they would have been able to dispense with about 2,000 workers. I hear that recently the people of the mine have said that they are ready to release 1,700 workers. If they make further efforts, larger reserves of manpower can be obtained.

At present the officials in light industry do not work in a responsible

way either. Last autumn, we sent students of the University of Light Industry, the University of Mechanical Engineering, and Kim Chaek University of Technology to garment factories, textile mills and many other plants for the purpose of giving technical assistance to light industry factories. On their return, the students reported that there are bureaucrats and conservatists at the factories, who have no intention of making technical innovations and are not bold in conducting their work, for fear that they will be held responsible if things go wrong.

Recently I inspected some factories in Pyongyang, with the idea of seeing how things were going in light industry factories. The Pyongyang Daily-Necessities Combine, Songyo Knitwear Factory and Pyongyang General Clothing Factory are all accommodated in the same complex of buildings. Each of these factories has its own cinema and has converted part of the buildings into offices and dormitories, instead of installing machines there. And at the same time, the people of the Songyo Knitwear Factory claimed that there was no room to keep imported machines, which had been waiting to be installed for several months. In addition to that, this factory had raw materials stacked haphazardly all over the place, on the plea that it had no warehouse, and it had mistreated and spoilt the yarn brought up from the Sariwon Textile Mill.

These practices make it obvious that the factory officials lack the commitment of serving the working class, the Party and the revolution. If these senior personnel had been stimulated by the idea of making plenty of better-quality clothes for the people as early as practically possible, they would have installed all the new machines even if this had to be done at the expense of removing the offices and dormitories from the factory buildings.

Although we have built many light industry factories, the quantity of daily necessities produced is inadequate and the quality is poor because the officials do not work in the Party and working-class spirit and in the spirit of serving the people.

All our officials were born and bred in poor families; however, they became bureaucratic after they became cadres. As was pointed out in

the report to the Fifth Party Congress, the most dangerous thing in the work method and style of a party in power is a tendency on the part of officials to be bureaucratic. All these practices resulted, in the final analysis, from the bureaucratism and expediency of officials.

I think the film *Salesgirls on the Train* produced by the Korean Film Studio some time ago, offered correct criticism on the ideological maladies of our officials. It is true that there are many officials and young people who conduct ideological struggles against conservatism and expediency, and try to work harder for the people. But amongst the officials of administrative and economic organs and the senior personnel of factories and enterprises, there are quite a few people who are contaminated with conservatism and expediency, just like the commercial instructor and the workteam leader in the film. A certain student of Kim Chaek University of Technology, who was enlisted in the work to assist light industry factories, said that nearly all the senior personnel in the factories are contaminated now. I think the word contamination is extremely apt. Contamination means getting soiled. Most of the present senior personnel of factories and enterprises were trained at our institutions of higher learning such as Kim Il Sung University, Kim Chaek University of Technology and the University of National Economy, but they are contaminated because the ideological revolution has not been carried out properly at factories and enterprises. Whatever good cadres the universities produce from among the rising generation rapidly become soiled and turn into conservatives if there are “garbage bins” in the factories and enterprises. Therefore, we have again proposed that the ideological revolution should be waged more forcefully and have decided to send three-revolution teams to factories and enterprises.

Our ideological revolution does not aim at attacking faulty people in a harmful way, or demoting them. It is to all intents and purposes a revolution to re-educate people through ideological struggle and so do away with the “garbage bin” which pollutes people.

Ideological struggle should be conducted primarily to measure how faithfully officials serve the working class and people, the Party and

revolution. It must be carried out efficiently to eradicate self-preservation, bureaucratism and expediency, which cause officials to work carelessly, devoid of the Party, working-class and people-oriented spirit.

At the same time, an intensive struggle should be waged against departmentalism.

At present departmentalism, which places departmental interests above all else, a kind of egoism in essence, exerts a very harmful influence on our work. It has nothing to do with communist ideology. Hence the necessity to root it out.

If communism is to be built, every official should be prepared to work in the interests of society and the collective. But departmentalism is so rampant now that it is difficult for factories to share a boiler, machine or other equipment with each other.

When we visited South Hwanghae Province some time ago, we called at the factory making trailer farm implements and the tractor parts factory in Haeju. They are located quite close to each other. The former seldom uses its gear cutting machine but was reluctant to share it with the latter. So, the latter asked us for a similar machine.

It is also because of the departmentalist tendencies of officials that cooperative production is not satisfactory. In a socialist society all economic sectors are so closely interlinked that, if any one of them indulges in departmentalism or fails to ensure cooperative production properly, it will cause great confusion and an impediment to the progress of the national economy as a whole. Therefore, as we have already stressed more than once, every factory ought to give priority to the manufacture of goods to be made under cooperative production, so as to produce first goods which have to be delivered to others, before manufacturing those for its own use. At the Kiyang Tractor Plant, for instance, they have completed the manufacture of all the main components of tractors now, but are unable to finish assembling them because they are not being provided with enough batteries, bearings and other items to be made under cooperative production.

Departmentalism does great harm to production and the three-revolution teams must now strongly combat this tendency as well as self-centredness.

We must not disregard material incentives to work, just because we oppose selfishness.

In order to give free scope to the working people's enthusiasm for work and creative activity in socialist construction, it is essential to increase their political and moral incentives and, at the same time, combine them properly with material incentives. But our officials do not achieve this combination. Some of them concentrate solely on political and moral incentives and neglect material incentives.

The three-revolution team members must wage a struggle against selfish practices in factories and enterprises, but they must not criticize the giving of even small material incentives casually, claiming that it encourages selfishness.

In a socialist society old ideas still remain in people's minds, and discrepancies exist in working conditions and technical skills. Accordingly, in a socialist society, there must be noticeable differences in wages in keeping with working conditions and technical skills. A worker who has done a lot of work should be paid more than one who has worked little; and the producer of first-rate goods should receive higher wages than the producer of substandard goods. Only then will unskilled people strive to raise their qualifications and everybody make the effort to work more and better. At present there is no big difference in remuneration; so the unskilled, instead of working hard to raise their skills, try to live off others. They do not feel remorse for producing rejects or doing careless work.

The disparity in working conditions and skills will completely disappear only in a communist society and, only then, will material incentives to work be unnecessary. Until we build communism, we must combine political and moral incentives properly to work with material incentives and must not disregard the latter, while simultaneously intensifying the ideological education of the working people.

Under socialism it is necessary to make proper use of the law of

value and work hard to introduce cost accountancy.

In the past, our officials did not recognize the role played by the law of value in a socialist society, and failed to rationalize enterprise management. So, we spoke about the necessity of using the law of value properly. But, later, some officials applied it so rashly that they adversely affected economic management. We criticized economic executives for misapplying the law of value. Then, once again, they reverted to neglecting its application.

Because economic executives failed to utilize the law of value correctly, committing the mistakes which we have described, we set out, in the thesis *On Some Theoretical Problems of the Socialist Economy*, the principles and ways and means of using it in a socialist society. But the economic executives are still not trying to use the law of value properly, nor have they formulated any regulation worth mentioning, to introduce the application of cost accountancy. As a consequence, factories and enterprises are not severely hit for wasting equipment, supplies and manpower.

Needless to say, we must not attach too much importance to the law of value and apply it carelessly in a socialist society. But, if we totally ignore its operation and do not introduce cost accountancy correctly, we cannot conduct enterprise management on a rational basis. We must combat the tendencies to be shy of using the law of value properly and not to strive to introduce cost accountancy accurately.

Another important question in the ideological revolution is to educate all the working people in the spirit of taking good care of communal property, or state and public property.

At present the cadres and working people lack this spirit. Some officials and working people in factories and enterprises consider their duties fulfilled once they have carried out their own production assignments. They do not care about the damage and waste of state property; they think they are no longer responsible once they have despatched their products. In order to eliminate these practices which occur quite often, it is imperative to conduct a strong ideological battle against negligence in caring for equipment, the waste of manpower and

supplies and slipshod work. At the same time it is necessary to intensify the education of cadres and working people so that they will take loving care of state and public property.

Officials incline towards producing expensive goods only, being reluctant to manufacture cheap, miscellaneous items for daily use. We should combat this tendency also.

Now that light industry factories do not produce miscellaneous goods for everyday use satisfactorily, they cause inconvenience to the people and hinder efforts to increase the state income, too. Many different kinds of needles are no longer manufactured and envelopes, too, lack variety.

It is not because of a shortage of raw materials and supplies that sundry goods are not being mass-produced now. Not much paper is needed to produce envelopes, notebooks and calendars. The problem is that officials are not interested in making small articles. Our country has many local industry factories which were built through a nationwide movement. If we give them efficient guidance so that they use their existing buildings, manpower and equipment adequately, we shall be able to manufacture large quantities of daily necessities. Therefore, the members of three-revolution teams should not only combat the practices of wasting state and public property, but also strive to develop local industries so as to increase the production of consumer goods and bring large profits to the state.

We must wage the ideological revolution in such a way as to give every individual advice on how to rectify his faults first; if he does not rectify them, he should be criticized at a meeting; and, if this is still unsuccessful, a collective ideological struggle should be conducted to reform him. The ideological struggle must, in all circumstances, be conducted in close combination with practical activities. If a person criticizes himself at a meeting but does not translate his resolve into practice, it is useless. The ideological struggle must be given correct guidance so that words are matched by actual deeds.

To proceed, the technical revolution should be vigorously promoted.

As you all know, the Fifth Party Congress set out the three objectives of the technical revolution. These are to narrow the differences between heavy and light labour and between agricultural and industrial labour considerably and to free women from the heavy burden of housekeeping, by means of a forceful drive for technical innovation in industry, agriculture and all the other sectors of the national economy. Attaining these objectives is one of the major tasks under the Six-Year Plan; it is a slogan for struggle which our Party must firmly uphold in socialist economic construction.

At present, however, the technical revolution is not making satisfactory progress. This is largely because our officials lack a correct understanding of the need for a technical revolution. We can only emancipate the working people from difficult and backbreaking labour, ease the strain on manpower and increase per-capita output value when we make continuous technological innovations everywhere by means of a forceful implementation of the technical revolution.

Recently, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the Hwanghae Iron Works introduced closed-circuit television in some of its production processes. They say they will thus produce 50,000 tons more steel, even if they dispense with 5,000 workers. From now onwards, all fields of the national economy will have to follow the example of the Hwanghae Iron Works and introduce closed-circuit television extensively.

The important thing in the technical revolution is to economize on manpower and increase production through mechanization and automation of production processes and thus raise the per-employee output value.

The present per-employee output value is not very high. We have to increase it to 20,000 *won* eventually, and, for the present, strive to raise it to more than 10,000 *won*. Only by raising the per-employee output value to at least 10,000 *won*, will it be possible to recover the benefits accorded to everybody by the state, expedite economic construction and defence development and raise the people's living standards rapidly.

The three-revolution team members must go to the lower echelons and examine the per-employee output value in every factory and enterprise, in every province and in every economic branch. And, if there is any ease where this value is considered high because the products are priced incorrectly, we must put matters right. Having calculated everything, steps should be taken to raise the per-employee output value to more than 10,000 *won* in the near future.

It is in the mining industry that we must concentrate our efforts for the time being, in the fulfilment of the technical revolution. The mining industry is one of the sectors where the per-employee output value is low and the work is most arduous. Therefore, we must direct our efforts to bring about the technical revolution in this industry to increase the per-employee output value to the level of 10,000 *won* in a short time, and to make work easy and safe. We should see to it that iron props are installed in collieries and mines, that more modern production equipment is invented and installed, and that the level of mechanization and automation in the production processes is raised.

If we are to raise the per-employee output value, we should also administer manpower properly. The value will increase rapidly if there is proper administration of manpower in conjunction with the technical revolution.

At present, some senior officials in factories and enterprises waste a large amount of the work force by neglecting manpower administration; however, they keep on demanding more workers. We cannot bring about a sharp increase in production or raise the per-employee output value by increasing the number of work hands. The value can only be raised when we produce a great deal with the minimum manpower. Therefore, we must conduct a widespread drive for technical innovation as well as effective administration of labour, so as to cut down on manpower, and use as few nonproductive and managerial people as possible, drawing more employees into productive work.

Nowadays, many administrative and economic officials complain that they are unable to increase production for want of work hands. But

a detailed analysis shows that there are ample reserves of labour.

The chief secretary of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee reported that the Kangson Steel Plant is now ready to dispense with 1,700 work hands. The last time a team went there to tap labour reserves, they would not offer even one work hand of their own accord; but now, as they have been told that the three-revolution teams of the Party Central Committee are being sent out, they say they will dispense with 1,700 men. This is the number of work hands they are releasing voluntarily. So, if we make a close on-the-spot inquiry, still larger reserves may be released.

We can also get a considerable amount of surplus manpower from the construction industry. We have always emphasized the necessity for concentrating construction, but the officials concerned still disperse workers involved in construction to a great extent, thus wasting a lot of manpower. The reduction of managerial staff in the construction industry is another way to get a large work force released. I hear that at present, even a tiny construction unit with 200 employees or so has 15 to 20 management officials. They do not need so many of them. Last year, while giving personal guidance in Kangwon Province, I told them to merge small construction units into one large one. If the construction units each employing 200 or so people are amalgamated into one large one and the original units are reorganized as workteams, we can dispense with a large number of management personnel.

According to information received after an inspection of institutions and enterprises in a district of Pyongyang, most of them run their own sideline economies at present, employing a large number of people, which is unnecessary. In workers' districts factories and enterprises may run sideline economies; but why should they do them in Pyongyang where the population is provided with excellent supply services? In Pyongyang we should abolish all sideline economies, except those of a few institutions and enterprises, which are run well.

An important task which must be tackled in the technical revolution is that of normalizing production. For the comprehensive technical modernization of the national economy, we must install a large number

of up-to-date machines and modern equipment. But, at the present stage, it is important to normalize production by making the most effective use of existing equipment. In carrying out the technical revolution, the three-revolution teams must adopt normalized production as their target in the first stage of their struggle.

If we are to normalize production, we must adhere strictly to certain principles. The first principle is to take good care of equipment and factories; the second to provide an uninterrupted supply of raw materials and other goods; and the third for producers to observe regulations regarding technical operations strictly.

In order to normalize production it is necessary, first of all, to take good care of equipment. Only by inspecting and repairing it thoroughly and taking meticulous care of it, will it be possible to make the fullest use of its capacity and ensure that it lasts.

At present, however, many factories do not look after valuable equipment properly, thereby damaging it in a short time and failing to keep production flowing smoothly.

According to the report of the students of Kim Chaek University of Technology who have been to light industry factories to help them, a certain textile mill did not use suitable oil on the machines and equipment imported at the cost of an enormous amount of foreign currency. The result is that the bearings whose life span is supposed to be five years, have been damaged in less than two years. And there are no suitable belts for the machines, so production is being curbed. However, the senior officials of this mill have taken no remedial measures. So, the students of the university got down to solving the problems. Now, they say they are able to guarantee the machines will last and they will put production on a normal footing.

If production is to be normalized, it is imperative to maintain equipment in good condition and, at the same time, to keep factories neat and tidy.

During our personal guidance of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant in November 1962, the factory people claimed that, without another boiler, they could not ensure smooth production because of the

lack of heating. We investigated the matter in detail and the situation at the factory showed that even installing another boiler would not solve this problem. Because they were not managing the factory properly, almost all the windowpanes of the building were broken and some doors were missing. It was evident, therefore, that another boiler would be of no use; it would only waste coal. So we made them glaze all the windows and replace the doors, instead. This provided adequate heating for the factory without an additional boiler. If we had agreed with the senior officials there to install the boiler at that time, they might not have continued production properly that winter, being involved in the installation of the boiler.

Even today, at some factories and enterprises we can find situations similar to those at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant more than ten years ago.

You must not believe that it is beyond your power to put production on a normal footing. Taking good care of factory buildings to make effective use of the equipment, is another of the important elements in normalizing production.

Providing raw materials and supplies regularly and ensuring that utmost economy is exercised in their use, is an essential factor in putting production on a normal footing.

Since it is important to provide adequate raw materials and supplies in ensuring production, when putting the Taean work system into effect, we established a materials supply system under which higher bodies assume the responsibility for supplying materials to lower levels, and set up agencies which specialized in supplying materials. But, the materials supply system is not yet thoroughly established, and factories and enterprises continue to face difficulties in production, because they are not supplied with materials satisfactorily. On the one hand production is hampered because of the inadequate supply of materials and, on the other, the materials are hoarded or wasted through careless use. At present, many factories are unable to continue production for lack of coal and heat, whereas others are wasting enormous amounts of coal because

of inefficient storage of coal and management of heating.

At machine-building factories we can see a large waste of steel. They are not provided with sufficient standardized steel, so they heedlessly use non-standardized steel, thus wasting a great deal. Materials supply agencies are largely to blame for this, because it is their duty to provide the necessary supplies so as to guarantee normal production at factories and enterprises. They should know the standards of steel used at each factory and provide the necessary steel. However, they are not working like this now, but are doing their jobs carelessly. When a factory orders a certain quantity of steel, they deliver it, without paying attention to the standards. Officials of the factories and enterprises are also to blame for the waste of steel. They must not accept steel from the agencies if it is not up to standard, but must ask for standardized steel. However, because they are afraid that they may not be given any steel at all if they demand standardized steel, they accept and use non-standardized steel, knowing full well that they will waste it.

Similar practices can be found in the garment industry. When we visited Kaesong some time ago, we called at a women's garment factory. The manager was well aware that the dresses made at her factory would not sell because the colours were unsuitable for women. But she continued to make the garments using the cloth which was in stock with a let's-fulfil-the-plan-and-see attitude, because they were not being supplied with cloth of other colours at the time. Instead of making men's clothing with the cloth in stock and obtaining cloth of different, attractive, colours for women, they kept on making women's dresses which would not sell, but would gradually be stockpiled. This is a sheer waste of cloth. Therefore, we took steps to organize separate materials supply agencies to provide cloth to women's and children's garment factories, so as to ensure that they supply cloth of suitable colours.

The members of the three-revolution teams must strongly combat the practices of wasting materials at factories and enterprises. They should examine what kinds of materials the warehouses have in stock,

take an inventory of what they do not need and hand the surplus over to the sectors which need them.

The materials supply system should be thoroughly effected as required by the Taaen work system, so that the officials of factories and enterprises will not be forced to run around trying to procure supplies.

For the purpose of giving a strong impetus to the technical revolution forward and improving economic guidance and management to meet the requirements of the Taaen work system, we have now taken measures to merge or dissolve some ministries under the Administration Council, organize management bureaus or complexes through the merger of several enterprises in the same branch, and establish materials supply agencies which are responsible for supplying materials. This will make it possible to guarantee collective leadership in industrial management and eradicate departmentalism in supplying and using materials.

If production is to be normalized, all producers must also strictly abide by regulations regarding technical operation without fail. However excellent the machines and equipment may be, high-quality goods cannot be produced, machines and equipment soon develop faults and production may be suspended, if their operators neglect regulations regarding technical operation and do their work in a slipshod manner. Therefore, it is extremely important to make producers observe these regulations strictly in normalizing production.

If the members of the three-revolution teams go out and work hard to ensure these conditions fully, production will be put on a normal basis.

The improvement of equipment is one of the important matters which must be resolved for the success of the technical revolution. By conducting widespread drives for technical innovation, improving equipment and rationalizing production processes in all fields of the national economy, we have to carry out semi-mechanization and full mechanization where handicraft methods are now used; mechanization and semi-automation where semi-mechanization has been effected; and semi-automation and

automation where mechanization has been introduced.

If we are to improve equipment and rationalize production processes, we must bring the efforts and wisdom of the broad masses into full play. Thus we should make sure that they introduce mechanization or automation or closed-circuit television according to their ability. Every capable person should be made to devote all his talent and enthusiasm to mechanization, automation or television.

To speed up the technical revolution forcefully and continually achieve fresh technological innovations in all fields of the national economy, we must have many technicians and specialists equipped with modern technology and science at production sites. Ever since liberation, we have spent a huge amount of money on training a large number of technical personnel, despite the difficult situation of the country. But we have not appointed them to the right posts, with the result that many of them are working in different spheres or in ministries and commissions under the Administration Council and other higher bodies. In the sphere of agriculture, agricultural universities have so far trained almost 20,000 technicians, of whom only a few thousand are working on cooperative farms. In the rural areas, therefore, there are not many able people who have a knowledge of agricultural science and technology or a wealth of experience. Consequently, there is very little scientific and technical guidance of farming, which makes it impossible to boost grain production quickly.

There is only a small number of technicians equipped with scientific and technical expertise in the fields of geological prospecting, railway transport and the extractive industries, as well as in agriculture. Although we have trained these specialists in large numbers, there are not many who are engaged in their own specialized fields.

The members of the three-revolution teams must enquire into the appointment of technicians and send back to their own spheres those who have been assigned to unsuitable posts. We have recently established many research institutes. We should enquire into these also, dissolve all the unnecessary ones and send their university graduates to production sites.

Next, the cultural revolution has to be expedited.

We must first establish tidy production practices. When the surroundings of a factory are clean, it will produce good machines, cloth and daily necessities.

In order to establish modern production practices, the exterior of the factory should be kept clean and it must be roofed well to prevent rainwater from leaking in. The factory should be equipped with dust-absorbing and air-conditioning appliances and the floors should be kept tidy. They should be kept well cleaned all the time so that there is no dust. The fences should also be kept trim and neat. We must always take meticulous care of all the machinery and equipment, insulate heat ducts properly and arrange all the pipes running through the factory compound neatly.

The roads within the factory compound must all be paved. If cement is not available, it is sufficient to spread weathered granite and harden it or use natural slate or large slabs of stone.

So all factories should remodel their interiors to resemble palaces, and their premises and surroundings to look like parks.

We must have packing facilities and pack all products neatly, and build warehouses to store raw materials and products with care. In addition, there must be a well-regulated system of issuing and receiving raw materials and products at the warehouses.

To establish modern production practices, it is necessary to raise the levels of technical skill of the workers and influence them to observe regulations regarding technical operation correctly.

The rational organization of shifts is an important factor in abiding strictly by regulations regarding technical operation and technical rules and in encouraging workers to work in an efficient and cultured way.

At present, many factories work in three shifts, which makes it difficult to make full use of the 480-minute workday and to service machines and equipment in good time. Work is not done so efficiently in the third shift. So we are now studying how many shifts it would be rational to have in factories. I think it would be expedient to work in two shifts at machine-building factories and others where

work is not done in continuous processes.

If they work in two shifts at such factories as the Pyongyang Textile Combine, the first-shift workers can work from 7 in the morning until 12 noon; have lunch and a brief rest for half an hour before resuming their job at 12:30, and finish work at 3:30 in the afternoon. Even if they have to get up at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning, they can have good rest, for they can sleep early in the evening. The second-shift workers can work from 4 in the afternoon until 7:30 in the evening and have supper for 30 minutes before going on with their work at 8 p.m., and finish work at 12:30 a.m. This enables each shift to make full use of 8 hours.

When a factory works in two shifts, fitters will be able to take over the machines after the second shift, repair all of them overnight, as required by technical rules and make suitable preparations for the next day's work. Then, it will be possible to look after the equipment better and produce more than when working in three shifts.

But, when I discuss this with women weavers, they say that the looms must not be kept idle for hours, and that the number of rotations per minute is limited and the length of cloth to be produced per hour fixed; so, they must work in three shifts to produce a lot. Therefore, we must let them work on as at present, and study the matter further. The members of the three-revolution teams have to learn more about this at the factories and enterprises.

One of the important problems in the cultural revolution is to establish a cultured way of life. Factories and enterprises should spruce up the workers' dining rooms, improve the places for recreation and keep the creches and kindergartens clean. They should also see that the workers' houses are kept tidy, and villages kept clean.

The three-revolution teams must go to every province. In each province they must first work at the major factories and enterprises designated by the central authority. In addition to those so designated they may also guide factories and enterprises which they feel need the guidance, in company with some officials of provincial and county Party committees.

The members of three-revolution teams must first get to understand

the existing state of affairs at the factories and enterprises. As a preparation for the ideological struggle to be conducted, they must acquaint themselves with how bureaucratic and conservative the officials of factories and enterprises are, and study how to normalize their production. After they have finished studying the situation, we shall receive their report about it and decide on the orientation and methods of the future struggle.

The cornerstone of the activity of the three-revolution teams is education. They must not sack erring cadres but conduct an ideological struggle to rectify their shortcomings and re-educate them. Since this work of guidance is no less than Party guidance, it should be conducted in accordance with Party methods. And the guiding personnel should participate in productive labour with others, and help and teach their subordinates a great deal. Therefore, this work of guidance will afford the students in the teams a good chance to improve their book knowledge by bringing them into touch with real life, and to prepare themselves to go out into the world.

The members of the three-revolution teams must lead exemplary lives at factories and enterprises. They must be models in everything and never allow themselves to be indolent or idle. They should take this opportunity to go out among the workers, learn from them and strive to revolutionize and working-classize themselves first.

Adequate living conditions for the team members during the period of guidance should be provided by provincial Party organizations and factories and enterprises.

The struggle through the three-revolution teams should start in the sphere of industry, at factories and enterprises. It will then be conducted in branches of distribution such as procurement and commercial agencies, as well as in the spheres of education and public health.

I am sure that you will work well in the factories and enterprises, regarding it as a great honour to be dispatched as members of three-revolution teams completely trusted by the Party Central Committee.

# **ON PRESSING AHEAD WITH THE IDEOLOGICAL, TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS IN RURAL COMMUNITIES**

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting  
of the Three-Revolution Teams  
in the Agricultural Sector**

*February 21, 1973*

Comrades,

The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee has recently adopted a resolution to send three-revolution teams to the industrial and agricultural sectors in order to give a stronger impetus to the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in all spheres of building socialism. By this decision, three-revolution teams went to work in factories and other industrial enterprises several days ago, and today they are leaving for cooperative farms and state agro-stock farms.

Today I should like to talk to the members of the three-revolution teams who are going to work in the agricultural sector, about some problems arising in carrying out the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in rural communities.

These three revolutions are the most important tasks in finally solving the rural questions after the completion of the cooperativization of agriculture. After implementing the historic task of agricultural cooperativization, the working-class party and state

must go on to carry out the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the rural areas. This is the way to consolidate and develop the socialist agricultural system, eliminate all backwardness from the rural communities and remove the differences between urban and rural communities, and between the working class and the peasantry.

At the Eighth Plenary Meeting of its Fourth Central Committee in February 1964, our Party adopted the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* and put forward the task of pressing ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in rural areas. It is nearly ten years since our Party published the theses, but the tasks of these revolutions have not yet been carried out satisfactorily in the rural communities.

What, then, are the major reasons for the inefficient implementation of these tasks?

In particular, this is due to the fact that great effort has been directed to increasing defence power in connection with the escalating actions of the US imperialists for aggression and war and with the ever-increasing tension. As you all know, since the beginning of the 1960s, the US imperialists have continually brought aggressive armed forces into south Korea on the one hand, and, on the other, incited the south Korean reactionaries to increase armed provocation against the northern half of Korea on an unprecedented scale. These imperialists also fabricated the Bac Bo Gulf incident and unleashed a large-scale aggressive war in Vietnam and spread it across the whole of Indochina. The prevailing situation urgently required us to build up our defences impenetrably and prepare ourselves fully so as to counter any surprise attack by the enemy. Therefore, our Party put forward the revolutionary line of carrying on economic and defence construction simultaneously and concentrated manpower and material resources on defence development. For this reason, the Party was unable to pay proper attention to rural communities and carry out the rural ideological, technical and cultural revolutions satisfactorily.

It is true that irrigation and electrification, which occupy an

important place in the rural technical revolution, have been carried out well. But we were unable to increase the production of tractors and lorries and supply large quantities of modern farm machinery to the rural communities because we had to use large amounts of steel and cement on modernizing the equipment of the People's Army, on arming all the people and on fortifying the whole country. So we have not yet carried out the task of mechanizing agriculture, the task set in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. In addition, the employment of a great deal of manpower on defence work was the cause of unsatisfactory implementation of the ideological and cultural revolutions in rural areas. If they are to carry out the ideological and cultural revolutions successfully, the rural communities need a large number of young people who are well-informed and willing to adopt new ideas. But many of them have joined the People's Army because of the tense situation and the growing danger of war, and most of the young people in the rural communities volunteered for the service, particularly at the time of the *Pueblo* incident. As a result, only women and old people remained and there were few young people in the rural communities, and for this reason it was impossible to press ahead with the ideological and cultural revolutions in the rural areas.

As you can see, our Party has had to make a great effort to increase the nation's defence power in view of the increasing tension, and so it has been unable to carry out the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the rural areas successfully. But this does not mean that our Party's policy for concentrating on increasing defence capabilities was wrong.

Developments in recent years clearly show that this policy of our Party which was aimed at building up unbreakable national defence even at a little sacrifice of the efforts to build socialist rural communities, was correct in that it was in accord with the fundamental interests of the revolution. If we had been occupied exclusively with the rural question because it was important, instead of concentrating on increasing the nation's defence capability to meet the prevailing situation, we should have been unable to prevent enemy invasion at the

time of the *Pueblo* incident or the *EC-121* incident. Because we have strengthened national defence by carrying out the Party's revolutionary line of increasing the economic and defence capabilities simultaneously, we have been able to defeat the enemy's provocations at every step and bring him to his knees.

We have carried out the tasks of industrialization and defence construction simultaneously, and this is without precedent in the history of the world. It is not easy, especially for a small country like ours, to undertake both of these tasks at the same time and produce weapons and other military equipment to meet its own defence needs. Nevertheless, we could not allow ourselves to depend on others, doing nothing ourselves and give up the fundamental interests of the revolution. We were obliged to direct great effort to increasing the nation's defence power so as to meet the prevailing situation, even though the construction of the socialist economy had to be delayed a little. This is precisely the main reason for the unsatisfactory implementation of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in rural communities in recent years.

Another reason for this failure is that the officials of the Party, state and economic establishments have not helped rural communities properly.

Because, as I said before, there are few young people in the rural areas, it is mainly old people and women who are engaged in farming and managing cooperative farms. These old people, having no access to education in the past, lack the knowledge of advanced science and their cultural standards are low. That was why they followed empiricism and conservatism and were unable to press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. However, we cannot say that they are to blame. Most of these people now working on the management boards of cooperative farms have been working hard since the days of agrarian reform and are faithful to the Party. If they had been given a good education and some assistance, they could have pushed forward the three revolutions forcefully, however difficult the rural situation might be.

But the officials of the Party, state and economic establishments have not helped rural communities well, nor have they educated farmers and the managerial workers of cooperative farms in a revolutionary way. A large number of young people have been recruited from rural communities for the People's Army, and, when discharged from the army, most of them have been appointed to factories and enterprises. This has resulted in the weakening of the rural positions and in the shortage of rural manpower. To make matters worse, the farmers have had to bear heavy burdens of weaving straw sacks and ropes, stripping maize stalks, repairing roads and so on, although they have not been supplied with machines. If they are to be given revolutionary education, they need time to study and hold meetings. But how can they study and hold meetings when they have to bear so many burdens? In view of the shortage of rural manpower and the heavy pressure of farm work, Party organizations ought to have organized work with farmers effectively. But they have not been efficient in this work, nor have they taken appropriate steps to give farmers a revolutionary education. As a result of the neglect of studying conditions for farmers and managerial workers of cooperative farms, and of their ideological education needed to equip them with the Juche idea of our Party, the farmers are ideologically, technically and culturally backward, and the managerial workers of cooperative farms took to empiricism, conservatism, formalism and bureaucratism and were unable to press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions.

If the three revolutions were not progressing smoothly in the rural communities in the past, why are we only now sending in the three-revolution teams, instead of sending them several years ago?

If we had sent them earlier, we should, of course, have been able to rectify the shortcomings in the rural areas sooner, implement the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions successfully and improve farming. In the past, however, serious shortcomings were not so apparent in the agricultural sector as they are today. In general, shortcomings in social life are not easily discernible in their early

stage. Just as a change in a natural phenomenon does not appear on the surface until it has reached the critical point, so a shortcoming in social life does not come to the surface until a certain point in time. Just as water freezes at zero degree C and boils at 100 degrees C, so does a shortcoming in the agricultural sector appear on the surface at its critical point. The fact that Party organizations and officials in charge of agriculture have worked bureaucratically, neglecting work with farmers, made it all the more difficult to know the rural situation in detail and correct the defects in agriculture immediately. In consequence, these shortcomings grew by degrees, and recently began to appear on the surface.

When we were inspecting rural communities recently in order to learn about the situation on cooperative farms, we learned that there were serious defects in the rural economy, defects which must be corrected immediately. We decided to send three-revolution teams to the rural communities in order to rectify these failings as soon as possible and give a stronger impetus to the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions.

The Party's decision to send the three-revolution teams to the rural communities is very opportune. In our country today all the factors which will facilitate powerful ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the rural communities exist. As a result of the thorough implementation of the Party's military line, the combat power of the People's Army has increased beyond measure, all the people are under arms, and the whole country has become an impregnable fortress. Steel production has also increased considerably compared with past years. We are now in a position to devote a great deal of our effort to rural communities, while continuing to build up our defences. The three-revolution teams, in support of the Party's policy, must press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the rural areas.

The three-revolution teams must work hard to carry out the technical revolution in the rural communities.

The Fifth Congress of our Party put forward the three major tasks of

the technical revolution—the tasks of reducing the difference between heavy and light labour, and between agricultural and industrial labour, to a considerable extent, and of freeing women from the heavy burden of household chores. If we are to carry out these three major tasks, we must carry out the technical revolution in the industrial sector and also press ahead with it in the rural communities.

Adding momentum to the rural technical revolution is now a very important task for us in freeing the farmers from difficult and labour-consuming work and in increasing agricultural production quickly. As you all know, in the past our country was a colony where backward agriculture was predominant; it has not gone through the normal stage of capitalist development. Therefore, in spite of considerable improvement in its technical standards compared with past years, our agriculture is still lagging behind those of the countries which have gone through the normal stage of capitalist development, and our farmers still have to do difficult and labour-consuming work. Those comrades who have visited rural communities and participated in transplanting and weeding well know how backbreaking farm work is. When we were fighting underground in the past, we, too, mixed with farmers during our work in rural communities, transplanting and weeding, and we considered it very hard. In fact, it is not easy to transplant rice seedlings in the field in a stooping posture all day long. Weeding is no less backbreaking than transplanting. Students who have been to rural communities to help them say that, when they were weeding on hot summer days, they felt that they were being stifled by the boiling heat from the earth. The members of the three-revolution teams who go to work in rural areas must, in accordance with the policy formulated by the Fifth Party Congress, press ahead with the rural technical revolution and thus free the farmers from difficult and labour-consuming work as soon as possible and boost agricultural production decisively.

It is necessary, in the first place, to mechanize all agricultural work quickly.

If we are to do this, we must first increase the production of tractors,

supply more of them to the rural communities and raise their utilization rate in every way.

Since last year, the Party and the state have been concentrating on the production of tractors, and the result is excellent. We are going to supply most of the tractors to be produced this year first to the western region, where great amounts of grain are produced, so that three tractors are available per 100 hectares of cultivated land in the plains of Pyongyang, North and South Phyongan Provinces and North and South Hwanghae Provinces, and 2.5 tractors per 100 hectares of the cultivated area lying between low and high lands in these districts.

Even though we increase the number of tractors per 100 hectares of cultivated land to this extent, the number is not very great when compared with the rates in developed countries. So we must not rest content with a small success, but continue to work hard to reach the level of developed countries and outstrip it. It is not a very difficult task or a matter of the distant future for us to exceed the standard of agricultural mechanization in developed countries. By 1976 the number of tractors per 100 hectares of cultivated land will be eight to nine, and significant progress will be made in the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture.

The Party and the state are also striving to increase the production of lorries. In step with the growth in lorry production, the state will increase the supply of lorries to rural communities so that one lorry will be working for every 200 hectares of cultivated land in the near future and then one per 100 hectares.

The Party and the state are planning to increase the production of tractors and lorries for the rural communities so as to mechanize all the farmers' work and ease agricultural labour. But the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture will not be carried out successfully, no matter how many tractors and lorries are supplied to the rural communities unless they are used effectively. Now that large numbers of them are being supplied to the rural communities, it is very important to use them efficiently, to raise the rate of tractor operation in particular to the maximum. The three-revolution teams for the rural

communities must work hard to increase the utilization rate of tractors.

The most important task in increasing this is to produce a large number of trailer farm machines and supply them to the rural areas. No matter how many tractors there are in rural communities they will not be used effectively if there are no trailers to go with them, and it will be impossible to free farmers from difficult and labour-consuming work. We must, therefore, increase the production of various kinds of farm trailers for the rural communities.

In particular, trailers must be mass-produced for the rural areas. As matters now stand, cooperative farms are not doing transport work well because of the shortage of trailers, although they have tractors. This situation must not be left unresolved any longer. The industry concerned must produce a large number of trailers for the rural communities so as to expedite the mechanization of their transport work and free the farmers once and for all from the labour of carrying loads on their backs.

A large number of transplanting machines must also be manufactured and supplied to rural communities. The officials concerned must complete the design of these machines quickly and manufacture them for widespread use in agricultural production.

Weeding machines must also be designed and produced and used widely. If we are to free farmers from weeding, we must produce weeding machines and mechanize this work on the one hand, and, on the other, plough rice fields three times so as to prevent weeds from growing. If rice fields are ploughed once in autumn, again in early spring the following year, and once more when the weeds are sprouting, and then flooded and harrowed, removing the roots of the weeds, it will be as effective as weeding the fields twice. At present, however, many of the tractors in the rural areas are used in work which has nothing to do with farming, instead of ploughing rice fields three times, so that these fields are full of weeds. The three-revolution teams who work in the rural communities must ensure that tractors are used efficiently so that rice fields are ploughed three times without exception.

In order to increase the rate of tractor utilization, it is necessary to build and repair roads well and improve the layout of fields. On my inspection of rural areas nowadays, I find that tractors are not working efficiently in rice fields because they have no access to them. Cooperative farms must improve the layout of fields and build roads well so that tractors can have free access to the fields and work smoothly.

Improving the role of tractor drivers in the rural communities is very important in increasing the rate of tractor utilization and mechanizing all farm work.

Tractor drivers are the advance party of the working class who have been sent to the rural communities on a mission to speed up the rural technical revolution and revolutionize and working-classize the farmers. The three-revolution teams must, therefore, work well with tractor drivers and increase their sense of responsibility and their role. This is the way to ensure the maximum use of tractors and the rapid comprehensive mechanization of agriculture and to revolutionize and working-classize the farmers successfully. At present, however, officials are neglecting work with tractor drivers. In consequence, these drivers are not performing their role as pioneers of the rural technical revolution well, nor are they showing farmers the good work attitude of the working class. Some of them transport manure to the fields with tractors, but unload it by the roadside, instead of unloading it in the fields, so that women have to move it again on their backs into their fields. Worse still, some drivers plough the fields carelessly, and even leave the corners of fields unploughed. The three-revolution teams in the agricultural sector must intensify the ideological struggle among tractor drivers so as to stimulate them to do all farm work with a high sense of responsibility and with the attitude of masters.

If we are to increase the role of tractor drivers, I consider it necessary to attach tractors to the workteams or sub-workteams of cooperative farms. If tractors are attached in this way, the drivers will try to do farm work harder and better by increasing the rate of tractor operation, and the sub-workteam management system will work more

efficiently. Under the present system, tractors are not attached to sub-workteams or workteams, so that these workteams cannot control the drivers even if the drivers do not do field work faithfully, and not many tractors are available to some sub-workteams, while many are available to others. In these circumstances the work results of tractors have varied from sub-workteam to sub-workteam, and this has badly affected the running of the sub-workteam management system. But, if tractors are attached to sub-workteams or workteams, these irregularities will be removed, and farm work will be done better. It seems a good idea to attach tractors to sub-workteams in the cooperative farms in the suburbs of Pyongyang which have large-sized workteams and many tractors, and to workteams in the cooperative farms in other districts which do not have large workteams or many tractors.

The three-revolution teams must work hard to increase the rate of tractor utilization so as to mechanize ploughing, transportation, transplanting, weeding and also harvesting and threshing. Mobile threshers, in particular, will have to be mass-produced for cooperative farms so that harvested rice can be threshed in the rice fields.

As harvested rice sheaves are stacked in the fields and then carried, a few at a time, to the threshing grounds for threshing, much of the grain is eaten by rats and birds and is lost by being dropped in transit. The amount of grain which is lost in this way is not small. There was a great deal of rain last autumn, and tractors were unable to enter rice fields, so that the rice sheaves had to be moved many times for transportation, and it is said that in this process alone 10 to 20 per cent of the rice was lost. Moving harvested rice to the threshing grounds for threshing not only entails the loss of a great deal of the grain but also involves unnecessary transport. By contrast, if rice is threshed with mobile threshers as soon as it is reaped and if only the grain is transported, the loss of grain can be reduced and the straw can be used as compost in the fields without being moved. This will save machine fuel and labour and solve the problem of compost.

We must work hard to ensure the widespread introduction of

chemicals in agriculture as well as its mechanization.

In this regard, it is necessary to use herbicides in weeding so as to tackle one of the most difficult and labour-consuming operations by the use of chemicals.

Weeding by means of herbicides is now common practice throughout the world in agricultural development. We must reconstruct and expand the herbicide factory quickly and mass-produce herbicides and use them.

A scientific fertilizing system in agriculture is an important guarantee for increasing grain production.

As matters now stand, farmers waste a great deal of fertilizer because they use it carelessly. The three-revolution team members who are going to work on cooperative farms must teach farmers clearly how to use fertilizer and ensure the establishment of a scientific fertilizing system.

If we are to increase grain yields, it is necessary to supply microelement fertilizer to fields so that crops can take in all the necessary nutrients. This year the state is going to produce sufficient micronutrients for the rural communities. You must ensure that the cooperative farms use them to suit their soil composition.

You must also ensure a balanced use of nitrogenous, phosphatic and potassic fertilizers. Over the past years, little attention has been paid to the use of phosphatic fertilizer, and agricultural production has suffered a great deal from the neglect of this fertilizer. From now onwards, we must ensure the use of 120 to 150 kilogrammes of nitrogenous fertilizer, 100 to 120 kilogrammes of phosphatic fertilizer and 50 to 60 kilogrammes of potassic fertilizer per hectare, in terms of their ingredients. You must also see that 500 to 700 kilogrammes of slaked lime are used per hectare once every three years.

The method of applying fertilizer may vary with the qualities of the soil. Cooperative farms must establish a correct fertilizing system for each crop in accordance with their soil analysis cards.

Another important task in the rural technical revolution is to

consolidate the results of electrification and irrigation and use them efficiently.

Cooperative farms must take good care of irrigation water and refrain from wasting electricity. The irrigation of crop fields requires a great deal of electricity to operate water pumps. So water for irrigation is as precious as gold. But agricultural workers waste it by careless use, without even giving thought to the cost of 10,000 cubic metres of it. The waste of electricity on cooperative farms is also due to the use of unsuitable electric equipment. At present, some cooperative farms are wasting a great deal of electricity by using 50 to 100 kW electric motors where 10 kW motors would be adequate.

Because they waste electricity in this manner, the rate of electricity consumption per hectare of cultivated land is very high. This rate, even in countries which have developed industries and produce large amounts of electricity, is not so high as it is in our country. We must not manage the economy in a careless manner. We are not yet as prosperous as other peoples in spite of the powerful economic foundations we have laid, and this is due to our officials' inefficient management of the national economy and the great amount of waste.

If cooperative farms save the amount of electricity they are wasting at present, that alone will be enough to produce hundreds of thousands of tons of additional steel and carbide, and increase the production of fabrics and other consumer goods for the people. The three-revolution teams going to work on cooperative farms must educate farmers well and encourage them to use water most economically. It would also be a good idea to show farmers scientific films on the use of irrigation water. In addition, it is necessary to inspect all the electric equipment of cooperative farms and repair any failings.

We must not only prevent the waste of electricity, but also protect fields and crops from drought and flood damage.

As the irrigation of agriculture has been completed, we are able to protect fields and crops well from drought and flood damage. But the irrigation of non-paddy fields is not yet perfect, so that a long dry spell can badly affect crops other than rice.

The three-revolution teams must take steps to continue to extend the sprinkler irrigation system on cooperative farms and, at the same time, to introduce irrigation along furrows and irrigation by means of tractor-operated sprinklers. It is also necessary to take steps to prevent flood damage. In the areas where there is the danger of crop fields being submerged by flood, the existing pumping facilities must be inspected and, if the pumping capacity is inadequate, it must be supplemented, and the facilities which need repairing must be repaired. In this way, crop fields will be irrigated in the dry season and drained quickly in the season of floods.

An important task in increasing the per-hectare yield of cereals is to improve the strains of crops.

Many countries are now increasing their per-hectare yield by improving the crop strains. But this is not yet being done in our country. The agricultural sector must make a great effort to improve crop strains and produce many which are resistant to wind and rain and of high yield. The per-hectare yield of rice should thus be increased to five to six tons, and that of maize to four to five tons, in the near future. If these goals are reached, we shall be able to carry out the grain production quotas set by the Fifth Party Congress, feed our people better and develop livestock farming.

The three-revolution team members who are going to work in the rural communities must press ahead with the rural technical revolution so as to introduce highly intensive farming and reach these goals as soon as possible.

Next, we must give a strong stimulus to the ideological revolution in the rural communities.

In order to build socialism and communism successfully, we must press ahead with the ideological revolution as well as the technical revolution.

It is impossible to reform the ideological consciousness of the people on communist lines only by developing technology and raising their standard of material life. It is true that their ideological consciousness is affected by their material living conditions.

Marxism regards it as a universal truth that people's ideological consciousness changes with the change in the material conditions of society. But people's ideological consciousness does not change on communist lines of its own accord simply because their material standard improves. As you all know, in a certain country some people plotted a counter-revolution in order to revive capitalism, although the people's standard of living is very high. In another country, there are still people who forge bank notes, although many decades have passed since the socialist revolution was carried out in that country. These show that people's ideological consciousness does not reform itself automatically in step with changes in the material conditions of society. Therefore, if we are to build a communist society, we must fight to capture both the material fortress and the ideological fortress. In other words, in order to build a communist society, we must develop the nation's productive forces and raise the material and cultural standards of the people by building the economy well on the one hand, and, on the other, root out the remnants of the outdated ideas from the minds of the working people and equip them with communist ideology by pressing ahead with the ideological revolution.

The three-revolution teams must press ahead with the ideological revolution in the rural communities so as to equip the farmers firmly with the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of our Party, and revolutionize and working-classize them.

You must first fight against the outdated idea of farmers and officials in the agricultural sector who dislike working and wish to live in idleness.

Willingness to work is one of the most important qualities of the working people who live in a socialist society. If people consider work mean and dislike working, they will not be able to build a socialist, communist society. Some people seem to think that they can live without working in a communist society, but a communist society is not a society where people live without working. It is true that in that society work will be very easy, but even in that society everyone will

have to work. If people do not work, society cannot be maintained nor can it make progress.

In order to strengthen the socialist system in the northern half of Korea and build socialism and communism in the whole of Korea, we must see that all the working people like to work and participate in work sincerely.

At present, in south Korea which is occupied by the US imperialists, people are ragged and starved and are roaming about the streets because they are out of work. It is said that many of these ragged people have frozen to death during this cold spell. The south Korean rulers proclaim that they have many cars and many high-rise buildings in Seoul, but these are not available to the people. These are only meant for the landlords and capitalists who are rich and powerful. It is precisely in south Korean society that rich people become richer and poor people become poorer.

Today, in south Korea the sons and daughters of working people have no free access to education. If one wants to go to school in south Korea, one has to pay a large sum of money, but the sons and daughters of working people cannot afford it. In these circumstances, an increasing number of south Korean people commit suicide every day, cursing the world. I was told that some time ago a boy was dismissed from school because he was unable to pay the school-fees, and his mother and all her children drank poison together and killed themselves.

In the northern half of Korea nobody roams about the streets, thrown out of work; nobody is ragged or starved, and no one is unable to afford to go to school. Today, in the north, the state buys rice from farmers at the price of 60 *jon* per kilogramme and supplies it to factory and office workers for eight *jon* per kilogramme. This is virtually a free supply. In the northern half of Korea, all the young people and children have access to free schooling under the advanced educational system, and they receive supplies of new uniforms for every season. Today our people are equally well off, free from worries about employment, food, clothing and housing, and they study as much as they want. Our

country is, indeed, a good country to live in.

But we must not rest content with this. We must fight to build a still better society to live in. We still have a great deal of work to do. We have not yet eliminated the differences between heavy and light labour, and between agricultural and industrial labour. Therefore, the industrial sector must mechanize and automate the production processes so as to free the working people from difficult and labour-consuming work and the agricultural sector must carry out mechanization and use chemicals more widely as soon as possible so as to do farm work by mechanical and chemical means.

To this end, all the working people must love labour and participate in labour willingly. However, some people, content with their present living standards, are not willing to work hard; they try to live without working, instead of making strenuous efforts to repay the benefits given by the Party and the state.

The practice of disliking work and loafing is also much in evidence amongst farmers.

Since they wear clothes made from the textiles produced by industrial workers and do their farm work by using various machines and fertilizer produced by the industrial workers, the farmers ought to increase the production of cereals, vegetables, and meat for the industrial workers. Only then can farmers say that they are fulfilling their duties as working people who are responsible for agricultural production in the socialist society. In this society, the industrial workers and farmers are the same socialist working people, and their interests coincide. By the division of labour, the former has only to undertake industrial production, and the latter agricultural production. The industrial workers have the responsibility to produce machines and textiles for the farmers, and the farmers have the responsibility to produce cereals, vegetables and meat for the industrial workers.

Some farmers, however, do not work with enthusiasm, from the selfish idea that they have only to earn enough to meet their own needs. If the farmers produce only the amount of cereals they need, what can the industrial workers eat, and how can they weave textiles and

produce machines and fertilizer? Managerial workers of cooperative farms also neglect their duties. Some of them spend two to three days at their county towns in the busy farming seasons on the pretext of meetings and short courses or stay away from their cooperative farms for more than ten days on the pretext of obtaining materials. These are iniquitous practices.

In a socialist society it is the greatest shame to hate work and eat the bread of idleness. The people who eat the bread of idleness are parasites living at the expense of others. A man must lead a worthy life even if he has to live only a single day. If he has received benefits from the Party and the state, he ought to know how to work in return.

The manifestation amongst some working people of the idea of disliking work and wishing to eat the bread of idleness is mainly due to inefficient work in the past on the part of officials in charge of ideological work. These officials have not given the working people effective ideological education. They have done this work perfunctorily. In consequence, some of the working people are unwilling to work, trying to live idly; they receive a great many benefits from the Party and the state, but they do not think of repaying them. The three-revolution teams who are going to work in the rural communities must give the farmers competent ideological education so that all of them like to work and participate in labour willingly.

From now onwards, the state will supply large amounts of commodities to the rural communities in order to stimulate the farmers' enthusiasm for production. The situation at home and abroad in the past did not permit us to concentrate on light industry, and because of this we were unable to supply large amounts of consumer goods to rural communities. Last year, the Party began to concentrate on light industry. Last year, the state built many knitwear factories. If production in these factories is put on a steady basis, we shall be able to supply everyone with a sweater or jacket every year. In addition, when the footwear factory now under construction starts operation, it will produce 60 million pairs of shoes every year. This means 3.5 to four pairs per person every year. We have now built up an annual textile

capacity of 450 to 480 million metres, and if we increase the number of spindles by a few hundred thousands, we shall be able to supply the people with an adequate amount of cloth. If we work a little harder, we shall be able to improve light industry to a considerable extent and supply the people with large amounts of high-quality consumer goods. Then, the rural communities will also receive a large share of them.

But supplying consumer goods to rural communities alone is not enough to increase the farmers' enthusiasm for production, nor can it erase the idea of leading an idle life from their minds. If we are to eliminate the idea of disliking work and trying to eat the bread of idleness from their minds, we must first intensify the struggle against outdated ideas. The three-revolution teams going to work in the rural communities must regard it as an important task to fight against the outdated idea of disliking work and trying to eat the bread of idleness and concentrate their fire on this target.

The Socialist Constitution of our country clearly stipulates the character of labour in the socialist society, the principles of the working people's working life and all other matters related to labour. Party and working people's organizations must organize the study of the Socialist Constitution among the farmers well. In this way, all the farmers will be encouraged to love labour and participate in it as required by the Constitution.

In order to uproot their idea of disliking work and wishing to eat without working and encourage them to participate in labour honestly, it is also necessary to implement the socialist principle of distribution to the letter.

The socialist principle of distribution is a principle on which distribution is made according to the quantity and quality of work done; in other words, according to the amount of work that has been done, according to the amount that has been earned. In a socialist society, a transitional society, distribution must be made according to the quantity and quality of work done.

In a socialist society, the productive forces have not yet developed to the extent where distribution can be made according to needs, the

differences in labour still exist, and a great deal of the remnants of outdated ideas still remain in the minds of working people. In these circumstances, it is imperative that distribution should be made according to work done. This is the way to wipe out the idea of living without working and at the expense of others and stimulate the working people's enthusiasm for work and encourage them to raise their technical and skill levels.

In spite of this, some cooperative farms are not yet observing the socialist principle of distribution properly.

On a cooperative farm in Taedong County, South Phyongan Province, the ri chairman of the League of Socialist Working Youth was given 300 work-points for his participation in the laying of the Youth Railway between Ichon and Sepho and another 300 work-points after his return, although he had done little work on his farm. In this way, he received as many as 600 work-points last year. Of course, it was right that he was given 300 work-points for his part in the difficult task of building the Youth Railway. But it was wrong that he was given another 300 work-points simply because he went to work at the threshing ground a few times after his return home. This was a violation of the socialist principle of distribution. The managerial workers of the cooperative farm who gave work-points to the man who had not worked, in violation of the socialist principle of distribution, were wrong, and so was the ri chairman of the LSWY organization who received the 300 work-points without participating in the work. The chairman of the LSWY organization of the ri ought to have refused to accept the additional work-points which were offered by the cooperative farm, but he received as many as 300 work-points without working. He was seriously wrong.

The three-revolution team members who are going to work on cooperative farms must ensure that the socialist principle of distribution is observed to the letter so as to eliminate the manifestations among farmers of disliking work and trying to live in idleness.

In order to eradicate the farmers' outdated idea of hating work and liking to eat the bread of idleness and increase their enthusiasm for

production, it is necessary to publish the financial situation of cooperative farms and the work-points earned by farm members periodically.

I have stressed the need to publish these things more than once, but some cooperative farms are still not implementing these instructions well. In consequence, some farmers do not know how many work-points they have earned and how much money will be distributed to them. Some farmers do not even know how much advance payment they have received from their cooperative farms. If cooperative farms do not publish their financial situation and the earned work-points regularly, it will be impossible to prevent the practice of misappropriating work-points and embezzling the money of cooperative farms and to increase the farmers' productive zeal.

Cooperative farms must show publicly and at each workteam and every month how many days each of their members has worked and how many work-points he has earned, so that he or she knows the work-points earned in a given month and can plan work for the following month accordingly. The cooperative farms must also publish their financial situation. The public notice must include the earnings, for instance, from selling a certain amount of produce in a given month, as well as the debts which they owe to the bank, that is, income and expenditure.

It will be a little difficult for cooperative farms to publish their financial statement and their members' earning of work-points regularly. But this matter must be settled during this period. We must thus wipe out the outdated ideas of some backward farmers who want to loaf on the job and live idly as well as dishonest practices.

An important task in the ideological revolution is for the cadres to implement the Party's mass line thoroughly.

Our Party's revolutionary mass line requires that cadres should mix with the masses, discuss matters with them, rally them closely behind the Party by educating and reforming them, and explain the Party's line and policy to them correctly so that they work willingly to implement the Party's policy. If officials mix with the masses, educate and

awaken them properly, and explain the Party's policy to them well, the masses will support its policy and work hard to implement it.

If cadres mix with the masses and explain the Party's policy to them clearly, the policy of accelerating the rural technical revolution so as to free farmers from difficult and labour-consuming work, the masses will enthusiastically support this policy, saying that, since the Party is determined to carry out the rural technical revolution, they will do it, no matter how difficult the task is. When we were visiting the Ryongbong Cooperative Farm, Mangyongdae District, several days ago, we explained to the local people the Party's policy on accelerating the rural technical revolution and its future. All the people expressed their full support for this policy.

Senior officials and members of the three-revolution teams in charge of agriculture must mix with the farmers and show them clearly the future of the technical revolution proposed by the Party as well as the feasibility of carrying out this revolution. This will inspire the farmers with revolutionary enthusiasm and courage to fight to carry out the rural technical revolution.

If we are to succeed in any undertaking, we must inspire the people with revolutionary optimism and courage. Even when we were on the Arduous March during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we talked to the guerrillas about Mangyongdae, our home village, and about the prospect of building an earthly paradise in the homeland as soon as possible after defeating Japanese imperialism. Hearing us talk about these things, the men used to be entranced with a beautiful dream and fight with firm confidence in victory and redoubled courage. The future about which we talked to the men in those days has now become a reality.

If our novelists write a story dealing with the Arduous March during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the story will be better than *The Iron Flood*. During the initial period of our revolutionary activity, I read *The Iron Flood* in Jilin Prison and was deeply moved by it. A few days ago, I saw the performance of the music and dance epic, *The Arduous March*, and I think that, if it is amplified to be a good novel, it

will make a great contribution to the revolutionary education of the people.

The three-revolution teams must explain our Party's agricultural policy to the farmers in simple language and give them efficient ideological education by various forms and methods so as to inspire them with revolutionary enthusiasm and encourage them to work hard to build socialist rural communities. The three-revolution teams will have to give them a good explanation of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* in particular, so that they will be convinced that the goals set in the theses are not a fantasy but a reality in the making.

To proceed, we must press ahead with the cultural revolution in the rural communities.

The first and foremost task in this revolution at the present moment is to raise the farmers' cultural and technical standards quickly. In the days immediately after liberation, our Party wiped out illiteracy in the rural communities by mobilizing students, but now we have an urgent task of improving the farmers' cultural and technical standards.

Today the material and technical foundations of our rural economy have become incomparably stronger than ever before. But the farmers' cultural and technical standards are lagging behind the strengthening of these foundations.

At present, the rural communities are supplied with large quantities of different kinds of chemical fertilizers, but, lacking knowledge about fertilizers, the farmers do not clearly understand how to use them. Urea fertilizer contains a great deal of nitrogen and has a delayed effect, but some farmers use it as if it were ammonium sulphate. Because they use urea fertilizer in this way, their crops do not ripen well, although they grow well in stature. If they are to increase the production of cereals, farmers must use the three-element fertilizers to suit the characteristics of soil and crops; but some of them only use a great deal of nitrogenous fertilizer.

Senior officials of the agricultural sector and agricultural working people are also not well informed about the technical problems arising in

the use and care of tractors. If tractors are to be used effectively for as long as possible on the farms, they must undergo repair and maintenance regularly, without being overworked. As matters now stand, however, senior officials in charge of agriculture do not know these problems well and overwork tractors by mobilizing them at random for work which has nothing to do with agricultural production, nor do they provide the time and facilities needed for their repair. In consequence, tractors are not even used for ploughing as they should be.

During our recent inspection of rural communities, we visited Posok-ri, Unjon County, North Phyongan Province. At that time, a tractor driver told us that, after hearing the speech of a tractor driver from Jaeryong County, South Hwanghae Province, at the national conference of tractor drivers, he tried to follow the example set by the speaker, by ploughing fields three times over. But he was compelled to do transport work all through the winter after the autumn harvest, so that he was unable to repair and maintain his tractor in good shape until the spring ploughing season began. He was resolved to do triple ploughing, but he was unable to do so because the tyres and bearings had become worn out. He was so sorry to see women carrying manure on their backs last spring that he tried to obtain the spare parts needed for the repair of his tractor by enquiring for them everywhere, but in vain. He even brought the matter to the county Party committee, but there he was told that it could not be helped. So he was even unable to transport the existing manure to the fields and told me of his deep disappointment about this.

A large number of tractor drivers are now trying to work as hard for the Party and the people as this comrade does. But senior officials in charge of agriculture, lacking any knowledge about tractors, are not helping them well in their work.

These officials and agricultural working people do not have a good knowledge of the botanical character of crops, either. Affected with empiricism and subjectivism, some of them are reluctant to cultivate crops by scientific and technical methods.

When we were studying the farming situation during our inspection

of Pyongyang and North and South Phyongan Provinces early this year, we learned that senior officials of the agricultural sector had interfered with rice production by ordering the local farmers to finish the transplanting of rice seedlings by May 25, ignoring the geographical features and the extent of the growth of the seedlings. It is the experience of Jaeryong County, South Hwanghae Province that finishing the transplanting of rice seedlings by May 25 results in the highest per-hectare yield of rice. The Party had instructed that this work should be finished by that time in areas where the weather conditions are the same as those in Jaeryong County, but not everywhere. In addition, the Party's instructions said that even in that case rice seedlings should be grown to the stage where each stalk had five to six leaves before being transplanted.

The experience of Jaeryong County cannot be applied to other districts without modification. The timing of the transplanting season must vary in local districts according to local geographical features. Officials of Hyongjesan District, Pyongyang, say that the best transplanting season in that district is from May 15 to 30. The Agricultural Commission must, therefore, take into account the local geographical characteristics of each province and specify the correct dates on which the transplanting should begin and by which it should be completed in each province.

The officials of the Agricultural Commission have, however, ordered the provinces to set about transplanting early in May every year, without regard to local weather conditions. I was told that some of the senior officials in charge of agriculture even ordered premature seedlings to be transplanted by stressing that it was the Party's instructions to finish this work by May 25 and that the Party's instructions must be implemented even if the sky fell. I was also told that, if the *Rodong Sinmun* reports the beginning of transplanting somewhere, cooperative farms vie with one another for the first place in finishing the task even by bedding out immature seedlings.

Because these officials ordered the early transplanting of rice seedlings in violation of the Party's policy last year, some cooperative

farms were compelled to bed out seedlings which were too young to survive the cold weather, and they had to transplant them over again, I was told. Both the superiors who ordered and the subordinates who accepted the order mechanically are ignorant of the botanical characteristics of their crops.

The technical standard of these officials and farmers is as low as this because they have not been given good technical education in the past. If we are to give technical education to the farmers, we must have a large number of competent agricultural cadres in rural communities, but we do not have many of them. This does not on any account mean that the Party has neglected the training of agriculturists. We have produced nearly 20,000 graduates from agricultural universities since the days immediately after liberation. But recent investigation shows that only a small number of them are working on cooperative farms, and that the rest are working in other sectors. So the Party criticized the officials concerned and took steps to reappoint those who were now in other sectors to cooperative farms.

It was wrong to have appointed graduates of agricultural universities to posts other than those in the agricultural sector, but those graduates who are working in other sectors lack a revolutionary sense of responsibility. Our Party entrusted agricultural graduates with the honourable revolutionary duty of building civilized socialist rural communities. But many of them left their posts, abandoning the revolutionary duty given them by the Party. This is tantamount to a soldier deserting the battlefield. Even though they were told to work in other sectors, they should have declined by saying that the Party and the state had trained them to be agriculturists and that, in spite of the difficulties of farming, they would go to work in rural communities. Only then can we say that they have the revolutionary sense of responsibility.

If all the agricultural graduates were working in rural communities, there would be nearly five agriculturists on each cooperative farm. If these agriculturists had given the farmers technical education, the farmers' technical standards would not be as low as they are now.

Without raising these standards, it will be impossible to carry out the rural technical revolution successfully and cultivate crops on a scientific and technical basis. The Party aims mainly at solving this problem by sending the students of agriculture to rural communities as members of the three-revolution teams on this occasion. Therefore, their main task in carrying out the rural cultural revolution is to raise the cultural and technical levels of the farmers. I think they can perform this task excellently because they have the knowledge and the skill.

In raising the farmers' technical level, it is important to teach them technical knowledge about tractors. The members of three-revolution teams must teach them how to use and take care of tractors, and how to drive them. They will also have to teach them that the improvement of roads and of the layout of fields is the way to use tractors more effectively and for a longer period.

If agriculture is to be put on a scientific and technological basis, the farmers must also have a knowledge of biology. They must be taught what the botanical characteristics of crops are, how to raise seedlings, how to distribute crop areas to suit the strains, and how to establish the system of seed production.

In addition, they will have to be trained to acquire knowledge about electricity, water management, fertilizers, soil, the socialist management of agriculture and everything else needed for agricultural production.

You must not try to pass on technical knowledge to farmers by means of lectures as if you were teaching students at a university. If you teach farmers in this way, you will have to organize lecture rooms and gather people together frequently, and this will interfere with agricultural production. You must disseminate technical knowledge by the method of one man teaching ten men, and ten men teaching a hundred. If they study in this way for some years, all the agricultural working people will acquire the technical knowledge needed for agricultural production.

The three-revolution teams must ensure the establishment of

modern production practices in rural communities.

This is the way to increase agricultural production and ensure that farmers acquire the habit of treasuring and taking good care of state and social property.

The foremost task in establishing modern production practices is to manage crop fields strictly.

Land is the major means of agricultural production. Without land it would be impossible to undertake agricultural production. In spite of this, some farmers are now managing farm lands carelessly. If they plant willows on the edges of fields or provide them with stonework, they will be able to prevent their fields from being eroded, and the fields will look much better. But, because these things are neglected, the edges are washed away and fields are damaged in the rainy season and become unsightly. Some cooperative farms even ravage their fields by digging earth from there in order to repair the roads near the fields.

The three-revolution teams must wage an uncompromising ideological struggle against actions which damage fields on the one hand, and, on the other, give the farmers an effective ideological education so that they will improve the layout of their fields, keep the ridges between their rice fields and the edges of non-paddy fields neat and weed their fields well so as to keep them completely free from weeds.

Orchards must also be kept tidy. As matters now stand, farmers do not take good care of their orchards. Some orchards are unsightly because there are dead apple trees and fallen ones in them. Old trees which do not bear many apples should have been uprooted and replaced by young trees, but this is not being done. The three-revolution teams must fight against neglect of this kind of work.

They must also see that the mountains are thickly wooded by developing a widespread campaign for forest conservation and tree planting.

Another important task in establishing modern production practices is to maintain tractors and other modern farm machines and small farm implements in good condition.

There are now a large number of these machines in rural

communities, but cooperative farms do not take good care of them. Some of them leave tractors in the fields after use, and they use bulldozers carelessly. Cooperative farms must clean their tractors and other farm machines after use and keep them at specified places, and also clean and oil even small farm implements after use and keep them in storerooms.

We must establish a cultured, socialist way of life in addition to modern production practices.

In the first place, houses and villages must be provided with hygienic conditions. The state has built a large number of attractive modern houses for farmers at great cost, but some of the users even neglect to paper the floors and walls, so their houses do not look like modern houses. The three-revolution teams must fight to rid farmers of the old habit of neglecting the care of their houses so as to stimulate all the farmers to keep their houses clean and tidy. In addition, it is necessary to produce and supply sufficient amounts of flooring paper and wallpaper. If these are not supplied to rural communities, farmers will be unable to keep their houses clean.

Rural communities must also be provided with running water as soon as possible, and wells will also have to be kept clean. Rural hospitals and clinics must be well equipped, and hygienic and anti-epidemic work improved.

We must also ensure that farmers are dressed in neat clothes. At present, they are not dressed in neat clothes. Some of them even go to meetings in their work clothes. They must not do so. Of course, they have to work in work clothes, but must go to meetings in clean clothes and shoes. It is not that farmers do not have decent clothes to wear when going to meetings. Rural women have several suits of good skirts and jackets each, but they do not wear them. The farmers' slovenly appearance is due to the fact that they still retain the old pattern of careless life and habits. The three-revolution teams for the rural communities must see that the farmers dress in neat clothes befitting the socialist way of life.

Senior middle schools and primary schools must be provided with

hygienic amenities so that they serve as bases for the cultural revolution in rural communities.

The rural cultural revolution is a very difficult and complex undertaking, so the efforts of the three-revolution teams alone will not be enough to carry it out successfully. Therefore, it is necessary to enlist the active participation of all the rural forces in this undertaking.

It is desirable that teachers be required to participate widely in the rural cultural revolution. If these well-educated people are provided with syllabuses, they will make good information workers for the farmers. There are senior middle and primary schools in every ri, and probably each has dozens of teachers. So each of them will have to take charge of five families throughout the rural communities.

The three-revolution teams must press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the rural communities so as to speed up socialist rural construction and bring about a great increase in agricultural production.

If they are to carry out these revolutions successfully, the members of the three-revolution teams must first arm themselves firmly with the Juche idea, study our Party's policy on agriculture thoroughly and work hard to carry it out.

The *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* shows in detail the basic principles and ways for the final solution of the socialist rural question. The three-revolution team members must, therefore, study the theses harder and master them. They must also study the report to the Fifth Party Congress, the ten-point tasks for the guidance of agricultural production and the ten-point tasks for the management of cooperative farms. They must also make a thorough study of my speech at the consultative meeting of agricultural workers from South Hwanghae Province, Pyongyang, and North and South Phyongan Provinces and other speeches I have made on agricultural problems recently. In this way they will ensure that the tasks which have been put forward by our Party for the agricultural sector are carried out to suit the specific conditions of the cooperative farms.

Success in the three revolutions depends largely on the

three-revolution team members' methods of guidance and on their work style. They must mix with the masses and work by helping them.

Our farmers are not boorish people. They are diligent, simple and infinitely loyal to the Party. Sometimes some of them are reluctant to work and are idle, but this is because Party organizations have so far neglected work with them and because there are few hard-core elements in rural communities. Although they are making painstaking efforts to increase grain production, they are not good at cultivating crops because they are not well informed. If you go and teach them and help them patiently, they will be perfectly able to carry out the grain production quotas which have been set under the Six-Year Plan.

In the past, the officials who were sent to the rural communities to guide farmers travelled about like secret inspectors in the feudal days, hunting for faults and used to bring back only lists of shortcomings. They did not analyse the problems minutely so as to discover the causes, or work out measures to correct them. You must not, on any account, guide the farmers by that outdated method. If you find shortcomings, you must find out the reason clearly and help them to correct them.

Since you are to work on cooperative farms as teams of several persons each, you will have to meet regularly and solve your problems by collective discussion. Some of the university students who are going to work in rural communities on this occasion, have no experience of social life. If they come across any problem, they must not try to solve it by themselves, but discuss it widely with other comrades so that it can be settled.

Since they are going to rural communities in order to carry out the revolutions, the members of the three-revolution teams must try to acquire the qualities of revolutionaries.

The three-revolution team members must always be exemplary in and out of work and behave themselves. Some of the comrades who were sent on a mission to guide rural communities in the past behaved bureaucratically, led an indolent and dissipated life, or complained of their food, instead of performing their mission faithfully. Of course,

there were very few of them.

The three-revolution team members must never become indolent and loose, nor must they complain of their living conditions. Sometimes you may have to live in uncomfortable conditions while working in rural communities, but you must endure them.

The three-revolution team members must not be hard to please in work and life; you must always be modest. In your approach to farmers and the cadres of cooperative farms, you must always be modest and understanding. You must refrain from quarrelling with the cadres of cooperative farms or hurling abuse at them because they did not work well in the past or did not take part in productive labour properly. The three-revolution teams must deal magnanimously with them and educate them to perform their duties well and set a personal example in farming.

The three-revolution teams will also have to attend to the training of hard-core elements in rural communities. The rural communities will only be successful in the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions when there are a large number of hard-core elements and, even in an emergency, remain in their positions and continue agricultural production. The three-revolution teams must work hard to train a large number of them in the rural areas while guiding rural communities.

The members of the three-revolution teams must review their own work and lives regularly. They will have to organize their own Party cells on the basis of cooperative farms and form Party committees at the county level, and then examine their work and lives at the meetings of both the Party cells and the Party committees. These meetings must proceed in a highly critical atmosphere. The members of the League of Socialist Working Youth who work in the three-revolution teams will also have to be invited to Party meetings as observers.

It is desirable that the teams should guide the rural communities until harvesting is completed in the autumn of next year.

The tasks which the three-revolution teams are to carry out in the rural communities are enormous and very difficult. The teams will have to educate and reform the farmers and revolutionize and

working-classize them, raise their technical and cultural levels quickly, accelerate the mechanization of agriculture and put agricultural production on a stable basis. These difficult and enormous tasks will not be carried out in a few months.

Solving the problem of putting agricultural production on a stable basis alone will require more than a few months of guidance. The situation in the agricultural sector is different from that in the industrial sector, and you will have to guide the rural communities until harvesting is over in the autumn of next year if you are to put agricultural production on a stable basis. You will have to gain some experience from this year's farming, and then, by drawing on this experience, make good preparations for next year's farming. If you do this, and press ahead with the struggle to increase agricultural production for another year, you will be able to achieve great success. You must do this even though it takes you some time. If, instead, you dabble first in one thing and then another for a year until you return, you will be unable to succeed in agricultural production.

If the time of guidance is set until next year's autumn harvest, it may interfere with the students' study to some extent, but there will be no great problem. Their guidance work in rural communities amounts to study. While working, they can acquire practical knowledge and also consolidate the knowledge which they have acquired at university. It is not bad, therefore, that they work, giving guidance to rural communities for approximately two years.

The Party Central Committee considers that agricultural students are the right people who are capable of carrying out correctly the task of developing our rural communities to be civilized socialist rural communities by pressing ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the rural areas. The students of agriculture who are enlisted in the three-revolution teams on this occasion are not only equipped firmly with the Juche idea, but are also versed in advanced farming methods and in modern science and technology. This is because they entered university and have learned Juche philosophy and modern science and technology from the point of view of Juche at a

time when Juche has been established in every sphere. That is why the Party Central Committee has conferred upon them an honourable title of bodyguard and lifeguard to the Party and enlisted them in the three-revolution teams to be sent to the rural communities.

I hope that, in order to prove themselves worthy of the high trust and expectations the Party Central Committee place in them, the members of the three-revolution teams will press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the rural communities under the banner of the three revolutions and thus bring about a great improvement in building socialist rural communities.

**LET US TRAIN YOUNG PEOPLE  
AND CHILDREN TO BE BUILDERS  
OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM,  
WHO ARE QUALIFIED INTELLECTUALLY,  
MORALLY AND PHYSICALLY**

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting  
of the Secretariat of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*February 28, 1973*

We have already made many speeches and written a great deal about the work of the League of Socialist Working Youth. So I am going to speak to you briefly today only about some problems in training young people and children to be builders of socialism and communism, who are qualified intellectually, morally and physically.

It is the most important task of the league organizations to train them to be so qualified, competent builders of socialism and communism.

As you all know, our revolutionary cause has not been accomplished, and our country has yet to be reunified. We must, therefore, train our young people and children as true heirs to our revolution, as dependable builders of socialism and communism. All league organizations must give them competent intellectual, moral and physical training so that all these successors to our revolutionary cause will build up a wealth of knowledge, communist morality and healthy and strong physiques.

The league organizations must first ensure that young people and children study hard.

Only by studying hard can they acquire a rich knowledge of different subjects—politics, science and technology, literature and the arts, and so on—and also establish a firm revolutionary outlook on the world. Moreover, if they get into the habit of studying willingly in their school days, they can go on studying hard even when they are working in the outside world after graduation.

A man needs to study three to four hours every day just as he eats three meals every day. Otherwise, he will forget even what he has already learned and will be unable to carry out his revolutionary task as he should. At present, some officials do not even study for an hour properly every day on the pretext of being busy, and they are not performing their revolutionary tasks satisfactorily. Their neglect of study is mainly due to the fact that they have not acquired the habit of studying willingly in their school days. Whether or not people have got into this habit in their school days, therefore, has an important bearing on their development.

The league organizations must establish the revolutionary habit of studying amongst the young people and children so that they read a great deal.

One's outlook on the world begins to take shape in one's childhood and youth, in one's middle-school days in particular, and youngsters like to read very much during this period. At this time of their lives, they are very eager to learn about natural and social matters and want to read books out of curiosity. Just as people's physical growth depends on whether they eat the necessary nutrients in their adolescence, so success in the establishment of their revolutionary world outlook depends on whether they read good books or bad books in their adolescence when their world outlook is mainly shaped. Therefore, they must read a large number of good books when they are young.

For the young to read many progressive social and political books is more important than anything else in establishing their revolutionary

world outlook. Our experience clearly shows this.

During the first half of the 1920s, when we were growing up, Marxism-Leninism was spreading widely in Korea and China. At that time a large number of Marxist-Leninist books were translated and published in these countries. Under the influence of my father, I began to read these books and other progressive books on social and political subjects in my boyhood. When I was 14 or 15 years old, I devoured *The Outline of Socialism*, *Lenin's Life* and other books on Marxism-Leninism and progressive books on political subjects. In my middle-school days I could not afford to buy books, but I managed to obtain them and read them. In the middle school which I attended, the library was run by the students who took charge of it by turns. When my turn came round, I used to buy good books for the school library by spending 50 to 70 per cent of the money which was appropriated annually for the purchase of books. I read these books.

Reading Marxist-Leninist literature and progressive books on socio-political matters, we became firmly resolved to destroy landlords and capitalists and overthrow the unfair social system. Our revolutionary outlook on the world became stronger during the subsequent revolutionary struggle.

Young people and children must read many revolutionary novels in addition to books on socio-political subjects. Revolutionary novels have a great effect on the establishment of their revolutionary world outlook and on hardening their willpower as well. Because we read many revolutionary novels in our middle-school days, our willpower became strong, and our revolutionary resolve grew firm. When I was detained in the Jilin Prison, I read the novel, *The Iron Flood*, and I was deeply impressed by it. Whenever I was in difficulty during the subsequent years of my revolutionary struggle, I recalled the story and derived strength and courage from it.

Young people and children must also read a great deal about natural science and technology. This will give them a wealth of knowledge.

The league organizations must press ahead with the campaign for young people and children to read books so that all of them read many

books on socio-political subjects, revolutionary novels and books on natural science and technology.

If we are to see that they read a great deal, we must publish a large number of books of different kinds. At present, not many books are available to them even though they want to read. We have to produce sufficient books for them so that they can study hard.

The Party Publishing House will have to publish the *Selected Works* and many other Party documents. I was told that some officials permit the use of only good paper in printing the *Selected Works*. If they do this, these books will not be available to a large number of people. The publication of these documents must be increased on a large scale, even though inferior-quality paper will have to be used for their printing, so as to permit a large circulation.

Books on social science and revolutionary novels must also be published on a large scale. Some time ago, I watched a performance of the music and dance epic, *The Arduous March*, and I think that, if you write a novel on the basis of the plot, you will be able to produce a better story than *The Iron Flood*. The officials concerned must ensure that a novel is written on the Arduous March and circulated widely.

The number of copies of the *Encyclopaedia* will also have to be increased. I was told that the circulation of this encyclopaedia was so small that not all the senior middle schools obtained it. The copies must be increased to the extent that several of them can be supplied to each school. Large numbers of foreign language conversation books must also be published.

A great many books on natural science and technology must also be published.

Not many of these books are available now either in booksellers' or in school libraries, so that students and schoolchildren cannot read many of them. Their reading is confined to their textbooks. Because young people and children cannot read a great deal about science and technology, their scientific and technical level is generally low. Even university graduates, for instance, do not have a wealth of knowledge

because they have not read many books of different kinds on science and technology.

The Central Committee of the League of Socialist Working Youth is responsible for the shortage of these books, but the Science and Education Department and the Working People's Organizations Department of the Party Central Committee are also to blame in no small measure. In the past, the Science and Education Department has paid attention to the selection and appointment of teachers and to the compilation of textbooks, but has given little thought to the publication of books on natural science and technology. Nor has the Working People's Organizations Department attended to this work. The Academy of Sciences should have written such books on their own and also translated and published foreign books. But it has not done this work. In short, no institution is interested in this work.

Because there were insufficient books on natural science and technology in our country, the Party last year gave the officials concerned the task of writing and publishing a large number of these books. But these officials are not working hard to implement the task given by the Party. They are only requesting that paper be supplied, saying that these books have not been printed because of the shortage of paper. Is it right to pay only lip service to the matter, instead of implementing the task given by the Party? I think that, if officials organize work properly, they will be able to obtain as much paper as is needed for the printing of books on science and technology.

Unless a large number of these books are published, we shall be unable to ensure that the young people and children acquire a wealth of knowledge, and we shall also be unable to disseminate scientific knowledge widely amongst the working people and to develop science and technology quickly in our country. We must, therefore, publish a large number and a large variety of books on natural science and technology. Books on different branches of science and technology, including industry and agriculture, will have to be written and published. In addition, foreign books on these subjects must be translated and published in large numbers. Since the principles of

science and technology are universal, there will be no harm caused to our people who read them.

From now onwards, books on natural science and technology must be published on a large scale, and they should be sold at booksellers' and large numbers of them must be stocked in the libraries of schools, factories and other enterprises. The Central Committee of the LSWY must take charge of this matter and work hard to publish large numbers of such books.

If we are to encourage young people and children to read a great deal, it is necessary to organize libraries at schools, factories and enterprises and run them well.

There are many millions of young people and children in our country at present, so it is impossible to give them each a book of every kind. All schools, factories and enterprises must, therefore, have libraries and lend books to young people and children. It would be advisable for the Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee to study what kind of books should be kept in the libraries of the schools of different levels and issue a list of these books. It would not be a bad idea for each of the senior middle-school libraries to keep several copies of teaching materials for universities. When they reach the third year of the senior middle school or so, the pupils will become curious about the subjects taught at university. If these teaching materials are kept in school libraries, they will read them.

In order to encourage young people and children to acquire a rich knowledge, it is necessary to organize seminars everywhere. The league organizations must organize seminars widely amongst the youngsters, seminars on the validity of our Party's policies, as well as those on the subjects of science and technology frequently after school.

If young people and children are to acquire a wealth of knowledge, they must also read the *Working Youth* and many other newspapers. I was told that the shortage of paper does not permit the printing of sufficient copies of the *Working Youth*. In the future its circulation must be increased a little. We believe that the circulation of each provincial daily will have to be reduced by some 10,000 copies and

that the amount of paper thus saved should be used to increase the circulation of the *Working Youth*. In addition to increasing its circulation, the delivery of this newspaper must be improved so that it will be used more effectively. From now onwards, the *Working Youth* will have to be delivered only to the places where there are members of the league.

If we are to print books on a large scale and increase the circulation of the newspaper, we must solve the paper supply problem once and for all.

In order to ensure universal ten-year compulsory education, we have to produce tens of millions of copies of textbooks every year and also various kinds of reference books for the pupils and increase the circulation of the newspaper. Moreover, we must also produce and supply adequate amounts of wallpaper and flooring paper so as to ensure that the working people keep their houses clean. Because of the shortage of paper, however, we are unable to print sufficient books, increase the circulation of newspapers, and produce adequate amounts of wallpaper and flooring paper.

At present, the Party and the state are making a great effort to solve the paper problem. In the future, we must build modern paper mills to be run by the central authorities and, at the same time, organize many medium and small paper mills in local districts. Provinces will have to build a large number of paper mills which are supplied with locally available raw materials. This task is well within the capabilities of the provinces if their officials get down to this work. Every province must build a paper mill which uses maize stalks as raw material and produce tens of thousands of tons of paper every year.

It would also be a good idea for the league to build a paper mill itself. Building a paper mill will not be a very difficult task for the league. If it selects the site of the mill at a place where large quantities of coal and bricks are produced, and if it mobilizes its members, the league will be able to build a good paper mill.

We shall have to import some paper while increasing domestic production.

The league organizations must also concentrate on improving the cultural attainment of young people and children.

On my inspection of both schools and factories, I have found that there were few musical instruments there. Everywhere I go, the young people and children ask for musical instruments. We must produce a large number of good instruments for them.

The league must organize an open-air youth theatre in each province and run it well. This theatre is a good base on which to give young people and children collective education. If it builds it well and gives various performances and shows films there, it will be able to improve the cultural attainment of the young people and children quickly.

Next, the league organizations must increase the communist moral education of the young people and children.

The future development of the country and the nation and the expectations of the revolution depend on how we educate the new generation. If we neglect their education, they will not be able to take over the revolutionary cause and carry it on, nor will the country and the nation become prosperous. The league organizations must intensify the communist moral education of the young people and children and train all of them to be stalwart communists and dependable heirs to the revolution.

An important task in their communist moral education is to rid them of selfishness and, in particular, their greed for material wealth.

A greedy person is likely to place his personal interests above those of society and the collective and even play into the hands of the enemy. Our younger generation must, therefore, be completely free from material greed. The league organizations must fight to eliminate selfishness, and greed for material gain in particular, from the minds of the youngsters and train them to acquire the noble traits of devoting themselves totally to the struggle for the good of society and the collective, for the sake of the Party and the revolution.

If the league organizations tackle the task under a detailed plan and educate the young people and children well, they will be able to free

them from greed for material gain. A man is not born with this greed. Whether he becomes greedy or not depends on how he is educated from childhood.

In south Korea people are taught from childhood that money is the most precious thing, so that most of them consider that money is everything. At the time of the north-south Red Cross talks last year, our guides explained the Juche idea and the advantages of the socialist system to the journalists who came to Pyongyang from south Korea, and these journalists said that because they were living in a “society governed by value” they knew nothing but money, I was told.

The young people and children who have been educated well under our system have no greed for money or material goods. It is said that when the south Korean delegates and their suite, who came to Pyongyang for the north-south Red Cross talks last year, attempted to make a “present” of fountainpens and notebooks to our children, the children told them that they had all the school things they needed, and that those things should be taken back to the south Korean children who could not afford to study because they were poor. This incident was not the first occurrence of its kind; a similar incident had happened in the days immediately after liberation. When the USSR-US Joint Commission was in session in Pyongyang immediately after liberation, the US delegate threw candies and biscuits to our children; then, the children threw them back in the face of the US delegate. This moral quality of our children is something we can be proud of. The league organizations must encourage and develop these moral qualities amongst the young people and children.

Another important task in communist moral education is to fill them with the consciousness of the working class.

Only when they have a strong working-class consciousness, can the young people and children fight the class enemies without compromise in the interests of the working class and have firm confidence in the victory of the cause of communism. If a man lacks firm confidence in victory, he may waver in the face of difficulties and cannot fight to the last for the triumph of the revolution. The league organizations must

intensify class education among the young people and children and fill all of them with working-class consciousness.

The league organizations must foster the sense of national independence and national pride in the minds of the young people and children, in addition to imbuing them with working-class consciousness. It will be different when communism has triumphed all over the world and when the boundaries between nations have disappeared. But it is very important for the people to have a sense of national independence and national pride as long as the revolution and construction are undertaken by the units of nation-states. If people lack the sense of national independence and national pride, they will be easily assimilated into other nations and even betray their country and nation without hesitation.

The league organizations must intensify the education of socialist patriotism amongst the young people and children so that they have the sense of national independence and national pride. In this way they will all be encouraged to uphold their national dignity and honour.

In communist moral education it is also important to teach them to value and take good care of state and social property.

State and social property is the precious asset for the happiness of our people and for the prosperity of the country. If we do not educate the young people and children to prize and take good care of state and social property, we shall be unable to raise the people's material and cultural standards steadily, nor shall we be able to build a communist society successfully.

At present, there are many instances of some young people and children handling this property carelessly because they lack the spirit to prize and take good care of it. Some of the young people who are working after graduation from school do not even keep their workplaces in good condition. This shows that the league organizations have neglected to teach young people and children to prize and take good care of state and social property in the past. The league organizations must improve their ideological education so that they value and take good care of it just as they do with their own possessions.

The league organizations must also educate them to like working and to perform their revolutionary tasks with the attitude of masters.

The practice of working unreliably and carelessly and of neglecting the implementation of Party policy is much in evidence amongst some officials and young people. I think that there are quite a few people amongst them who are like the commercial instructor or the workteam leader in the film, *Salesgirls on the Train*.

Those of you who have seen this film know that the commercial instructor, feigning enthusiasm, does not work hard to implement the Party's policy, in contrast to the heroine who, with a high sense of honour and responsibility as a commercial worker, does her best to carry out the Party's commercial policy. The commercial instructor does not try to supply a glass of cold water to train passengers in the hot summer, but he himself drinks cold beer every evening. The workteam leader is working in order to win fame rather than to promote the comfort of the passengers. This film shows clearly that the new generation, which has been given Juche-oriented education under the socialist system and has been equipped firmly with the Juche idea, has a strong fighting power and very high sense of responsibility for revolutionary duties. Because she has been given Juche-oriented education and is armed firmly with the Juche idea, the heroine carries out her revolutionary duty in a responsible manner with the attitude of a master. By contrast, the commercial instructor and the workteam leader, who have been infected with outdated ideas because they had not received adequate Juche-oriented education, do their work by seeking fame and doing things which are expedient. I think that, although the story is simple, the film will help greatly towards the education of cadres and young people.

The league organizations must develop a powerful ideological struggle among young people and children against the dislike of work and against practices unworthy of masters in the performance of revolutionary tasks, and, at the same time, imbue them with the Juche idea, the monolithic ideology of our Party. In this way all the young people and children in our country will be encouraged to like work and

to acquire a high sense of responsibility and an attitude befitting masters in carrying out their revolutionary tasks.

It is one of the most important qualities of a communist to cherish and love his revolutionary comrades and hold them dear. Today our working people are more strongly showing the beautiful trait of holding their revolutionary comrades dear and even sacrificing their lives for the sake of their comrades without hesitation. Some time ago, we were deeply moved by the fact that the two drowning children had been rescued at the cost of the life of the man who saved them. The comrade who saved them self-sacrificingly deserves high social esteem. The league organizations must educate the young people and children to acquire the noble communist trait of loving their revolutionary comrades and holding them dear and sparing nothing for them.

In addition, the league organizations must improve the work in physical culture and prepare young people and children well for labour and defence.

If they are physically weak and fall ill frequently, they will be good for nothing, no matter how clever at study and how skilful in everything they might be. Physically weak people cannot serve the country and their fellow people, the Party and the revolution, faithfully. Only when they are physically strong, can the young people and children study well and take an active part in socialist construction and perform their duty to defend the country well.

The strength of a country depends on its people's ideological state and their physical preparedness rather than the size of its territory or its population. A country with all its people well prepared both ideologically and physically, though it has a small territory and a small population, is strong, and, therefore, aggressors dare not provoke it. In the age of Koguryo, our ancestors were all skilled in horsemanship and archery, so they were able to repel numerically superior invaders on many occasions and defend the country firmly.

The physical training of the working people, youths and children is very important in expediting the revolution and construction and in

increasing the nation's defence potential. So we can say that physical training means national defence and labour.

The league organizations, however, have not made strong efforts to promote physical culture, nor have schools given good training to develop physical culture. During recent years, league organizations have dabbled in this work, instead of developing it on a mass basis.

In consequence, our country has not yet reached world standards in terms of many sports, and some of our youth and children are lacking in courage and agility and hesitate in the face of difficulties. Commanding officers of the People's Army say that recruits from among the senior middle-school graduates find it very difficult to run and hurdle at first.

The league organizations must carry out the Party's policy of developing physical culture on a mass basis and encourage all youths and children to take part in physical training with interest. In this way their physical strength will be increased, and our country will reach world standards in all sports.

In the Olympic Games which were held in West Germany last year, our marksman won the honour of the first place by beating his US opponent and demonstrated to the whole world the might of Chollima Korea. This is very gratifying. All our sports must reach this level.

The league organizations must encourage youths and children to exercise on the horizontal bar and parallel bars and participate in running and tug of war on a wide scale. These exercises do not require a great deal of equipment and can be done anywhere.

Football, basketball, volleyball, tennis and table tennis are very good sports in that they can train people to be swift in action and harden their willpower. Young people must be bold, courageous and swift in action. The league organizations must ensure that youths and children participate widely in these sports.

They must also be encouraged to skate well. Even though it requires some steel, we have to produce skates for everyone so that they can skate as they please.

It is a good idea to encourage the young people and children in the

districts where there is a heavy snowfall to ski. Skiing makes people courageous and agile. A widespread practice of this exercise is essential to increase the nation's defence power. During the Second World War, the Soviet people dealt a crushing blow against the German invaders by organizing ski units. In provinces like Jagang and Ryanggang Provinces where the snowfall is heavy, youths and children must be encouraged to ski very often. In these districts training in skiing must be organized widely among the Young Red Guards and the Worker-Peasant Red Guards in particular so that they are always prepared for mobilization.

Young people and children must also be good swimmers. As our country is sea-bound on three sides and has many rivers and lakes, everyone must swim well. People who are not good swimmers are afraid of the sea and rivers and cannot fight well against the enemy in such places. On many occasions the Party has stressed that schools should teach their pupils how to swim, but quite a few schools have not yet implemented these instructions well, not even building swimming pools worth mentioning. Schools must build them as soon as possible and give their pupils a great deal of swimming training. The construction of swimming pools does not require a large amount of cement. The cement needed for this purpose must be supplied without delay.

Schools must also organize many "mountaineering parties", "exploration and marching parties" and similar expeditions.

It is better to organize mountaineering, sea swimming and exploration marches, for instance, for schoolchildren during vacations for the purpose of training them physically and mentally rather than allowing them to relax on their own. If these events are organized frequently, the state will have to bear a little extra burden, but this will pose no big problem. From now onwards, schools must organize "mountaineering parties" and "exploration and marching parties" widely during vacations and give the schoolchildren continuous physical training.

I was told that at present schools are encouraging young people and

children to take part in a campaign to plant flowers along the route of the 1,000-*ri* Journey for Learning. It is necessary to organize this kind of work, but it will be even better for the schoolchildren to have an opportunity to march personally from Pyongyang to Phophyong. This will help these young people and children to have a better understanding of the Party's revolutionary idea and to harden themselves physically. The league organizations must organize "mountaineering parties" and "exploration and marching parties" with students of senior middle schools and higher schools so as to give them a great deal of training in marching across high mountains and rivers on the route of the 1,000-*ri* Journey for Learning.

The training of young people and children through night march in particular must be organized frequently. This training is needed not only in hardening them physically but also in familiarizing them with military actions which will be required in an emergency, and this phase of the training is indispensable. During the Fatherland Liberation War, there were instances of some soldiers, not used to night actions, straggling by dozing off during a night march. The neglect of training in night marching in normal times may result in a similar trouble or a great loss in combat actions. Nowadays, some people are not themselves even if they stay up for one night, and this is because they are not hardened enough. The league organizations will have to organize night-march training frequently for the young people and children so that they acquire the physical strength capable of a sleepless, forced march covering a few nights.

Visits to old revolutionary battlefields must also be organized in such a way as to harden the ideology and willpower of the young people and children and give them physical training. As matters now stand, these visits are made by rail or bus in the summer season as if they were going on a pleasure trip. This is not the way to harden their ideology and willpower and give them physical training. If they are encouraged to learn from the anti-Japanese guerrillas by marching on the route of guerrilla battles in the cold of winter, they can be hardened both spiritually and physically. All the students and schoolchildren are

now provided with padded coats and good shoes, so there will be no problem in organizing marches, no matter how cold the weather is. In the future, the site of the Paektusan Secret Camp must be well laid out, so that young people and children can visit them. It would be a good idea to set their march route so as to cover the distance from Hyesan through Lake Samji, Mt. Paektu, the site of the Paektusan Secret Camp, Taehongdan and back to Hyesan. If they go on an expedition to visit the revolutionary battle sites on this route, they will be hardened further spiritually and physically.

If we are to develop physical culture amongst all the young people and children, we must provide them with an adequate amount of sports equipment. Each province must build a sports equipment factory as soon as possible and mass-produce a variety of high-quality sports equipment.

The league organizations and schools must not just turn to the state for sports facilities and equipment. They must also obtain them by organizing the efforts of the young people and children everywhere. In addition, they must take good care of the existing ones and use them effectively.

I was told that at present league organizations cannot use stadiums for sports events as often as they need because they have no money. This is an undesirable situation. The Administration Council must budget from the state treasury the funds needed for their sporting activities. If stadiums and halls are placed under the management of the league, they can be used freely, but this may involve various problems. The management of these facilities must, therefore, be the responsibility of provincial administrative committees and the league will have to get budgetary appropriations from the state treasury for the use of the facilities whenever they need them.

We must improve the work of the colleges of physical education, in addition to developing physical culture on a mass basis.

If our country is to excel in all sports, we must not only develop physical culture on a mass basis, but also train players methodically at specialized schools of physical education. As is the case with other

work, physical culture cannot progress without “pedigree centres”.

Provinces must set up schools attached to colleges of physical education as soon as possible, and the colleges of physical education must improve their training. These colleges must enrol promising children and give them systematic physical training from childhood so that they can play the role of hard core in developing physical culture in our country.

Some of the graduates from these colleges will have to be appointed to primary schools and senior middle schools as physical trainers, some of them should be promoted to the university of physical education, and promising students should be developed to become national players. At present, primary schools cannot give efficient physical education to their pupils because they have no physical trainers. In order to develop physical culture, it is necessary to give the children good physical education in their primary school days. From now onwards, primary schools must also have physical trainers.

To proceed, the league organizations must develop a nationwide campaign for young people and children to do good deeds.

In the past, league organizations have started projects, but have not persevered with any of them. At one time, they organized the “greenery guards” and talked a great deal about undertaking a campaign to plant trees, but they are now neglecting it. If they had tirelessly carried out the Party’s policy on developing a widespread campaign to plant trees, all our mountains would have been thickly wooded by now, and our country would have become rich. The Party gave instructions a long time ago that the young people should develop a general campaign to raise rabbits, but the officials of the league gave up the implementation of the task given by the Party after attempting to do it for some time, instead of carrying it on tirelessly. There are many other projects which the league started but gave up uncompleted.

In the past, some of the senior league officials have worked carelessly and neglected Party policy. It cannot be said that the people who do not implement Party policy are faithful to the Party. Loyalty to the Party must find expression in deeds, not in lip service. In other

words, loyalty to the Party must be expressed in carrying out its policy and in implementing the tasks which it allocates.

The league organizations must press ahead tirelessly with the campaign for the young people and children to do good deeds and ensure that they undertake large projects which will benefit the country a great deal. If they do so, they will find their work worthwhile, and contribute to expediting the building of socialism in our country and bringing about national prosperity.

A general campaign for them to plant trees is one of the very important undertakings in our great plan for the lasting prosperity of the country.

The league has an army of youths and children. So, if its officials organize work in terms of a detailed plan and develop a wide campaign, they will be able to plant a large number of trees. The league organizations must develop this campaign and create a large number of “Children’s Union Forests” and “LSWY Forests”. It is desirable that from now onwards each school should launch a campaign to create at least 10 hectares of forest every year.

They must first plant large numbers of fast-growing trees.

No matter how many trees you may plant, you will not benefit from them quickly unless these trees grow rapidly. Fast-growing trees like Pyongyang poplars, plane trees and dawn redwood must be planted, and in mountainous areas larch trees should be planted everywhere. If you plant these trees, you can cut and use them in approximately ten years. The poplars and plane trees which were planted immediately after the armistice have now all grown and each of them is about one man’s arm-stretch in circumference. If each school begins from now onwards to plant 10 hectares to trees every year, 100,000 hectares of forests will produce timber on a national basis in ten years time. This will give us adequate timber needed for the production of paper and chemical fibre and for the manufacture of desks, chairs, cupboards, wardrobes and various other kinds of high-quality furniture and cultural items.

The league organizations must ensure that schools develop a

general campaign to plant trees and that large numbers of fast-growing trees are planted. Schools will have to plant trees by raising saplings themselves and also transplant young trees growing in the mountains. The planted trees must be tended well by mowing weeds frequently and fertilizing them.

Many firewood forests must also be created.

I have more than once stressed the need for cooperative farms to plant a large number of acacia groves so as to produce firewood to meet their own needs, but they are not yet implementing this task as they should do so. As a result, hundreds of thousands of tons of precious coal are used as fuel for rural houses every year because of the shortage of firewood. If firewood is used for rural houses and if the coal thus saved is exported, a large sum of foreign currency can be earned. If the coal is used for the manufacture of chemical fertilizer, a large amount of it can be produced.

The league organizations must see that acacia groves are planted everywhere so as to provide firewood for rural houses. Acacia trees thrive and grow quickly even after cutting, so that if they are planted once they can be cut continually for use as firewood.

If we develop acacia groves in many places and raise honeybees, it will be still better. At present, bee culture is not developing well. If every school creates acacia groves and raises honeybees, it will be able to produce a large amount of honey. It will be good if schools feed their pupils with the honey they produce or sell it. You can sell any amount of honey on foreign markets, and its price is very high. So, if schools produce honey and export it, they will be able to earn a large sum of foreign currency.

In order to improve the people's diet and supply light industry and the chemical industry with adequate amounts of raw materials, it is necessary to create a large number of forests of oil-bearing trees.

Because our present oil production is small, we import a large amount of it at a great cost in foreign currency, and even use cooking oil for the production of soap and lacquer. If we create forests of oil-bearing trees and produce a large amount of oil from them, we can

use it for the production of soap and lacquer and supply cooking oil to the working people.

The league organizations must press ahead with the struggle of young people and children to create forests of oil-bearing trees so as to contribute to solving the oil supply problem. It is desirable that each school should create 10 hectares of forests every year including one hectare of oil-producing trees. If each school plants one hectare of oil-bearing trees, our country will be rich in oil in 10 years.

In creating forests of oil-bearing trees, it is advisable to plant many wild-walnut trees, pine-nut trees and heartnut trees. Heartnut trees thrive in our country. The league organizations must teach young people and children how to plant them so that they will plant them in large numbers wherever they can.

Schools must also plant *Amorpha fruticosa* widely. If we produce a large amount of oil by planting this tree, we shall be able to make soap and similar things from it. It is advisable to cut away large trees beside the railway lines because they are dangerous to passing trains and to plant *Amorpha fruticosa* in their place. If it is planted beside the railways, it will strengthen the railways.

If we are to solve the problem of oil, we shall have to plant hemp widely in addition to creating groves of oil-bearing trees. Hemp thrives in every part of our country. Hemp fibre can be used to weave cloth and ropes and its seeds yield oil. The league organizations must develop a widespread campaign for schools to plant hemp by the roadsides. The sector concerned must not export the hemp seeds which we now have, but must give them to schools so that they can plant a large amount of them this year.

Chufa is a good, high-yielding oil crop. But it costs a great deal of labour to harvest it, so it is difficult for cooperative farms to cultivate it widely. Schools, however, are perfectly able to cultivate it because they have many children. Schools must launch a campaign to cultivate it on riverine flats and vacant land.

Schools must also reap large amounts of wild fruit.

In the mountains of our country there are very large sources of oil

such as wild-walnuts, camellia seeds, pine nuts, walnuts and the seeds of the Korean pepper bush. It is advisable for schools to start a campaign for each of the schoolchildren to reap five kilogrammes of oil seeds. Picking five kilogrammes each is well within their capability.

It is also advisable to gather large amounts of acorns and similar fruit. Acorns can be used as a raw material for liquor, and their dregs as feed for pigs. The officials concerned say that one ton of liquor is produced from one ton of acorns. Schools should gather large amounts of acorns by mobilizing the efforts of pupils, and sell them to the state.

The league organizations must enlist young people and children in a campaign to take good care of orchards.

During recent years we have developed 200,000 hectares of orchards in accordance with the policy adopted at the Pukchong Enlarged Meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee. The fruit yield from these orchards is, however, low because they are badly managed. If we tend these orchards well, we shall be able to supply an adequate amount of fruit to the working people and children and also sell it and earn a large amount of foreign currency.

The league organizations must ensure that young people and children prune fruit trees well, fertilize them liberally with good manure and take good care of the orchards. The General Fruit Bureau and cooperative farms must transfer some of their orchards to the league so that its members can manage them directly and dispose of the fruit produced from these orchards as they please. It would be a good idea to call the orchards under their management the youth orchards.

Chestnut trees will also have to be tended well. The present demand for chestnuts is large and their price is very high. If half the amount of chestnuts we produce are consumed at home and if the other half is exported, we shall earn a considerable amount of foreign currency. But the chestnut harvest is small on account of the neglect of chestnut trees on the part of cooperative farms because they are short of work hands. It is preferable for the cooperative farms to transfer all the chestnut groves now under their management to schools so as to improve the way in which they are tended. In this event schools will be encouraged

to take care of them on their own responsibility as masters.

The league organizations must create mulberry fields wherever possible. I drew attention to the task of creating a large number of mulberry fields a long time ago, but the Party departments in charge of economic affairs have not directed this work well, nor have the working people's organizations supervised it perseveringly. If our officials had pressed ahead with this work in accordance with the Party's policy, our country would now have become rich. The league organizations must launch a mass campaign for the young people and children to plant mulberry trees and increase the number of mulberry fields greatly within a short period. In districts like Jagang Province, in particular, there are many fields which are cultivated by slash-and-burn methods and which are low-yielding. Many mulberry trees will have to be planted in these fields.

The league organizations must ensure that young people and children protect and propagate animals and plants and value and take good care of the land, roads and railways.

Our country has many mountains and rivers with beautiful scenery and is very rich in different kinds of fauna and flora and in mineral deposits. That is why our country has been called a silk-embroidered land of three thousand *ri* from old time.

Patriotism must also find expression in taking good care of the animals, plants, land, roads and railways of one's country. As matters stand now, however, there are many instances of some people lacking patriotic spirit and neglecting the protection of animals and plants and their propagation and the care of land, roads and railways.

At present, some people cut trees from the mountains at random and use them for firewood, and neglect the protection and propagation of marine and riverine resources. For the purpose of improving the working people's diet, the state breeds very many young fish and puts them into the Chongchon, Taedong and other rivers and lakes every year. But some people are in the habit of catching and eating them before they mature.

Wild animals are not protected well, either. At some time in the

past, it was reported that crops were being ravaged by wild pigs, so the state supplied hunting guns to cooperative farms. Managerial workers of these farms used the guns for hunting a large number of roe deer and pheasants, instead of wild pigs. Animals and birds like roe deer and pheasants must never be hunted during their nesting and breeding seasons, but some people caught them thoughtlessly without regard to this rule. As a result, these animals and birds are now scarce in the mountains. Only a few years ago, many of them were to be seen in South Hwanghae Province, but now they are said to be scarce because of too much hunting in recent years.

The land, roads and railways are not taken care of well. Nowadays, people in some districts dig away earth from crop fields to repair roads, and people in some districts dig it away from crop fields to mix with coal which is to be burned. As a consequence, roadside fields are riddled with holes and look ugly.

We must not manage the nation's economic life carelessly like this. We have to manage it with more particular care than the people of other countries because our territory is small and our population is large. If we manage the national economy carelessly, we shall be unable to provide our people with good food and clothing. At present, the south Korean authorities are selling away a large number of people to foreign countries as slaves, allegedly to reduce the population because of the shortage of food and clothing. The south Korean people who have been dragged away to other countries are being subjected to backbreaking slave labour, and all sorts of national humiliation and mistreatment. We cannot allow ourselves to sell our fellow countrymen to other countries in spite of our large population as the south Korean authorities do. We must manage the country's economic life with detailed care and protect and propagate our natural resources so as to provide all the people in our land with a happy life.

The league organizations must intensify ideological education so that all the young people and children value and cherish every single tree and every single blade of grass, protect and propagate beneficial animals and take good care of the land, roads and railways. It would be

advisable to produce textbooks and even calendars so as to include the idea of protecting and taking good care of the natural resources of the country for the education of schoolchildren.

The league organizations must press ahead with the campaign for youngsters to raise rabbits.

The campaign to raise rabbits is necessary not only to improve the people's standard of living and earn more foreign currency, but also to increase defence power. If war breaks out, all the People's Army soldiers, the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and the Young Red Guards will have to be provided with fur overcoats. This will help them to defeat the enemy in winter warfare. Victory in winter warfare depends largely on which side is better clothed and can endure the cold better.

If war breaks out in our country in the future, we shall have to fight against not only the US imperialists and south Korean reactionaries but also the Japanese militarists. Because they are naturally very sensitive to cold, they are most afraid of fighting in winter. So we can destroy them easily in winter.

It is said that the Japanese militarists are now having cold-weather endurance training in Hokkaido for the purpose of invading our country again, but it is a futile effort. When we were waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle in the past, the Japanese imperialists used to come on a "punitive" expedition after cold-weather endurance training, but they always lost the battle with the guerrillas. As they are inhabitants of a warm country, they cannot endure the cold weather, no matter what training they are given. If we prepare good winter clothes, we shall have nothing to be afraid of, whether the US imperialists, the Japanese militarists, the south Korean reactionaries or any other enemies attack us.

Rabbit fur is light and warm, and so overcoats lined with it are very good. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the sewing unit made an overcoat lined with rabbit fur for me, and it was light and warm and good for marching in and for sleeping with it spread on the snow.

The league organizations must develop a mass campaign to raise rabbits so as to supply all the soldiers of the People's Army,

Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards with rabbit-fur overcoats in an emergency. We are of the opinion that each school should raise 2,000 rabbits in this campaign. This is not a difficult task. Rabbits breed quickly and live on the leaves of acacia, *aegukphul* and other kinds of grass. Winter feed for them will pose a slight problem. But, if you keep only the breeders in winter and propagate them from spring on a large scale, there will be no great problem about their feed. The General Poultry Bureau must supply good breeders to schools.

The league organizations must develop new mines and sharply increase production at the existing mines by mobilizing the efforts of young people so as to earn a large amount of foreign currency. The league has suggested that it will develop a youth mine and run it on its own responsibility in order to earn foreign currency, and I agree. In addition to mobilizing young people for the development of the new mine, the league organizations must organize the young people working at existing mines in a battle for each of them to earn 10 pounds over and above their planned quotas.

The league organizations must activate young people to work hard to improve the people's standard of living quickly.

Improving the people's standard of living quickly is very important not only for demonstrating the advantages of the socialist system but also for providing against war. If we work hard and provide all the people with padded coats and overcoats and good winter shoes, they can get along for some years even if war breaks out.

This was shown clearly by the experience of the Soviet Union in the past. On the eve of the Second World War, the living standards of the people in the Soviet Union were very high. In those days, the shops in that country were well stocked with goods, and good overcoats and good shoes were available to everyone. With the outbreak of war in 1941, everything was devoted to meeting the needs of the front line, and from that time the people were unable to obtain regular supplies of cloth and other consumer goods. But, having been well provided with clothing before the war, the Soviet people were able to manage without new clothes for some years.

We shall have to make more strenuous efforts for the next year or two and provide all the women in our country with good sweaters and overcoats, men with thick padded coats, and old people with good clothing. We must also produce sufficient winter shoes, winter caps and winter scarves for the working people.

If we work well and improve the people's standard of living considerably, they will understand the superiority of the socialist system more clearly, and, if war breaks out, they will fight to defend this system with their lives. The league organizations at all levels must activate its members and other young people in an endeavour to raise the people's standard of living to a considerable extent as soon as possible.

The immediate important task for the league organizations is to ensure success in this year's farming.

The agricultural sector was most successful in its work in 1968. In that year we had an ample stock of food for the working people and we were also able to supply adequate amounts of animal feed and raw materials for light industry. Since then, however, there has not been a great increase in agricultural production in our country.

At present, the Party Central Committee is making a great effort to ensure success in this year's farming. The league organizations must also press ahead with the struggle of its members and other young people to raise good crops this year and ensure a sharp increase in grain production. It would be a good idea for the league organizations to start a campaign amongst rural young people to raise per-hectare grain production by at least one ton compared with the figure of 1968. Each of the students of universities and higher technical schools who go to support rural communities must also work hard to earn at least one ton of grain.

The league organizations must press ahead with the struggle to establish modern production practices and a cultured way of life amongst the young people and children.

Giving the working people a strong impetus in this work is an important task of the working people's organizations. The league

organizations must press ahead with the struggle to establish modern production practices and the cultured way of life among the young people and children so that they will acquire the habit of learning, working and living in refined conditions and environments.

As matters now stand, modern production practices are not well established in factories and other industrial enterprises and cooperative farms. On my recent visit to the March 26 Factory, I found that it had not cleared the yard of the heaps of snow which had fallen throughout the winter. There was also a large heap of snow in front of the door of the office through which the managerial workers of the factory went in and out day and night. High-quality goods will not come from this kind of factory. The league organizations must encourage its members and other young people to work hard to keep their factories, their workshops and their machines in good condition.

The league organizations must also launch a general campaign for the young people and children to keep their streets, their villages and their houses clean and healthy. The Party and the state spend a large amount of money every year on the construction of attractive and serviceable dwellings for the working people, but these houses are not well maintained. Since we are living in the socialist society, we ought to keep our houses clean, as befitting the socialist way of life. The league organizations must influence the young people and children to work hard to take good care of the urban and rural houses and keep them clean. If young people and children turn out to mend one house today and another tomorrow and improve them one by one in this manner, all the modern rural houses can be maintained in spick and span condition.

Cultural facilities and schools must also be maintained well. The educational sector has publicized the experience of the Yaksu Middle School, Changsong County, North Phyongan Province during recent years, and, as a result, all the schools are in good condition. The league organizations and schools must improve these conditions, on the basis of the success which has already been achieved.

The members of the Children's Union must launch a campaign to

eradicate flies, mosquitoes and other harmful insects. On many occasions I have stressed the need for them to kill flies everywhere, but this work is not yet going well. The league and Children's Union organizations must see that the union members carry out a general campaign to kill flies and mosquitoes and thus eradicate all harmful insects.

The league organizations must ensure that the young people and children are dressed neatly in keeping with the socialist way of life.

At present, some members of the Children's Union go about in slovenly clothes. This is because their parents do not take good care of them, but the main reason is that their schools and league organizations neglect their education and control. The schools and league organizations must improve the education of schoolchildren and tighten up their control so that all the schoolchildren always go about neatly dressed.

Young people must also wear neat clothes. At present, some of them are careless about their clothes; they seem to think that a slovenly appearance is the sign of simplicity and frugality. Slovenly clothing is not a virtue of frugality. Young people must go about in good clothes and wear neckties and always dress themselves in clean clothes.

Young people and children must also keep the rules of hygiene thoroughly. The league organizations must ensure that they bathe themselves and have haircuts frequently, wash their feet before going to bed and brush their teeth every morning.

Next, the league organizations must involve its members in the implementation of the three revolutions.

As you all know, the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions are the important tasks which the working-class party and state must carry out after the establishment of the socialist system. Our Party put forward the policy of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions a long time ago. Recently, in order to give them greater momentum, it has sent three-revolution teams to the industrial and agricultural sectors.

The league organizations at all levels, in response to the Party's

measures, must stimulate its members, who are quick to sense new things and afire with enthusiasm, to participate in the three revolutions so that they become bodyguards and vanguards in carrying out these revolutions.

In particular, the league organizations must educate its members who are enlisted in the three-revolution teams well. Of course, the Party organizations will educate them, but the league organizations must also pay close attention to their education. The Central Committee of the LSWY is suggesting that it will publish a magazine for university students in order to educate the students who have been enlisted in the three-revolution teams. I agree. In addition, the league organizations will have to commend its members who are exemplary in carrying out the three revolutions, give publicity to them through the newspaper *Working Youth* and the magazine *Youth Life* and recommend their admission to the Party.

If the league organizations are to carry out their tasks satisfactorily, they must strengthen their work to match the characteristics of the young people. Since the league organizations are organizations of young people who are courageous and very enterprising, they must be full of revolutionary stamina and have the same vigour as the young people's organizations. Only a few years ago, they lacked energy and looked like a "league of old people", but now they seem to have improved a great deal. The league organizations and their officials must put new life into their work to suit the characteristics of the young people and succeed in carrying out the tasks given by the Party.

Success in the work of the league, as with other undertakings, depends largely on the work style and method of the league officials. The league organizations must ensure that their officials correct their wrong work attitude as soon as possible, the work attitude of giving up their tasks halfway, instead of carrying them out, and that they establish the revolutionary work attitude of implementing their revolutionary tasks to the end.

**ON THE TASKS OF THE PARTY  
ORGANIZATIONS OF NAMPHO  
IN CARRYING OUT THE IDEOLOGICAL,  
TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL  
REVOLUTIONS**

**Speech Delivered at a Plenary Meeting  
of the Nampho City Party Committee**

*March 5, 1973*

Today at this plenary meeting of the Nampho City Party Committee we have heard reports on the work of the three-revolution teams which are operating in the Nampho district. The reports demonstrate the absolute correctness of the steps taken by the Party Central Committee to send the three-revolution teams to factories, enterprises and cooperative farms to press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. If we had not sent them, we would have been unable to root out the remnants of conservatism, expediency, bureaucratism, empiricism and other outdated ideas from the minds of the officials and to improve their work in a revolutionary manner.

Our Party is not just dealing with the tasks of the three revolutions for the first time today. It set the tasks of pressing ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions a long time ago. But, so far, officials have only chanted slogans, working in a lighthearted atmosphere, instead of working hard to carry them out. This is not a revolutionary way of working. A revolution has to be linked to struggle. There can be no revolution without struggle, and there can be

no social progress without revolution. It is only through struggle that society progresses and that a revolution emerges victorious.

Some people think that revolution is no more than destroying the old ruling machinery and liquidating the exploiting classes, but we do not think so. There are violent and non-violent revolutions. When the working class fights to seize power, it needs a violent revolution to overthrow the old social system and liquidate the exploiting classes. But after the seizure of power, it needs a non-violent revolution, not a violent revolution, because the old social system has been overthrown and the violence needed to maintain the old ruling machinery no longer exists. In other words, before the working class came to power, it had to carry out the revolution in order to destroy the outdated social system, but once in power, it must undertake the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions to eliminate outdated things and create new ones in the spheres of ideology, technology and culture.

Why, then, do we call it a revolution to eliminate the old and create the new in the ideological, technical and cultural spheres? It is because in these fields outdated things are bound to be replaced by new ones only through struggle. The struggle itself is a revolution. At present, some people describe the replacement of the old by the new in these fields as “reform”, “renovation” or “enlightenment”, not as “revolution”. This makes the issue too mild and too vague. It will be impossible to build a socialist and communist society successfully if we do not make a strenuous effort to eradicate the surviving old ideas from the minds of people and equip them with communist ideology and uncompromisingly combat the outdated ideas.

We gave the name of ideological, technical and cultural revolutions to the process of replacing old things with new ones in the spheres of ideology, technology and culture. No one will disagree with this view of ours.

Although the Party put forward the tasks for the three revolutions a long time ago, officials have been working in a relaxed atmosphere, instead of redoubling their efforts to carry them out. As a result, the theory of the three revolutions remains merely a theory, as does the

slogan. People still retain many vestiges of obsolete ideas in their minds such as selfishness, conservatism, bureaucratism and flunkeyism, and some people are afraid of struggle. When they are criticized slightly, some people blush and are afraid that they might be dismissed from office immediately. If they have to endure a degree of ideological struggle, some people adopt a more passive attitude and some even are inclined to give up their work. This is because they have not been hardened through the revolutionary struggle.

The most important task of our Party today is to press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions.

We must first give a strong stimulus to the ideological revolution.

As we always say, the most important task in building a socialist and communist society is to develop the ideological revolution strongly. If we struggle to lay the material foundations only, without carrying out the ideological revolution, we shall be unable to achieve the complete victory of socialism and build a communist society.

If we do not imbue people with the communist ideology and keep on training them in a revolutionary way by continuing the ideological revolution strongly, even those who once devoted themselves to the Party and the revolution will degenerate, affected by capitalist ideas, revisionist ideas and other outmoded beliefs. Iron left intact for a long time becomes rusty; meat and fruit, too, if left for a long time, rot, attacked by various germs. This is also true of people. If they do not continuously temper themselves through the ideological revolution, they will become mentally rusty because of the influence of bad ideas, and degenerate and suffer ideological maladies caused by various viruses such as capitalism, revisionism, flunkeyism, conservatism, and expediency. Just as a man becomes immune to disease when he always hardens his body and gets vaccinated to prevent viruses from infiltrating his body, so he does not degenerate ideologically when he always hardens his mind. Just as germs cannot infiltrate the body of a healthy man, so evil ideas cannot infiltrate the man who is ideologically sound. An unhealthy man is liable to illness because of his low resistance to germs. People are seldom ill when young, but

often become ill when they are old. This is because the power of resistance to germs grows weaker. Similarly, anyone who is not armed firmly with the Juche idea of our Party and the communist idea, can easily be contaminated by evil ideas and is apt to degenerate ideologically because of his weak resistance to such poison.

Unless they are imbued with the revolutionary ideas of our Party through a powerful ideological revolution, people do not even know what kinds of ideas have infiltrated their minds. If they do not know whether they are affected with capitalist ideas or revisionist ideas or flunkeyist ideas or germs of expediency, they cannot rid themselves of evil ideas nor can they correct their faults.

We must increase the ideological revolution also because we have to save the people who have begun to degenerate, affected by evil ideological poison. The ideological revolution which we are now carrying on is not intended to dismiss people who have shortcomings. On the contrary, it is intended to rescue them and unite everyone closely with one ideology and purpose. The Party organizations and officials must, therefore, intensify the ideological revolution so as to wipe out the malignant germs from the minds of those people who have defects, and thus save them. If we do not quickly rescue those people who have begun to degenerate mentally, but leave them untouched, they will be completely spoiled by the action of the germs which have already infiltrated their minds. Then, they will have to part with us for ever. This eternal separation means that they die ideologically and mentally, although their bodies remain alive.

As we always say, their political integrity is more valuable to men than their physical life. A man who has no political integrity cannot be called a man. Today in our society, people who do not work hard in the interests of society and the people, closely united in ideology and purpose, helping each other and leading each other forward on the basis of the collectivist principle of “One for all and all for one”, are little more than animals.

At present there are many people in capitalist societies who live and die like beasts in the jungle. I was told that in capitalist countries many

men go about with long hair, their faces made up and their lips painted after the fashion of women while many women have their hair cut short like men, smoking as they walk along the streets. Only when a man lives and works for the revolution, with a sound ideology and morality, even if he only lives for a single day, will he find life worth living. But it will be pointless if people live without a purpose, merely eating bread without struggle, ignoring their comrades and parents, fighting each other and picking out each other's flaws.

We must press ahead with the ideological revolution to train all Party members and other working people to be ardent revolutionaries, communist men, who fight staunchly for the Party and revolution and for the good of society and their fellow men. The Party organizations and officials must press ahead with the ideological revolution, giving it precedence in all their work.

The first and foremost task in promoting the ideological revolution is to equip Party members and other working people firmly with our Party's Juche idea.

The Juche idea of our Party requires people to oppose not only flunkeyism towards great powers and dogmatism, but also the practice of not working devotedly as masters at their posts. According to the reports presented today by the members of three-revolution teams, the major defect of officials is that they have not the attitude of masters in carrying out their revolutionary tasks. In other words, they do not work as required by the Juche idea of our Party.

The Juche idea constitutes the essence of the revolutionary thought of our Party. Those who are not equipped with the Juche idea and do not think and act in accordance with its requirements, are not qualified to be members of the Workers' Party of Korea and its faithful revolutionary fighters. Therefore, arming Party members and other working people firmly with our Party's Juche idea is the most important task in carrying out the ideological revolution. Party organizations and members of three-revolution teams must work hard to fill cadres, rank-and-file Party members and the rest of the working people with the Juche idea of our Party.

If we are to equip Party members and other working people solidly with our Party's Juche idea, we must intensify their study of it.

At present, our cadres, to say nothing of the ordinary Party members and other working people, do not have a clear understanding of the Juche idea because they neglect to study it. They talk a great deal about the Juche idea, and appear to understand it well, but if questioned about it in detail, they are not very sure what its revolutionary essence is. The Party organizations must therefore intensify the study of the Juche idea among Party members and other working people so as to make them understand its revolutionary essence clearly.

The members of three-revolution teams must themselves first study the Juche idea diligently and thus make it their flesh and bones, and then explain it clearly and bring it home to the Party members and other working people.

In order to encourage all Party members and other working people to study the Juche idea positively, the relevant departments of the Party Central Committee will have to publish the collections of documents necessary for their study as soon as possible.

We have made many speeches and written a number of articles about the Juche idea. In recent years alone we have explained it in detail in many documents including the answers to the questions raised by the journalists of the Japanese newspapers *Yomiuri Shimbun* and *Mainichi Shimbun*. The speeches and articles we have published are all based on the Juche idea. Even though you study the Juche idea, you will be unable to master so many documents. Therefore, it is necessary to compile collections of excerpts of the important propositions about the Juche idea from our works for them to study. This is much better than to prepare lecture plans for lower echelons by adding superfluous details without giving a clear-cut explanation of the Juche idea.

Strict control and inspection are a very important means of making cadres and Party members study hard. The Party organizations at all levels should control and inspect and test them regularly to see how they are studying. All the second secretaries of the provincial Party committees are present at this meeting and it would be a good idea to

summon them to the Party Central Committee some day and test them on the Juche idea.

We must intensify their study of the Socialist Constitution in addition to the Juche idea of our Party and, at the same time, see that Party members and other working people clearly understand the brilliant successes which our Party and people have achieved in the revolution and construction.

Today we have established the most advanced socialist system in the northern half of our country and converted our country, once a backward, colonial agrarian land, into a socialist industrial state with modern industry and developed agriculture. These valuable successes and gains which have been achieved by our Party and people in the revolution and construction, have not by any means come of their own accord. They are the result of the scores of years of hard-fought struggle which our people have waged, shedding a great deal of sweat and blood under the leadership of the Party. The Party organizations must give Party members and other working people a clear understanding of how our Party and people have worked hard to lay the material and technical foundations of socialism and how they have fought to strengthen the political and ideological unity and cohesion of the whole Party and all the people on the basis of the monolithic ideology of the Party. It is only when they know this clearly that they will resolve more firmly to consolidate the valuable successes and gains achieved by our Party and people and carry out their revolutionary tasks with the attitude of masters.

Take the Nampho Glass Factory as an example. Indeed, we had to devote a great deal of energy and painstaking effort to this factory before it began to produce sheet glass. In the days immediately after liberation when we were building a new Korea there was no glass factory in our country. Determined to build a glass factory by our own efforts, we sent Comrade Kim Chaek to Nampho. He directed the project, working among the builders at the construction site and thus made a sheet glass drawing machine. But the machine could not draw glass. It was not clear why; it was probably because of the low

technical skill of the makers. So they went to great pains, dismantling and reassembling the machine. Indeed, one could hardly imagine how much energy we devoted to the production of glass and how hard we worked to learn the technical skill needed for the purpose.

At present, the executives and workers of the Nampho Glass Factory do not know the history of their factory well. That is why they not only fail to increase production but even break a large amount of the glass which has been produced, and this unsatisfactory situation hampers the development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's standard of living. If they knew what great concern the Party Central Committee had shown and how hard our people had worked to build this glass factory in days gone by, they would not lack enthusiasm for production to the extent that they do now, nor would they break glass after it had been made.

To improve the ideological revolution and encourage Party members and other working people to work as masters in their posts, the Party organizations and Party officials must improve work with people.

As you all know, man decides everything. Whether good products are manufactured or not depends finally on the producers. If the Party organizations and Party officials work well with people, everything will go well; and if not, everything will go badly. This is why we always tell Party officials including the departmental heads of the Party Central Committee to convert Party work thoroughly into work with people. But the Party organizations and Party officials do not work well with people. If they had worked with people skilfully in the past, no one would have worked carelessly, as the chief engineer of the Nampho Glass Factory does, and the factory would not have been in so deplorable a situation as it is today.

The chief engineer of this factory was not a bad comrade at first. He was trained by our Party, and he once worked hard to carry out the line and policies of the Party. But the Party organizations did not work well with him after they appointed him as chief engineer: they did not hold informal talks with him. No one came to talk to him from the

Organizational Leadership Department and the Construction and Transport Department of the Party Central Committee, neither did senior officials of the provincial or city Party committee talk to him once. So he had no chance to be criticized in the past. Party members should have criticized him for his shortcomings at the factory Party committee and Party cell meetings, but they did not, because the level of the Party members of the factory was still low. In consequence, he was never criticized by anyone. So he thought that he was right in everything he did. He did not study nor did he consider the introduction of advanced technology. We often meet, educate and criticize cadres, but even some of them degenerate. So there is no wonder that the chief engineer of the glass factory who had never been criticized made mistakes.

We do not consider the incident at the Nampho Glass Factory a mere matter of chance. There is no such thing as pure chance in the world. We must see and judge everything dialectically. The chief engineer, once a good comrade, lost the Party spirit, working-class spirit and people-oriented spirit and the attitude of a master towards his duty because the Party organizations and Party officials did not work with him properly. Therefore, both the senior officials of the relevant department of the Party Central Committee and those of the provincial and city Party committees are to blame for his errors, and the factory Party committee and its secretary must also be held responsible. If even a good worker is left to himself, without being trained regularly by the Party organizations and Party officials, he will degenerate, affected by bad ideas.

Only when the Party organizations and Party officials visit lower echelons frequently and work with their subordinates, giving them revolutionary education, and settling their problems in good time, can the subordinates go on working well. On this occasion the chief engineer of the Nampho Glass Factory has been criticized severely, and he will improve his work in future. We asked him whether there was no way to prevent glass from breaking, and he answered that, if he was supplied with some steel, he would make cases for packing glass,

but that he had not been able to do so in the past because no steel was available. So I criticized him for not having made the suggestion earlier.

The chief engineer of the Nampho Glass Factory is not the only man who lacks the attitude of a master towards his duty and neglects his studying. There are many similar examples among other scientists and technicians. In order to show you how our scientists and technicians neglect their studies, I should like to give you an account of how our chicken plants were built.

It was immediately after the truce that we began to build a chicken plant to provide the people with eggs. With a view to building the plant we visited a chicken plant in a socialist country at that time. It was very old-fashioned. Although their chicken plant was backward, the people of that country were producing eggs using industrial methods. We also built a large plant and tried to raise chickens in cages just as they did, but we failed. After that we abandoned the project for some time.

Farmers, as usual, were not interested in chicken raising, and eggs on the market were very expensive. Seeing this, we could not allow ourselves to sit with our arms folded. And we resumed the construction of chicken plants. First we read books about the methods of raising chickens, and in the course of this we learned a number of scientific and technological matters about raising chickens. We realized that we could raise hens indoors by feeding them with micronutrients because in that event they would not need to be exposed to ultraviolet rays. And then, we called the scientists, technicians and specialists who were engaged in poultry farming together. We told them about the book which says that chickens need micronutrients, and that when they feed on them they can be raised indoors and do not need ultraviolet rays. We asked if any of them knew anything about micronutrients and could explain them to us. A large number of scientists, technicians and specialists were present, but none of them knew much about the matter. Most of them were people whom we had trained during the difficult war years, but they had neglected their studies to this extent, and they were not ready to serve the people.

In these circumstances, we ourselves were obliged to direct the construction of the chicken plants. We enlisted reserves and built many chicken plants, and they produced eggs successfully. One day we visited a chicken plant and found that many of the eggs which had been produced for the people at the cost of great effort were being broken during transport. We were very unhappy to hear that, and again started to study the problem and adopted the idea of transporting them by means of egg crates made of vinyl chloride. The use of egg crates reduced the number of breakages to at most one or two per box, I was told. If you tackle the task with a firm resolve to serve the people, nothing is impossible.

At present, our scientists, technicians and specialists neither study nor use their intelligence, so we ourselves had to pay attention even to the building of chicken plants and to the production of egg crates. If the Party organizations and Party officials had worked well with them and stimulated them to use their intelligence, determined to serve the people, the situation would have been different. Man's brains improve only when they are used, otherwise they will become dull.

In future, the Party organizations and Party officials must convert Party work thoroughly into work with people. Party workers must always meet cadres and other Party members and awaken them to their shortcomings, if any, so as to correct them, and must educate them to study hard and work well for society and the people, displaying enthusiasm, ingenuity and creativity.

Since work with people is an undertaking which involves millions of people, it cannot be done successfully by a few senior officials working alone. As we always say, work with people has to be done by the method of one educating ten, ten a hundred, a hundred one thousand, and one thousand ten thousand. This is the way we can educate all the cadres, rank-and-file Party members and other working people.

Discussion, which aims at educating people, must involve not only those who have many defects but also those who are now working well without committing serious errors. If you only meet and converse with

the former, the latter may be satisfied with their work and become conceited and arrogant. They may think that if they have any defects, they will be called for a discussion, but if not, it may seem to them that they probably have no faults, and they may work carelessly, considering all their actions to be right. Therefore, when you are going to educate people, you must talk to both the people who have many errors and the people who are working well without committing grave mistakes.

In order to intensify the ideological revolution and imbue all Party members and other working people with the Juche idea of our Party, Party workers must arm themselves firmly with this idea before anyone. Today ideological work, the work of imbuing Party members and other working people with the Juche idea of our Party, is not done satisfactorily, and this is mainly because the Party officials who are directly in charge of it are not equipped firmly with the Juche idea. Therefore, every Party worker must first intensify the study of our Party's Juche idea and make it his flesh and bones.

The Nampho City Party organizations must stimulate the ideological revolution.

The ideological revolution is an important revolutionary task to be carried on vigorously everywhere, but it needs to be done better in Nampho than elsewhere. Most of the factories in Nampho are important. Some of them are the only factories of their kind in our country; this is the case with the glass factory, the smeltery and the electrode factory. Of course, we are planning to build more of these factories in the future. But, at present, they are the only ones, so that, if one of them fails in production, it will affect the development of the national economy as a whole. Figuratively speaking, the factories in Nampho are to the national economy what his heart is to a man. A man has one heart, and if he has heart trouble, he becomes weak. Likewise, if these single factories do not work smoothly, all our national economy will suffer.

If the management and the workmen of the glass factory do not produce glass as they should because they lack the sense of

responsibility of masters, it will seriously hamper the development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's standard of living. This is also true of the Nampho Smeltery. If it does not operate properly, we shall be unable to produce copper and other nonferrous metals even if we develop many mines and produce large quantities of ore. In that case, it will seriously hamper the development of the national economy. If we do not produce copper, we shall not be able to produce copper wire; and if we cannot produce copper wire, our electric motor factories will have to suspend operation, and this will badly affect all sectors of the national economy. Without electric motors, you cannot develop livestock farming, either. In the past, when we were developing livestock farming by a mass campaign under the slogan of obtaining meat from grass, we suffered from a shortage of electric motors which were needed to operate fodder crushers.

But the Party organizations and Party officials still do not know the importance of the factories which exist only in Nampho. Not only the Nampho City Party Committee, but the provincial Party committee and the Party Central Committee have ignored their importance. If the Party organizations and Party officials had realized their importance, the senior officials would have visited these factories frequently and talked to their executives and given effective ideological education to Party members and other working people. But, as a result of their neglect of this work, the factories and enterprises in Nampho have committed mistake after mistake, and now they have to rectify them in a revolutionary manner.

From now onwards, you must intensify the ideological revolution in Nampho more than in any other cities so that all Party members and other working people in this city can work as masters at their posts, displaying all their ingenuity, creativity and enthusiasm.

In order to speed up the ideological revolution in Nampho, it is essential to improve the work of the Nampho City Party Committee.

The Nampho City Party Committee is the local representative organization of the Workers' Party of Korea. Whether or not the Party's line and policies are thoroughly implemented in Nampho

depends primarily and largely on how its Party committee works. In the past, however, it has not played its part to the full. The fact that those factories which exist only in Nampho are now trailing behind shows that the city Party committee has not performed its duty satisfactorily in this period. If it had been efficient in Party work, work with people, and pressed ahead with the ideological revolution, the factories and enterprises in Nampho would not have become as backward as they are today. From now onwards, it must work well, with a clear understanding of its duty.

The Nampho City Party Committee must give efficient guidance and assistance to the three-revolution teams in their work. It must listen to the opinions of the members of the three-revolution teams and report their problems to the Party Central Committee quickly. It must thus bring to the attention of the higher authority the questions which have to be settled by the latter, settle on its own responsibility those which are within its capability, and correct any faults through ideological struggle.

The city Party committee must not think that everything has been settled at this meeting, but must examine its work further in every detail. It must analyse and review its work in a comprehensive way and confirm what it has carried out and what it has not yet done, checking closely the tasks previously given it by the Party. It must also sharply criticize and remedy various shortcomings it has revealed in its former work, shortcomings in its work with people and in mixing with the workers.

The officials of the Party Central Committee must also improve their work. They must not think that their work has become easier because the members of three-revolution teams who have been sent here are active. The three-revolution team members in the field may make many suggestions. If all these suggestions are to be dealt with immediately, the officials will have to work harder. When a department of the Party Central Committee receives a work report from the members of three-revolution teams, its officials must visit them without delay, and study their problems in detail and take steps to

solve them. It is only by solving the problems quickly that they will be able to satisfy the purpose of having sent the three-revolution teams to the subordinate units. If their opinions, however good, are left unheeded, they will be worthless.

Their reports are always correct because they make them objectively. But reports from the officials of the commissions and ministries of the Administration Council who inspect their subordinate units lack objectivity. They do not report the real situation there because of their own shortcomings in supplying materials required for production. Worse still, many people who are now in state and economic organs are infected with conservatism, bureaucratism, expediency and formalism, and keep their subordinates from reporting the facts. But the three-revolution teams report what they have seen, because they are not subordinate to a minister nor to the chief of a general bureau. We want everything to be reported factually. This will enable us to hear the voices of the masses correctly. Some officials say that they do not tell us of defects because they are afraid of worrying us. A false report will increase our anxiety rather than ease it.

Next, we must advance the technical revolution.

A priority task of the technical revolution is to put production on a regular basis. This means not only making a factory continue to produce at its full capacity, but also helping it to maintain itself in perfect condition. Although a factory operates its machines and produces goods, we cannot say that its production is on a regular basis unless it is in perfect condition. At present, the Nampho Glass Factory is not worthy of being called a factory, and we cannot say that its production is normal. The quality of glass produced in this factory is not only low, but much of it is broken and cannot be used. If the glass factory is to be said to be producing on a regular basis, it must, at least, work without interruption, fulfil its plan without fail, produce high-quality glass and prevent it from being broken.

In order to regularize production, it is, of course, important to supply adequate amounts of raw materials and fuel, such as coal or crude oil, according to the state plan. But you are mistaken if you think

that production is on a regular basis simply because the raw materials and fuel have been provided. If you do not take good care of them and build up reserves, you will be unable to prevent their running out of stock, although they are supplied as planned. You must build tidy coal stores and large oil storage tanks to hold the reserves when large quantities are supplied. This is the way to meet requirements at all times without running short of supplies. Since crude oil, in particular, is not imported in winter, the factories and enterprises which use it will have to build large tanks and store it for winter use. It is not difficult to build an oil storage depot. You can build fuel oil storage, for instance, by digging deep into the ground and by hardening the bottom with clay. We have already spoken about this on several occasions, but the Nampho Glass Factory has not yet built it. This factory has no large oil storage and for this reason it cannot produce on a regular basis at present, although coal is available, I was told.

If you are to put production on a normal basis, you must discover the obstacles and weak spots in all production branches and processes ranging from the supply of raw materials, the storing of raw materials and products, to production and transport, and then eliminate the obstacles and strengthen the weaknesses.

In order to regularize production by carrying on a vigorous campaign for technical innovation, the creative initiative of the working class must be fully employed. The process of innovating technology by giving full play to their initiative is accompanied by the ideological struggle. At present the Party is showing all the working people the film *Rolling Workers*. This film is a good example. It shows the struggle of the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant when they were implementing the Five-Year Plan.

There was only one blooming mill with a capacity of 60,000 tons in our country at the Kangson Steel Plant until the First Five-Year Plan was carried out. Therefore, steel, no matter how much was produced, was useless unless it was bloomed and rolled at the plant. This being the case, we visited the Kangson Steel Plant and asked its executives if they could increase the production of rolled steel to 90,000 tons. But

some people said it would be difficult. So we called the workers together and told them: we have barely rehabilitated the destroyed economy, but factionalists are challenging the Party, and large-power chauvinists are putting pressure upon us, and the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique are bent on a “march north” campaign. Can we allow ourselves to be discouraged by their manoeuvres and yield to the great difficulties in the revolution and construction? No, we cannot. We believe only in the working class, the main force of our revolution, and rely on you, but no one else. In these circumstances, in order to overcome the critical situation facing our Party, you must work with high spirits to boost production and carry out construction work successfully and thus increase the momentum of economic construction.

Because we did political work in this way, the workers of Kangson resolved to produce 90,000 tons of rolled steel in defence of the Party Central Committee and said that if factionalists were sent to them, they would throw them into the electric furnace. Because they were stimulated to vigorous activity, expanded the existing equipment and solved the difficult problems, they produced 120,000 tons instead of 90,000, with the blooming mill which was said to be able to produce only 60,000 tons. The Kangson Steel Plant has now increased the production capacity of the blooming shop to 500,000 tons.

The blooming mill with a capacity of 60,000 tons has been able to increase the production of rolled steel nearly 9 times over because the workers of this plant, in hearty response to the Party’s call, have gone ahead with the technical innovation campaign. At that time the workers of Kangson were fully prepared ideologically to defend the Party Central Committee with their lives. Because workers throughout the country including those at Kangson firmly defended the Party Central Committee, we succeeded in defeating the schemes of the anti-Party factionalists who were challenging the Party at the time and in frustrating the war plans of the US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique who talked about “marching north”.

When the workers stimulate themselves ideologically in response

to the Party's call, their strength is as great as this. The three-revolution teams must also rouse the workers in cooperation with the Party organizations of factories and enterprises. There will only be technical innovations and production will only be put on a normal basis everywhere when their conscious enthusiasm and creative initiative have been given full rein through efficient ideological mobilization.

As for individuals who are lagging behind, you must educate and criticize them. You must reform everyone through education and criticism, so that there is not a single laggard. In this way you will ensure that all the people unite and defend the Party Central Committee and work devotedly to carry out the revolutionary tasks given by the Party. If we fight against conservatism, passivity and fear of technique and rouse the workers to the technical innovation campaign, we shall certainly achieve success in our efforts to put production on a steady basis.

In addition to normalizing production, we must intensify the technical innovation drive and improve labour administration so as to save labour.

Today the manpower situation in our country is very acute. Because of the shortage of labour the factories which are now being built are not being completed quickly and new factories are not being built speedily enough. A hot-rolling shop is now under construction in the Kim Chaek Iron Works, but it is not finished because of the shortage of manpower. In the Namhung district we are going to build large chemical factories such as a polyethylene factory, an Orlon factory and a urea fertilizer factory; but these projects are not being undertaken because of the shortage of labour. For the same reason we cannot build aluminium and bearing factories. Manpower is also needed for many other projects including the construction of the dam of the Taedonggang Power Station and the construction of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant.

Although our manpower shortage is acute, we cannot afford to reduce the strength of the People's Army. Our country still remains divided, and one half of it is occupied by the US imperialists. We have

the task of driving them out of south Korea and reunifying the country. In this situation the only way to ease the manpower shortage is to save a lot of labour by pressing ahead with the technical innovation campaign and improving labour administration in all sectors of the national economy.

Now there is a great deal of reserves of labour in many sectors of the national economy. If we work hard to introduce technical innovations and improve labour administration, we shall be able to save a great deal of manpower. Because the three-revolution teams have set about fighting to save manpower, many enterprises have already said that they will reduce their work forces. The Hwanghae Iron Works says that it will voluntarily give up 5,000 men, and then more by the end of this year, although the three-revolution teams have not worked there for long and they have only introduced closed-circuit television in some production processes. We consider that there are also many manpower reserves in the factories and enterprises in Nampho district.

At present, we have a great deal of work to do, but some officials are not willing to hand over surplus labour, being inclined to self-centredness. They still do not realize that the waste of labour is a serious offence against the Party and the revolution. We must undertake the technical innovation campaign widely and improve labour administration so as to save more, even if it means the saving of a single work hand.

The enterprises which are surrendering the surplus work hands saved by technical innovation and the improvement of labour administration must not become self-centred. They must on no account practise selfishness by giving up workers who are unfit. They must give up workers who are strong enough to work at construction sites where hard work is done. This will help us to ease the shortage of manpower, and produce more and build more, and develop the national economy quickly.

In order to save manpower, it is also necessary for cadres to improve their method of work. They must halt the practice of

compiling needless statistics and engaging in useless paper work by keeping an excessive number of people.

Nampho Port must establish system and modernize itself.

Nampho Port occupies a very important place in our foreign trade. In the past, our country traded only with the USSR, China and other socialist countries, but today it is trading with capitalist countries and newly independent nations on a large scale, in addition. But, because our country is divided into north and south, large quantities of cargo are imported and exported by way of the West Sea. That is why the position of Nampho Port on the western coast is very important in developing our foreign trade.

At present, however, Nampho Port lacks system and is backward. Foreign visitors to our country say that everything is good in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea except its ports which are backward. We must improve these ports quickly.

First of all, Nampho Port must eliminate indisciplined working practices and establish order in its work. We consider that the Construction and Transport Department of the Party Central Committee, the Transport and Communications Commission and the Nampho City Party Committee must discuss the matter and establish a single system of managing the port. In other words, it is necessary to increase the role of the port Party committee to prevent the relevant agencies from becoming self-centred, and at the same time establish a unified work system by merging these agencies. These different agencies are now each dealing with foreigners separately. They must, instead, be subordinated to Nampho Port so as to function under the undivided leadership of the port authorities.

We must modernize and mechanize Nampho Port. It is necessary to install efficient cranes needed for loading and unloading in the port and to construct modern buildings and facilities such as warehouses and other places to store goods. Since Nampho Port is situated on the estuary of the Taedong River, it has to be dredged regularly. Although we were short of foreign currency in the past, we imported dredgers from another country to build it, but the port does not use them

efficiently now. You must keep them in good repair and dredge the port regularly.

You must press ahead with the cultural revolution, in addition to the ideological and technical revolutions.

In the cultural revolution it is important to establish modern production practices. Without doing this in factories, it will be impossible to improve the quality of products. Every factory and enterprise must make a strenuous effort to establish modern production practices.

The cultured way of life must also be established. When factories are as neat as a palace and workers are cleanly and tidily dressed, they can produce attractive goods.

Nampho must be developed attractively.

It is the main gateway to the capital of our country. Many foreign sailors also visit it. That is why it is important to develop the city to look modern and attractive. When it is beautifully built up and its citizens are well educated, foreigners will get a good impression of our country from the time they land at this port. We must give them a good impression of our country, not a bad impression.

Nampho Port has asked for a passenger ship with which to serve foreigners, and this request must be met. We can import a ship from another country, but we need not do so. The Nampho Shipyard must build a ship which is more modern and better than a foreign ship for the port.

We must educate the Nampho citizens well. We must educate them to keep the streets and their homes tidy, and to wear decent clothes. Motor vehicles must also be controlled so as to be well maintained before they drive through the streets.

The supply of non-staple food for the citizens of Nampho will have to be improved. At present, pig plants, even if they are built, will be unable to produce a large amount of meat because of the shortage of feed and of sows. For this reason Nampho must refrain from wasting labour on building pig plants but consolidate the fishery stations and catch a great deal of fish to supply to the citizens. The workers in

Nampho will have to be provided with a daily supply of 200 grammes of fish since most of them are engaged in heavy work. This is not a very difficult task. We held the conference of fishing workers from the western region in Nampho in order to solve the problem of fish. But the city has not yet solved the problem. As a matter of fact, the city will be able to solve the problem of fish for South Phyongan Province also, if it perseveres in catching fish. The city must catch a large amount of fish and thus meet its own needs by developing medium- and small-scale fishing and also inshore fishing. In addition, vegetables should be supplied regularly so that they are never out of stock. The cooperative farms on the outskirts of Nampho must supply vegetables to the citizens come what may. If fish, vegetables, soya sauce, bean paste and cooking oil are supplied in this way, the problem of non-staple food will mainly be solved.

If the city organizes its work efficiently, it will also be able to supply its citizens with fruit regularly. There are many large orchards around the city, and their products are delicious. The large factories and enterprises in Nampho should assist the rural communities once a week and help the cooperative farmers and also transport manure to the orchards.

In future, the Nampho City Party Committee must work hard to carry out the tasks given at this meeting. The Party committees and all the executives of the factories and enterprises in Nampho must work in cooperation with the three-revolution teams and with their help so as to bring about a radical change in their work. I hope that in this way you will achieve great success in carrying out the tasks of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions set forth by the Party.

# **LET US FURTHER ADVANCE THE IDEOLOGICAL, TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS**

**Concluding Speech Delivered at the Kangso  
Enlarged Meeting of the Political  
Committee of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*March 14. 1973*

Comrades,

Our Party put forward the slogan of ideological, technical and cultural revolutions a long time ago. And in the report to the Party Conference, the Ten-Point Programme of the Government of the Republic, the report to the Fifth Party Congress, and in many other reports and speeches we have stressed that the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions must go ahead forcefully. However, the tasks of these revolutions as proposed by the Party have not yet been carried out satisfactorily.

The ideological revolution is the law governing the building of socialism and communism and constitutes one of the most important revolutionary tasks confronting the state of proletarian dictatorship after the establishment of the socialist system. Without carrying out the ideological revolution it is impossible to attain the complete victory of socialism and build communism. The experience of the international communist movement shows that socialism and communism cannot be built successfully merely by laying the material foundations.

We have always emphasized that the most important factor in building socialism and communism after the overthrow of the capitalist system is a heightened struggle to capture the ideological fortress, and called on Party organizations to give the ideological revolution precedence over all other work. However, a number of Party organizations, including those of factories, enterprises and cooperative farms, have so far taken a perfunctory attitude to this call of the Party and failed to accelerate the work of revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society.

Some Party organizations have not acquitted themselves well in promoting the technical revolution either. At the Fifth Party Congress we set forth the three major tasks of the technical revolution: to considerably reduce the distinctions between heavy and light labour and between agricultural and industrial labour and to free women from the heavy burden of household work by energetically carrying out the technical revolution in industry, agriculture and all other spheres of the national economy. These three major tasks are the ones upon which the Six-Year Plan is mainly focussed and one of the principal fighting slogans advanced by the Fifth Party Congress. In some places the technical revolution is being carried out successfully in accordance with the Party's policy, but, in general, there has been no marked progress in fulfilling these three major tasks. Some factories, instead of promoting the technical revolution in keeping with the Party's policy, are trying to boost production by employing "human sea tactics", that is, by increasing the labour force. This is quite wrong. In a country with a large population and surplus manpower, it would make no difference. But in our country, which is short of manpower, this is not the way to increase production.

Party organizations have not only been lax in carrying out the ideological and technical revolutions, but the cultural revolution as well.

They have failed to accelerate the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions over these past years. Consequently, many of the newly-built factories have not proved as efficient as we could have

wished. Agricultural production, too, has been growing at a snail's pace. That is why the Party Central Committee recently dispatched three-revolution teams to factories, enterprises and cooperative farms, so that they can help to carry on a more forceful campaign for the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions.

Why, then, did we only send the three-revolution teams this year, and not immediately after the Fifth Party Congress? This question, like all other questions, should be viewed from a dialectical point of view.

In the past the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions did not proceed well and there were quite a few shortcomings in the industrial and agricultural spheres, but they did not pose so serious a problem as they do today. Generally speaking, shortcomings in work are not obvious at first. As water freezes at zero degree C and boils at 100 degrees C, so shortcomings in work only come to light when they reach a certain degree. Man feels neither cold nor hot at a normal temperature, but he feels it when the temperature fluctuates. Likewise, the shortcomings in industry and agriculture cannot be easily recognized at first; they can only be seen clearly when they reach a definite degree.

It was not until recently, when we visited farming villages and talked to the farmers, that we fully understood that the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions were not proceeding properly and that there were many shortcomings in the industrial and agricultural spheres.

As you know, in the last few years we have built modern light industry factories all over the country, in order to raise the people's living standards rapidly, and constructed many electronics and machine-building factories such as electronic tube factories, semi-conductor factories, small electric motor factories and relay factories. To operate these factories required a lot of manpower, and many women in particular. But instead of obtaining manpower for the new factories by means of the technical revolution, our officials just brought in women from farming villages. There is a small male labour force in the rural areas and farming is done chiefly by women.

Consequently, the recruitment of women held up agricultural production. When we visited farming areas last year, the farmers said that they could barely manage because they did not have enough tractors and manpower, and even women had been taken away. We were deeply shocked to hear this. We felt chilly, as it were. Afterwards we analysed the recruitment of working women from the rural areas from various angles, and we became convinced that this was quite wrong.

We held a meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, where we examined manpower administration and seriously criticized the improper handling of this work. Then we sent guidance teams of the Party Central Committee to major factories and enterprises in an endeavour to tap reserves of labour. For a whole month they examined the situation thoroughly on the spot, but in vain. They failed to break down conservatism or secure labour reserves, and returned empty-handed, having been counterattacked by bigoted conservatives at the factories.

Since the labour reserve mobilization teams have failed in their mission at the factories and enterprises, we have had to take new, resolute measures.

We resolved to carry out the campaign right at the factories and enterprises; we went to South Hwanghae Province where we studied manpower administration at the Unnyul Mine. Our examination of its manpower administration was aimed mainly at finding out how conservative our officials were. This was, as it were, like throwing a stone into the river to ascertain its depth. Our examination of the manpower administration showed that the Unnyul Mine was wasting a labour force of approximately 2,000 men, and that they were not even thinking of releasing this force. After our examination we realized that conservatism was deep-rooted in the minds of the mine officials, and we were determined to combat conservatism strongly in all spheres.

On the other hand, we organized guidance teams composed of picked Party members and intelligent university students. They were dispatched to light industry factories to see what they could do to

advance the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions there. From the results, we concluded that they could undertake the campaign for the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions, and that it was most appropriate to mobilize intelligent university students for this purpose. University students are a revolutionary new generation firmly armed with the Juche idea, the monolithic ideology of our Party, and know no other idea but our Party's Juche idea. What is more, they are able to distinguish outdated technology from modern technology, although their technical knowledge is not yet wide enough. Moreover, they have a strong revolutionary spirit; they like the new and boldly spurn what is old. That is why the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee decided to mobilize intelligent university students, as well as Party activists, for the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions, and took steps to organize them into three-revolution teams, each made up of several dozen members, and to dispatch them to factories, enterprises and cooperative farms.

Nearly one month has passed since the three-revolution teams were sent out to work in industry and agriculture. During this period they have learned actual conditions at the factories, enterprises and cooperative farms.

At a plenary meeting of the Nampho City Party Committee held a few days ago, we heard the report of the three-revolution teams active in the Nampho area, and here at Kangso, today, we are holding this enlarged meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and have heard the report of the three-revolution teams active in the Kangso area. Judging by these two reports, the teams dispatched to industry and agriculture were successful in the very first rounds of their battle.

The Hwanghae Iron Works is offering to release 5,000 men now and many more in the future. Formerly the management of factories and enterprises did not even mention the introduction of television devices in production, but now they are striving to do this. This shows that they have given up the "human sea tactics" and begun to think of increasing production by means of the technical revolution.

The three-revolution teams are also discovering vast reserves of equipment. Some time ago the manager of the Kangson Steel Plant asked for 100 goods wagons. We could not meet his request because goods wagons are badly needed by the railways. We asked him why such a big plant as the Kangson Steel Plant could not repair wagons itself. We advised him not to ask for goods wagons, but rather to help the railways which badly need them. That same evening members of the three-revolution team attached to the Kangson Steel Plant, in the company of its manager, examined the capacity of the plant's goods wagons. They drew the conclusion that the plant was quite able to ensure production with the wagons it already had, without receiving an additional 100.

As you see, the struggle waged by the three-revolution teams on the spot is showing good results. In the future, when their activities are intensified, greater successes will undoubtedly be achieved. These initial achievements by the three-revolution teams testify fully to the correctness of the steps taken by the Party Central Committee in sending revolution teams into industry and agriculture to carry out the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions on the spot.

A revolution cannot be made merely by chanting slogans, adopting resolutions and jotting down ways and means for its implementation in notebooks. It can only advance through a determined battle against what is old and inert. There is no revolution without struggle, and without revolution society cannot progress.

It is claimed by some people that revolution means merely overthrowing the old social system and establishing a new one, but we do not share their opinion. Replacing the old with the new in the fields of ideology, technology and culture is also a revolution. Thus the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions can only be carried out through a battle against what is obsolete and stagnant. It is absurd to believe that these revolutions will be carried out easily or smoothly, without any conflict. The struggle for the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions is a serious battle for the victory of socialism and communism.

However, some Party organizations and senior officials have not made any effort to fulfil the tasks of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions as proposed by the Party. As a result, they have failed to achieve the successes they should have achieved in these revolutions. Although it is a little late, from now onwards, Party organizations at all levels must push ahead vigorously with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions, upholding the Party's policy.

Our ideological revolution is not a campaign to fight and dismiss people who are at fault, but a struggle to uproot outmoded ideas which still survive in people's minds, and to revolutionize and working-classize them. The technical revolution is a campaign to replace what is outworn with new technology, and to mechanize, semi-automate and automate manual work. The cultural revolution is a battle to raise the cultural and technological standards of the working people and establish modern and cultured ways of production and of life. In short, the ideological revolution is a campaign to take the rust off the minds of people; the technical revolution a campaign to remove the rust from machines; and the cultural revolution a struggle to wash the dirt from people's lives, houses, factories and villages.

The ideological, technical and cultural revolutions are closely related. Only by promoting the ideological revolution to raise the level of people's class consciousness and ideological consciousness, can the technical and cultural revolutions succeed. And only by making the technical and cultural revolutions is it possible to free the working people from backbreaking work, raise their cultural and technical standards, and succeed in carrying out the ideological revolution. We must therefore promote the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions with equal force, while giving precedence, as is our principle, to the ideological revolution.

First of all, we must make every effort to carry out the ideological revolution.

In this, the basic requirement is to arm Party members and other working people firmly with our Party's Juche idea.

Our Party's Juche idea demands that all the working people assume the attitude of a master in revolution and construction. The revolution and construction are for the benefit of the masses of the people and must be carried out by themselves, and so the masses of the people must adopt the attitude of a master towards these undertakings. This attitude must be maintained not only in opposing flunkeyism and dogmatism, but also in working as befitting masters at their places of work and taking loving care of the common property of the state and society.

However, Party organizations have not gone about the work of equipping the Party members and other working people with the Party's Juche idea in the proper way. As a result, some officials and working people do not yet have a thorough understanding of what the Juche idea really means, although they talk about it a great deal, and do not carry out their revolutionary tasks in a responsible manner, with the attitude of a master. According to reports of the three-revolution teams, the main shortcoming of our officials is that they lack the attitude of a master towards their work.

The Juche idea is our Party's sole guiding ideology. So all Party members and other working people must be aware of it constantly and think and act according to this idea. Those who are not deeply involved with the Juche idea and do not think and act as required by it are not fit to be Party members and cannot become the Party's faithful revolutionary soldiers.

If Party members and other working people are not equipped with the Juche idea, they will degenerate ideologically, infected by noxious ideological viruses such as capitalism, revisionism and flunkeyism. Just as iron gets rusty by long exposure to air and rain, and foodstuffs spoil through the action of harmful germs when left for a long time, so people get rusty ideologically and become corrupted by the action of noxious germs such as capitalism, revisionism, flunkeyism and expediency, when they are left without ideological education. Constant physical training and regular preventive injections increase man's resistance to harmful germs. In the same way, when they are firmly

equipped with the Juche idea and constantly receive ideological training, they do not degenerate ideologically. Therefore, Party organizations must always do their utmost to arm their members and other working people with the Juche idea.

In order to equip Party members and other working people with the Juche idea and make them think and act as required by this idea, Party organizations must carry out their work with people properly.

Man decides everything. So if Party organizations work well with people and raise their level of ideological consciousness and bring their voluntary enthusiasm and creativity into play, everything will go well; otherwise it will not. Hence Party organizations must completely turn Party work into work with people.

At present Party organizations are not working enough with them. The greatest defect in Party work is that work with people is conducted in an administrative way.

The administrative method, that is, the issuing of orders and directives, cannot transform people's ideology or arouse their revolutionary zeal and consciousness. Moreover, since men differ from one another in character, constitution and political preparedness, work with them should not be done in a uniform way. This work should be conducted persistently, mainly through explanation and persuasion; it should take diverse forms to suit the characteristics of the individuals dealt with. There are various methods of educating and rousing people—lectures, talks, artistic performances, film shows, dissemination of songs, and so on. Party organizations must use these methods effectively; they must make sure that all forms of ideological education are designed to equip people with our Party's Juche idea and its embodiment—the Party's lines and policies—and to revolutionize and working-classize them.

One of the important aspects of the ideological revolution is the strengthening of the organized life of Party members and other working people.

All our Party members and other working people, without exception, must take an active part in life within the organization

concerned and act under its supervision. By so doing they will not degenerate ideologically and will train themselves in a revolutionary way, and remain faithful to the revolution to the end. In their organized life they must criticize themselves and others and also listen to the criticisms made of others. They will thereby recognize their own shortcomings and endeavour to rectify them. So members of the Party, the League of Socialist Working Youth, the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People and of the Women's Union must participate eagerly in the activities of the organizations to which they belong.

Those who are unwilling to participate in organized life and shun the masses' supervision will be unable to remove the rust from their brains in good time; they are sure to commit errors. Some of the managers, Party secretaries and other cadres of factories and enterprises commit errors from time to time. This is precisely because they do not become deeply involved in the activities of their organizations and stray from supervision by the masses. Party organizations must wage a vigorous ideological struggle against the tendency to shirk an organized life among our officials and working people so that they play a positive part in the activities of the Party and the working people's organizations, and always act under the supervision of the masses.

Another important aspect of the ideological revolution is establishing among Party members and other working people the revolutionary habit of judging everything by the standard of the Party's lines and policies and acting in strict accordance with them.

The Party's lines and policies serve as a guide to action; they indicate the path to be followed by Party members and other working people in each period, in each stage of revolutionary development. The Party's lines and policies explain the specific course of action in all spheres—for an organized life, the class struggle, economic affairs, and so on. Therefore, they must be the starting point for Party members and other working people in thinking and acting in all matters, and constitute the standard by which to distinguish right from wrong in their work.

All Party members and other working people must form the revolutionary habit of working in strict accordance with the Party's lines and policies and judging all matters by the standard of the Party's policies when distinguishing right from wrong. Only then can they think and act in keeping with the Party's aims and combat practices which run counter to the Party's monolithic ideology. Those who do not think and act in accordance with the Party's lines and policies cannot protect the Party and remain to the last in the glorious ranks of revolutionary fighters. Party organizations must therefore do their best to foster amongst Party members and other working people the revolutionary habit of thinking and acting and organizing all work in accordance with the Party's lines and policies.

One of the important questions in carrying out the ideological revolution is to make all members of society work and live as required by the revolutionary laws and regulations.

The revolutionary struggle and construction are not carried out by individuals but by the joint efforts of many people. If a man lives alone, he can behave as he pleases; but when many people live collectively and take organized action, they must not act as they like. For many people to lead a collective and organized life, there must be definite norms and rules of conduct and everyone must observe them strictly. Only then is it possible to achieve the people's unity of action and guarantee discipline and order in the collective.

The army has various regulations, including internal service and garrison regulations. The internal service regulations stipulate the order of everyday life for the soldiers, telling them how to follow daily routine, how to arrange their living quarters, how to give commands and make a report when a superior comes, and so on. The garrison regulations provide for the rules of action for the guards—sentry duties and the method of performing them, and the order of changing guards. Since all the soldiers act according to these military regulations, strict order and discipline are maintained in the army.

Rules and regulations are necessary not only for the army, but for all spheres, for all units of the state and society. And everyone—all

employees in state bodies, factories and enterprises and on cooperative farms, and all students—must work and live in accordance with the set rules and regulations.

All our laws and regulations must be socialist, revolutionary ones which serve the cause of socialist construction. The laws and regulations of a capitalist society are all designed to oppress and exploit the toiling masses and protect the interests of the exploiting classes and the exploiter system. We must thoroughly eliminate the vestiges of capitalism from all our laws and regulations and prepare new socialist and revolutionary laws and regulations in conformity with the socialist system and the requirements of our revolution.

All our laws and regulations must be based on the Party's lines and policies and on the Socialist Constitution. The Socialist Constitution adopted at the First Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly is the fundamental law and rule of conduct, the observance of which is obligatory for all citizens of the Republic. The Socialist Constitution provides for the principles of state activity in the political, economic and cultural spheres, the duties of state bodies and the fundamental rights and obligations of citizens. Therefore, all spheres, all units must prepare specific work regulations and rules of conduct in accordance with the principles defined in the Socialist Constitution and everyone must work and live as stipulated by them.

However, some officials do not take firm measures for the observance of the Socialist Constitution; they do not even study it properly. Officials must be made to intensify their study of the Socialist Constitution. At the same time, all state, economic and cultural bodies should, in conformity with the Socialist Constitution, lay down laws and regulations for its implementation, and the existing laws and regulations should also be revised to meet the requirements of the new Constitution.

Laws are not immutable. As the revolution goes forward to reach a higher stage, the laws and regulations should be revised accordingly. Some of the laws and regulations necessary in the stage of the democratic revolution are no longer necessary now that a socialist

system has been established. For instance, during the democratic revolution free enterprise was judicially guaranteed for the middle and small traders and manufacturers, but now that they have been reformed into socialist working people and the undivided sway of socialist relations of production has been established, the law providing for the freedom of private enterprise has become unnecessary. Even in the same stage of revolution, laws and regulations should be changed in keeping with the different circumstances and conditions of work. Take, for example, the regulations on the sub-workteam management system. They were laid down when cooperative farms had few tractors and the level of agricultural mechanization was low; so they should not be applied to the present situation, when there are large numbers of tractors and farm machines. Since the material and technical foundations and working conditions of the sub-workteam have changed, the regulations on the sub-workteam management system should also change.

There are many obsolete regulations which do not suit existing conditions. The laws and regulations have not been revised promptly to meet the needs of the new situation, mainly because the officials in charge of drawing up laws and regulations are not sensitive to the development of conditions and are behind the times. Laws and regulations which do not correctly reflect the requirements of life and which are worked out by the officials concerned according to their subjective judgement cannot contribute to our revolutionary cause; if anything, they impede socialist construction and mar the people's life.

According to a student assigned to the Sammyo Cooperative Farm in Kangso County as a member of a three-revolution team, the stores in the farming villages open at 9 a.m. and close at 6 p.m. The trading regulations are therefore at fault. The opening and closing hours of rural stores should not be the same as those of urban stores. Farmers go to work early in the morning and return home late in the evening. Since the hours of rural stores are fixed in this way, they have to leave the fields to do their shopping during working hours. Fixing shop hours would appear to be a simple matter; but if they are fixed thoughtlessly

without taking the specific conditions into account, they will cause a great deal of inconvenience and held up production.

In addition, I think that the regulations now in force at factories, enterprises and on cooperative farms contain quite a few stipulations which do not meet the requirements of the people and do not conform to the actual situation. The three-revolution teams should examine whether or not the existing laws and regulations accord with the requirements of the Socialist Constitution and the prevailing situation, and should offer constructive proposals aimed at rectifying any defects in them.

While perfecting the socialist laws and regulations it is necessary to intensify education and judicial supervision so that all the working people will observe them strictly.

The collectivist principle of “One for all and all for one” and the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done are the basic principles governing social life under our system, and their scrupulous observation is the honourable duty of all citizens in our country. This is clearly defined in the Socialist Constitution as well. However, some officials still put their individual interests before the interests of society and the collective. It is said that they are using the buses or lorries belonging to their factories and cooperative farms as if they were private cars. This is a manifestation of selfishness and an act which is inconsistent with the principle of collectivism. In addition, some junior officials of cooperative farms get more work-points than they deserve; and quite a few factory and office workers receive their full wages and food rations, although they fail to fulfil their assignments. All this runs counter to the socialist principle of distribution.

In order to discourage such practices among our officials and working people it is necessary to tighten judicial supervision, and at the same time conduct ideological education properly. Experience shows, however, that ideological training alone is not enough for the communist education of people to be a success; it must be correctly combined with judicial supervision based on socialist laws and regulations. Therefore, one of the major tasks of the ideological

revolution is for Party organizations to see that all working people strictly observe socialist laws and regulations.

Next, the technical revolution should be carried out forcefully.

With regard to this, our officials must have a correct understanding of the technical revolution. Some of them do not yet understand the technical revolution correctly and are not striving to accelerate it.

In a capitalist society, as technology develops more and more, people become jobless and the working people's living and working conditions become more and more difficult. That is why the workers in a capitalist society are not interested in technological progress and resist the introduction of new techniques. In a capitalist society, although a great deal is produced by means of advanced technology, there is no improvement in the general conditions of the workers. The capitalists would dump their surplus goods into the sea rather than give them to the workers free of charge. In a capitalist society, technological progress makes the tiny handful of exploiters richer, while making the overwhelming majority of the working people poorer. As technology advances, the rich get richer and the poor poorer. This is one of the laws of a capitalist society.

But in a socialist society it is just the opposite. The technical revolution in a socialist society relieves the working people of labour-consuming jobs and increases the production of material wealth, thus improving the people's material and cultural well-being. Technological progress in a socialist society makes the working people's work easier and more efficient, and enables them to engage in more independent and creative activities. In a socialist society the technical revolution does not create surplus manpower or unemployment. Here a constant shortage of manpower is a social phenomenon. That is why the working people in a socialist society are deeply interested in technological progress and devote all their energies and talents to the development of technology. This is the fundamental difference between the technical revolution in a socialist society and technological reorganization in a capitalist society.

Only through the technical revolution can we eliminate the

difference between heavy and light labour and between agricultural and industrial labour, and free all the working people from hard work. Only through this can we gradually remove the distinction between mental and physical labour and rapidly develop the productive forces, so as to build a communist society where all its members work according to their ability and receive according to their needs.

To advance the technical revolution is an urgent task confronting us, especially in easing the present shortage of manpower, increasing the value of per-capita output, and in further accelerating the building of socialism.

Without the technical revolution, it is impossible to eliminate the present shortage of manpower and increase the value of output per head of the population. Socialist construction gives rise to more and more new factories and different branches of production. And our country is experiencing an acute shortage of manpower today. Therefore, we are unable to run the factories already built properly and to establish new factories quickly.

If the factories and enterprises were to save a labour force of 50,000 men or so by stepping up the technical revolution, we could use it to organize a sort of youth shock brigade to develop new mines, build much-needed factories and reclaim more tidelands.

We are planning to build a large chemical plant in the western region, but we are unable to start construction work because of a lack of manpower. There are many new mines to be developed, but we cannot develop them because of insufficient manpower. The demands for copper are growing daily. We have a huge deposit of copper, but we cannot mine it because of the shortage of labour. We are also planning to build a synthetic rubber factory, but we are unable to do so because of the lack of manpower, so we are compelled to import large quantities of rubber every year.

We must rebuild a large vinalon factory and vinyl chloride factory. By constructing the vinyl chloride factory and sharply increasing the production of vinyl chloride, we shall produce greater quantities of a variety of daily necessities and boost grain production as well.

Since the cultivated area in our country is small, one of the important ways to increase grain production is to reclaim the tidelands and quickly cultivate crops there and augment grain yields. It is not at all difficult to check the sea and reclaim tidelands. What is important is to desalinate the reclaimed land quickly. If the reclaimed tideland is left as it is, it will take seven or eight years to become arable. In order to desalinate it as rapidly as possible, we should install a percolation system of irrigation. If we are to reclaim tidelands and set up this system, we must build another synthetic resin factory to produce larger quantities of vinyl pipe.

When both the sprinkler and percolation systems are widely introduced by building another synthetic resin factory and increasing the production of vinyl pipes, the per-hectare yields of dry-field crops will be far greater than at present. If these irrigation systems are introduced, we can easily produce four tons of maize per hectare of land; and if we work efficiently, we shall be able to produce five or six tons. If the whole 700,000 hectares of grain fields cultivated by machines is irrigated and a yield of five tons of maize is obtained from every hectare, it will be possible to harvest 3.5 million tons of maize. In addition, our country has approximately 300,000 hectares of grain fields where it is possible to raise three crops in two years; on this land we will be able to increase the grain output by nearly one million tons. There are approximately 650,000 hectares of paddies in our country. Even if we take the average per-hectare rice yield at five tons, we can produce 3.25 million tons. So if agricultural production is highly intensified and the available land properly utilized, our country can grow almost 10 million tons of grain a year.

In order to do all this—obtaining new farmlands through tideland reclamation and making the best of the existing land—we need an enormous labour force.

At present, however, our country's manpower resources are meagre. The shortage is very acute, indeed. Since we are directly confronted by US imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism, we must maintain huge armed forces. This makes the nation's shortage of manpower even

more critical. If we reduced the size of the army we could solve the manpower problem to a certain extent. But the present situation does not allow us to do so immediately. As you know, we have proposed time and time again to the south Korean authorities that a peace agreement be concluded which would guarantee the withdrawal of the US imperialists' aggressive army from south Korea and prevent the use of armed force against the north or the south, and also stop the arms drive and ensure a reduction in the armed forces of both the north and the south. However, the south Korean authorities have turned down our just proposal on the pretext of a fictitious "threat of invasion from the north", and they still maintain a huge armed force of more than 700,000 men. They not only oppose any reduction in armed forces, but also continue to bring in various new types of foreign weapons and combat equipment, thereby further stepping up their war preparations. This being the case, we cannot reduce our armed forces unilaterally.

Considering our present situation, the only solution to the manpower problem is to promote the technical revolution dynamically. We proposed the three major tasks of the technical revolution at the Fifth Party Congress; they were aimed mainly at counteracting our shortage of manpower, while freeing the working people from backbreaking labour.

In order to step up the technical revolution, we must first wipe out conservatism, flunkeyism, fear of technology and empiricism, which hamper that revolution.

Without combatting these ideas which stand in the way of technological progress, the technical revolution cannot be successfully promoted, because it is a revolution. Conservatism, flunkeyism, fear of technology and empiricism have nothing in common with our Party's Juche idea; they are harmful ideas quite incompatible with the Juche idea.

The greatest obstacles to the promotion of the technical revolution today are flunkeyism and fear of technology. Because they are muddled by flunkeyism and make a mystery of technology, our officials are not bold enough to manufacture modern machinery. Many

researchers in the farm machinery research institute of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences claim that they are studying their subject, but as yet they have not succeeded in designing any good farm machines to suit the specific conditions of our country. Some scientists and technicians, instead of trying to design and make good farm machines for themselves, think only of copying foreign machines mechanically. This is not the way to make efficient farm machines suited to our specific conditions. The farm machines used in a country whose soil is soft and whose fields are stoneless do not suit our country with its many gravelly fields and paddies. We must therefore try to make new farm machines which are suitable for our conditions; we must use our own inventiveness instead of just copying foreign farm machines. If we do study foreign farm machines, we must take as models those adapted to conditions similar to ours. Otherwise they will not help us to make farm machines suitable for our specific conditions.

Not only flunkeyism and fear of technology, but conservatism and empiricism greatly impede technological progress and the growth of production. Take, for example, agriculture. Officials in this field are now obsessed with deep-rooted conservatism and empiricism. As a result, in recent years agricultural production has been increasing very slowly and the rural technical revolution has not been progressing at all rapidly.

In all branches of the national economy we must boldly eradicate flunkeyism, fear of technology, conservatism and empiricism and push forward the technical revolution energetically. Scientists and technicians in particular must step up their research work from the stand of Juche, and design and manufacture a variety of efficient machines in large quantities which are urgently needed for the technical revolution.

We are badly in need of mobile threshers for the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture. In the plains such as Pakchon and Mundok Counties, they carry the sheaves of rice to the threshing grounds by tractors from distant paddies, and after the threshing they carry the waste back to the paddies. So at a recent meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, we suggested

making mobile threshers for the plains. These threshers will make it possible to thresh rice right on the paddies in the autumn without carrying the sheaves to the threshing grounds. Only the grain will have to be transported and the rice straw and refuse will be made into compost. If we pile up rice straw and refuse on the paddies and decompose them by mixing them with slaked lime and water, it will make splendid fertilizer. This would save a great deal of rural manpower and enable the tractors to be used for other work so as to lighten the hard toil of the farmers to a greater degree.

In addition to the mobile threshers, we urgently need highly efficient rice planters and rice harvesters. It is therefore imperative to increase research work to design and manufacture these machines and thus produce many good farm machines to be used extensively in our fields.

In order to design and make large quantities of different kinds of highly efficient machines, it is necessary to draw vast masses of the working people into this work. Technological innovations such as the design and manufacture of new machines and the improvement of equipment cannot be done satisfactorily by a few technicians and specialists alone. Only by actively involving the broad working masses in this work can technical innovations be effected steadily in all fields and all units, and the technical revolution be rapidly accelerated.

In order to involve the working masses in the widespread technological innovation movement, technicians should help the workers to invent devices. When a device, however trifling and immature, is suggested by the workers, the technical personnel should consider it collectively and discuss it in detail; if it has any technical defect, they must help to put it right. The workers' devices will thus be perfected and introduced into production. This will encourage the workers and give them confidence to try to invent devices. And so many excellent devices will come from the broad masses of the working people.

The technicians, specialists and the working people at large must jointly conduct a vigorous technological innovation movement in all branches of the national economy so as to save a considerable amount

of manpower. In this way we will ease the nation's acute shortage of manpower and more than double the value of output per worker in the near future.

South Phyongan Province must lead the country in carrying out the technical revolution. The province has large metallurgical plants, including the Kangson Steel Plant which plays an important role in the nation's economic development, as well as many huge machine-building factories, such as the Sungni General Motor Works and the Kiyang Tractor Plant. South Phyongan Province should work even harder to further enhance the level of mechanization and automation at these factories so as to boost production rapidly.

The Kangson Steel Plant should quickly finish the introduction of closed-circuit television in all processes of production and gradually switch over to telemechanics. When this is done they will be able to produce more structural steel for the economic development of the country and for the accomplishment of the technical revolution. The Sungni General Motor Works and the Kiyang Tractor Plant should quickly complete their automatic assembly lines so as to double the output of motor vehicles and more than treble that of tractors in a year or two.

While forcefully promoting the technical revolution, we should distribute the manpower we have saved, rationally. As the technical revolution progresses, heavy industries are releasing a considerable labour force, consisting mostly of women. They must be assigned to the right jobs best suited to their constitution and ability, so that none of them gives up work. If the women workers released give up their new jobs, the technical revolution will be of little value, and their revolutionization and working-classization will not proceed smoothly. We must set up light industry factories or producers' cooperatives near heavy industry plants to induce the women to keep their jobs.

Next, we must press ahead with the cultural revolution.

In carrying out the cultural revolution, it is important to raise the cultural and technical levels of the working people and establish modern and hygienic conditions in production and a cultured way of

life rapidly. The three-revolution teams must vigorously promote the cultural revolution, emphasizing these three points.

First we must organize work properly so as to raise the working people's cultural and technical levels. We must especially intensify the work of disseminating technical knowledge amongst the working people. Unless their level of technical knowledge is raised rapidly, it is impossible to develop production on cooperative farms or at factories and enterprises. At present, because the management and farmers of cooperative farms have poor technical expertise, they are unable to farm on a scientific and technological basis; they stick to empiricism. If we are to farm in a scientific and technical way, we must ensure that all of them increase their technical studies to acquire knowledge about the soil, crops, fertilizers, farm machines, and so on.

All the cooperative farms, factories and enterprises should establish an adequate technical study system and see to it that those who have knowledge teach those who have none, and that all the working people work hard to acquire technical expertise. The dissemination of technical knowledge should be extensively conducted in such a way as to enable one man to teach ten, ten men a hundred and a hundred men a thousand. The ranks of engineers and technicians will thus rapidly grow and all the working people's technical knowledge will be raised to a higher level in the near future.

To establish modern and hygienic conditions in production is an important task on which all factories, enterprises and cooperative farms should concentrate.

Unless this is done, it is impossible for factories and enterprises to turn out good products. Only by keeping the factories clean and establishing system and order in production, is it possible to produce good machines, as well as good cloth and daily necessities. Only when modern and hygienic conditions have been established in production can the people work happily with clear minds. Modern and hygienic conditions in production are also essential for the workers' good health.

Factories and enterprises must keep their machinery and equipment in good repair, paint them to make them shine if necessary, and always

keep them neat and tidy. Machinery and equipment which have been installed without due thought must be put in good order, so as to increase the utility of the production area and guarantee the orderly flow of half-finished goods between the production processes.

Factory buildings should be repaired quickly to give them a smart appearance; and they should be well roofed to prevent leaks. Vacuum cleaners and extractor fans should be installed in the factories. Floors should be kept clean and well swept. Factories should also be well lit.

As for the pipes passing through factory grounds, they should be installed underground wherever possible; otherwise they should be properly lagged so that they are not unsightly.

The roads on factory premises should be paved. If cement is not available, it would be a good idea to cover the roads with weathered granite and roll them, or to pave them with slate or large stones. Factories should also be fenced properly and their surroundings kept tidy.

In this way, all factories will transform their interiors into palaces and their grounds and surroundings into parks.

In establishing modern and hygienic production conditions, it is important to pack manufactured goods well and preserve raw materials and products methodically. All factories should have packing facilities to wrap manufactured goods of all sizes neatly, and build warehouses for raw materials and products so as to keep them in an orderly fashion. At these warehouses there should be a proper system of issuing and receiving items.

Cooperative farms should take good care of the land and farm machinery, the basic means of production in agriculture. They should adequately realign the farmland—redividing the tracts neatly and always keeping the ridges of the paddies and the edges of grain fields in good order. Stones should be piled up or willow trees planted along the edges of sloping fields in order to prevent the earth from being eroded by the rain. Ditches should be well laid out and always repaired with care so that the water does not leak out. It is particularly important to launch a widespread movement for the care of farm machinery in order to induce all the agricultural working people to look after and

treat tractors and other farm machines with care.

At factories, enterprises and cooperative farms the members of three-revolution teams should launch a vigorous ideological struggle to eradicate the old habit of neglecting and treating machinery and equipment and production facilities carelessly. They should give practical and substantial help in operating them correctly.

As well as modern and hygienic conditions in production, a cultured way of life should be thoroughly established.

So far we have achieved many successes in developing our towns and villages in a cultured way, but there are still quite a few shortcomings. For example, in South Phyongan Province, only a few county and ri seats are properly built, but this is not the case in most of the farming villages.

In order to develop our towns and farming villages in a cultured way, more homes should be built and the streets quickly reconditioned wherever necessary. South Phyongan Province should build 40,000 modern farmhouses this year.

While constructing modern houses, it is necessary to make houses and villages attractive in a cultured and hygienic way. A vigorous nationwide movement must be initiated to keep houses and villages neat and clean.

The members of the League of Socialist Working Youth and the Children's Union must lead this movement. The Central Committee of the LSWY and all other LSWY organizations should make it an important task for LSWY and CU organizations to keep houses and villages neat and trim and organize and mobilize all their members properly for this purpose.

I think senior middle-school students are most suitable for this work. Adults are engaged at their places of work, so they can scarcely find time to take care of the houses and villages. Senior middle-school boys and girls should therefore undertake this work. They are generally between 11 and 16 years old and can do the work quite well. At present, there are hygiene guards at schools, but they confine themselves to taking care of their own schools. From now on, hygiene

guards members should not only look after their own schools, but also work hard to keep their houses and villages clean and improve them in a hygienic and cultured way.

In order to do this the necessary conditions should be provided.

The state should sell cement, window paper, floor paper, wallpaper, and so on to the farmers so that they can keep their houses in good repair. If the building-material shops and village shops sell a few kilogrammes of cement in paper bags, the farmers will buy it to repair their porches, fences and floors. South Phyongan Province produces hundreds of thousands of tons of cement a year, so it had better allocate just one-tenth of it for the farmers. The counties should not be allowed to use the cement intended for the farmers for other purposes. In addition to cement, slaked lime, glass, glass cutters, nails, window paper, floor paper, wallpaper, and so on, should be sold to the farmers. If the counties run the local industry factories properly, they will be quite able to produce these items on their own and sell them to the farmers.

The introduction of water supplies in the farming villages should be rapidly accelerated in order to make them into cultured villages and further improve the living conditions of the rural population. The Fifth Party Congress proposed that water pipes be laid in farming villages. But quite a few localities have not yet made any progress with this work. As a result, country women are experiencing difficulties in their daily life and the farmers in some plain areas are feeling the effects because of the lack of drinking water. In accordance with the policy set forth by the Fifth Party Congress, the laying of water mains in all farming villages must be vigorously stepped up and finished quickly.

Factories and enterprises should direct their efforts to the adequate equipment of the workers' dormitories, dining rooms and recreation facilities. All factories, enterprises and cooperative farms should equip the clubhouses and other cultural facilities, nurseries and kindergartens in a modern and hygienic way and run them efficiently.

As part of a cultured way of life, the working people must dress smartly. Factories and enterprises should accustom the workers to taking care of their personal appearance at all times—when going to

work or returning home and when strolling along the street—and to wearing neat work clothes on the job at all times, in keeping with their working conditions and labour safety regulations. Furthermore, women, children and all other people in town and country should always be neatly dressed to comply with the socialist way of life.

An extensive campaign to build women's garment factories and other clothing factories should be launched so that everybody can dress neatly. By so doing, all localities will provide their inhabitants with various kinds of good clothes. In particular, large quantities of clothes for women and preschool children should be manufactured and sold. The clothes of preschool children should be manufactured both by specialized factories and by the commercial network so as to provide all of them with nice clothes. At present clothes for old people are not plentiful; large quantities of them should also be manufactured and sold.

We must also work hard to improve the working people's diet. Special efforts must be directed at solving the problem of supplementary food. Plenty of chickens, pigs and other domestic animals should be raised through a nationwide movement, so that all the working people can have enough eggs and meat.

If every household raises no more than five chickens, it will be possible to give the children eggs every day. The workteams of the cooperative farms can also raise chickens. The third workteam of the Jangsuwon Cooperative Farm in Samsok District, Pyongyang, has been raising a lot of chickens for the last few years near the threshing ground, and each of its hens lays 190 eggs a year. Keeping chickens near the threshing ground means that they need no special feed, and it requires little manpower to care for them. Let a cooperative farmer who is too old or weak to do hard work take care of henhouses and collect the eggs. If each cooperative farm workteam raises 100 chickens, it can supply eggs to the nursery and kindergarten children every day.

We must also carry out a campaign for the breeding of dairy cows. From now onwards, we must produce many small tractors for the rural areas to replace oxcarts, and breed plenty of dairy cows instead of draught animals. At the same time, we should also breed goats on a

large scale. We would then be able to supply nursery and kindergarten children with milk regularly.

Meanwhile, we should pay particular attention to simplifying the working people's diet. We must make special efforts to build many food factories. Every province should build a cornstarch factory to process maize with which to produce starch, molasses, glucose, cakes, candies, soya sauce, liquor and various other foodstuffs.

In the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions the senior men in factories and enterprises and the management of cooperative farms should not become the objects of struggle but must lead the struggle. Therefore, senior officials must first participate wholeheartedly in the Party's organizational activities. A number of senior officials at some factories have so far been outside the supervision of Party organizations. They did not attend Party meetings regularly nor were they severely criticized by their subordinates. They did not study hard either. As a result, these management officials, although from the working class, have become bureaucratic since their appointment to senior positions, and their technical knowledge has become outdated. In a word, many of them are obsolete now. The technology they learned in high school in the days of Japanese imperialism belongs to the age when "tigers smoked." Even the technology taught at our institutes of higher learning since liberation does not apply today because it was taught at a time when teachers were not guided by the Juche idea, and when textbooks and educational facilities were still inadequate. Leading officials must intensify their studies decisively and consciously endeavour to place themselves under the supervision of Party organizations. They must also collaborate with members of the three-revolution teams and work hard to rectify their shortcomings.

It is said that managers, chief engineers and other senior officials of factories and enterprises are now beginning to admit their errors. This is very good. Those who carry forward revolution are bound to be victorious because they always follow the right line under the righteous banner; but those who are obsessed with conservatism, flunkeyism, revisionism and capitalism are bound to fail.

The workteam heads and shop managers in factories and enterprises must take an active part in productive work.

As we always say, it is essential for cadres at lower levels such as workteam heads and shop managers to set an example in productive work. Workteam heads and shop managers in factories and enterprises are what platoon leaders and company commanders are to the army. In the army, platoon leaders and company commanders directly lead battles, fighting in company with their men. If an army is to succeed in an attack, the commander should first give an order “Forward after me!” and dash to the enemy position ahead of his soldiers. If the commanders stay behind and only urge their men to charge, they cannot win battles. In the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle we used to command battles facing danger at the head of the soldiers, and when camping, we would put the soldiers to sleep first and often stood on sentry duty ourselves. So did all commanders of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. That is why the anti-Japanese guerrillas always fought the enemy with a firm conviction of victory and with redoubled courage. At factories and enterprises, too, the workers’ enthusiasm for production can only be given full rein when the workteam heads and shop managers personally set an example in productive work.

Needless to say, workteam heads should engage in productive work at factories and enterprises; and the shop managers should also participate in the work for several months a year. They may take part in productive work for 80 days or so like the chairmen of cooperative farm management boards. At any rate, it is necessary to establish and abide by a system which makes it obligatory for shop managers to participate in productive work for a definite period of time.

For workteam heads and shop managers to set practical examples in productive work, they should be young men. Those who are too old or weak to engage in labour should be replaced by young people. There may be people with distinguished service amongst the old workteam heads and shop managers. Let them work in the capacity of consultants only. Women with many children and housewives are likewise unsuitable for the posts of workteam heads or shop managers. Since

they have to go to nurseries and take maternity leave, they can hardly set a practical example in productive work. In particular, if a sub-workteam or workteam head in farming villages goes on maternity leave in the busy season of rice transplanting or weeding, she can hardly make the work successful. So women who cannot set a practical example in productive labour must not be appointed as sub-workteam heads, workteam heads or shop managers at factories and enterprises or on cooperative farms.

The members of three-revolution teams must not rest content with the initial successes achieved in the first round of battle, but must continue to widen their work. They have not yet mixed enough with the vast masses of the people. They must mix more with them and rouse their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative energetically. Thus, the members of three-revolution teams, the directing personnel of factories, enterprises and cooperative farms and all working people must combine their efforts to carry out the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions more forcefully.

In order to succeed in carrying out their honourable revolutionary tasks, the members of three-revolution teams must not become arrogant or conceited; they should always be modest and lead a healthy life. Only then will they enjoy the love and respect of the people. They must behave in such a manner that everybody will say “Those sent by the Party Central Committee are a different kind of person; they are worthy of being called guards, bodyguards of the Party Central Committee; and we must follow their example.” Team members must never be lazy or slack; they must maintain a high revolutionary spirit throughout the period of their guidance work. Only then will they be able to criticize and guide others.

I firmly believe that the members of the three-revolution teams of the Party Central Committee who have been dispatched to different parts of the country for the militant task of carrying out the three revolutions, as well as Party organizations of all levels, will succeed in fulfilling their honourable revolutionary task and thereby live up to the Party’s trust and expectations.

**ON THE INTRODUCTION OF UNIVERSAL  
TEN-YEAR COMPULSORY EDUCATION  
AND ONE-YEAR COMPULSORY  
PRESCHOOL EDUCATION**

**The Law Adopted at the Second Session of the Fifth  
Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea**

*April 9, 1973*

Educational work is an honourable revolutionary undertaking to train the new generation to be dependable heirs to our revolution. It is an important undertaking which affects the future of the revolution and the destiny of the country.

The training of younger people to be competent communist revolutionaries will give a powerful stimulus to the revolution and construction and enable them to inherit and carry on the revolution.

Man is the master of nature and society and the basic factor which decides everything. He is the most valuable and most powerful being in the world. All our work is for the good of people, and its success depends on how work is done with people. Education is the initial phase of the work with people and a major part of this work.

In view of the importance of education in carrying out the revolution and construction and in developing society, our Party and the Government of the Republic have attached the greatest importance to this work and have maintained a firm, Juche-oriented policy of giving it priority over all other activities.

From the days immediately after liberation until now, the Government of the Republic has always devoted great efforts to educational work and, in whatever national difficulties, has spared nothing if it is for the education of the younger generation.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have adhered to the policy of imbuing the younger people with the great Juche idea and training them to be communist men of a new type who are qualified intellectually, morally and physically, to be stalwart workers useful for our revolution and construction, by thoroughly implementing the principles of socialist education.

This correct educational policy has guaranteed great success in public education during past years.

Our country has established a most progressive, people-oriented educational system, a completely free educational system, which provides everyone with equal educational opportunities.

The Government of the Republic introduced compulsory elementary education in 1956, compulsory secondary education in 1958, and universal nine-year compulsory technical education in 1967, a progressive educational system which combines general education with basic technical training, and education with productive work.

As a result of the introduction of universal nine-year compulsory technical education, the ranks of our working population have been steadily reinforced with younger people who are better taught and informed, and the general technical and cultural standards of our society have risen still further.

The introduction of nine-year compulsory technical education was another great victory for our Party's educational policy. It meant great strides which marked a new epoch in the cultural revolution.

The Government of the Republic has also achieved great success in training the cadres of the nation during the past years.

Before liberation there was not a single university in this country, but there are now more than 140 universities and 500 higher technical schools, and they are training a large number of technicians and specialists.

Today over 600,000 engineers, assistant engineers and specialists are working in different sectors of the national economy, and through the exercise of their talent and by their efforts the state and economic establishments, scientific and cultural institutions and modern factories and other enterprises and cooperative farms are managed and operated efficiently.

The Government of the Republic has also provided educational opportunities for adults who were denied the right to education and far removed from social civilization in the former exploiting society. In our country all the working people study as they wish in accordance with their hopes and aptitudes under the studying-while-working system which consists of working people's middle schools, factory higher technical schools, factory colleges, and so on.

Guided by the correct educational policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic, socialist educational science has been improved to perfection, and great success has been achieved in improving the content and method of education.

Through the fight to implement the principles of socialist education, the Party's monolithic ideological system has been established thoroughly, and, in school education, Juche and the working-class line have been put on a sound basis, and the scientific and theoretical level of education has risen further.

As a result of the successful implementation of the Juche-oriented educational policy of the Government of the Republic, our country has now become a "land of education", a "land of learning", where everybody studies, receiving benefits from the state, and our education has become the most revolutionary and people-oriented education for training the younger generation to be dependable heirs to the revolution, to be true reserves for building socialism and communism.

Today the Government of the Republic and our people are faced with the historic task of consolidating and developing the socialist system and achieving the complete victory of socialism by drawing on the success in socialist industrialization, the success of which we are proud.

Education has a very important mission and task in the historic

struggle for the complete victory of socialism.

Our educational institutions are a major element of the ideological revolution and the base of the cultural revolution. Only when these institutions train the younger people to be revolutionary workers who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and the revolution, to be competent builders of socialism and communism, is it possible to carry out the tasks of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions successfully for the complete victory of socialism, and give a powerful stimulus to the battle to capture the two fortresses, the material and ideological fortresses, for building communism.

Raising the standard of compulsory education, developing its content, and perfecting the socialist educational system are urgent tasks in expediting the complete victory of socialism and mature requirements for adding momentum to the revolution and construction.

Taking stock of these new requirements correctly, our Party, at its historic Fifth Congress, put forward the programme for the introduction of ten-year compulsory education during the Six-Year Plan and, at the Fourth Plenary Meeting of its Fifth Central Committee, proposed the wise policy for the introduction of universal ten-year compulsory education and of one-year compulsory preschool education.

According to this policy, our country set about this new compulsory education by stages from September 1, 1972, and the First Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea legally established through the new Socialist Constitution the brilliant success which had been achieved in developing education by the Government of the Republic and our people.

Universal ten-year compulsory education is the best and most revolutionary educational system which can instil the essentials of the revolutionary world outlook in the minds of all members of the younger generation and give them a complete general secondary education.

One-year compulsory preschool education is a new type of preschool educational system which is aimed at giving the five-year-old children systematic training in preparation for their enrolment in the primary school.

As a result of the introduction of universal ten-year compulsory education plus one-year compulsory preschool education, all our younger generation is given free education, even a general secondary education, at state expense for as long as eleven years, from the age of five until working age.

This is, in fact, eleven-year compulsory education, and it means that our country has started giving compulsory education of the highest standard in the world.

The introduction of this education is very important in bringing the complete victory of socialism and the nationwide triumph of our revolution closer.

When this education is given on a full scale, all our younger generation will be trained to be competent builders of socialism who have acquired the essentials of the revolutionary outlook on the world, a basic knowledge of nature and society and at least one kind of technical skill. The adoption of the new compulsory educational system will contribute greatly to the acceleration of the revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society and our construction of socialism.

It will also be another worldwide demonstration of the great vitality of the educational policy which has been followed by our Party and the Government of the Republic as well as the advantages of the socialist system established in our country. It will also give hope for the bright future and confidence in victory to the south Korean people, teachers and students who are staunchly fighting against the US imperialist colonial policy and for democratic freedom and the right to education and will encourage them more strongly to the nationwide struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

In order to implement universal ten-year compulsory education plus one-year compulsory preschool education which is stipulated in the Socialist Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK decides as follows:

1. Universal ten-year compulsory education shall be enforced in all

districts of the northern half of Korea from the academic year 1972-73;

1) Universal ten-year compulsory education shall be adopted by stages from the academic year 1972-73 and enforced on a full scale in all districts of the northern half of Korea by the academic year 1976-77,

Universal ten-year compulsory education shall be started in the urban communities and workers' districts and then be extended gradually to the rural communities and, in the rural communities, from plain areas to the mountainous areas,

2) The ratio of school terms for universal ten-year compulsory education shall be four to six, that is, four years of primary schooling and six years of senior middle-school training,

3) All children between the ages of six and sixteen shall be given universal ten-year compulsory education,

4) The content of universal ten-year compulsory education shall integrate the principles of socialist education so as for the younger generation to acquire the essentials of a firm revolutionary world outlook, a wide range of profound basic knowledge of modern science and technology and at least one kind of technical skill before going into the outside world,

2. One-year compulsory preschool education shall be enforced in all districts of the northern half of Korea from the academic year 1972-73;

1) One-year compulsory preschool education shall be adopted by stages from the academic year 1972-73 and enforced on a full scale in all districts of the northern half of Korea by the academic year 1975-76,

2) One-year compulsory preschool education shall cultivate the collectivist spirit amongst children of preschool age from childhood and give them training preparatory to their enrolment in primary school so as to ensure success in universal ten-year compulsory education,

3) All the children shall be given one-year compulsory preschool education at the age of five,

3. In connection with the enforcement of universal ten-year

compulsory education and of one-year compulsory preschool education, the categories of some schools shall be revised;

1) The high school system with a mission to complete general secondary education shall be abolished with effect from the academic year 1972-73,

2) The higher technical school shall revise its educational courses so as to intensify specialized technical training, shall improve the quality of the training of assistant engineers and secondary specialists considerably and be reorganized into a college in the future,

3) The teacher-training system shall be partially revised,

Primary school and kindergarten teachers shall be trained at the teacher-training college,

The kindergarten teacher-training college shall be reorganized into a teacher-training college with effect from the academic year 1972-73,

Teachers for the senior middle school shall be trained at the university of education,

Teachers who teach technological subjects at the higher technical school and the college shall be trained at the university of technical education and other universities of technology,

4) The system of schools of special categories shall be defined separately by the Administration Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

4. The task of taking specific measures for the implementation of this law is assigned to the Administration Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;

The Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is convinced that all the working people and educationists in our country will devote all their efforts and talents to achieve success in universal ten-year compulsory education and in one-year compulsory preschool education and thus will achieve brilliant success in educating the younger generation to be true reserves for the building of socialism and communism, reserves who are infinitely loyal to the Party and the revolution.

**LET US EXPEDITE THE INTRODUCTION  
OF A SUPPLY OF RUNNING WATER  
IN THE RURAL COMMUNITIES  
AND PRESS AHEAD WITH AFFORESTATION**

**Talk to the Officials Attending  
a Showing of Scientific Films**

*April 23, 1973*

We must not merely watch films for entertainment. Today I have deliberately made time to attend the screening of a few films on scientific subjects to help you to put the messages of the films into practice.

Now that we have seen these scientific films today, I should like to talk to you about some problems.

The first of these is the tasks of expediting the introduction of a water supply system in the rural communities.

The subject of providing the rural communities with a water supply system was defined as an important task in the report to the Fifth Party Congress, and the task has been stressed on many other occasions. We have not only spoken about this, but even set an example by building waterworks for some rural communities. But the project for the construction of rural waterworks is not proceeding smoothly, although it is nearly three years since the Party congress was held. Some time ago, I visited Mundok, Sukchon and some other counties in South Phyongan Province in order to see how this work was going ahead, and found it very slow.

The water of the Yonphung Reservoir is available to all the villages in Mundok County, South Phyongan Province, but the local officials have only provided Ripsok-ri with running water. They are not pressing ahead with the project for other rural communities in the county. In consequence, a considerable number of local people are still drinking impure water. So we again pointed out that the local senior officials must solve the problem of drinking water for the rural population by building waterworks quickly.

The water system is not being introduced quickly in Sukchon County, either. We spent an evening at Changdong-ri in this county before the Phyongnam irrigation construction project was undertaken. At that time, the place was short of water, and there was not sufficient drinking water for the local farmers. Therefore, we gave instructions that the irrigation project should be undertaken quickly in order to solve the problem of drinking water for the farmers first. But the senior officials of Sukchon County have still not solved this problem even though it is now 15 years since the Phyongnam irrigation works were completed. During our recent inspection of Changdong-ri, we found that the farmers there were still drinking impure water. This place has been visited frequently by senior officials of the Agricultural Commission and by many officials of the province in the past, but none of them helped the farmers to solve the drinking water problem.

On our return from visiting Changdong-ri, we summoned the senior officials of Sukchon County and officials of the ri and looked into the matter of how waterworks were being constructed in this county, and then criticized the county officials for their disregard of the Party's policy on providing the rural communities with running water. At that, they simply said that they were wrong. The senior officials of Sukchon County made a grave mistake by alienating the Party from the masses, but they were trying to escape their responsibility by simply saying that they had been wrong. These officials had not acquired the Party's monolithic ideological system.

Anju and Phyongwon Counties in South Phyongan Province are also disregarding the provision of running water in rural communities.

I thought that this system had been completely introduced in Onchon County, South Phyongan Province, but on my recent visit to the June 3 Cooperative Farm I found that it was not yet complete.

This work is also not proceeding quickly in Anak and Jaeryong Counties in South Hwanghae Province. When we were visiting Jaeryong County in 1958, we gave its officials the task of constructing waterworks as soon as possible so as to provide the local inhabitants with pure drinking water. Fifteen years have passed since we gave this instruction, but waterworks have not yet been constructed and the rural inhabitants have to drink raw water. The senior officials of Jaeryong County, too, have not acquired the Party's monolithic ideological system as they should.

The introduction of the water supply system is also being neglected in the western part of North Phyongan Province.

The construction of waterworks in rural communities is not a very difficult matter. There are reservoirs in all parts of our country, and irrigation water is available everywhere. So this water can be used for the supply of running water everywhere. The construction of the facilities for this purpose is not a very difficult task. A water purifier is not a sophisticated machine, nor does its manufacture need a great deal of materials. It can be made easily even in provinces or in counties. Some officials think that a large amount of cast-iron piping is required for this system, but it does not need very much.

Our Party is planning to introduce the sprinkler irrigation system in the 300,000 to 400,000 hectares of non-paddy fields in the next few years. If a small fraction of the amount planned for this system is diverted to the waterworks project, the problem of water pipes will be solved. Vinyl pipes, earthen pipes and wooden pipes can also be used to carry water. It is said that any pipes which can withstand a pressure of about five atmospheres will meet the purpose.

Unsatisfactory progress in the construction of waterworks for rural communities is due mainly to the lack of a revolutionary work attitude and a people-oriented spirit on the part of the officials concerned rather than to a shortage of water resources or materials. Our officials still

lack the revolutionary work attitude of accepting and implementing Party policy through to the end without reservations. Some of them note down the task of building rural waterworks whenever we give it, but on returning to their homes they do not implement it. Our officials also lack the spirit of serving the people. Many of them feel no regret at seeing rural inhabitants drinking impure water and women carrying water jars on their heads. They do not take any steps to solve the problem of drinking water for farmers.

Officials must discard the outdated work method and ideological viewpoint as soon as possible and press ahead with the construction of rural waterworks.

As you all know, soil, water, air and sunlight are essential for the existence of living creatures. Man also needs them. Man cannot live without drinking water, and what kind of water he drinks greatly affects how long he will live. If a man drinks good water, he can live a long time, free from diseases. *Sindok* spring water is good, so many of the people who drink it live for more than one hundred years.

Even though it is impossible to supply the *Sindok* spring water to everyone, we must provide people with clean, pure water. From the remote past, Koreans have liked cold fresh water. So we must quickly complete the water system for rural communities so that the rural inhabitants can drink fresh, pure water. All Party and working people's organizations must make the maximum use of all conditions and possibilities to speed up the provision of running water for the rural communities.

Reservoirs should be built and flooded with water in places where there are irrigation canals, and then the water should be lifted to heights, filtered and then disinfected after the sediment has settled, and then supplied to villages, and the method of installing purifying machines should also be used. If you install these machines, you can purify any water into drinking water. It is said that a reservoir of a village waterworks requires an area of 0.5 to one hectare of non-paddy fields, but you must not be sparing about this. If we reclaim tidal flats, we can make up for the loss of the land needed for the reservoirs.

You can also use wells for the construction of waterworks. If you are to do this, you must dig large wells; small ones will not do. Because rural women use water at almost the same time in the evening after the day's work, wells with a small capacity will not be able to supply water satisfactorily, and the women will have to wait at the tap for a long time.

Priority in the provision of running water must be given to the western parts of the country where people still drink impure water. Waterworks will have to be constructed first in Anju, Mundok, Sukchon, Phyongwon, Jungsan, Taedong, Ryonggang and Onchon Counties and Nampho in South Phyongan Province; Yomju, Ryongchon, Pihyon, Pakchon, Jongju, Kwaksan, Unjon and Cholsan Counties in North Phyongan Province; Jaeryong, Sinchon, Anak, Paechon, Yonan, Chongdan, Ongjin, Pyoksong and Kangnyong Counties in South Hwanghae Province; Pongsan, Hwangju and Unpha Counties in North Hwanghae Province and similar districts. The farmers in these districts produce large amounts of cereals, but they have to drink impure water. The per-hectare rice yield in Thongsari, Mundok County, South Phyongan Province, is one of the highest in our country, and its total production of cereals is greater than that of a county in the mountain areas, but the farmers there still drink unclean water because they have not been provided with running water. Is it reasonable that the farmers in this efficient farming district have to drink impure water? We must make a great effort to construct waterworks for the western districts which produce large amounts of cereals. Jangphung, Kaephung and Panmun Counties in Kaesong must also be provided with running water as soon as possible. These counties are located in the front-line area, so they must have it before other counties.

In order to expedite the construction of rural waterworks, it is necessary for the state to make investments in this project. It is desirable that the Administration Council should ensure the supply of the pipes needed for this project in the western districts and in Kaesong, even if it has to divert some of the pipes destined for non-paddy field sprinkler irrigation. This irrigation is necessary, but we must first solve the

problem of drinking water for the people. Water purifying machines and electric motors must be produced for the project. Adequate amounts of sheet steel, three-millimetre sheet brass and similar components needed for the manufacture of water purifiers will have to be supplied, and semiconductor rectifier elements must also be produced. Other equipment and materials needed for the construction of rural waterworks must be produced and supplied when required.

Party organizations at all levels must see that provinces produce the equipment which they can by widely using locally available materials so as to meet their own needs, instead of merely depending on the state for the facilities and materials needed for the construction of rural waterworks. The provinces which have electric motor factories will be able to produce enough electric motors to meet their own needs. The local needs for water purifiers can also be met through local production. If they are supplied with materials, farm implement factories will be able to manufacture them without difficulty. In addition, in the places where timber is available, wooden pipes can be made for carrying water.

Conditions in North and South Hwanghae Provinces and North Phyongan Province are similar to those in South Phyongan Province, so it is advisable for them to learn from its experience.

In order to speed up the introduction of the water system for the rural communities, it is necessary to increase the role of the working people's organizations. Obviously, this project ought to be undertaken by these organizations as a social campaign. Today officials of the trade unions, the Union of Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth and the Women's Union have been invited here, and the reason for this is to stimulate these working people's organizations to take an active part in the construction of rural waterworks. The UAWP organizations, in particular, must become the master of this undertaking. In the past, UAWP organizations have not worked hard to carry out the Party's policy on the provision of running water in the rural communities; they have paid little attention to this work. They have implemented few of the tasks given by the Party

effectively. In the past they were given the task of ensuring the production of weaving machines for straw sacks so as to free farmers from the toil of weaving these sacks, but they did not implement it.

The UAWP organizations must acquire the revolutionary work attitude of carrying out Party policy through to the end and work hard to provide the rural communities with running water. The trade union organizations must give them assistance in this work.

In order to establish the water supply system in the rural communities quickly, it is essential that the members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee should each take charge of a province and that the deputy department directors and section heads of the Party Central Committee and the senior officials of the provincial Party committees should each take charge of some villages. It is desirable that the Party Central Committee department concerned should organize assignments in this direction.

If we are to carry out this project as soon as possible, we must set a time limit. If we work half-heartedly as we are doing now, we shall be unable to carry it out. For the western districts where grain production is great, we should decide to finish the project by October 10 this year and make every effort to carry it out. I think we can do it if we make good preparations now and if everyone gets down to the task after finishing autumn harvesting quickly. If we cannot finish it by that time, we must finish it by May Day next year, come what may. After finishing the project for the western districts which produce large amounts of cereals, we shall have to extend the system to the mountainous districts. If we do it in this way, we shall be able to provide all the rural communities of the country with waterworks during the Six-Year Plan.

The Fifth Party Congress decided to carry out this task by the end of 1976, and we have only three years left until then. Therefore, we have to start a mass campaign to finish the task quickly. Only then shall we be able to review it at the Sixth Party Congress as having been splendidly carried out.

Next, I am going to speak about the task of afforestation.

For a long time we have been drawing attention to the task of carrying out afforestation by means of an active campaign.

As early as January 1950, that is, at the joint conference of the senior officials of the agricultural and forestry and fishing sectors in the days immediately before the outbreak of the Fatherland Liberation War, we stressed the need for the conservation and development of forests because forests are not only the major resources of the country but an essential factor in improving the natural features and scenery of the land. At the conference of scientists on April 27, 1952 when the war was raging, I said that the scientists and working people must combine their efforts to plant unused areas with a large number of fast-growing and useful trees and that the scientists should study the problem of creating mixed forests of conifers and deciduous trees.

At the historic Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee in August 1953, I spoke about the need to choose the areas for planting trees and select the species of saplings carefully, develop an all-people campaign for seed selection and tree planting, end the practice of cutting trees at random and establish strict discipline in tree felling.

At the national conference of activists from the forestry sector in May 1954, I stressed the task of planting large areas with trees and of protecting and developing them so that we did not hand down bare mountains to posterity. In my report to the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea in April 1956, I said that trees must be planted by selecting species which are suitable for building and industrial purposes in terms of a detailed long-term plan and that the planted trees must be well taken care of so that they would not die.

In November 1956, I told the officials of the Central Committee of the Democratic Youth League to plant a large number of fruit trees beside the roadside and take good care of them.

In my speech delivered to the officials of the Party and government bodies and social organizations in Ryanggang Province in May 1958, I told them to plant firs and white ashes widely in Ryanggang Province and undertake afforestation with definite aims under a ten-year plan. In

addition, I stressed the need to organize tree-planting workteams in the cooperative farms of Ryanggang Province and create forests by a mass campaign.

At the December 1959 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, I emphasized the task of planting chestnuts, walnuts, paulownias, big cone pines and apricot trees and quick-growing trees like poplars widely and the task of planting 200,000 hectares with oil-bearing trees and 300,000 hectares with trees for the production of raw materials for fibre.

In my report to the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea on September 11, 1961, I stressed the task of converting useless forests into forests of economic value such as those capable of producing raw materials for fibre and oil under a long-term plan, of planting all low hills with poplars, white ashes and other quick-growing trees so as to obtain the raw materials for paper, and of planting paulownias, walnuts, wild-walnuts, chestnuts and big cone pines so as to produce the raw materials for light industry.

At the consultative meeting of the chairmen of the provincial people's committees on September 5, 1962, I spoke about the need to plant the roadsides with large numbers of trees which grow quickly and thrive and are capable of protecting the roads and also of being used as raw materials for paper.

On November 20, 1962, I told the officials of the Ministry of the Interior to investigate the areas which are suitable for the creation of economically valuable forests by specifying the species suitable for each area, to create these forests systematically and rationally, and to plant walnuts, acacias, apricots, persimmons and jujube trees on a large scale.

At the plenary meeting of the Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee in August 1963, I stressed the need for careful and planned conservation and development of forests, saying that forests meant silk and paper because in our country timber was the source of more than 50 per cent of the raw materials for fibre, and because kraft and various other kinds of paper were produced from wood.

At the consultative meeting of the officials of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of City Management on February 10, 1964, I instructed that, in consideration of the climate and other natural features, deciduous trees should be planted in places where these trees flourished, and ever-greens should be planted where they did well, trees of economic value where forests of these trees were suitable, and decorative trees where woods were needed for this purpose.

At the plenary meeting of the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee in August 1964, I stated that oil-bearing trees should be planted by a mass campaign so as to solve the problem of cooking oil and industrial oil and that the Korean pepper bushes and camellia shrubs which were growing in different places should be concentrated in approximately 2,000 hectares.

In my speech to the senior officials of the Party and government bodies and the deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly on May 25, 1965, I pointed out the need for efficient conservation and development of forests and for creating forests of economic value in particular. I also criticized the practice of denuding the mountains of trees carelessly on the pretext of creating forests of economic value, and instructed that these forests should be efficiently created by locating them in the right places.

At the 12th Plenary Meeting of the 4th Party Central Committee in November 1965, I gave the task of planting a large number of chestnut trees in the areas around Pyongyang.

At the national conference of officials in charge of local industry in February 1970, I instructed that some wooded areas should be transferred to local industry factories so as to permit these factories to produce the timber they needed, and that, while cutting and using the fully-grown trees, they should plant many poplars and plane trees and other quick-growing trees so as to create woods themselves and produce raw materials to meet their own needs.

At the enlarged plenary meeting of the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee in October 1970, I gave instructions that oil-bearing trees should be planted on the mountains by concentrating efforts in

North and South Hwanghae Provinces and Kaesong; that for this purpose, walnuts, heartnut trees and other oil-bearing trees should be planted widely, with particular emphasis on the creation of groves of walnut trees, and that dawn redwood and plane trees should be planted widely.

At the Second Congress of the Union of Agricultural Working People of Korea on February 16, 1972, I stated that the UAWP organizations had to carry out the Party's policy of developing a widespread campaign for the agricultural workers to take good care of forests and cover all our mountains with thick woods, and plant linden trees in places where these trees were used, white poplars where white poplars were used, and create forests producing raw materials for fibre where there were chemical fibre mills. At a meeting of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee in February this year, I gave instructions that the League of Socialist Working Youth organizations should mobilize young people and children to plant quick-growing trees and oil-bearing trees over a wide area and start a general campaign for each school to plant at least ten hectares of trees annually.

A long time ago we also gave the senior officials of the Kilju Pulp Mill the task of choosing a good mountain and planting trees there for the production of timber to meet the mill's needs for raw materials for making paper. In addition to these instances, I have emphasized the need for afforestation on numerous occasions.

From the days of peaceful construction until now, we have always stressed the task of conserving and developing forests and replanting them so that they would be useful. If our officials had carried out the Party's policy for the conservation of forests and for planting useful trees widely, our country would have been rich by now. During past years, however, many officials have not read my speeches attentively nor have they tried to implement the tasks set out in the speeches.

In Ryanggang Province they have abolished the tree-planting workteams which we ourselves had organized during our visit there, in some districts they have only cut and used trees without replacing

them, and in some districts they have planted some riverine flats and burnt-out mountain fields with trees and no more, believing that they have completed afforestation. In consequence, the timber situation in our country is very acute. Because of the shortage of timber at present, housing construction is not being undertaken on a large scale, neither is the production of desks, chairs, wardrobes, dining tables and other items of furniture great, which causes inconvenience to the working people.

In the past our officials have also neglected the implementation of the Party's policy on creating forests of oil-bearing trees. So we have to import oil at the cost of a large sum of foreign currency every year, and have to use cooking oil for the production of soap and lacquer.

The work of creating firewood forests has also been neglected. At present, precious coal is used in rural houses because firewood is not available for them.

All this shows that our officials still lack the Party spirit. Their Party spirit must find expression in practical deeds, not in lip service. In other words, it must be expressed in their fight to carry out Party policy.

During past years, however, many officials have not implemented the Party's policy on afforestation as they should. In particular, the officials of the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee who are in charge of land management have not directed the work of afforestation well. The officials of the Party Central Committee must visit cadres and working people, explain and interpret Party policy to them, organize them to implement it, and constantly supervise and control them to ensure that it is carried out correctly. But the officials of the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee have not studied the Party's policy deeply. Abusing Party authority, they have directed agricultural work very casually and have paid no attention at all to afforestation. If they had roused the working people's organizations to action well, improved political work amongst the working people and only developed a campaign for each person to plant ten trees every year, the timber situation in our country

would not have become as acute as it is now. If every cooperative farm had worked hard to develop one hectare of nurseries for young trees, 4,000 hectares of them would have been developed on a national basis. If it was difficult for each cooperative farm to do this, steps could have been taken to concentrate the cultivation of seedlings in places which are suitable for the purpose. But these measures have not been taken and, because of the shortage of seedlings, trees cannot be planted on a large scale now. The officials of the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee have not given competent assistance to the workers of the Pyongyang Botanical Gardens who have been working very hard to develop afforestation.

Over the years, the workers of the botanical gardens have done a great deal of work to increase the forest resources of the country. I have already said more than once that the dawn redwood owes its present wide distribution in our country to the efforts of these workers. This kind of tree did not grow in our country before. During the Fatherland Liberation War comrades from the Chinese People's Volunteers presented one to me in a vase. I grew it in my room for some time. It grew so fast that, by the time the war was almost over, it became impossible to keep it in the room. So I transplanted it in my garden. Being curious about its identity, I summoned the head of the Pyongyang Botanical Gardens and asked him the name of the tree. He did not know it at first. Later, he looked it up in his reference books and came to me and said that the name was metasequoia. Workers of these botanical gardens studied how to propagate this tree, and after repeated painstaking efforts learned that it could be propagated from cuttings. At first, they planted these trees only in South Hwanghae Province where the weather is comparatively mild because, even though they knew the method, they were afraid that the young trees might die. But now they are also planted widely in other provinces. In Pyongyang a large number of these trees have been planted along the streets. As you can see, thanks to the efforts of these workers, a single dawn redwood tree has now been propagated and spread all over the country. The workers of the Pyongyang Botanical Gardens have made great efforts

not only to propagate the dawn redwood, but to create groves of oil-bearing trees. We are pleased with the success achieved by these workers in the past and offer them our thanks.

All Party and working people's organizations must develop a wide campaign to plant trees and cover all our mountains with dense woods.

They must first make a great effort to reforest wooded areas.

An important thing in reforestation is to develop mixed forests. As you have seen in the films, mixed forests promote the growth of useful trees and prevent the mountains from becoming acidified. In acid mountain soil trees do not grow well. At present, the pine trees on Mt. Taesong are not growing well, and this is because the mountain soil is acid. There will be no problem if we plant larches and firs in places like Ryanggang Province where these trees thrive, but on barren low hills in the plains, mixed forests will have to be developed by thinning out pine trees to some extent and planting deciduous trees in their place. When the production of chemical fertilizer is increased in the future, we shall have to use some of it to improve the forests. Then, we shall be able to cultivate useful trees quickly. If we improve our forests by planting economically beneficial trees widely, our country will become rich in the not too distant future.

We must also plant large areas with oil-bearing trees.

Soya beans do not thrive in our country. The Party intends to try hard to increase the production of soya beans in the future. But it is impossible to devote a large area of land to the cultivation of this crop in our country which has a limited area of cultivated land. So, if we are to solve the problem of oil in our country, we have to plant wide areas with oil-bearing trees, in addition to increasing production from oil crops. All Party and working people's organizations must plant oil-bearing trees over wide areas by means of a mass campaign to solve the problem of oil as soon as possible.

It is good to plant many big cone pine trees for this purpose. At present, the Pyongyang Botanical Gardens are studying the technique of grafting them on ordinary pine trees for the purpose of developing oil-producing forests. If this is successful in the future, it will deserve

extensive application.

Walnuts and heartnut trees must also be planted widely. We planted three walnut trees in my garden some years ago, and now they are producing a great deal of fruit annually. We must plant these species widely and increase the production of oil.

Korean pepper bushes must also be developed widely. In the past agricultural workers denuded some mountains of trees for the purpose of planting pepper bushes, and these mountains look ugly. Other trees can be removed when the pepper bushes have grown fully. From now onwards, there must be no instances of cutting trees in mountains at random because they have to plant pepper bushes.

Planting *Amorpha fruticosa* widely is one of the quickest ways of solving the problem of oil. This plant grows quickly, and its stems are used for making baskets and other wickerwork containers, and its seeds yield oil. This oil is not edible, but it is a very good raw material for the manufacture of soap and lacquer. Railway embankments, banks, field edges and mountain slopes should be widely planted with this tree.

All Party and working people's organizations must mobilize broad sections of the people in a powerful campaign to increase the forest resources of the country.

As is the case with all other work, the conservation and development of forests can only be successful when large numbers of the masses are mobilized in this undertaking. All Party and working people's organizations must give the working people a good explanation of the Party's policy on protecting and developing forests so that they will participate as one in their protection and development.

We must organize a general campaign for each cooperative farm to plant ten hectares with trees every year. Cooperative farms have suggested that they will create separate "League of Socialist Working Youth forests", "Union of Agricultural Working People forests" and "Women's Union forests". They must not do this. It is advisable for the LSWY to take the responsibility of planting trees, for the UAWP to raise seedlings, and for the Women's Union to run the mulberry fields.

Institutions and enterprises must also develop a general campaign to plant trees. Schools, in particular, must make every effort to create “Children’s Union forests” and “LSWY forests” by mobilizing young people and children. Factories must also work hard to create “LSWY forests”.

The People’s Army and the Ministry of Public Security must also start an extensive campaign to plant trees. The People’s Army must plant 15,000 hectares of forests every year, of which 5,000 hectares should be planted with oil-bearing trees. It is desirable that the Ministry of Public Security should plant 5,000 hectares every year.

In order to achieve our aims, cooperative farms, institutions, and enterprises must be assigned areas for afforestation in future. The State Planning Commission and the sector concerned must make a ten-year plan for afforestation and ensure that trees are planted according to that plan every year.

If we are to undertake afforestation as a mass campaign, we shall have to raise seedlings extensively.

It is desirable in future for cooperative farms with 300 to 500 hectares of cultivated land to devote one hectare to the cultivation of young trees, for those with 501 to 1,000 hectares of cultivated land to devote two hectares, and for those with more than 1,000 hectares of cultivated land to devote three hectares, for the purpose. In districts like Ryanggang Province, saplings can be grown on the mountains before transplanting, so they need not have separate nurseries.

Technical guidance for the cultivation of seedlings should be the responsibility of the higher agricultural schools and the Pyongyang Botanical Gardens. The Science and Education Department of the Party Central Committee must summon teachers of higher agricultural schools, give them a short course and let them teach their students how to graft trees and how to inseminate Korean cows artificially. In this way these students will be able to give technical guidance to cooperative farms.

The People’s Army must also grow seedlings. Some botanists will have to be sent to the People’s Army to give it technical guidance.

The Pyongyang Botanical Gardens must produce large quantities of seedlings of quick-growing trees and oil-bearing trees. The botanical gardens are asking for work hands, lorries and tractors which are needed for the cultivation of seedlings. The Administration Council must comply with their request soon. In addition, approximately 40 hectares of land in the vicinity of the botanical gardens will have to be transferred to them. Since the land in their vicinity can be irrigated, it will be suitable for the cultivation of dawn redwood seedlings. The Pyongyang Botanical Gardens must see that these seedlings are grown in North and South Hwanghae Provinces and Kaesong and also widely in Wonsan which will have to cooperate with the Wonsan University of Agriculture in this undertaking. The Administration Council must provide these districts with sufficient work hands, lorries, tractors and all other facilities needed for the project. In order to grow seedlings well, it is necessary to use some fertilizer for the nurseries, even though the fertilizer shortage is acute.

We shall have to make good use of young trees growing in mountains, in addition to cultivating seedlings extensively. In the mountains there are large numbers of young oak trees and other deciduous species, and we must transplant them. It would also be a good idea to transplant a large number of young alders which are growing on the mountains. These trees grow quickly and are very good for preventing landslides. Acacias should also be transplanted widely. Some people are unwilling to plant them saying that, if these trees spread, other trees cannot grow. They must not take this attitude. Acacias propagate quickly, and, in their flowering season, they are not only fragrant, but are also the source of a great deal of honey for beekeepers. If they are cut in autumn, these trees make good firewood.

If we are to mobilize broad sections of the people in afforestation for the country, we must teach working people, young people and children how to grow trees and improve forests. More copies must be made of the scientific films which we have seen today and shown to everyone ranging from primary school children to adults. These films must also be shown to the soldiers. This will encourage everyone to

take an active part in the protection of trees, and the establishment and improvement of forests.

Young people and children in particular must be given a good knowledge of the plants which grow in our country. To this end, the school botany textbook must first be well edited. To all intents and purposes, this textbook must be edited on the basic principle of teaching how to protect and develop the plants which grow in our country. The textbook on botany now in use in schools does not fully integrate the Party's requirement for the conservation and development of the nation's forest resources. That was why I criticized the shortcoming a long time ago and set the task of correcting it. But the ideas and tasks given in my speeches on the subject of forestry have not been incorporated in the botany textbook; they only remain recorded in the collections of documents or in the proceedings of meetings. For this reason, the officials who have learned botany at school are not enthusiastic about the conservation and improvement of forests, nor do the students at present have a clear understanding of the Party's policy on afforestation.

In cooperation with the workers of the Pyongyang Botanical Gardens, educationists must examine the botany textbook and issue a new one. The new textbook must include information on everything needed for afforestation including reafforestation.

Pending the publication of the new textbook, the botany teachers will have to be given a short course before they teach their pupils. In this way our younger generation will acquire practical botanical knowledge. This is the way to solve the basic problem in increasing the forest resources of the country.

Planting mulberry trees extensively is an important factor in improving the people's standard of living and in increasing the sources of foreign currency.

Mulberry trees thrive in our country, and there are many places which are suitable for planting these trees. For instance, there are tens of thousands of kilometres of irrigation canals in our country now. If all their banks are planted with mulberry trees, the area of mulberry

fields will amount to hundreds of thousands of hectares. In the districts like Jagang Province, there is a large number of fields which were reclaimed by slashing and burning the mountain vegetation. These areas are suitable for the cultivation of mulberry trees. Roadsides and the edges of fields can also be planted extensively with these trees. All Party and working people's organizations must launch a mass campaign to create mulberry fields for the rapid development of silkworm raising in our country. At present, women are engaged in silkworm raising, and the Party and government bodies must help them. We must make every effort to ensure success in silkworm raising and earn a large sum of foreign currency this year.

We must plant large areas of cherries, apricots, plums, peaches, persimmons, jujubes and other fruit trees which are easy to look after.

As you have seen in the films, these fruit trees are highly productive, but need very little labour, fertilizer or agricultural chemicals. We must, therefore, plant these fruit trees wherever possible and further increase fruit production.

It is particularly advisable to plant jujube trees. These trees flourish in North and South Hwanghae Provinces, North and South Phyongan Provinces and Pyongyang. The jujube produced in Pongsan, North Hwanghae Province, has been celebrated from olden times. If this fruit is cultivated on a wide scale in this province, it will be a good speciality of the locality. In future, it should be widely planted beside the roads and on the mountain slopes.

We must also plant large areas of apricot trees. At present, wild apricots are planted by the roadside so that their blossoms can be enjoyed, but it is advisable to plant more *Prunus armenica* and Pyongyang apricots which blossom and bear fruit for us. Orchards, areas around schools and road verges should be planted with quantities of these apricots. Cherries, plums, peaches and persimmon trees must also be planted widely.

Every household as well as state-run fruit farms, cooperative farms, institutions and enterprises must plant many fruit trees which are easy to tend. A single jujube tree, for instance, will bear enough fruit to feed

a family for a long time. The UAWP and Women's Union organizations must develop a general campaign for each household to plant at least five easily-grown fruit trees.

We must provide the working people with regular supplies of vegetables.

It is important to earn foreign currency by exporting vegetables, but it is more important to supply them to our working people all the year round, without allowing them to run out of stock. I was told that, at present, the supply of vegetables is not satisfactory in places like Tokchon. In order to ensure a regular supply for the working people without any shortages, it is necessary to supply vinyl chloride sheets to cooperative farms so as to increase production.

**A LETTER OF CONGRATULATIONS  
TO THE WORKERS, TECHNICIANS  
AND OFFICE EMPLOYEES  
OF THE KIYANG TRACTOR PLANT**

*April 29, 1973*

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I extend enthusiastic congratulations and warm thanks to all the workers, technicians and office employees of the Kiyang Tractor Plant who have made a great contribution to the technical revolution in rural communities by carrying out the honourable revolutionary task given by the Party successfully within the set time, which was to supply the rural areas with a larger number of tractors before the start of the farming season this year. I also extend congratulations and thanks to the workers, technicians and office employees of the enterprises which have cooperated with the tractor factory in production and to all those who have supported the tractor factory by their work—the building workers, the journalists of the Radio and TV Broadcasting Committee, the men of letters and artists, the medical workers of the Red Cross Hospital, the scientists and technicians of the Casting Association, and the members of the Women's Union organization in the residential quarters of the Kangso county town.

You comrades have achieved an unprecedented increase in the production of tractors by continuing to make innovations and displaying mass heroism to the full, with the attitude of masters of the

revolution. As a result, you have fulfilled your duty admirably as workers who are in direct control of the rural technical revolution.

Your success has demonstrated once again that, if the revolutionary enthusiasm of the producer masses is increased under the unfurled banner of the Juche idea, and if technology is developed steadily, a high rate of growth in production can be maintained, no matter how large the scale of the economy is.

Your success is also an excellent example which gives strong inspiration and encouragement to all the Party members and other working people in their fight to carry out the Six-Year Plan and the three major tasks of the technical revolution.

You must on no account rest content with this success. You must increase production greatly by pressing ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in order to reach a still greater height in tractor production. You must, therefore, attain the level of tractor production as soon as possible, a level which is twice as high as that planned for the final year of the Six-Year Plan and carry out unflinchingly the Party's policy of providing six to seven tractors for every 100 hectares of farmland in the near future.

You must first arm yourselves with our Party's Juche idea, revolutionize and working-classize yourselves steadily and become the Red revolutionary fighters of our Party who implement its line and policy through to the end without reservation, no matter how adverse the circumstances.

Holding aloft the revolutionary banner of self-reliance, you must semi-automate and automate production processes extensively through your own efforts and techniques in order to demonstrate fully the great capabilities of Juche-oriented industry.

You must furbish the interior of your factory like a palace and lay out its surroundings like a park by adding momentum to the cultural revolution, and try hard to increase production and save more so as to manufacture better and more tractors with the existing equipment and labour.

You must implement the great Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri

method in all spheres of work and life and fulfil the requirements of the Tae'an work system better in enterprise management.

You must press ahead with the Chollima Workteam Movement and demonstrate more strongly the communist trait of one working and living for all and all for one.

I firmly believe that the heroic workers of Kiyang will continue to make innovations and take another giant stride in the production of tractors and continue to march sturdily in the front ranks to bring about the great revolutionary upturn, by holding the banner of the Juche idea high and maintaining the attitude of masters of the revolution just as they have done in the past.

## **ON SOME TASKS OF THE OFFICIALS OF CHONGRYON**

**Talk to the Officials of Chongryon**

*June 1, 1973*

Today I should like to talk to you about some tasks of the officials of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan).

Chongryon is a mass organization of Korean citizens in Japan. It is not an administrative establishment or an administrative organization; it is an ideological organization of Koreans in Japan and a citizens' organization. In other words, it is a political organization to carry out ideological work with the Korean citizens in Japan, a revolutionary organization to fight for the reunification of the homeland and the victory of our revolution, and a national organization to champion the rights and interests of Korean citizens in Japan.

It is true that Chongryon is a representative body of the Koreans in Japan in that it looks after their interests. Nevertheless, it is an ideological organization which does political work with people. It is not an administrative organization. To all intents and purposes, it is a mass political organization.

For this reason, Chongryon must not become administrative under any circumstances. For it to become administrative would mean its becoming like an administrative organization because of its function of representing the Koreans in Japan. It must on no account become an administrative organization.

Because it does a great deal of other work in addition to political

work, Chongryon is somewhat different in character from ordinary political organizations. It runs schools and credit cooperatives, assists Koreans in Japan by acting as an intermediary and has dealings with the homeland. In these circumstances, it is very much in danger of becoming administrative.

A revolutionary organization or a party engaged in an underground struggle does not become administrative. But there is a great danger of it becoming administrative after it becomes legal or comes to power. Revolutionaries must always guard against this. We are extremely apprehensive lest the Chongryon organizations should neglect work with people and become administrative. If a revolutionary organization becomes administrative, it loses its basic importance.

The problem of opposing the tendency to function administratively is not confined to the Chongryon organizations. In the homeland, too, we are fighting against the tendency of Party organizations to operate administratively. We always stress that an administrative method of Party work is the thing which is most to be avoided and that this is particularly the greatest danger to a party in power. In spite of this, some Party organizations are still doing Party work in an administrative manner. Our Party is fighting tirelessly to end this practice.

The Chongryon organizations must oppose the tendency to function administratively and transform all their work thoroughly into work with people.

Our fight is not over, and we still have to follow a long and rugged path. We must reunify the divided country and build a new society in the reunified country, a society which will provide all the Korean people with a happy life. In order to carry out this task, our people will have to undergo many severe trials and carry on the revolution for generations.

As we said at the Sixth Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth, the target of the revolution remains unchanged, but the change of generations goes on. It is desirable that our generation should achieve its aims during our generation and that the next

generation should achieve its aims as they appear during its era. But things are not proceeding as they should. Although the succession of revolutionary generations is taking place, the people's enemies remain the same. So our revolution will have to be carried on for generations.

If we are to carry on the revolution, we must give good training to the people who will take over the revolution and carry it forward. To this end, all revolutionary organizations must transform their work into work with people.

The Juche idea requires that we should work well with people. By work with people I mean the work of educating people, teaching them and leading them along the right path. The Chongryon organizations must consider this work their basic task and apply themselves to it.

Because they are active in Japan, in a complicated capitalist society, the Chongryon organizations will find it more difficult to work with people than their counterparts in the homeland. Their work with people will be all the more difficult because of the change in the composition of their ranks.

The composition of the ranks of Chongryon today is very different from what it was in the past. In the days immediately after its formation, it had a large number of poor people, but most of them have returned to the homeland, and now few of them remain there. At present, most of its members are medium and small businessmen and intellectuals. It is a little more difficult to give these people revolutionary education than to educate poor people.

In the homeland, too, work with people nowadays is more difficult than it was previously. Of course, there are no landlords or capitalists in the homeland. But here the younger people are emerging as masters of society, the people who have never known landlords, capitalists or hardships. They think that society has always been good and full of happiness, as it is now. In addition, as their living standards improve, some people tend to forget their fate in the past when they were subjected to oppression and mistreatment and their class awareness gradually tends to grow dull.

There is a Korean saying, "If one mounts a horse, one wants to have

a groom to lead it.” This means that if a man who is used to walking can afford to ride a horse, he wants to have another man who leads the horse for him, instead of being satisfied with the horse itself. If people’s living conditions improve, they are apt to forget their former condition and want still better living conditions.

Let me take an example.

Remembering the wishes of our comrades-in-arms who fell during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, we established the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School immediately after liberation in order to educate the children of the revolutionary martyrs. We sent anti-Japanese veterans to collect all these children who had been dispersed in different places. The memory of these children, whom I met for the first time when they gathered in Pyongyang, still brings tears to my eyes. At that time they were wearing hemp pants at best and were barefooted. Among them were children who had hawked cigarettes and biscuits or who had been shoeblacks. They had suffered all kinds of ill-treatment and humiliation because they were the children of revolutionaries. They dared not even disclose in public whose children they were.

The situation in the country after liberation was very difficult, but we decided to build the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School for the education of the children of the revolutionary martyrs as well as Kim Il Sung University, using the funds which had been contributed by farmers in the form of patriotic rice at the suggestion of a farmer named Kim Je Won. The present two-storey building of the revolutionary school and the main building of the university were built with the farmers’ contributions at that time.

The first batch of graduates from the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School took part in the Fatherland Liberation War and fought bravely. We withdrew them from the front while the war was still going on, and educated them at university. They are now working in important Party and state positions. Our painstaking efforts to train them are being rewarded. In the past we fought for the revolution beside their fathers and now we are carrying on the revolution with these children.

After their promotion as cadres, however, these children of the revolutionary martyrs forgot their former experience of all kinds of ill-treatment and humiliation and hardships and began to show a tendency to behave bureaucratically. So we summoned them and criticized them. We told them that their fathers had given their blood and even their lives for the sake of the revolution, that we had brought them together and educated them so that they could continue the revolution where their fathers had left off, and that they must not neglect their duties by adopting bureaucratism. Whenever they show the slightest tendency to neglect the revolution, we persuade them not to do so before it is too late. It is by no means easy to educate people who have forgotten their past conditions and become ideologically indolent and lazy.

We must not neglect work with people just because it is difficult. If this work is not done, it is impossible to succeed in any undertaking.

In the homeland, all organizations—the Party, trade unions, UAWP, LSWY and Women’s Union—have now started to concentrate on work with people.

For one man to educate and move ten people, for ten to teach and stimulate a hundred, for a hundred to train and rouse a thousand to action, and for a thousand to do the same with ten thousand is the revolutionary principle which must be maintained in work with people. In the homeland, all Party organizations, from its Central Committee down to the basic Party organization, are doing work with people by following this principle which we have established. The Party Central Committee works with the officials of the provincial Party committees and the cadres of the county Party committees, and the county Party committees deal with the Party members of the cells.

I work directly with the Political Committee members and secretaries of the Party Central Committee. These people work with the officials of the Party departments in their charge, and the officials of the Party departments deal with the officials of the institutions under their jurisdiction.

We also deal directly with the senior officials of the provincial

Party committees. We meet them frequently and talk to them and receive their reports. If, in the course of this work, we discover any mistake in their work, we draw their attention to the mistake and tell them how to correct it. We continue to work with our subordinates in this way.

We tour the provinces frequently in order to learn from the masses and see how officials work with people. When we visit local districts, we can see clearly whether or not officials are good at working with people. During our local tours, if we find any officials who are inefficient in their work with people, we teach them how to work properly.

Experience teaches that if we use the method of one man educating and moving ten men, ten a hundred, a hundred a thousand, and a thousand ten thousand thoroughly, we can do work with people satisfactorily. I was told that Chongryon is now working with people in this way, and this is what it ought to do.

If a revolutionary organization does not work with people, it cannot be called a living organization. It can be likened to a rusty machine which cannot work. A man can prevent arteriosclerosis by using all his organs through a great deal of exercise. Likewise, a revolutionary organization can only be a living organization when it rouses all the people to action through efficient work with them. If the revolutionary organization works with people, an ideological struggle and ideological education will naturally take place. You cannot work with people by simply saying hello, can you? If you are to work with people, you will have to give them assignments, receive reports on how the assignments are being implemented, and will have to criticize them when a mistake has been made. If you work with people in this manner, the revolutionary organization will naturally become active and can discover even the smallest slip immediately.

The Chongryon organizations must intensify work with people in the future.

In the main, Chongryon will be dealing with people who are engaged in medium and small industry and commerce. It is very

important, therefore, that these organizations should be efficient in their work with these people. If they are not careful in this work, they may lose these people. We are giving a great deal of thought to how the Chongryon organizations can work with these people successfully.

In the homeland, we have put forward the policy of revolutionizing and working-classizing every member of society and are working hard to implement this policy. In the future we are going to intellectualize them.

For the present, we shall press ahead with the working-classization and revolutionization of the whole of society in the homeland. But Chongryon is not in a position to do the same. It must make a correct analysis of the class status of the medium and small businessmen and put forward a slogan which suits them.

Judging from their circumstances and living standards, we must not regard the Korean medium and small businessmen in Japan as part of the bourgeoisie. Are they, then, working class? No, they are not. They are engaged in small industrial or commercial enterprises in order to earn a living. So it would be correct to regard them as people who have no assets.

During the years of Japanese imperialism, we did not classify the people who ran inns or small shops and managed to earn a living as bourgeois. We consider that medium and small businessmen in a colony differ little from those who have nothing.

From the class point of view, medium and small businessmen in a colony do not, in fact, differ from people who have nothing. The people who ran inns, for instance, sold food in order to earn a living; they never used a great deal of capital in food dealing in order to make a fortune. If they ever made any money, it was the reward of their work, that is, the money they earned by selling the food which they had cooked themselves with the rice they had bought.

It is true that there are cases in which some medium and small businessmen become bourgeois. If they become rich gradually", some people try to become richer as a result of the change in their ideological consciousness. But the overwhelming majority of the medium and

small businessmen live in straitened circumstances or go bankrupt.

The Korean compatriots now in Japan can scarcely earn a living unless they run an industrial or commercial enterprise. It is unsuitable, therefore, for Chongryon to put forward the slogan of working-classizing the medium and small businessmen by imitating the way things are done in the homeland. If it puts forward the policy of working-classizing medium and small businessmen, it will be a mere “Leftist” line.

I think it advisable for Chongryon to put forward the slogan of revolutionization and try to make the medium and small businessmen revolutionary-minded.

How, then, should the Chongryon organizations revolutionize them?

Under the slogan: let us work devotedly for our country and our fellow countrymen, the Chongryon organizations must intensify the education of the Korean businessmen in socialist patriotism so as to encourage them to feel ardent love for their socialist homeland, protect it, and give active support to the building of socialism in the homeland. They must also exert themselves to develop a movement for them to defend their national rights and various other democratic movements. In addition, they must educate them to make a contribution to the cause of national reunification. It is particularly important to educate them to give support to the south Korean people in their struggle for democracy.

Making south Korean society democratic is one of the prerequisites for the peaceful reunification of the country. If south Korean society is democratized and if a progressive democrat comes to power, the country can be reunified by peaceful means.

Our Socialist Constitution stipulates, “The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea is working to achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea, drive out foreign forces on a national scale, reunify the country peacefully on a democratic basis and attain complete national independence.” Reunifying the country peacefully on a democratic basis presupposes reunifying it on the basis

of having democratized south Korean society. Peaceful national reunification will be absolutely impossible if the fascist ruling system in south Korea is left as it is.

The south Korean people's fight against fascism and for democracy at the moment is a patriotic struggle. It is a sacred fight to bring the reunification of the country closer. The Chongryon organizations must educate the Korean businessmen in Japan efficiently so that they will actively support the south Korean people in their fight for democracy.

These organizations must also concentrate on the education of the children of the businessmen. Their parents have gone through many hardships to build happy lives, but these younger people have no experience of hardship. That is why the Chongryon organizations and its schools at all levels must give these children a good education so as to help them to acquire a strong revolutionary outlook on the world.

If Chongryon runs credit cooperatives properly, it will be able to win over many Korean businessmen in Japan and unite them in an efficient joint struggle.

These credit cooperatives will have to be financial representative organizations which protect the interests of these businessmen, and a source of credit for them. To this end, the credit cooperatives must work in their interests. This will encourage the businessmen to participate widely in the work of the credit cooperatives.

In the homeland, a Peasant Bank was established after liberation, and this was something similar to the credit cooperatives now being run by Chongryon.

The Peasant Bank was organized using capital which was raised by means of small contributions from each peasant. It fought against usurers through its credit activities.

The usurers were unable to prevail over the Peasant Bank in this field. No matter what amount of capital they might have, they could not have more capital than the Peasant Bank. The state gave the bank positive support and some financial aid. Therefore, the bank was able to take the leading position in credit activities.

Knowing that getting loans from the Peasant Bank was better than

borrowing money from usurers, broad sections of the peasants took an active part in the bank's credit activities, making large deposits in the bank. As a result, the usurers were unable to go on exploiting the peasants.

Chongryon will also have to operate the credit cooperatives in this manner. The credit cooperatives should lend out money at a low interest, even though they will have to increase the deposits made by the Korean businessmen if they become short of capital. In this way these businessmen will be encouraged to understand that the credit cooperatives protect and represent their own interests financially. Then, they will deposit their money in the credit cooperatives rather than in other banks.

I do not think it necessary for the credit cooperatives to make loans on a long-term basis. They must deal mainly with short-term loans.

If they work well as the financial representatives which protect the interests of the Korean businessmen and as the source of their credit, they will be able to win over a large number of medium and small businessmen. Chongryon must study carefully how to operate the credit cooperatives and prevent any deviations in their activities.

Next, I should like to talk about the need for the Chongryon officials to acquire the art of efficient leadership.

If they are to work with the medium and small businessmen and other sections of our compatriots satisfactorily, Chongryon officials must revolutionize themselves thoroughly and acquire the art of efficient leadership and organizing ability.

Success in any work depends largely on whether or not the officials are expert in leadership. Since the years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, therefore, we have consistently emphasized the need to acquire the high skill of leadership.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we always insisted that the commanders of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army had to acquire the art of leadership, that is, the ability to manage their units efficiently without any accidents, command battles skilfully, and train their men to acquire sound ideology. We still emphasize this to our

officials whenever we meet them.

All our officials must attain a high level of leadership, and those of Chongryon, in particular, have to be more efficient in providing leadership than their counterparts in the homeland. At present, Chongryon officials deal with different sections of people in a very difficult situation. In the future their working conditions amongst the people may become even more difficult.

The Chongryon officials must, without exception, acquire the ability to do organizing work and information work skilfully. In this way they will all be efficient in work with the medium and small businessmen and various other sections of our compatriots.

Whether the Chongryon officials can attain a high level of leadership or not depends entirely on their own efforts. If they think that they can acquire the art of leadership through a single visit to the homeland, they are mistaken. There is a difference between the masses with whom they are dealing and those whom the officials in the homeland work with, and also between the work environments for the officials of Chongryon and of the homeland.

So the officials in the homeland need the art of leadership which suits the situation in the homeland, and officials of Chongryon need the art of leadership which suits the situation of Chongryon. The Chongryon officials must work tirelessly to acquire the art of leadership which most suits Chongryon's situation.

If they are to attain a high level of leadership, the Chongryon officials must equip themselves with the revolutionary world outlook and know the psychology of the masses in all walks of life well. This is important. Unless they know this psychology well, they will be unable to give them correct leadership and guidance.

Officials must provide leadership and guidance for the masses of different sections with a good understanding of their psychology, just as teachers in primary schools deal with their pupils by a masterly use of child psychology. Of course, the method of stimulating revolutionary organizations and organizing the masses and the method of dealing with little schoolchildren are not the same. But there is

something in common between them in that, without understanding people's psychology, one cannot deal with schoolchildren properly nor mobilize the masses correctly. Officials must be knowledgeable about the psychology of different sections of the masses, just as experienced primary school teachers have a good knowledge of child psychology. Officials must also know mentality of intellectuals and artists. It is only when they can comprehend the minds of people of different backgrounds in this manner that officials can guide them in a way which suits their characters.

In order to know the psychological state of different sections of the masses, the officials must mix with them. If they just sit in their offices, they cannot learn it and, therefore, cannot avoid bureaucratism, formalism, dogmatism, and subjectivism.

In providing leadership for the masses, it is important to strengthen the system of collective discussion.

Collective discussion is one of the important methods of solving specific problems successfully by preventing an individual's despotism and subjectivism and displaying collective wisdom. It is necessary, therefore, to meet frequently and discuss each question as it arises. It is preferable to hold collective discussions even about those matters which could be settled at one's discretion, so as to hear the opinions of many people. As the Korean saying goes, it is better to ask the way even when following the beaten path. The proverb has a profound philosophical meaning. If you listen to many people's opinions and then solve a particular problem, you will never make a mistake.

We have meetings of the Political Committee and the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee periodically, and, if a problem arises, we hold a meeting of one of these bodies and discuss the matter without delay. We take to the meeting even those questions which we could decide for ourselves, and listen to the opinions of many comrades. This encourages them to offer many good suggestions which help our decision-making.

Because we work in this manner, we hold meetings rather

frequently. But these meetings do not take up a great deal of time because we hold them after making good preparations. We inform the participants in advance of the items on the agenda and let them all study them, and then hold a meeting and discuss the matters when they have studied them sufficiently. This is also an art of leadership for stimulating an organization.

Chongryon must also strengthen the system of collective discussion in all its organizations from the top to the bottom.

Next, I should like to talk briefly about improving the organizational life of the officials of Chongryon.

Organizational life is a school where people are given revolutionary training. Only when they intensify organizational life can the Chongryon officials perform their duties consistently in the Japanese society which is full of Japanese and south Korean reactionaries. In work with people, work with cadres in particular, the Chongryon organizations must make it their central task to intensify their organizational life.

The most important thing in intensifying the organizational life of the officials is to encourage all of them to participate in organizational life willingly. In the homeland, everyone now takes part in the organizational life willingly.

The Chongryon officials must take an active part in this life and make a sincere effort to put themselves under the control of the organization and the masses. If they are under the control of the masses, they can avoid making mistakes. If they shun organizational life, they may, without exception, make mistakes, become bureaucratic and, finally, ideologically corrupt.

All the officials of Chongryon must make it a rule to participate in organizational life willingly, as naturally as they take three meals a day. They must, therefore, make regular reports on their work to the organization and also allow themselves to be examined by the organization.

If they participate in organizational life faithfully, officials can prevent their minds from becoming rusty. They themselves can be

criticized by other people and then correct their mistakes, and, even when they are not being criticized directly, they can discover their mistakes by hearing other people being criticized, and then correct them of their own accord. If they participate actively in organizational life, they can also acquire a high level of leadership as well as a correct attitude towards the organization. If all the officials take an active part in organizational life, the discipline of the organization can also be tightened. From now onwards, the Chongryon organizations must take particular care that its officials participate in the organizational life willingly.

The Chongryon organizations must further improve the guidance of the officials' organizational life. Without organizational leadership, it would be impossible to talk about the officials' organizational life. The Chongryon organizations must always consider how to guide the officials' organizational life effectively to suit its specific conditions.

The Chongryon organizations must pay particular attention to educating the officials to be careful in their economic life.

There will be no special problem in this respect, but the Chongryon organizations must still be careful about the material life of their officials. If senior officials are better off than other people, they may become corrupt.

In the homeland at present there is no significant difference between the living standards of cadres and working people. I think that nowhere in the world is there such a small difference in the wage levels for cadres and working people as in our country. There some workers in the heavy industry sector are paid more than ministers of the Administration Council.

In the homeland we are now trying to raise the living standards of all the working people to a level which is higher than that of the former middle class. This means raising the living standards of the rural people higher than those of the well-to-do middle farmers in former days, and boosting the living level of the urban people higher than that of the urban middle class.

As is clearly shown in *On the Questions of the Period of Transition*

*from Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, and in many other documents of our Party, raising the living standards of all the working people above those of the former middle class is one of the major ingredients of the complete victory of socialism.

Industrial workers and farmers are satisfied with their present living standards, but the former middle class are not. When the living standards of all the working people are higher than those of the former middle class, these people will be satisfied with the socialist system and support it wholeheartedly. Only then shall we be able to say that socialism has emerged completely victorious.

Even when socialism is completely triumphant, the communist principle of working in accordance with one's ability and receiving as much as one needs will not be implemented. Even then the nation's material and technical foundations will not yet be strong enough to permit the application of the communist principle of distribution. After the complete victory of socialism, therefore, we have to continue to work hard to build up the material and technical foundations on which to introduce the communist principle of distribution.

Because we are still carrying on the revolution, we are doing no more than providing the cadres with living conditions which will enable them to get along without inconvenience. If people become devoted to luxurious living and greedy for money or material things, they will ignore the revolution and their comrades.

As they live in a capitalist society, the Chongryon officials must exercise care in their financial lives. Otherwise, they may become addicted to dissipation in spite of themselves. In Japan where you are now living, money is everything, and dissipation is widespread. The Chongryon organizations must, therefore, educate their officials well so as to prevent them from being infected with the bourgeois way of life and encourage them to live like revolutionaries.

In conclusion, I should like to touch on problems relating to the situation.

The present international situation is developing in favour of our revolution.

The authority of our Party and the Government of our Republic in the outside world is rising with every passing day, and more and more countries are supporting our country.

Today the overwhelming majority of nations in the world support us. On the international scene, it has become a trend of the times to support the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and to establish state relations with our country.

Our country has recently established diplomatic relations with Argentina in Latin America. Recently, we have also entered into diplomatic relations with many African countries and are improving state relations with them. Our country has established diplomatic relations with Pakistan, once a member nation of the "Bagdad Pact", and has just established such relations with Iran. We have also entered into diplomatic relations with capitalist countries in Northern Europe such as Sweden and Finland and are developing state relations with them.

I think that in the future we shall be able to develop state relations with some countries in Southeast Asia and establish state relations with many Latin-American countries.

Today relations between our Party and fraternal parties are developing for the better. There are frequent visits between them, and they are sharing each other's experiences. At present, Communist and Workers' Parties in many countries are supporting our Party's line and policy.

Today many countries in the world want to have relations with our country and be on good terms with us because the foreign policy of our Party and the Government of our Republic is correct and because our country is advancing steadfastly on the road of independence and self-sufficiency under the banner of the Juche idea.

Seeing that the ranks of the people who support and sympathize with our revolution are growing all the time, the south Korean reactionaries have become uneasy and terrified. Nowadays, the south Korean reactionaries are complaining that, if the Korean question is discussed at the UN General Assembly this year, they will find

themselves in a very difficult situation.

But we must not rest content with the success we have already achieved. There remains a great deal more work to do than we have already done. In view of the needs of our revolution, our external activities and information are still weak.

In future, we must increase our external activities and information and continue to increase the ranks of the people who support and sympathize with our revolution. If we are efficient in our external activities, we shall be able to win over many more countries and a large number of people.

In the past, Chongryon has conducted its external activities well, and must continue to do so in the future, too.

If we do this work well, we shall be able to isolate the US imperialists and south Korean reactionaries completely in the international arena and create an international environment which is favourable to the reunification of our country.

I hope that, on your return, you will convey my greetings to the Comrade Chairman and other officials of Chongryon.

## **SOME TASKS IN IMPROVING PRESENT PARTY IDEOLOGICAL WORK**

**Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Officials  
Involved in Party Ideological Work**

*June 13, 1973*

I should like to talk to you briefly about some tasks in the ideological work of the Party at the present moment.

The Party's policy on ideological work has already been clearly set out. A long time ago, our Party put forward the principle that in order to build socialism and communism successfully we should press ahead with the struggle to occupy both the ideological and material fortresses and that we should give particular priority to the struggle to capture the ideological fortress.

If we do not fight efficiently, guided by the Party's policy, to take the ideological fortress, we shall be unable to train all members of society to be true communists, nor shall we succeed in attaining the material fortress, either. We must intensify ideological education and root out old-fashioned ideas from the minds of the working people and revolutionize and working-classize them. This is the way to achieve the complete victory of socialism and advance towards communism. All Party organizations must improve ideological work in keeping with the changing situation so as to revolutionize and working-classize every member of society as soon as possible.

The most important task in Party ideological work at present is to intensify the ideological education of Party members and other

working people so that all of them acquire an attitude of masters towards the revolution.

In view of the present situation in society in general and in the Party itself, the most serious shortcoming in the people's ideological life is the lack of an attitude worthy of masters in doing everything. Some Party members and other working people lack a sense of responsibility as masters of the state and society and are not fully aware that they are working for the good of society and all their fellowmen as well as themselves. That is why they do everything carelessly, instead of doing it carefully and painstakingly just as they do their own work.

The work attitude which is unworthy of masters is expressed in Party work and administrative and economic work, in the work of the People's Army and in public security service, among the officials of higher authorities and among those of subordinate units. Recent investigations show that this work attitude is in evidence almost everywhere.

The practice of working carelessly, unlike masters, is particularly conspicuous in the field of socialist economic construction. At present, some officials in economic establishments neglect the management of factories and other enterprises, and are careless about the manufacture, packing and storage of goods, instead of trying to make every single item attractive and serviceable. Buses and trains are not looked after and operated properly and carefully, nor are the streets and villages, the dwelling houses and schools kept clean.

Some officials are now inclined to expediency, bureaucratism, and subjectivism, and this, in the final analysis, is also because they do not have the attitude of masters towards the revolution.

The attitude which is unworthy of masters finds expression among Party members and other working people mainly because they have not yet uprooted selfishness and other capitalist ideas from their minds; because they have not imbued themselves with communist ideology. Many of them still lack the attitude of working and living on the communist principle of "One for all and all for one!"; they are weak in Party spirit, working-class spirit, and people-oriented spirit.

In a socialist society which is based on the social ownership of the means of production, the working masses are the masters of society. All the working people must, therefore, work carefully and assiduously by using all their creativity and ingenuity and voluntary enthusiasm. But because of selfishness and other capitalist ideas which still largely remain in their minds, they do not do anything carefully and assiduously just as they do their own work.

The attitude which is unworthy of masters particularly finds expression amongst Party members and other working people because they are not firmly equipped with the Juche idea, the monolithic ideology of our Party. Our Party's Juche idea requires that the masses of the people should adopt the attitude of masters towards the revolution and construction. If all Party members and other working people are imbued with the Juche idea, the monolithic ideology of our Party, any attitude which is unworthy of masters will not appear.

It is one of the most important tasks of the working-class party in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism to intensify the ideological revolution and arm all the working people with communist ideology so that they acquire the attitude of masters towards the revolution. In the past years, however, many Party organizations have neglected the ideological struggle to eradicate selfishness and other capitalist ideas from the minds of Party members and other working people as well as neglecting ideological education to equip them with communist ideology and our Party's Juche idea. The Party organizations which have not given effective ideological education and have neglected political work are, in the final analysis, to blame for the growth of the work attitude which is unworthy of masters amongst Party members and other working people.

As we always say, a Party organization is an organization for ideological education, for political work. There can be no Party work except ideological education, political work. Party organizations must always conduct ideological education as their main duty and give priority to political work over all other activities.

Giving priority to political work means giving the masses a

correct understanding of the Party's policy, teaching them how to implement it, organizing assignments and mobilizing Party members and other working people efficiently in the implementation of the Party's policy. Without giving priority to political work, it is impossible to root out selfishness and other capitalist ideas from the minds of the people and carry out revolutionary tasks successfully. Party organizations must give priority to political work and educate cadres first, and then let them educate rank-and-file Party members and, by increasing the vanguard role of Party members, ensure that they educate and reform the broad masses. We must use this method of one influencing and educating ten, ten a hundred, a hundred a thousand, and a thousand ten thousand, until we revolutionize and working-classize every member of society so that all Party members and other working people acquire the attitude and awareness of masters of the revolution. But many Party organizations are not conducting ideological education and political work well. The most serious shortcoming in Party work at present is that Party organizations and Party officials are neglecting ideological education and political work.

At present, some Party officials, instead of doing political work, force their subordinates to accept Party policy and even do not direct and control its implementation as they should. In consequence, many people are not working hard to carry out their revolutionary tasks; they are working carelessly.

Many Party organizations are now reducing Party work to administrative work, not doing political work, work with people.

This is a very dangerous tendency. The ruling party in particular must thoroughly guard against the tendency to reduce Party work to mere administrative work.

Administrative methods of work are not the Party's methods of work. If you degrade Party work to administrative work, you will be unable to mobilize the broad masses effectively in the revolutionary struggle and construction. Experience shows that, without their participation, no revolution and construction can succeed. During the

anti-Japanese armed struggle we always conducted political work amongst the guerrillas and the masses of the people and talked to them a great deal. In this way we rallied broad sections of the masses around the revolutionary organization and encouraged them to participate as one in the revolutionary struggle.

At present, however, many Party organizations are not interested in political work; they are working as if they were administrative and economic institutions, receiving various kinds of statistics and issuing sundry directives and circulars to subordinate units. Some Party officials seem to think that, if they issue directives and circulars to subordinate units and publish newspaper editorials, everyone will work better.

Worse still, some Party officials inspect lower units the way secret inspectors did in feudal times. During the Fatherland Liberation War, an official who had been to inspect a province returned with only a bundle of faults, so, even then, we criticized him. We told him that if his subordinate had shortcomings, he should have helped him in every way to correct them and that it was wrong to have brought back nothing but a list of shortcomings. In spite of this, some Party officials still simply ferret out their subordinates' misdemeanors like a secret inspector in a feudal society, instead of helping them to correct their shortcomings.

Some Party officials do not listen to the reports of their subordinates carefully and, when they do, they only listen to their shortcomings. In consequence, they cannot see the whole working situation; they only see one aspect, the bad aspect, not the good aspect. Because they work in this manner, they become subjective. Subjectivism is the hothouse and source of bureaucratism.

In addition, some Party organizations are taking over administrative functions. This practice is conspicuous in the departments of the Party Central Committee. The Party Central Committee departments in charge of economic affairs frequently hold meetings to discuss matters which should be dealt with by the Administration Council. As these departments work in this way, the authority of the commissions and

ministries of the Administration Council is not protected. At present, many officials in charge of administrative and economic affairs only implement the decisions of the Party Central Committee departments in charge of economic affairs; they ignore the decisions of the Administration Council.

Instances of degrading Party work to administrative activity are also much in evidence in the work of the organizational department and the information and publicity department.

The organizational and information and publicity departments are the most important departments of the Party. At an enlarged plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee as early as March 1962, we said that the organizational department, like a doctor, plays the role of discovering unhealthy Party members and determining the nature of their diseases, and that the information and publicity department performs the role of a pharmacist who administers medicine to patients. But the officials of these departments still do not work on this principle; they are working by issuing directives and circulars to subordinate units and dealing with personal files. They should be held largely responsible for Party members and other working people who do not work with the attitude of masters.

Because they have debased Party work to administrative activity, Party organizations are not efficient in their work amongst the people, and cadres in particular.

Cadres are the hard-core force of the Party; they are the people who direct our revolution, who implement the Party's line and policy. Party organizations must, therefore, pay particular attention to work with cadres. But some of them neglect to give them a systematic education. All that they do is to appoint them.

Because Party organizations neglect the education of cadres, some of them do not set an example in their work, and there are cases where they are indolent and slack. Commanding officers of a revolutionary army must advance in the van when attacking, and bring up the rear so as to contain the enemy when retreating. But our officials are not yet working like commanding officers of the revolutionary army. In the

past, ri Party committee secretaries, chairmen of the management boards of cooperative farms, workteam leaders and other junior cadres of the agricultural sector have not taken an active part in farm work and even in Party study meetings. Junior cadres of factories and other enterprises have also not participated in labour reliably.

Many senior officials of the central authorities are not enthusiastic about their work nor do they have a sense of responsibility towards their duties. The officials of the chemical industry have produced a smaller amount of chemical fertilizer this year than last year. There has been no justification or reason for this. The senior officials in charge of this industry say that the decrease in production is due to the fact that the equipment has not been repaired and maintained regularly. If the equipment was in a bad condition, it should have been repaired and maintained before it was too late. These senior officials have not taken decisive steps to increase fertilizer production next year, either.

As you can see, many of our officials are still trying to shirk responsibility for their work and neglect their duties, and they want to live in idleness. If things go on like this, we shall be unable to succeed in building a communist society. The parasitic idea is the greatest danger in building a communist society. Of course, everyone will be prosperous and work will be easier in such a society, but everyone will have to work in that society, too.

Because Party organizations neglect work with people and do not give priority to political work over all other work, we are not achieving as much success in the revolution and construction as we ran.

A Marxist-Leninist party is the vanguard of the working masses and the general staff of the revolution. Our Party is the General Staff of the Korean revolution: it is the heart and prime mover of the whole of society. The Party must, therefore, be very active and on the move if it is to ensure success in the revolution and construction. If a man is to work well in good health, his heart must beat steadily, circulating blood and supplying nutriment to the whole body. Likewise, if a society is to be active and make progress in everything, the Party which is the heart of that society must be constantly on the move; it

must eradicate outdated ideas from the people's minds and give them the knowledge and methods for transforming nature and society. In other words, just as a soundly functioning heart promotes metabolism in a human body, so an efficient Party organization can eliminate outdated things from society and continue to promote the development of new things. All Party organizations must continue to imbue all members of society with the revolutionary idea and mobilize them in every way to carry out the revolutionary tasks. But some Party organizations are not performing their role effectively as the heart of society. Just as an ailing heart beats regularly when it is given an injection, and just as it does not beat regularly when it is not given an injection, some Party organizations act when they are urged to do so by somebody and do nothing when they are not spurred on. In places where there are such Party organizations, the work does not progress smoothly, and some people's heads remain rusty.

The Party organizations at all levels must correct this shortcoming as soon as possible and improve ideological education so as to ensure that all Party members and other working people acquire the attitude of masters towards the revolution and construction.

In order to educate all Party members and other working people to adopt the attitude of masters towards the revolution, it is necessary to do away with administrative practices in Party work and turn Party work thoroughly into work with people and give firm priority to political work over all other activities.

Today we are faced with the task of fighting to consolidate and develop the socialist system and win the complete victory of socialism by pressing ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. If they are to carry out the tasks of the three revolutions put forward by the Party, the Party organizations must be efficient in political work, work with people, and mobilize broad sections of the masses in every way. In order to speed up the technical revolution, it is imperative to stimulate the workers and technicians through effective work with them; in order to succeed in the cultural revolution, it is important to give full scope to the efforts and talents of the educational

and cultural workers through efficient work with them. If we are to give a powerful impetus to the ideological revolution, we must rouse all the Party officials and the officials of the working people's organizations. From now onwards, all Party organizations must end the administrative way of working, convert Party work to work with people and give priority to political work in every undertaking, so that all Party members and other working people participate in the revolutionary struggle and construction willingly with the attitude of masters.

If they are to be good at political work, work with people, Party officials will have to participate regularly in Party cell meetings at industrial establishments, cooperative farms and various other sectors and units, meet their subordinates frequently and talk to them individually at great length. When you meet workers who do a good job, you should praise them and encourage them; when you meet others who are inefficient in their work, you should educate them and help them.

In political work, work with people, the information and publicity department must always take the lead. In other words, this department must perform the role of the master on the ideological front, in the ideological revolution.

At present, some officials of the information and publicity department are not taking the lead in the work of ideological education; they are lagging behind others. This is not the correct attitude to have. It is true that the organizational department plays an important part in work with people. But, once people's ideological defects have become known, the information and publicity department must undertake the major responsibility of correcting them. The officials of this department who work on the ideological front must always be masters of the ideological revolution. They must, therefore, be responsible for the education of cadres, rank-and-file Party members and the masses and work hard to correct people's ideological defects by standing in the van on the ideological front. Simply making a commotion by complaining that people are ideologically unhealthy, instead of

fighting to cure the ideological diseases, will get you nowhere.

In order to cure people's ideological diseases, it is necessary for the officials of the information and publicity department to administer good medicine which suits each particular case. You must let those who need to read Marx's *Communist Manifesto* read it, let those who need to be equipped with our Party's Juche idea study our Party's documents, give class education to those who lack class consciousness so as to increase their class awareness, and teach those who are vague about the advantages of the socialist system what these advantages are in comparison with the corruption of the capitalist system. In addition, ideological education must be conducted to meet the need of the occasion just as a man has to wear warm clothes in winter, and light clothes in summer.

The officials of the information and publicity department must not only lead the fight on the ideological front, but conduct ideological education on their own initiative. Party work is not something to be done only on orders. It is a spontaneous undertaking. The officials of the information and publicity department must amplify the Party's line and policy as soon as they are published, and must propagate them amongst the masses even though they are not told to do so. Furthermore, they must recognize people's ideological diseases on their own initiative at each stage and apply the necessary remedies, rather than simply wait for the organizational department to diagnose them.

As I have already said, the most serious ideological disease of our Party members and other working people at the moment is that they do not have the attitude of masters towards the revolution. That is why the officials of the information and publicity department ought to press ahead with ideological education and the ideological struggle to imbue Party members and other working people with our Party's Juche idea and to eradicate egoism from their minds. It is only when the information and publicity department, as the master of the ideological revolution, leads the ideological campaign and conducts ideological education on its own initiative that we can capture the ideological

fortress of communism successfully and that all Party members and other working people can acquire the attitude of masters towards the revolution.

In order to conduct political work, ideological education, successfully, it is necessary for the organizational department and the information and publicity department to work in close cooperation.

If you think that you need not cooperate with the organizational department because the information and publicity department has to play the main role in giving ideological education to the cadres, rank-and-file Party members and other working people, you are mistaken. The two departments must cooperate with each other, regularly discussing how to cure people's ideological diseases. If, instead, the information and publicity department administers medicine for the kidney when the organizational department has discovered a heart complaint, what will be the result? If they do not cooperate and fail to act in harmony with each other, they will not succeed in giving people revolutionary education.

In future, the two departments must improve their cooperation. The organizational department must supply the information and publicity department with early information about the deviations revealed in the Party life of the cadres and other Party members, and the information and publicity department must inform the organizational department regularly of changes in their ideological awareness. In addition, problems which may arise must be discussed at meetings of the secretariat or at interdepartmental meetings so that they can be settled promptly.

In order to improve political work, the work of ideological education, it is also necessary to enlist the working people's organizations thoroughly in the education of the masses.

At present, Party organizations are not interested in mobilizing working people's organizations in the education of people who are not Party members. Cadres and other Party members must be educated directly by Party organizations, but the education of non-Party people ought to be the responsibility of the trade unions, the Union of

Agricultural Working People, the League of Socialist Working Youth and the Women's Union. From now onwards, the information and publicity department must inform the working people's organizations regularly of the direction of ideological work and supply them with the necessary teaching materials, so that they will educate the non-Party people on their own responsibility. This does not, of course, mean that the education of these people should be left entirely in the hands of the working people's organizations. They will have to be educated in two ways. In other words, they will have to be educated both by the working people's organizations and by Party members. The non-Party people who are to be admitted to the Party must be educated directly by the Party organizations concerned.

If they are to be efficient in political work, work with people, so as to give revolutionary education to the Party members and other working people, the Party officials must first equip themselves firmly with Marxism-Leninism and the Juche idea of our Party.

Education is a very difficult undertaking. You can make machines, for instance, without difficulty, and see immediately whether they have been made well or not. But it is not as easy to reform people's ideological awareness as to make things, nor is it easy to see conclusively how far anyone's ideological consciousness has been reformed on communist lines. And the level of people's ideological consciousness differs from man to man. Thus, the transformation of people along communist lines is very complicated and difficult. If this complicated and difficult task is to be performed successfully, the Party officials who are in charge of work with people must be equipped with Marxism-Leninism and our Party's Juche idea more fully than anyone. If they are not qualified for the communist education and reformation of people, they will be unable to educate other people, no matter how hard they try.

Party officials must study and study and study in order to imbue themselves with Marxism-Leninism and our Party's Juche idea. At present, some officials consider that study is something to be done during their spare time after carrying out their revolutionary tasks, but

they are mistaken. Study is also a revolutionary task. So every official must make it a strict rule to study on a regular basis.

In particular, the officials of the information and publicity department who are in direct charge of ideological work must study harder than anyone. Only when they are well informed of the remedies for people's ideological diseases, can they cure these diseases properly. They also have the responsibility of teaching the officials of the organizational and other Party departments our Party's Juche idea and its line and policy in detail. Just as it is necessary to give doctors a knowledge of medicine so that they can write prescriptions for their patients properly, so it is also necessary to teach the officials of the organizational and other departments our Party's Juche idea and its line and policy so that they can guide Party study at their subordinate units correctly and talk to individuals properly. From now onwards, the officials of the information and publicity department must study harder than anybody so as to equip themselves firmly with our Party's Juche idea and master its line and policy.

In order to convert Party work into work with people and conduct political work, ideological education, efficiently, it is important for Party organizations and Party officials to develop a greater sense of responsibility.

A Party committee is the highest leadership section of a given unit; it directs all work on its own responsibility. So the Party organizations and Party officials must be held fully accountable for any mistake in their work at the units concerned. If anything goes wrong in a province, the provincial Party committee must be held responsible for it; and if anything goes wrong in a commission or a ministry of the Administration Council, the Party committee of the commission or of the ministry of the Administration Council must be considered responsible. If production at factories and other enterprises is not efficient, the Party committees of these industrial establishments must be called to account for it. The senior officials of the Party committees in particular and the officials of their organizational and information and publicity departments must be

responsible for these undesirable situations.

Party officials must not take over all administrative and economic affairs because they have to answer for everything. Our Party is the vanguard of the working class which provides leadership for the revolution; it is not an establishment to deal with administrative and economic affairs. Party officials ought to retain all revolutionary activities under their control and direct them correctly, educate the officials who are in charge of administrative and economic affairs so as to awaken them politically, and must organize appropriate assignments so as to spur them into action. This is the way to carry out the Six-Year Plan and the three major tasks of the technical revolution and also improve Party work. All Party organizations and Party officials must give correct leadership to the revolution and construction as a whole with a high sense of responsibility for their duties.

Improving school education is very important in training all the members of society to acquire the attitude of masters towards the revolution and construction.

As you all know, children have few outdated ideas. So, if the young people and children are given good school training, they can all become communists during their school days. We are now giving them universal ten-year compulsory education and if we give this training well, we shall be able to imbue them with the Party's Juche idea in their senior middle-school days, so that, when they go to work after graduation, they can perform all their duties assiduously and carefully with the attitude of masters. If the younger people are given university education after their senior middle-school training, they will become even better communists.

The students who are attending university now are ideologically more progressive than the people who received a university education previously, and this is because in recent years the Juche idea, the revolutionary thought of our Party, has been thoroughly applied to school education. If our education continues successfully, nearly all the members of society will have been revolutionized and working-classized in ten or twenty years' time. The Party

organizations at all levels must, therefore, work hard to improve school education still further.

If we are to educate Party members and other working people to acquire the attitude of masters towards the revolution, we must also eliminate superficiality in Party ideological work.

If you do this work in a self-satisfied manner by cheering yourselves, you will not be able to root out the outdated ideas from people's minds, nor will you be able to imbue them with communist ideology and the Juche idea of our Party. We have, more than once, stressed the need to eliminate slovenliness in Party ideological work and to do it positively.

But many Party organizations have not yet ended superficial practices in ideological work. Some officials engaged in Party ideological work are content with the fact that, during the past few years, the circulation of magazines and newspapers has increased. They consider this a great success in Party ideological work, but they are mistaken.

Of course, it is necessary to increase their circulation considerably in order to educate people. Magazines and newspapers are two of the major media for the cultural and ideological revolutions. But the number of copies in circulation is not the criterion of success in Party ideological work. Success in this work must always be judged by the political and ideological preparedness of Party members and other working people.

Carelessness in Party ideological work is also expressed in organizing the Party's group study. It is said that Party organizations hold group study regularly, but the level of Party members' preparedness is not very high. On our local inspection tours, we ask Party members a few questions, and some of them cannot give the correct answers. The fact that they are not clear about matters which they have learnt in their group study shows that this study has not been profitable.

Carelessness in the Party organizations' group study is also due in a certain degree to the fact that the Information and Publicity

Department of the Party Central Committee has not provided good study materials for the subordinate units. I have found that the study materials prepared by this department contain a large number of phrases which are more difficult and intricate than those in the original Party documents, instead of explaining them in easier terms. In their attempt to explain these many difficult phrases to themselves, the users sometimes overlook the basic ideas of the original. Because the Information and Publicity Department compiles study materials using such difficult phrases, many Party members complain to the Party Central Committee.

The time set for the study hours is not appropriate. The Party organizations of some cooperative farms organize group study when the Party members are tired after the day's weeding, so that many of them fall asleep during study hours. If the times for study are set in this manner, study will not be successful.

Carelessness is also evident to a large extent in the use of publications. At present, the officials of the information and publicity department say that the circulation of publications is small, but they do nothing to improve their distribution and make effective use of them.

The Party organizations at all levels must eliminate this superficial attitude in Party ideological work as soon as possible and organize Party ideological education correctly.

For the efficient organization and operation of the Party's group study it is necessary to increase the lecturers' sense of responsibility and their role and organize lectures when the audience can pay full attention to them. In addition, the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee must prepare and supply to the subordinate units study materials which can be understood easily.

We must increase the circulation of publications and see that they are used effectively. Their circulation has increased considerably over recent years, but it still falls short of the requirements of Party members and other working people. Even though they have to use less paper in other work, the officials in charge of the press must increase

the publication of Party documents and the circulation of newspapers and magazines.

It is also necessary to improve the distribution of publications and use them more effectively. By taking these measures alone, we shall be able to make publications available to everyone, even with their present circulation. When they obtained a magazine published by the Communist International, for instance, in former times, the anti-Japanese guerrillas used to read it, passing it from hand to hand and using it for group reading, until it grew limp. They used to patch up the torn pages over and over again when their books wore out because of very long use. This was their attitude to study. In future, all Party organizations must improve the distribution of publications in such a way as to permit a small number of publications to be available to a large number of readers.

One of the important tasks in Party ideological work at present is to intensify the ideological education of Party members and the other working people with regard to the situation where talks are being held between the north and the south.

Thanks to our Party's correct policy on national reunification and its strenuous efforts, talks are now being held between the north and the south.

The fight for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country is a very momentous class struggle. In other words, it is a struggle between the socialist system and the capitalist system, between the working class and the capitalist class, between the patriots and the traitors to the nation, between democracy and fascism, and between the international revolutionary forces and the allied forces of capitalism. Whether or not we emerge victorious in this important class struggle to decide the winner, depends largely on how we prepare all the Party members and other working people ideologically. That is why we must not neglect their ideological education in the slightest degree. The officials in charge of Party ideological work must, with a high sense of responsibility for their work, intensify the ideological education of Party members and other

working people in keeping with the present situation.

The first and foremost task in improving ideological education in line with the situation is to mobilize Party members and other working people in every way for the struggle to demonstrate the advantages of our socialist system to the full and give them a clear understanding of the superiority of this system.

If multilateral cooperation and exchange in all spheres of politics, the economy, and culture between the north and the south are effected at some time in the future, the enemy will try in every way to blow the “wind of freedom” into the northern half of Korea and revive the capitalist system. Unless we work hard to demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system to the full in this situation, we shall be unable to protect the socialist system in the northern half of Korea, nor shall we be able to exert a revolutionary influence on the south Korean people.

We have established a most advanced socialist system in the northern half of Korea, but we are not making the most of its advantages. Of course, even under the present circumstances, it is obvious that the socialist system in the north is incomparably superior to the social system in the south. Even if they were to visit the northern half of Korea and see things as they are right now, the south Koreans could not help being amazed. But we still have many minor shortcomings, and because of these we are unable to demonstrate all the advantages of the socialist system.

All Party organizations and officials in charge of ideological work must intensify ideological education so as to ensure that all Party members and other working people, with the attitude of masters of the revolution, work hard to show the full advantages of the socialist system. In this way they will show the south Korean people clearly that the working class which once suffered exploitation and oppression has established the socialist system after taking political power in its own hands and is now leading a civilized and worthy life.

Another important point in intensifying ideological education to meet the present situation is to give Party members and other working people an effective class education.

Because Party organizations neglect their class education, some people have been infected with capitalist and revisionist ideas, become indolent and slack and are not enthusiastic about their work. Party organizations at all levels must improve class education for Party members and other working people and encourage them to hate the class enemies and fight resolutely against the exploiting system.

We must first imbue Party members and other working people with hatred for the landlord and capitalist classes.

As we always say, the exploitative nature of the landlords and capitalists will never change. The surviving members of the overthrown exploiting classes in the northern half of Korea are still discontented with our socialist system; they have not given up their dream of bringing back their old system. All Party organizations must give Party members and other working people a clear understanding of the wicked, exploitative nature and acts of the landlord and capitalist classes so that they will hate the landlords and capitalists.

We must also give Party members and other working people a clear understanding of the reactionary character and corruption of the capitalist system.

The capitalist society is a “heaven” for the landlords and capitalists, whereas it is a “hell” for the workers and farmers and other working people who make up the overwhelming majority of the population. It is a corrupt and unsound society which is rife with lies and deception, fraud and trickery. This is really the situation in south Korean society today. All Party organizations and the officials in charge of ideological work must give Party members and other working people a clear idea of the reactionary nature and corruptness of the capitalist system so that they will fight doggedly against this system.

Next, the Party organizations and the officials in the field of ideological work must press ahead with information and motivation to ensure success in production and construction.

Without developing the material and technical foundations of the country, it would be impossible to win the complete victory of socialism and build a communist society with success. In the

communist society the principle of working according to one's ability and receiving distribution according to one's needs will be applied. If we are to succeed in building this society, we have to continue to give a powerful stimulus to socialist economic construction and strengthen the material and technical foundations of the country.

Today we have the heavy and enormous task of carrying out the Six-Year Plan set forth by the Fifth Party Congress ahead of schedule.

We must accelerate the construction of large, modern power stations, particularly the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant, in order to attain the goal of electric power set under the Six-Year Plan. Success in attaining this goal depends largely on whether or not we complete the construction of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant quickly. At present, however, this project is progressing slowly. The capital construction sector must concentrate on this project and finish it quickly.

We must also press ahead with the battle to reach the goal of steel set under the Six-Year Plan. To this end, it is necessary to develop the mining industry, the first process of production. The mining industry is the major obstacle to capturing the steel height. We have to increase ore production in the existing mines and, at the same time, develop new mines on a large scale to achieve a sharp increase in the production of iron ore. If we are to hit the target for steel, we must also expedite the project for the extension of the Kim Chaek Iron Works and finish the first stage of the project and start operations within the first half of next year at the latest.

In order to attain the goal of cement, we have to build more large, new cement factories.

Large-scale construction is also needed to reach the goal of the chemical industry. We have to build a urea fertilizer factory, an Orlon factory, a tetoron factory, a polyethylene factory, a paper mill and other large modern factories in the western region as soon as possible. When the construction of the Youth Chemical Works is completed, the production of chemical fertilizer, chemical fibre, synthetic resin and paper will increase greatly. Some time ago, the Political Committee of

the Party Central Committee discussed the construction of the Youth Chemical Works, solved the problems associated with the progress of the project, and took steps to speed the work.

The three major tasks of the technical revolution will also have to be carried out well. We must press ahead with the technical innovation drive in all sectors of the national economy and reduce considerably the differences between heavy and light labour and between agricultural and industrial labour and free women from the heavy burden of household chores. Large numbers of progressive women around the world are showing a keen interest in how the Party's policy of freeing women from this burden is being implemented in our country. On their return from a visit to our country last year, members of a delegation of women activists of the Japan Socialist Party wrote a book, *The Socialist Revolution and Construction in Korea*, in which they praised our Party's policy on the final emancipation of women highly and expressed their hope that it would be implemented with distinction. The Party organizations at all levels must ensure that, according to the Party's policy, the women are freed from the heavy burden of household chores as soon as possible by providing running water quickly in the rural communities, developing rice cooking houses and non-staple food processing mills on a large scale, and increasing the production of different kinds of kitchen utensils.

There are a great many other tasks we have to carry out for the implementation of the Six-Year Plan.

We have sufficient possibilities and conditions for attaining the goals of electric power, steel, cement, fertilizer and all other targets set under the Six-Year Plan ahead of schedule. At present, our working class has a very high revolutionary enthusiasm and is firmly resolved to carry out the Six-Year Plan ahead of schedule by overcoming all difficulties. We also have economic capabilities to fulfil the Six-Year Plan before the set time. Success in implementing the Six-Year Plan depends entirely on how Party organizations direct economic construction and how they conduct motivation work to rouse the masses to carry out the economic tasks. If they improve Party

leadership in economic construction and rouse the masses forcefully to carry out their economic tasks through efficient motivation, they will be able to attain all the goals of the Six-Year Plan successfully.

At present, however, Party organizations are not directing economic affairs satisfactorily nor are they skilful in motivation to rouse the masses and the officials in charge of economic affairs to carry out their economic tasks. Officials of the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee and senior officials of provincial Party committees do not themselves take part in motivation work at busy construction sites. Because of this, some officials in charge of administrative and economic affairs lack the will to carry out the Six-Year Plan without fail and cannot make innovations to carry it out. In short, Party organizations do not know how to ride the excellent horse which is provided for them. If the Party organizations at the helm of society go on working in this way, they will be unable to maintain the Chollima speed in socialist economic construction and attain all the goals of the Six-Year Plan.

Party organizations and the officials in the field of ideological work must intensify information and motivation to ensure success in carrying out the economic tasks. In particular, the senior officials of Party organizations and the officials engaged in ideological work must visit the branches and construction sites which are vital to the implementation of the Six-Year Plan, and conduct motivation work efficiently so as to encourage the masses to work hard to carry out the plan. In this way, they will make a decisive advance in carrying out the Six-Year Plan this year and continue to work well and attain all the goals of this plan ahead of schedule.

In addition, we must also improve external propaganda.

At present, the officials in the field of ideological work and those engaged in external work are not efficient in propagating our Party's policy and the Juche idea abroad. That is why a large number of our foreign friends have no clear understanding of our Party's policy for national reunification and the Juche idea, and we are not winning supporters and sympathizers who can be won over.

Today conditions exist which are favourable for us to conduct external information work widely. The number of countries establishing state relations with our country is increasing daily. Recently, the capitalist countries in Northern Europe and many other countries, for instance, have established state relations with our country. Therefore, if we organize work well, we shall be perfectly able to improve our external propaganda.

The officials in Party ideological work and those engaged in external work must intensify overseas information and disseminate our Party's policy and the Juche idea throughout the world so as to increase on a large scale the ranks of the people who support and sympathize with our revolution.

If we are to improve external propaganda, the officials in the field of ideological work must learn how to carry out external activities, and a large number of competent workers will have to be trained in the field of ideological work. In addition, it is necessary to enlist cadres widely in external propaganda. Because external information is a very large undertaking, it would be impossible for the full-time workers to do this work satisfactorily on their own. We must, therefore, draw cadres into this work in every way so that all cadres participate in the propagation of our Party's Juche idea and its policy.

If we are to make cadres efficient in external propaganda, we must arm them firmly with our Party's policies and theories. The information sector must prepare written explanations of the Party's policy for each sector and let the cadres master them all.

In order to improve external propaganda, it is also necessary for the cadres to study foreign languages harder. If they do not know foreign languages, they will be unable to work skilfully in the external field. On many occasions we have stressed the need for them to intensify the study of foreign languages, but this work is not yet proceeding well. All Party organizations must thoroughly implement the Party's policy on intensifying the study of foreign languages among the cadres, so that each of them knows at least one foreign language.

The International Department of the Party Central Committee and

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Administration Council must see that our people working in foreign countries study foreign languages harder. If they study hard during the three to four years of their stay in a foreign country, they can easily learn the language of that country.

If we are to improve and intensify Party ideological education in keeping with the changing situation, we have to build up the ranks of the officials of the information and publicity department of the Party.

At present, some Party organizations consider that only old intellectuals are well informed of political theories and are capable of writing, and so they only appoint these people to the information and publicity department of the Party. This is why Party ideological work still cannot break away from the outdated pattern.

Of course, the officials of this department have to be well versed in political theories and know how to judge written work as well as how to write themselves. It is not very difficult to increase the knowledge of political theories and to learn how to write. Anybody can do this if he studies diligently and makes the effort. If he trains himself in writing, beginning with a diary, and then an account of a journey, for instance, and then a simple report and so on, he will become good at writing. You must not try to copy other people's writing in your own composition. If you get into this habit, your writing will not improve. Even if you have to deal with the same subject and the same content as those other people have written about, you must write in your own way by thinking for yourself rather than copy other people's written work. This is the way you can improve your writing quickly.

Party organizations must not hesitate to select young university graduates who are intelligent and enterprising and appoint them to the information and publicity department. In this way you will combine old and young people properly.

I hope that you will carry out the tasks facing Party ideological work at the present time well and bring about an improvement in this work.

## **LET US PREVENT A NATIONAL PARTITION AND REUNIFY THE COUNTRY**

**Speech at the Pyongyang Mass Rally to Welcome  
the Party and Government Delegation  
of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic**

*June 23, 1973*

Esteemed Comrade Gustav Husak,  
Esteemed Comrade Lubomir Strougal,  
Esteemed guests from Czechoslovakia,  
Dear comrades and friends,

The people at all levels in Pyongyang have gathered here today, overjoyed to welcome you, goodwill envoys from the brotherly country of Czechoslovakia.

In the name of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people, I should like first to repeat my warm welcome to the Party and Government delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic led by Comrade Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Allow me also to convey, through you, the Korean people's warm greetings of fraternal friendship to the Czechoslovak people.

We highly appreciate the visit to our country by a Party and Government delegation of the highest level from Czechoslovakia as an expression of the deep friendship cherished by the Czechoslovak people for our people, and as a manifestation of firm solidarity with

our struggle for socialist construction and national reunification.

Your present visit to our country marks a milestone in deepening mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries and raising their relations of friendship and cooperation to a new stage.

Our meeting with you has given us a better understanding of the course of arduous yet brilliant struggle traversed by the Czechoslovak people, their achievements in the building of socialism and the future of the struggle of your Party and people.

As a people living in the heart of the European Continent, plagued throughout history by conflicts between nations, the Czechoslovak people fought protracted and dynamic battles against foreign invaders and for national independence and social emancipation. In the hard days when the Hitlerite fascists were occupying the country, the communists and patriotic people of Czechoslovakia carried out a gallant anti-fascist fight for liberation with arms in their hands.

Even after fascist Germany was routed and the country liberated, the Czechoslovak people have followed the complicated road of struggle. The Czechoslovak people, who took the road towards socialism following the February Victory in 1948, have turned their country into a socialist state with a developed industry in a short time by displaying patriotic devotion and creative activity and safeguarded their gains of revolution, shattering the repeated subversive and destructive plans of the class enemies.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party headed by Comrade Gustav Husak the Czechoslovak people are now making great strides in their endeavours to achieve further progress in the national economy, raise the people's living standards and overfulfil the Fifth Five-Year Plan, in accordance with the programme of the 14th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to consolidate and develop the socialist society more fully.

Czechoslovakia is daily expanding the sphere of its activities in the field of international relations, too.

Our people heartily rejoice over all the successes made by the

brotherly Czechoslovak people in the building of a new society and sincerely wish them ever greater victory in their future work.

Our people also express solidarity with the Communist Party, Government and people of Czechoslovakia in their efforts against the imperialists' war policy and for peace and security in Europe.

Through their own experiences our people well know that the road to socialism is by no means a smooth one.

After liberation our people embarked on the building of a new society under the difficult situation in which our country was divided into two parts because of the US imperialist occupation of south Korea. Under our Party's leadership, our people, frustrating the ceaseless intrigues of US imperialism and its running dogs to ignite aggression and war, have turned their once backward country into an advanced socialist state in a short time, by successfully carrying out the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and building an independent national economy.

Upholding the grand programme mapped out by the Fifth Congress of the Party, our people are now achieving a great revolutionary advance on all fronts of socialist construction to fulfil ahead of schedule the Six-Year Plan and the three major tasks of the technical revolution and to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, while accelerating the revolutionization and the working-classization of the whole of society by giving priority to the ideological revolution.

Korea and Czechoslovakia embarked on the building of socialism under different conditions after the Second World War, but the common experience accumulated by the two countries clearly demonstrates that the only way to bring the working people genuine freedom and independence, happiness and prosperity is to take the road to socialism.

The Korean and Czechoslovak peoples have long maintained firm ties of friendship and have cooperated closely for the common goal of opposition to imperialism and for the victory of the cause of peace and socialism. This friendship based on the principles of

Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism displayed greater vitality whenever the two peoples faced difficulties and trials in the way of their advance.

The Czechoslovak people rendered great assistance, both material and moral, to our people during the Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist aggressors and during the period of postwar rehabilitation and construction. We shall always remember this.

The Czechoslovak people are still giving active support and assistance to our people's struggle to build socialism and achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. Some time ago the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in its reply to the letter addressed by our Supreme People's Assembly to the parliaments and governments of all countries, positively recognized our policy of peaceful reunification and gave assurances that it would continue to render active support and assistance to our people's just cause.

I take advantage of this opportunity today to express my profound thanks again to Comrade Gustav Husak and the Communist Party, Government and people of Czechoslovakia for their brotherly support and assistance to our people.

As is shown by the current visit of the Party and Government delegation of Czechoslovakia to this country, the relationship between our two countries keeps developing favourably and their internationalist solidarity is growing in strength.

The strengthening of unity amongst socialist countries contributes to increasing the might of socialism as a whole and shows that the position of world socialism is sound.

Our people will, in the future, too, carry out the revolution and construction in our country well and thereby faithfully discharge their national and international duties.

Comrades and friends,

Today the international situation is developing in favour of socialism and the revolutionary forces and to the disadvantage of imperialism and the reactionary forces.

In the face of the growing forces of socialism and the national-liberation, working-class and democratic movements, imperialism is on the decline and is finding itself in a more difficult situation with every passing day. To find a way out, the imperialists are resorting to more cunning double-dealing tactics.

The United States is carrying on aggressive and interventionist activities in many parts of the world under the pretence of “peace” and is trying to maintain its colonial domination by suppressing small nations by force while improving its relations with big ones.

This is fully proved by its aggressive actions and intervention against Korea, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, a number of Arab countries, Cuba and many other nations of the world.

The United States wants to hold onto south Korea for ever as a major stronghold to save its colonial ruling system which is falling into total disarray in Asia.

Adopting two-faced tactics under the “Nixon doctrine”, the United States is not willing to desist from its plans to instigate south Korea’s bellicose elements to make Koreans fight Koreans, perpetuate the division of Korea and create two Koreas, even after the North-South Joint Statement was published and dialogue started between the two parts of Korea.

In step with these US machinations, the south Korean authorities are also employing double-dealing tactics. They are scheming to perpetuate the division of the nation and are exerting every effort to reinforce their military strength, claiming to practice “peaceful reunification” on the one hand and, on the other, openly clamouring for “confrontation with dialogue”, “competition with dialogue” and “coexistence with dialogue”.

Because of all this the dialogue between the north and south of Korea is not progressing as it should and a big obstacle still lies in the way to reunification, despite the consistent, sincere efforts of our Party and the Government of our Republic for the country’s independent, peaceful reunification. Consequently the bright prospect for national reunification which was opened before our nation when the historic North-South Joint

Statement was published a year ago is being damaged.

Because of our earnest desire to get over the difficult situation created today and bring about the people's long-cherished aspiration for peaceful national reunification as soon as possible, we hereby reaffirm before the world the policy of our Party and the Government of our Republic for independent, peaceful reunification:

**1. To improve the present relations between the north and south of Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country, it is necessary, first of all, to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and south.**

To remove military confrontation and alleviate tension between the north and south is a matter of pressing urgency and vital importance at present in dispelling the misunderstanding and mistrust and deepening mutual understanding and trust, creating an atmosphere of great national unity, ameliorating the relations between the north and south and bringing about the peaceful reunification of the country.

The military confrontation between the north and south with huge armed forces in itself constitutes not only a major factor which threatens peace in our country but also a source of misunderstanding and mistrust

Only when this fundamental question is solved can tension and mistrust between the north and south be removed, a climate of trust be created and all problems be settled successfully on the basis of mutual trust. It is unnatural to advocate peaceful reunification and hold a dialogue, with a dagger in one's pocket. Unless the dagger is taken out and laid down, it is impossible to create an atmosphere of mutual trust or find satisfactory solutions to any problems, large or small, related to the country's reunification, including that of achieving collaboration and interchange between the north and south.

Therefore, as the first step for the peaceful reunification of the country, we have more than once advanced to the south Korean authorities the five-point proposal: to cease the reinforcement of

armies and the arms race, make all foreign troops withdraw, reduce armed forces and armaments, stop the introduction of weapons from abroad and to conclude a peace agreement.

However, the south Korean authorities are determined to postpone the solution of this urgent problem and gradually solve matters of secondary importance through different stages. Actually this is intended not to increase mutual trust and promote great national unity, but to maintain and freeze the territorial division, keeping the painful wound of national partition unhealed.

If they truly desire peaceful reunification and seek the practical solution of the reunification question, the south Korean authorities must renounce this position and take the course of removing military confrontation.

**2. To improve north-south relations and expedite the country's reunification, it is necessary to bring about multilateral collaboration and interchange between the north and south in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields.**

Multilateral collaboration and interchange between the north and south are of tremendous importance in reuniting the severed ties of the nation and providing preconditions for reunification. Only when such collaboration and interchange are brought about, will it be possible to consolidate the peace agreement to be concluded between the north and south.

The south Korean authorities propose in words that both sides "completely open" their societies to each other, but in actual fact they are afraid of tearing down any of the barriers between the north and south and are dead set against interchange and collaboration between the two parts of the country.

The south Korean authorities are not collaborating with their fellow countrymen now; in collusion with outside forces, they are bringing in foreign monopoly capital without limit to reduce the south Korean economy completely to a dependent economy. They are even spoiling

our beautiful land by introducing polluting industries which are rejected as “rubbish” in foreign countries.

We again emphasize that if the south Korean authorities have a spark of national conscience, they should obviously strive to develop the economy in the interests of our nation through the joint exploitation of our country’s natural resources and bring about national collaboration in all spheres.

**3. In order to settle the question of the country’s reunification in conformity with the will and demand of our people, it is necessary to enable the masses of the people of all levels in the north and south to participate in the nationwide patriotic work for national reunification.**

We consider that the dialogue between the north and south for national reunification should not be confined to the authorities of the north and south but should be held on a nationwide scale.

To this end, we propose convening a Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all walks of life—the workers, working peasants, working intellectuals, students and soldiers in the north, and the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, military personnel, national capitalists and petty bourgeoisie in south Korea—and the representatives of political parties and social organizations in the north and south, and comprehensively discuss and solve the question of the country’s reunification at this congress.

**4. In speeding up the country’s reunification it is very important, today, to institute a north-south Federation under the name of a single country.**

It goes without saying that there may be various ways to achieve the complete reunification of the country.

Under the prevailing conditions we think that the most reasonable way for reunification is to convene the Great National Congress and

achieve national unity, and on this basis, institute the north-south Federation, leaving the two existing social systems in the north and south as they are for the time being.

If the north-south Federation is instituted, it will be good to call this federal state the Federal Republic of Koryo after Koryo, a united state which once existed on our territory and was widely known to the world. This will be a good name for the state, and acceptable to both the north and south.

The founding of the Federal Republic of Koryo will open up a decisive phase in preventing national partition, bringing about all-round contact and collaboration between the north and south and in hastening complete reunification.

**5. We consider that our country should be prevented from being partitioned into “two Koreas” permanently as a result of the freezing of national division and that the north and south should also work together in the field of external affairs.**

Of course we are developing state relations with all countries friendly to our Republic on the principle of equality and mutual benefit; but we resolutely oppose all intrigues designed to make use of this to create “two Koreas”.

We maintain that the north and south should not enter the UN separately, and consider that if they want to enter the UN before the reunification of the country, they should enter it as a single state under the name of the Federal Republic of Koryo, at least after the Federation is set up.

But apart from the question of admission to the UN, if the Korean question is placed on its agenda for discussion, the representative of our Republic should be entitled to take part in it and speak as the party concerned.

Our people are a single people who have lived with the same culture and the same language through many centuries, and they cannot live separated into two parts.

Our proposal is to remove military confrontation and ease tension between the north and south, bring about multilateral collaboration and interchange between the two parts, convene the Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all levels and political parties and social organizations in the north and south, institute the north-south Federation under the single name of the Federal Republic of Koryo and enter the UN under that name. When this proposal for the country's reunification is put into effect, there will be a great improvement in accomplishing the historic cause of peaceful national reunification on the principle of the North-South Joint Statement, as commonly desired by our people and the world's people.

We expect the south Korean authorities to approach this new fair proposal of ours for reunification sincerely.

At the same time we strongly demand that the United States face up to the rapidly changing situation of today, withdraw its troops from south Korea as soon as practicable and discontinue its aggression and intervention against our country.

If the United States thinks that it can swallow small nations one by one, while improving its relations with big powers only, or maintain its colonial domination by propping up its minions, already forsaken by the people, under the slogan of "anti-communism", it is seriously mistaken. This policy of the United States is more likely to arouse the resistance and hatred of the majority of the world's people and hasten its ruin.

We think that the UN should now strike at the United States' scheme to justify the occupation of south Korea by its troops under the pretext of the UN "resolution".

The UN must take the "UN forces" helmets off the US troops in south Korea, make them withdraw and dissolve the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and thus remove all the obstacles it has raised to hamper the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea, in keeping with the trend of the present times towards independence and peace. This is demanded by the general world situation.

It is the Japanese militarists who are still working desperately in the

international arena as the most active followers of the US imperialists in their ill-fated plots to meddle in our internal affairs. We again warn the Japanese militarists that they must also face facts squarely, give up their hostile policy against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and desist from their cunning attempts to seize an opportunity to give effect to their wild desire to invade south Korea again.

Comrades and friends,

The Korean people's righteous struggle to reject foreign interference and achieve the country's independent, peaceful reunification enjoys the support and encouragement of the peoples of socialist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all the peace-loving people of the world.

Our Party and people always regard it as an important factor for the victory of our revolution to cement their solidarity with the international revolutionary forces, while firmly building up their own revolutionary forces.

In the future, too, we shall fight staunchly for the triumph of the cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism, in unity with the peoples of socialist countries, in unity with the international working class, in unity with the fighting Asian, African and Latin American peoples and in unity with all the peace-loving people of the world, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist struggle.

The Korean people strongly support the Vietnamese people in the new phase of their struggle to ensure the strict observance of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, build socialism in the north, defend peace, independence and sovereignty in the south and reunify their country peacefully.

We also express firm solidarity with the Laotian people in their struggle to preserve peace in Laos and achieve national harmony and the reunification of their country.

Today the United States is expanding its war of aggression in Cambodia, raining down large quantities of bombs every hour of every

day, but it is only destroying its prestige and dignity with its own bombs and revealing its savagery more clearly. We sternly condemn the United States for its war of aggression against Cambodia and express full support to the patriotic Cambodian people's just fight for the complete liberation of their country.

The Korean people actively support the struggle of all Asian peoples against the aggression of US imperialism and the revival of Japanese militarism and resolutely support the struggle of the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples against the US-backed aggressors of Israel.

Our people actively support the struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for freedom, liberation and consolidated national independence and express firm solidarity with the struggle of the Latin-American peoples against the aggression and intervention of US imperialism and for defending the sovereignty, territorial waters and natural resources of their countries.

The Korean people express firm solidarity with the struggle of the working class and working people of the capitalist countries against exploitation and oppression by capital and for democratic rights and socialism.

The people in Europe have waged a protracted struggle to remove the root cause of war and guarantee durable peace and security in this continent which was the breeding ground of the two world wars.

We express full support to the endeavours of the European socialist countries and the peoples of other countries in Europe for peace and security in this part of the world.

We shall, in the future, too, continue to do all we can to promote fraternal friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Czechoslovak peoples in the struggle to attain our common goals and ideals.

Long live the indestructible fraternal friendship and solidarity between the Korean people and the Czechoslovak people!

Long live the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic!

Long live the banner of ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism!

# **ON THE FIVE-POINT POLICY FOR NATIONAL REUNIFICATION**

**Speech at an Enlarged Meeting of the Political  
Committee of the Central Committee  
of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*June 25, 1973*

In our speech two days ago, on June 23, we clarified, both internally and externally, our new five-point policy for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

From the first day, our speech met with a tremendous response at home and abroad. Not only all the Korean people warmly support and hail this five-point policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic; the governments and peoples of many countries have loudly proclaimed their support for it. The Party and Government delegation of Czechoslovakia who were on a visit to our country expressed full support for our five-point policy upon its publication and, in its wake, many countries have shown that they support it. Many foreign newspapers, news agencies and radio stations are giving wide publicity to the five-point policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic for national reunification and welcome it in their commentaries.

Our new five-point policy for national reunification is a positive step towards smashing the plot of the US imperialists and south Korean authorities to perpetuate national division, which has reached a very grave stage, and towards expediting the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

Even after publication of the North-South Joint Statement, US imperialism and the south Korean authorities persisted in their plans for national division.

In an attempt to establish “two Koreas”, the US imperialists have kept instigating the south Korean authorities to divisive actions under cover of the north-south dialogue. Openly declaring that south Korea should take up a “position of strength” in the north-south dialogue, they have continuously shipped new military equipment to south Korea and staged aggressive war exercises without cease. The Japanese militarists, dancing to the tune of the US imperialists, have also hampered the north-south dialogue and taken many actions against the reunification of our country. The US imperialists and the Japanese militarists aim, in the final analysis, at keeping our country divided indefinitely, and making south Korea their permanent colony and commodity market.

Under the active manipulation of US imperialism the south Korean authorities have adhered to the path of division, and not of reunification, flagrantly ignoring the agreed points of the North-South Joint Statement. Since publication of the joint statement the south Korean authorities have clung ever more desperately to the foreign forces. Crying for “confrontation with dialogue” and “competition with dialogue”, they turned down all our proposals to eliminate military confrontation and to enter into multilateral collaboration and interchange between the north and south and ceaselessly perpetrated aggressive provocations to aggravate tension. They also kept making “anti-communist” rackets and intensified their fascist suppression of the south Korean people. They uttered words about reunification, but in fact they worked frantically on the “two Koreas” strategy aimed at freezing and perpetuating the division.

The south Korean authorities who had pursued their “two Koreas” strategy in every way under the manipulation of US imperialism, finally issued a so-called “special statement” on the morning of June 23, openly proclaiming to the world their “policy” of perpetuating the country’s division.

In the “special statement” the south Korean authorities declared, in short, that the north and the south should enter the UN separately while keeping our country divided. This anti-national assertion is simply intolerable. Should things turn out as the south Korean authorities desire, our nation will be split in two for ever and the south Korean people will remain colonial slaves of the US imperialists permanently.

This policy of perpetuating national division pursued by the south Korean authorities with the backing of US imperialism, has placed a grave obstacle in the way of national reunification. In order to remove that obstacle and promote the national cause of independent, peaceful reunification, we should resolutely and promptly smash the treacherous declaration of the south Korean authorities and open up before the whole nation a broad perspective and a clear-cut way to national reunification. That was why on the afternoon of June 23, we set forth the five-point policy for national reunification as a new measure to save the nation.

Our five-point policy is: to remove military confrontation and lessen the tension between the north and south, to achieve multilateral collaboration and interchange between the north and south, to convene a Great National Congress comprising representatives of people of all levels, political parties and social organizations from the north and south, to institute a north-south Federation named the Federal Republic of Koryo, and to enter the UN under that name.

First of all, we maintain that military confrontation should be eliminated and tensions be removed between the north and south in order to improve relations and accelerate the country’s peaceful reunification.

To remove military confrontation and tensions between the north and south is now the most urgent, vital problem in dispelling misunderstanding and distrust, and deepening mutual understanding and trust, creating an atmosphere of great national unity, improving north-south relations, and in achieving the country’s peaceful reunification.

The military confrontation between the north and south with their

huge armed forces is in itself not only a major factor endangering peace in our country, but also a source of misunderstanding and distrust.

The solution of this fundamental problem is a prerequisite for the removal of tensions and distrust between the north and south, the creation of an atmosphere of trust, and the satisfactory settlement of all problems on the basis of mutual trust. It is unnatural to advocate peaceful reunification and hold a dialogue with a dagger in one's belt. Unless the dagger is laid on the table, it is impossible to create an atmosphere of mutual trust or find satisfactory solutions to any national reunification problems, whether large or small, including that of achieving cooperation and interchange between the north and south.

Therefore, as the first step towards the peaceful reunification of the country, we have more than once put before the south Korean authorities this five-point proposal: cessation of the reinforcement of armies and the arms race, withdrawal of all foreign troops, reduction of armed forces and armaments, ending of the introduction of weapons from outside and conclusion of a peace agreement.

However, the south Korean authorities insist that the solution of this urgent problem should be postponed and that at the most, matters of secondary importance should be settled step by step at various stages. This means that they do not sincerely want to increase mutual trust and promote great national unity, but to maintain and freeze the country's division, leaving the raw wound of national partition unhealed.

If the south Korean authorities truly desire peaceful reunification and seek a practical solution of the reunification question, they must renounce this position and follow the course of eliminating military confrontation.

Now we maintain that many-sided cooperation and interchange between the north and south should be accomplished in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields in order to improve north-south relations and expedite the country's reunification.

Many-sided cooperation and interchange are of tremendous

importance in repairing the severed bonds of the nation and providing preconditions for reunification. Only when such cooperation and interchange are achieved, will it be possible to consolidate the peace agreement to be concluded between the north and south.

The south Korean authorities say that they propose that both sides “throw open” their societies to each other, but, in fact, they are afraid of tearing down any of the barriers between the two parts of the country and are resolutely opposed to their interchange and collaboration.

Instead of collaborating with their own fellow countrymen, the south Korean authorities now conspire with forces outside and invite foreign monopoly capital without any limitation, thus reducing the south Korean economy completely to an appendage. They are even spoiling our beautiful land by bringing in polluting industries rejected as “rubbish” by foreign countries.

If the south Korean authorities have an ounce of national conscience, they should naturally strive to develop the economy in the interests of our nation through the joint exploitation of our country’s natural resources and bring about national cooperation in all fields of activity.

We also maintain that the broad masses of the people of all backgrounds in the north and the south should be given an opportunity to participate in the nationwide patriotic work for national reunification in order to settle the question of the country’s reunification in conformity with the will and demand of our people.

The north-south dialogue for national reunification should not be confined to the authorities of the two zones but should be held on a national scale. That is why we have proposed convening a Great National Congress composed of representatives of the people from all walks of life—workers, peasants, working intellectuals, students and soldiers in the northern half, and workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, military men, non-comprador capitalists and petty bourgeoisie in south Korea—and representatives of political parties and social organizations in the north and south, to discuss the question of

the country's reunification at the congress and solve it.

We also maintain that a north-south Federation should be instituted under a single national nomenclature in order to hasten the country's reunification.

Needless to say, there are various ways of achieving the complete reunification of the country. Under the prevailing situation, we think that the most reasonable way of reunification is to convene a Great National Congress and achieve national unity, and, on this basis, institute the north-south Federation, leaving the two existing systems in the north and the south as they are for the time being.

In the event of the north-south Federation being instituted, it would be good to call the state the Federal Republic of Koryo after the united state of Koryo which once existed in our land and was widely known throughout the world. This will be a good name for the country, and acceptable to both the north and the south.

The founding of the Federal Republic of Koryo will open up the decisive phase in preventing national division, bringing about all-round contact and cooperation between the north and south and hastening complete reunification.

Further, we maintain that our country should be prevented from being split into "two Koreas" permanently as a result of freezing the present national division and that the north and south should also work together in the field of external activities.

At present we are developing state relations with all countries friendly to our Republic on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. But we must resolutely oppose all machinations designed to make use of this in manufacturing "two Koreas".

We consider that the north and the south should not enter the UN separately and that if they want to enter the UN before the country's reunification, they should do so as a single state under the name of the Federal Republic of Koryo, at least after the Federation is set up.

But apart from the question of admission to the UN, if the Korean question is brought up for discussion at the UN General Assembly, the representative of our Republic should as a matter of course take part in

the discussions and have his say as one of the parties concerned.

Our people are homogeneous and have lived with the same culture and the same language for ages, and they can never live divided into two.

If our recent five-point policy for national reunification is carried into effect, there will be a great turn in realizing the historic cause of peaceful reunification on the principles set out in the North-South Joint Statement, in compliance with the common desire of our people and the people of the world.

The announcement of the five-point policy has shown more clearly who really opposes division and desires reunification, and who is against reunification and seeks division. The people of the world have come to realize that the US imperialists and the south Korean authorities are doggedly opposed to the reunification of our country and are working to keep Korea divided indefinitely, whereas our Party and the Government of the Republic are making positive efforts to prevent the permanent division of the nation and achieve reunification in conformity with the will and desire of all the Korean people.

The announcement of our five-point policy has proved to be a telling blow against the separatists within and without. It has nullified the so-called “special statement” of the south Korean authorities immediately after its pronouncement and laid bare every underhand plot and trick devised by the US imperialists and their stooges under the slogan of “peaceful reunification”.

There is no doubt that our five-point policy will be warmly supported and welcomed by the peoples of an increasing number of countries as time passes, and that the “two Koreas” plot of the US imperialists and the south Korean authorities will meet with strong protests and denunciation from the world’s public.

Our five-point policy is a most fair and reasonable plan acceptable to all who truly love the country and the nation and desire the country’s reunification. Its realization is the only way to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country in conformity with the common desires and aspirations of the whole nation.

We should make every effort in the future to carry this policy into effect at the earliest possible date.

We should explain and propagate the five-point policy for national reunification widely amongst all the people in north and south Korea and rouse them for the sacred struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

We must also make it widely known abroad. Thus, we will give greater numbers of people throughout the world a clear understanding of the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic for independent, peaceful reunification, and steadily increase the number of people who support and sympathize with our people's struggle for national reunification.

The five-point policy for national reunification and our people's revolutionary struggle for its accomplishment are fully justified. Victory will surely go to a people who fight for a righteous cause under the banner of justice. Although at present huge obstacles and difficulties lie in the way of our struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, the internal and external separatists' plans for permanent division will be checked and frustrated and our historic cause of national reunification will certainly be achieved through the brave struggle of the people in north and south Korea with the active support and encouragement of the progressive people of the world.

**TALK TO THE KINGDOM OF NEPAL'S  
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

*July 23, 1973*

I am pleased that you are visiting our country and welcome you warmly.

Your visit to our country will contribute greatly to promoting friendship between the peoples of Korea and Nepal.

I express my thanks to you for your words of compliment to our country, our people and myself, which are more than we deserve.

I regard your praise as an encouragement to us, and I promise to work harder in the future to strengthen the friendship and solidarity between our two countries and to contribute to the promotion of world peace.

What you have just said about independence is perfectly correct. It is very important to maintain independence and follow the path of independence.

Independence is necessary for both a country and a man. If a country lacks independence, it inevitably becomes dependent on another country, if a man lacks independence, he cannot escape enslavement.

A country, whether socialist or nationalist or whatever it might be, must need independence. A country which lacks independence is not an independent state, although it may be independent in name. It can do nothing on its own and will eventually be ruined.

In the old days, our country was, for a long time, subjected to aggression by imperialists including the Japanese imperialists and to the pressure of the large powers. In those days the feudal rulers in our country lost independence and were involved in factional strife, manipulated by the large powers. This enabled the Japanese imperialists to occupy our country and force colonial servitude upon our people for 36 long years.

Our people know the history of national slavery very well. There is a Korean saying that an enslaved nation is worse than a dog in a house of mourning. This is true. We experienced the bitterness of colonial slavery, and so we are trying to prevent our descendants from suffering the same fate.

In order not to repeat the story of our national enslavement, we are adhering to independence in every sphere. In other words, we hold fast to the principle of maintaining Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-reliance in national defence. This is the way our country maintains complete independence and sovereignty.

In the economic field, we are building a fully independent economy. No country can maintain complete economic independence if it admits foreign capital investment without discretion and becomes heavily in debt. Our country is not indebted to any other countries. Our people do not want to be subjected to other countries economically or exploited by others. We will never pass on an economically-dependent country to our descendants.

If we are economically dependent we shall not be able to maintain complete political independence. Therefore, we advocate establishing Juche strictly in all fields and maintaining independence.

We are building socialism in our own way. We do not follow the fashion of either the USSR or China. We are building socialism in the Korean fashion. We are developing the arts on the soil of our nation and everything else on a national basis. We reject flunkeyism which mechanically copies foreign ideas.

We always say that if a person adopts flunkeyism he becomes an

idiot; if a nation takes to flunkeyism the country is ruined; if a party follows flunkeyism it brings confusion to the revolution and construction. We do not hide this from anyone. It is no secret that we are opposed to flunkeyism.

We speak and write about the need to reject flunkeyism. We tell foreigners that we are opposed to flunkeyism. We appeal to all the people to oppose flunkeyism.

We also call upon the south Korean people to uphold independence instead of following flunkeyism, particularly towards Japan and the United States. The Koreans must not become assimilated with the Japanese or the Americans.

But, unfortunately, there are some south Koreans who are proud of becoming Americans and declare themselves all but Americanized. They are exactly like Americans except for their noses and stature. These people are quite American in their way of thinking and living. We can only feel national indignation for them. They are a great disgrace and misfortune to us Koreans. People become fools if they lose independence and take to flunkeyism in this way.

We shall never give up independence. We are paying special attention to educating young people so that they will maintain independence. It is only when our young people maintain independence that they can uphold the dignity of the country and achieve national prosperity.

“Let us remember the past!” This is our slogan. We are educating the young people who do not know the former miseries of our nation, so that they will not forget the old days and suffer the same misfortunes again. We are also educating all the people to lead a thrifty life and to overcome all difficulties for the prosperity and development of the country and the nation.

Both Nepal and Korea are small countries, and our two peoples suffered oppression and exploitation by other countries in the past. Our people want solidarity with the Nepalese people. Differences in system and ideology are not an obstacle to solidarity between countries and peoples. We do not wish to force communist ideology on anyone. As

your king rightly said, no one can impose communism upon people. Revolution cannot be exported, either. Which system and which ideology to adopt are questions that should be settled by the free choice of the people of the country concerned. What matters in solidarity between countries is not the system but whether they have independence or not.

We are not narrow-minded communists.

We are also on good terms with kings. As you know, we have a good relationship with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. Of course, he is not a communist. But we supported him when he, as a reigning king, pursued an independent and peaceful policy. Today, we keep faith with him just as we did when he still held the sceptre. While he was on a foreign tour, the US imperialists seized the opportunity to urge their stooges to stage subversive activities. We believe that this subversion is unjustifiable. We strongly support Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in his fight against the US imperialists.

Your king is also implementing an independent and peaceful policy, and we support it. Being communists, we differ from you in ideology, political tenets and religious belief. But we do not mind these differences. The peoples of our two countries are fighting for independence. I think that the two countries can be friends with each other because both of them were liberated from the yoke of imperialist colonial oppression, are opposed to imperialism and are fighting to build independent and prosperous countries. We wish to maintain friendly relations with all independent-minded people. We shall continue to endeavour to strengthen friendship and solidarity with the Kingdom of Nepal and its people.

Nepal, a small country surrounded by large neighbours, is maintaining independence and following a peace-loving foreign policy. The Kingdom of Nepal follows the non-alignment policy, which in itself shows its independent stand. Because of its progressive policy, your country also took part in GANEFO. We highly esteem your country for its adherence to independence and its aspirations for peace. Its policy is just because it is in favour of independence and sovereignty.

I once visited Indonesia, and the prince of Nepal was also there as an envoy of the Nepalese king. I think the prince is now the king of your country. At that time, the prince was there to attend the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung conference which were organized by Sukarno. From this I could judge that the Kingdom of Nepal was following an independent, peaceful policy.

On that occasion we met the prince of Nepal and the princess of Iran there, and made the acquaintance of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. Since then we have been friendly with him and have established state relations with Iran, and now we are on friendly terms with you in the same way. These are all very good things.

I am not going to speak to you about the Juche philosophy at length. Since you raised the subject of independence, I have just spoken about it briefly.

I am glad that you have an understanding of independence which we advocate.

I thank you again, firmly convinced that your visit to our country will contribute greatly to strengthening friendship between the Nepalese and Korean peoples and to developing relations between our two countries.

I hope that we shall all work together for lasting friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Nepalese peoples. It will be beneficial for us to visit each other frequently and learn from each other. We shall learn from you good experience. And if you want to study our simple experience, you will be welcome. Let us fight together for world peace, national independence and freedom by helping each other in unity.

I hope that, on your return home, you will convey my best wishes to the king of Nepal.

# **LET US ACHIEVE A GREAT NEW IMPROVEMENT IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION**

**Speech at a National Meeting of Activists  
in the Field of Agriculture**

*August 9, 1973*

To begin with, on behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic and in my own name, I should like to thank all the working people and senior workers in agriculture for the devoted efforts they are making on the agricultural front in hearty response to the Party's call to effect an improvement in agricultural production.

I also express my gratitude to the senior officials of the Party organizations at all levels who guide the rural economy and to those, particularly university lecturers and students, who under the Party's assignment, are energetically carrying on the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the country areas.

Crops are very good this year. Our harvests will reach an all-time high. We have not only raised good crops this year, but also laid solid material-technical and politico-ideological foundations to attain the goal of 6.5 to 7 million tons in grain production in the next year or two. This is entirely due to the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee; to the energetic work carried out under the leadership of the Party Central Committee by Party organizations at all levels, and by all the agricultural work force and the young intellectuals working

in the rural areas; and to effective assistance rendered to these areas by the whole Party and all the people, including the working class, men and officers of the People's Army and students.

Allow me to express my gratitude to the agricultural activists attending this meeting and to the working class, students and all those other people who have devotedly endeavoured to assist the country areas.

I am very gratified by the fact that the commanding officers and soldiers of the People's Army, upholding the Party's call to help the country areas to increase per-hectare grain output by one ton or more, have given effective assistance, while faithfully carrying out their military duties. I extend my warm congratulations and thanks to them.

Some people may think that it is too soon for us to sum up this year's farm work and cheer, but this is by no means so. Our grain output could of course drop a little if there was to be a storm. But neither a storm nor any other natural disaster can demolish the material-technical and politico-ideological foundations of agriculture which we have laid this year. We have scored a great success this year by raising good crops; this enables us to fill the nation's rice granaries. But a still more important achievement is that we have laid the solid bases—material and technical, political and ideological—necessary for attaining an even higher target in farm production in the future. With such bases for agriculture, we could produce much more than the target of seven million tons of grain. So it is with pride and confidence that we review this year's victory in the agricultural sector.

The primary factor of this year's brilliant victory in agriculture lies in the vigorous promotion of the ideological revolution in the rural areas.

The mighty ideological revolution in the countryside has brought about a fundamental change in the ideological and mental attitudes of the senior officials and working people in agriculture. In particular, the bureaucratic and subjective style of work of senior agricultural personnel has disappeared. The farmers we met and talked to were unanimous in crediting this year's good crops to the elimination of the

bureaucracy and subjectivism of those who guide agriculture.

As we often say, bureaucracy and subjectivism are harmful styles of work which a party in power should most strongly guard against. So far, our Party has persistently fought against these negative qualities among officials, and particularly this year it has launched a strong campaign to eliminate them from the agricultural sector. As a result, bureaucracy and subjectivism which persisted amongst senior agricultural workers have been overcome, and they have all acquired the revolutionary quality of setting an example to others; they work in company with cooperative farmers and endeavour to implement the Party's agricultural policy.

With the vigorous promotion of the ideological revolution in the country areas, not only the senior officials but also all the working people in agriculture have armed themselves firmly with the Juche idea of the Party and acquired the habit of rejecting idleness and indolence and of working earnestly as masters of society and the collective.

Further, this year's brilliant victory in agriculture is attributable to the faithful implementation of the Party's policy to promote the technical revolution in the rural areas and thereby strengthen the material and technical foundations of agriculture and place farm work on a scientific and technological basis.

To expect good crops without making investments in agriculture is an inclination to revisionism and an absurdity. In agriculture, as in other branches, production can be increased provided its material and technical foundations are strongly backed by state investments. In the past, however, some officials did not supply sufficient tractors and other farm machines, nor did they provide enough phosphatic and microelement fertilizers to the farms, claiming that there was a shortage of raw and other materials. They also failed to make positive efforts to carry out the Party's policy of scientific and technological farming.

This year we criticized these wrong practices and made great efforts to consolidate the material and technical foundations of the rural economy and carry on farm work on a scientific and technological

basis. The state has produced a great many tractors and other farm machines, and a large quantity of various chemical fertilizers, and supplied them to the rural areas. It also took steps to send agro-technicians who were working in other fields to the farming districts. These measures made a great contribution to increasing this year's agricultural production markedly.

This year's victory in agriculture is also due to improved labour administration and the concentration of all forces on farming.

As early as 1960, at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-ri Party organization, Kangso County, we mentioned the need to refrain from dispersing rural manpower and to concentrate every effort on farming. And subsequently, we stressed this necessity time and time again. However, some officials in agriculture did not carry out this policy of the Party correctly. This year we have made sure that an end is put to the practice of dispersing rural manpower, that efforts are concentrated on farm work, and that farm machinery and means of transport, including tractors and lorries in the country areas are used for farming purposes only. These measures to concentrate all rural forces in farming have resulted in great successes in this year's agricultural production.

Our victory in this year's farming did not come of its own accord. Our victory has been fought for. So it is genuine and solid. Our socialist countryside will develop further on the basis of this victory.

Now I should like to speak about some tasks which are aimed at consolidating the present successes in agriculture and bringing about a new improvement in production.

First, we must step up the technical revolution in country areas even more.

As you all know, the year 1974 marks the tenth anniversary of the publication of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. We must put great effort into the rural technical revolution and thus fulfil its major tasks as set forth in the theses by next year. The ideological revolution is a revolutionary task which has to be carried out without cease until all the people have been completely

working-classized, revolutionized and converted into communists. But in the technical revolution a definite goal can be set for each stage and attained; it can be completed within a comparatively short period. Up till now, the rural technical revolution has been vigorously promoted in accordance with the policy set forth in the theses, with the result that the irrigation programme has long since been completed, rural electrification splendidly achieved, and agricultural mechanization and the use of chemicals brought to a high level. If we continue to promote the technical revolution in the rural areas with energy, we shall be able to achieve its major objectives as specified in the theses by next year and gain a decisive victory in the task of completing this revolution.

Our important task for the completion of the rural technical revolution today is to complete the mechanization of agriculture quickly.

To do this, we must concentrate mainly on the production of tractors and supply more of them to the countryside.

By increasing the output of tractors sharply, we should fulfil the task, presented in the theses, of bringing their number to 70,000-80,000 in the rural areas by next year and the number for every 100 hectares of cultivated land to five in 1975 and six to seven in 1976.

For the rapid growth of tractor production, it is imperative to utilize to the utmost the capacity of the Kum Song Tractor Plant and normalize its production at a high level. Last year the Party and the state concentrated on enlarging this plant. As a result, its production capacity has grown ten times, and it has become a powerful centre of tractor production capable of manufacturing tens of thousands a year.

The workers at the Kum Song Tractor Plant must be able to handle automated machinery and equipment skilfully by improving their technical qualifications quickly; and they must operate every machine to full capacity and make the best use of their factory's production potential so as to produce more tractors. Moreover, the officials concerned must rectify the shortage of manpower at this factory quickly in order to ensure its smooth operation in two shifts and provide every necessary condition for the normalization of its production.

With a view to increasing the number of tractors rapidly and increasing the mechanization of agriculture, we must turn out large quantities of different types of small tractors.

The *Chollima* tractor is no doubt best suited to the actual conditions of our countryside. But a small tractor like the *Jonjin* type is handier for cooperative farms situated in mountain areas. The *Jonjin* tractor is very useful for transport work on cooperative farms located in the plains as well. One *Jonjin* tractor can carry as great a load as ten oxcarts. So if we produce a sufficient amount of small tractors for the rural areas, we shall be able to dispense with all oxcarts in a few years' time. The September 25 Tractor Plant should make full use of its present production capacity and increase the output of *Jonjin* tractors considerably.

As well as the *Jonjin* tractor, the *Chungsong* tractor should be manufactured in large numbers. The *Chungsong* tractor, recently made in a local district after its own design, is simple in structure and easy to operate. So it is serviceable on cooperative farms in mountainous areas. The machine-building industry must take over the factory manufacturing *Chungsong* tractors, complete technological preparations and strengthen its production base this year so as to start operating it regularly from next year. At the same time, all provinces should improve on the experience gained in manufacturing the *Chungsong* tractor and endeavour to manufacture small tractors by their own efforts.

With the growth of tractor production, more tractors should be supplied next year to the cooperative farms located in flat country and intermediary areas. In particular, we should ensure that four or five tractors are available for every 100 hectares of cultivated land on over 700 cooperative farms in the fiat-area counties, including Ryongchon County in North Phyongan Province, Mundok County in South Phyongan Province, Hwangju County in North Hwanghae Province, Hamju County in South Hamgyong Province and Anbyon County in Kangwon Province, which are rich grain producers. And the cooperative farms in the intermediary areas with great potential for grain production

should also be provided with many tractors to increase grain output.

Many *Phungnyon* and *Chollima* tractors should be supplied to the cooperative farms which are in the plain areas; numerous *Chollima* and *Jonjin* tractors to those in the intermediary areas, and large numbers of *Jonjin* and other small tractors to those in the mountain areas.

In order to complete the mechanization of agriculture, more lorries must be produced and sent to rural areas. The automobile production bases should be further expanded and reinforced, and technical innovations effected in the automobile factories so as to promote a marked increase in output.

The comprehensive mechanization of agriculture requires a greater number of rice transplanting machines, weeding machines, mobile threshers and other farm machines in addition to tractors and vehicles.

In our country, where rice is cultivated on an extensive scale, it is very important to mechanize rice transplanting. Highly-efficient rice transplanting machines should be designed and manufactured in large numbers. Rice transplanting should be completely mechanized by 1975. Weeding as well as threshing should be effectively mechanized. On cooperative farms threshing is not done in the fields, but on the threshing grounds after the sheaves have been brought there. This costs a great deal of labour and causes no small loss of grain. A large number of efficient mobile threshers of different types should be produced to enable rice to be threshed right in the fields. The mechanization of threshing should be completed by 1975.

While mechanizing land cultivation, we should strive to perform mechanically such difficult and labour-consuming work as making straw-bags, twisting straw rope and peeling cornstalks.

In this way, the task of effecting the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture set forth by the Party should be carried out at an early date.

As large numbers of tractors and various farm machines are sent out to the country areas, those engaged in agriculture should endeavour to use them effectively. In particular, they should optimize the utilization of tractors.

A more efficient use of tractors requires appropriate land realignment.

Although many tractors are now at work in the country areas, their utilization rate is low because the fields have not been properly set out. Some cooperative farms still have many terraced paddy fields and small plots of land which need to be realigned. The terraced paddy fields are difficult to work with tractors and their per-hectare yields are low. Cooperative farms which have many such fields must carry out land realignment extensively, thereby widening sections of the paddies wherever possible, and turning the fields on steep slopes into non-paddy fields. In addition to paddies, non-paddy fields should likewise be methodically realigned so that tractors can enter and work freely on all paddy and non-paddy fields.

The state should produce and supply enough bulldozers and *Phungnyon* tractors to cooperative farms to enable them to realign their fields properly. Cooperative farms should launch an energetic drive for the use of *Chollima* tractors in this work.

While land is being realigned properly, roads must be improved. Without good roads it is impossible to increase the utilization of tractors and use them as long as their expected length of service. All cooperative farms should keep both the tracks leading to the fields and the village streets in good condition.

In order to make better use of tractors, various types of mounted and towed farm machines should be produced in sufficient quantities. A vigorous campaign for devising and producing such machines should be conducted; in particular, every province should strive to produce more trailers to meet its own needs.

Another important thing in improving the utilization of tractors is to produce spare parts in larger quantities and keep them in good repair and proper condition. Every local district should build up its tractor-repair centre and produce the necessary spare parts on its own. While the tractor parts factories turn out a large quantity of items needed for the repair of tractors, it is advisable for other local machine-building plants to produce them, too.

In accordance with the policy we have already outlined, each county cooperative farm management committee should keep one or two mobile repair cars, and carry out small repairs of tractors when requested by cooperative farms. A mobile repair car equipped with a lathe, a drilling machine and a welding machine and manned by two or three repair workers, including the driver, can go to cooperative farms to repair tractors there. Medium repairs of tractors should be carried out in county centres, and one or two tractor-repair shops should be set up in each province to cope with overhauls.

We must make even greater use of chemicals as well as mechanization in order to complete the technical revolution in the country areas.

The *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* set the objective of raising the per-hectare application of chemical fertilizers to more than one ton in order to achieve the full-scale use of chemicals. This goal will be easily attained next year if we work diligently.

An important current task in accomplishing this work is to speed up the completion of the expansion projects and repair and reinforcement of the existing chemical fertilizer factories, to accelerate the construction of new ones now under construction, and to bring about innovations in fertilizer production so as to increase the supply of the three major types of fertilizers and various micronutrients.

To augment the output of nitrogen fertilizer, the chemical industry and building workers must accelerate the expansion projects of the Chongsu Chemical Factory, the Sunchon Nitrolime Fertilizer Factory and the Aoji Chemical Factory now under construction, and quickly finish the repair and reinforcement of the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory. And the machine-building industry must speedily produce nitrogen separators, compressors and various other types of machinery and equipment to be used in expanding the production capacities of the nitrogen fertilizer factories. In this way, we should ensure that 1.5 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer are produced next year.

In the production of chemical fertilizers it is important to increase the output of phosphate fertilizer rapidly. Our country now produces a

considerable amount of nitrogen fertilizer and will be able to meet nearly all the demands for it by next year. But the output of phosphate fertilizer is still inadequate. The production of this fertilizer should therefore be rapidly increased through vigorous efforts.

In order to achieve a speedy increase in the output of phosphate fertilizer, it is essential to create our own solid raw material bases. In recent years we have set up phosphate fertilizer factories in the major grain producing provinces and laid raw material bases for them by developing many apatite mine. North and South Hamgyong Provinces, however, have no apatite production bases as yet. In collaboration with the General Bureau of Mining Industry, they should develop apatite mines in Tongam and Kim Chaek districts as soon as possible.

To obtain a higher output of phosphate fertilizer we must also speedily complete the expansion projects of phosphate fertilizer factories and the construction of new ones now under construction. At present North Hamgyong Province has no phosphate fertilizer factory, so it should build one. Thus, more than one million tons of phosphate fertilizer should be turned out next year, and its output increased to 1.5 million tons by the end of the Six-Year Plan.

With the rapid growth of chemical fertilizer production, a scientific fertilizing system should be thoroughly established in agriculture to raise the effectiveness of fertilizers to the maximum. We cannot increase grain yields by liberally applying nitrogen fertilizer alone while using less phosphate and potassium fertilizers. When the correct proportions of nitrogen, phosphate and potassium fertilizers are used, the crops will grow and ripen well without being blown down by the wind.

Since we shall produce 1.5 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer and more than one million tons of phosphate fertilizer next year, we should apply 120 kilogrammes of nitrogen, 100 kilogrammes of phosphate and 30 kilogrammes of potassium fertilizers to every hectare of rice fields, and 100 kilogrammes of nitrogen, 70 kilogrammes of phosphate and 30 kilogrammes of potassium fertilizers to every hectare of non-paddy fields. As for potassium fertilizer, it is advisable to apply a

little more than this norm. But for the time being we should leave it at that, and when the output of the fertilizer increases in future, we may apply a little more of it. Cooperative farms should apply chemical fertilizers properly according to the above-mentioned norms, as required by the respective qualities of soil and crops.

In addition to the three major fertilizers, various micronutrient fertilizers should be produced and supplied in large quantities.

Some people say that less sunshine results in poor crop yields. This was true in the old days, when farming was done without micronutrient fertilizers and with a very limited application of the three major fertilizers. Adequate application of these fertilizers results in good crops and high, stable harvests, irrespective of the amount of sunshine. The sections in charge of the production of micronutrient fertilizers should unfailingly guarantee the supply of slightly burnt magnesia, borax, copper sulphate, manganese sulphate and zinc sulphate, and various other micronutrient fertilizers as stipulated in the state plan.

In order to accomplish the widespread agricultural use of chemicals, different kinds of agricultural chemicals including highly effective herbicides should be produced and supplied in large quantities.

It will only be possible to free the farmers from weeding operations—one of the most backbreaking kinds of work—and increase grain output when a large quantity of herbicides are supplied to the rural areas. The farmers now want plenty of herbicides. We should increase their production next year by expanding the production capacities of the existing herbicides factories and by building a new one. Thus, a greater quantity of various highly effective herbicides should be supplied to the countryside.

To proceed, the cultural revolution must be accelerated in the country areas.

This holds an important place in the building of socialism in rural areas. We must continue to direct great efforts to this revolution and thereby accelerate the construction of a modern socialist countryside.

First of all, it is necessary to enforce universal compulsory ten-year

education correctly in the rural areas. To do so, a large number of schools should be built. Senior agricultural officials and Party organizations of all levels should build schools in a mass movement and ensure enough classrooms to accommodate all the children who will be enrolled this year.

In addition, the universities of education and teachers training colleges should improve their work and graduate a large number of teachers required for the enforcement of universal compulsory ten-year education.

The state must supply the schools with vehicles, tractors and machine tools for practical training, and so provide an opportunity for the students to learn to drive vehicles, operate tractors and use machine tools such as lathes and drilling machines. All students should, therefore, be able to drive vehicles and operate tractors and machine tools after graduating from senior middle school. Then, there would be no need to maintain schools devoted to the training of vehicle and tractor drivers. We would only have to give students who have finished compulsory ten-year education one-month course for the driving and operating regulations and other necessary knowledge, and then grant them licenses to drive motorcars or operate tractors.

To rear our children at social and government expense is an important undertaking to alleviate the burden of mothers and bring up our children to be men of a communist type. The present nurseries and kindergartens in farm villages should be better furnished, and new modern ones built in large numbers, so that all children can be accommodated and brought up there. At the same time, supply work for the nurseries and kindergartens should be improved to provide the children with an adequate amount of tasty and nutritious meals. In this way, we would raise healthy children and rural women would be able to work free from worries about their offspring.

Another important task of the cultural revolution in rural areas is to ensure a rapid improvement in the cultural and technical standards of the farmers. If this is not done, it will be impossible to manage our modernized agriculture properly and to carry out the technical and

cultural revolutions in the rural areas successfully.

To raise the cultural and technical levels of the farmers, we should intensify educational work among them. Some Party organizations and senior officials in rural areas are now paying little attention to this. They are wrong. In future the Party organizations and management personnel in the countryside should organize study widely amongst the farmers and give them intensive education during winter, in particular. For the farmers to study in winter, such work as making straw-bags and twisting straw ropes should be mechanized. At present farmers make straw-bags and straw ropes by hand and so are barred from studying even in winter, their slack season. The mechanization of this work will enable them to study and relax in winter. To mechanize this work, the state must manufacture a large number of straw-bag-weaving and rope-twisting machines and supply them to the farm villages.

If your organizational work is efficient you can pass on technological and cultural knowledge to the farmers even during the rice transplanting season. If the university students and teachers who go to the rural areas to help in rice transplanting are given proper encouragement, it will be entirely possible to communicate technological and cultural knowledge to the farmers. The trouble is that senior agricultural officials pay little attention to the farmers' cultural and technical improvement and neglect the necessary organizational work. In future, Party organizations and senior officials in the farming districts should persuade the students and teachers who come to help the farmers to teach them technical and scientific farming expertise and give them various instructions in the field of culture.

Sending agricultural technicians and agricultural university graduates to rural areas is an important factor in introducing scientifically-proved farming and raising the cultural and technical levels of the farmers. The Party has recently taken steps to transfer all agricultural technicians who are working in other fields to the rural areas. This measure, however, has not been proceeding well. While transferring all the agricultural technicians working in other fields to

cooperative farms in pursuance of the Party's policy, we should assign every agricultural university graduate to the country areas in the future. It will then be possible to build up the technical cadres in rural areas substantially and, through them, to make rapid improvement in the farmers' technical and cultural levels.

While sending many young graduates from agricultural university to rural areas, measures should also be taken to re-educate the old cadres who have been working in agriculture for a long time.

One of the important tasks in raising the farmers' cultural and technical levels is to improve the circulation of publications and the broadcasting information service in rural areas. We should dispatch sufficient copies of newspapers, magazines and other publications to the rural districts in future. In addition, we must send many television sets to farm villages and take steps to improve the cable radio broadcasts there. This would assist all the farmers to enrich their cultural life and raise their cultural and technical qualifications within a short time.

We must hasten the construction of modern farm houses.

Our Party's Fifth Congress set forth the task of building houses for 150,000-200,000 families in the farm villages every year. The senior agricultural officials and Party organizations must carry out this task without fail by striving hard to build a greater number of houses in the rural areas.

Houses should be built in the countryside using locally-produced materials. The state is not in a position to provide all the materials needed for the construction of these modern houses because it has undertaken vast construction projects, including industrial ones. So the state can supply timber only, while all the other materials, such as bricks, cement and structural steel, should be produced in the local areas for their own use.

While a large number of rural houses are being built, the farmers should keep their homes neat and tidy. The state spends a great deal of money on the construction of good modern houses for the farmers, but some of them do not keep them neat and clean. Senior agricultural

workers and Party organizations must wage a powerful ideological struggle to help the farmers eliminate the old habit of neglecting their houses and take good care of them.

Water-supply service must be introduced in the villages at an early date, and many laundries and bath-houses have to be built. At the same time, the state should manufacture and supply large quantities of washing machines and kitchen utensils to the country areas. The women living there will thus be relieved of the heavy burdens of housekeeping and all the farmers should be encouraged to live in a cultured and hygienic way.

Rural clinics and hospitals should be better equipped. Although every cooperative farm now has a clinic or a hospital, medical services for farmers are not satisfactory because medicines and medical appliances are in short supply. The state should produce a larger quantity of medicines and medical appliances and supply them to the village clinics and hospitals, thereby improving medical services for the rural population and bringing the advantages of the free medical care system into full play.

One of the important current tasks of the cultural revolution is to combat the old way of life and establish a new, socialist way of life. A number of old habits linger on in rural areas. Wedding ceremonies, for instance, entail a lot of empty formality and pompous display, as well as a great deal of extravagance. A great deal of food is wasted on wedding ceremonies, and this is a remnant of the old convention left over by the exploiter society. Instead of preparing and wasting lots of food at a wedding, it would be more sensible to purchase a wardrobe, a bedclothes chest and other furniture and kitchen utensils with the money spent on food.

In rural areas the Party organizations should carry out an urgent campaign to do away with antiquated practices and establish a new socialist way of living. It will not do to employ coercive methods on the pretext of combatting the old way of life. No administrative order or coercive methods can root out the remnants of the old habits. In order to get rid of them and establish a new, socialist way of life

amongst the farmers, we must intensify their ideological education. The feature film *A Wedding Day*, recently produced by the Film Studio, has great educational value in the campaign against surviving outdated conventions and for the establishment of a new way of life appropriate to a socialist society. I think it advisable to show the film widely in the rural areas.

To proceed, the ideological revolution must go ahead energetically.

The most important thing in the ideological revolution is to arm the working people firmly with the Juche idea of our Party. In order to bring about a fresh advance in socialist rural construction and in agricultural production, the farmers should be educated to assume a position and attitude befitting masters of the revolution. The Party organizations should intensify the instruction of agricultural working people in the Juche idea, enabling them to work with a high degree of consciousness as masters of the state and society, masters of production.

We should further intensify the education of the farmers to make them understand clearly the superiority of the socialist system and the reactionary and rotten nature of the capitalist system. This poses a more important task now than ever before because our enemy is heaping vicious slanders and calumnies on the socialist system.

We must teach the farmers to understand clearly that socialism is the superior system under which the working people are masters of the country and everything is geared to their benefit, whereas the capitalist system is a reactionary system under which a handful of landlords and capitalists oppress and exploit the workers and peasants. In this way they should be taught to hate the capitalist system, and to work hard to protect and defend the socialist system.

We should also strengthen anti-imperialist education amongst the farmers, so that they nourish a hatred for imperialism, and US imperialism in particular, and fight against it to the end.

At present some people think that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed. They are mistaken. The aggressive and predatory nature of imperialism has not changed one iota nor can it

change. Wolves will remain wolves always. Today the US imperialists are resorting to ever more crafty double-dealing tactics and are continuing their acts of aggression and interference in different parts of the world under the cloak of “peace”. While improving their relations with the big countries, they are now cunningly machinating to swallow up the small countries one by one. We must heighten vigilance against the aggressive machinations of the imperialists and thoroughly imbue all the working people with an anti-imperialist fighting spirit.

In order to thwart and foil the imperialists’ policy of aggression and war against our country, we must firmly arm the working people ideologically and, at the same time, continue to adhere closely to our Party’s self-defensive military line whose keynote is to arm all the people, fortify the whole country, turn the whole army into a cadre army and modernize it. Our country is small, but if all our people are placed under arms and the whole land is turned into a fortress, the imperialists will not dare attack us. When the *Pueblo* incident took place in 1968, the US imperialists openly attempted to invade the northern half of Korea, bringing a huge military force to the neighbouring waters of our country. But they did not dare attack us because they knew that all our people were under arms and that all our land was fortified. Experience has shown that our Party’s self-defensive military line is correct. In the future, too, we should always strictly follow the self-defensive military line while sharpening vigilance against imperialism and strengthening all the people’s politico-ideological unity based on the Juche idea.

In order to carry out the ideological revolution successfully, senior officials must mix widely amongst the masses and, living with them, perseveringly educate them. Those senior officials who go about making general speeches, instead of going amongst the masses, cannot educate people properly. The senior agricultural workers must carry on education tirelessly by different methods which accord with the political level of the farmers, living and working amongst them.

Another important thing in carrying on the ideological revolution is to combine ideological education with legal control properly. Farmers

still retain quite a few capitalist tendencies such as placing their individual interests before the collective good and hating to work. In order to put an end to such tendencies it is necessary to strengthen control by using socialist laws and regulations in addition to ideological education. In particular, work-points should be properly assessed, distribution of incomes correctly made according to the socialist principle, and labour discipline rigidly enforced on the cooperative farms, so that all their members work and live in accordance with the Cooperative Farm Rules.

Now, I should like to make some remarks on the current tasks of agriculture.

First of all, an extensive grass-cutting campaign should be launched. It is not good to ignore compost making just because the state supplies plenty of chemical fertilizers. The more chemical fertilizers are applied to the fields, the greater is the need to apply organic fertilizer. Cut grass and shrubs and allow them to rot, and they will make good organic fertilizer. All cooperative farms should produce quantities of good compost through a wide grass-cutting campaign.

Thorough steps should be taken to prevent crops being damaged by storms. The rainy season may come late this year. Therefore, pumps should be kept in good working condition to drain standing water, and dikes and embankments should be repaired beforehand, so that the crops will not suffer damage from possible floods.

Full preparations for harvesting should be made in order to gather in bountiful crops promptly without any loss. This is a bumper year. Unless we harvest and thresh the crops in good time, we may lose much of the grain which we have grown with great effort for a whole year. The cooperative farms should keep their farm machines, including harvesters and threshers, as well as their threshing and drying grounds, in good repair to harvest and thresh the crops as soon as they have ripened. Grain storage should also be repaired in advance to keep the threshed grain in good condition.

In order to harvest grain crops in good time without loss it is

necessary to produce and provide mobile threshers to the cooperative farms as soon as possible. The machine-building industry should produce 700 mobile threshers before harvest time and first supply one to every cooperative farm in North and South Phyongan and South Hwanghae Provinces and other plain areas.

Measures should be taken to check and repair the equipment of the rice mills and increase the rate of cleaned rice output. At present, the rice mills neglect the checking and repairing of their equipment, with the result that the rate of cleaned rice output is low. A considerable amount of rice is thus lost. If we repair the equipment of the rice mills in good time and strive to increase the rate of cleaned rice output, we shall obtain tens of thousands more tons of rice. The provincial Party committees are advised to form guidance squads with mechanics and send them to the rice mills to check and repair their equipment and increase the cleaned rice output.

Work-points should be correctly assessed and the socialist principle of distribution strictly observed on the cooperative farms. The Party organizations must resolutely combat the practice of claiming a large share of income in spite of their few work-points. If large shares of income are given to those who have earned few work-points in violation of the socialist principle of distribution at the cooperative farms, the bad habit of loafing on the job may be fostered amongst the farmers. So the settlement of accounts and income distribution must be conducted correctly according to the socialist principle of distribution.

When the cooperative farms settle accounts and distribute incomes they should also calculate the shares to be credited to the labour assistance provided by the state accurately. If the work-points earned by workers, office employees, students and soldiers on the cooperative farms are incorrectly calculated, the cooperative farms may develop the bad tendency of seeking more labour assistance, taking it as a gift, and turning to labour assistance even for jobs within their own power. It is advisable that the cooperative farms set aside part of their income from state labour assistance as joint reserve funds and use them in aiding those of the bereaved families of the revolutionary and patriotic

martyrs and families of the People's Army men who can barely earn their own work-points due to a shortage of work hands or to old age. Even when aid is given, the matter should not be left to the discretion of any single individual. Who will receive how much aid should be decided at a meeting open to all the cooperative farmers.

Every effort must be made in agriculture to consolidate this year's successes in grain production and to reach an output of 6.5-7 million tons next year. Senior agricultural workers and Party organizations must now begin to make adequate preparations for grain farming to hit next year's target.

In order to achieve a higher yield in grain production next year, we should, first and foremost, carry out soil improvement and land realignment properly and work hard to reclaim land. Proper land management and soil improvement make it possible to turn even bad fields into good ones. In the acidified land, fertilizers have no effect irrespective of the quantity applied. It is necessary to spread slaked lime over acidified soil to neutralize it. In cold and damp land, ditches should be dug or clay or vinyl pipes buried to remove the cold moisture.

The reclamation of tidelands should also be vigorously pressed ahead. In order to ensure a marked increase in the gross output of grain and enable all the people in our country to live entirely on rice, we need at least 700,000 hectares of paddies. In South and North Phyongan and South Hwanghae Provinces the reclamation of tidelands should be accelerated to bring 30,000 hectares of tideland under the plough during the Six-Year Plan, and the material and technical foundations should be laid for the future reclamation of 100,000 hectares.

Good seeds are indispensable to high yields. All the cooperative farms should obtain selected seeds and keep them well.

Next year we must exert great efforts to develop stockbreeding and bring about a radical change in the production of animal products. Since the crops are fine this year, we have the requisites for developing livestock breeding on a large scale next year. From now onward, solid foundations for stockbreeding should be laid in the cooperative farms,

and a campaign launched to produce 100 kilogrammes of meat and over 1,000 eggs per farm household, and over two tons of meat per workteam, and to raise over 50 head of cattle per cooperative farm. Meanwhile, the work of the state-run stock farms should be improved and strengthened. Next year the country should produce more than 1,700 million eggs.

To attain this goal, it is essential to build up the breeding stock farms solidly, supply every farm household and cooperative farm with many healthy young animals and prepare enough feed. It would be well for the state to provide each farm household with 100 kilogrammes of grain as stock feed, and bind it to produce 100 kilogrammes of meat and sell it to the state in return. The Party organizations at various levels and senior agricultural officials should transfer to animal husbandry those stockbreeding technicians who are working in other branches, and reinforce the ranks of stockbreeding workers; and they should publish many technical study materials on livestock breeding.

An extensive movement should be started in agriculture to earn foreign currency. To improve the people's living standards as quickly as possible, we plan to build more light industry factories, including modern foodstuff factories and textile mills. The building of modern light industry factories calls for the purchase of some equipment from other countries, and this requires a lot of foreign currency. That is why a movement for earning foreign currency must be conducted in agriculture as well.

The raising of silkworms is important in earning foreign currency. Some people say that an extensive silkworm culture would interfere with grain production. This is not true; it is the talk of those who do not know how to organize work. Proper organization of work will fully ensure grain production as well as silkworm raising. All the cooperative farms should secure enough silkworm eggs this year and produce larger quantities of cocoons next year. They are advised to raise not only mulberry and tussah silkworms, but also castor silkworms on a wide scale.

One of the important tasks in agriculture now is to make effective preparations for winter. The General Bureau of Coal Industry and the provincial Party committees must take measures to provide farmers with coal for winter use. Dust coal should not be distributed, it should be made into briquettes before being supplied, one to two tons for each farmhouse. And preparations should be accelerated to enable all farmhouses to use kerosene instead of coal for cooking in summer, from next year onwards. At the same time, cement, window paper, oiled floor paper, glass and so on should be sold to farmers to enable them to repair their houses before winter sets in.

There must be a distinct improvement in the supply of commodities to rural areas. Farmers fulfil the important task of producing food grain and meat for the working class and all the people. So the state should make itself responsible for the farmers' life and ensure that they are duly supplied with the goods they need.

In conclusion, I should like to speak on how to draw up the agricultural production plan for next year.

We should set the goal of grain production for next year at 6.5-7 million tons. If effective work is done in agriculture and 6.5-7 million tons of grain are produced next year, we shall be able to say that we have hit the Six-Year Plan's target for grain production. To attain this goal is by no means impossible. If more tractors and chemical fertilizers are supplied to the rural areas and technical guidance is improved, it will be fully possible to produce that much grain.

In order to capture the height of grain production next year, it is essential to secure at least 520,000-600,000 hectares of maize fields and produce an average of four to five tons of maize or more per hectare. We should produce more than five to six tons of rice per hectare from the existing 620,000 hectares of paddies. If we are to produce five to six tons of rice per hectare throughout the country, we should bring the per-hectare output to over six tons in the plain areas and to at least 4.5 tons in the regions where natural conditions are rather unfavourable.

I think it preferable to limit wheat and barley cultivation to 50,000

hectares of land. They should be planted only in areas having irrigation systems or sprays. It is advisable to sow only the *Two-Rowed barley* and, as for wheat, the *Pyongyang No. 1* everywhere, except in Ryanggang Province. We should produce more than four tons of wheat and barley from every hectare now that irrigation systems have been established and sufficient fertilizers are being supplied.

For the cultivation of potatoes and sweet potatoes, 100,000 hectares of land should be set aside. These crops are needed as food and, especially, in view of the large-scale development of stockbreeding the demand for them as animal feed is great. I think it is better to plant sweet potatoes instead of maize in the areas where frequent storms spoil the maize crops.

At this meeting I have dealt at length with the main practical problems arising in agricultural production. You should work along the lines specified by the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, by the Fifth Congress of our Party and by the consultative meeting of agricultural workers held early this year and in accordance with the detailed objectives set forth at this meeting.

I hope you will make another advance in the struggle to fulfil the tasks set out in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* and at the Fifth Congress of the Party.

Let us march forward towards the goal of 6.5-7 million tons of grain while the entire Party concentrates its efforts on agriculture.

# **ON THE TASKS FACING THE EDUCATORS OF CHONGRYON**

**Speech to the Members of the Visiting Groups  
of Korean Educators, and Music and Sports  
Circles of Korea University in Japan**

*August 31, 1973*

First, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, the Government of the Republic and on my own behalf, I should like to warmly welcome you home, the educators of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) who are working hard to develop national education abroad.

I am meeting you today, although I should have seen you before. I have been visiting provinces on guidance work and returned only yesterday. Our meeting is somewhat belated, but I am very glad to see you in good health here in the homeland.

The leader of your group has just addressed kind words to me and the homeland on behalf of all the members. I am indeed grateful for this.

I will not dwell on the situation in the homeland, because you must have heard about it already from our officials here and seen it for yourselves.

Today I am going to touch briefly on certain tasks facing Chongryon educators.

Our educators are doing valuable work to bring up the rising generation to be successors to the revolution. Men cannot become

revolutionaries of themselves. Revolutionaries always grow through revolutionary struggle and education. Therefore, we said long ago that educational work is not a means of earning a living but an honourable revolutionary task to raise successors to the revolution and that teachers are not salary earners but professional revolutionaries.

The future of revolution depends largely on how the successors to the revolution are trained.

As you all know, the struggle for socialism and communism is a complicated and protracted process. The complete victory of socialism in individual countries and the final victory of world revolution must take a considerable time.

Marx was active in England where capitalism was highly developed, and he had in mind the conditions prevailing in such countries when he studied the questions of socialist revolution. Therefore, he expected that once the working class seized power, a communist society would materialize immediately; he thought the proletarian revolution would take place almost simultaneously or successively in the major capitalist countries and that, accordingly, world revolution would also triumph rather quickly. Hence, Marx considered that the period of transition from capitalism to communism would be brief.

Lenin carried out his revolutionary activities in Russia, which was not a developed but an underdeveloped capitalist country. Basing himself on the specific conditions in Russia, Lenin, unlike Marx, considered that the period of transition from capitalism to communism would be relatively long.

Socialist revolution did not take place first in the highly developed capitalist countries which Marx had in mind in developing his revolutionary theory; it took place and triumphed first in a backward capitalist country and colonial and semi-colonial countries where exploitation and oppression were extremely harsh. In these countries, agriculture predominated and industry did not count for much in the national economy, the class distinctions between the workers and peasantry were great, the peasants formed the overwhelming majority

of the population, and culture was also very backward. Therefore, these countries must take a fairly long time to build socialism after the seizure of power by the working class.

Since socialist construction in the countries where the working class is in power and world revolution are protracted processes, opportunist trends of all hues alien to Marxism-Leninism have appeared; they are harming the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction in socialist countries and by devious means are paralysing the revolutionary consciousness of the working class in capitalist countries. Thus the revolution and construction in socialist countries are becoming more complicated and protracted and the revolutionary struggle of the working class in capitalist countries is still a drawn-out process.

The revolution in our country is also of a protracted nature. Our fathers waged the anti-Japanese struggle to defeat Japanese imperialism but their generation failed. The revolution was handed down to us, and only in our generation was Japanese imperialism destroyed and the motherland liberated. After the defeat of the Japanese imperialists and the liberation of the country, the US imperialists occupied south Korea and invaded the northern half of Korea with a view to turning the whole of Korea into their colony. Thus, our people fought the US imperialist aggressors. US imperialism suffered heavy defeats at the hands of our people and began to decline, but it has not yet been overthrown and still remains the ringleader of aggression and war. Defeated Japanese militarism has revived and looms as a dangerous force of aggression. Not only we, but our sons and grandsons also, might have to continue the fight against the imperialists.

As we said at the Sixth Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth, the aim of the revolution remains unchanged but each generation changes. In other words, the US and Japanese imperialists, the sworn enemies of our people, have not been completely overthrown, and a new generation which has grown up after liberation is taking over the role of masters of the country. If we are to defeat the

US and Japanese imperialists completely, we must fight on for a long time to come.

Since the socialist revolution in individual countries and world revolution have taken on such a protracted nature, it is vital to continue the revolution from generation to generation. In the light of the situation in our country, it is particularly important to carry on the revolution generation after generation until final victory is achieved.

In order to carry on revolution through generations, it is essential to raise staunch successors to the revolution. The more protracted the revolution, the more important the question of bringing up successors to the revolution becomes.

If we are to raise successors to the revolution, we must educate the rising generation well to become true revolutionaries, ardent communists. If we work hard to revolutionize all the working people and train all members of the rising generation to be staunch revolutionaries, they will take over our revolutionary cause, even though it might not be accomplished in our generation. In this way, our revolution, in spite of its arduous and protracted nature, will finally be victorious.

This is also true of the world revolution. It is undergoing grim trials at present. However, it will be achieved more quickly, if each nation is firmly resolved to assume responsibility for carrying through its revolution to the end and resolutely struggles, generation after generation, by revolutionizing all its working people and training its new generation to be true revolutionaries.

Training the rising generation to be dependable successors to the revolution is a highly important question concerning the future of the revolution. That is why our Party and the Government of the Republic since their inception have always paid particular attention to the education of the new generation.

Thanks to the correct educational policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic, considerable success has been achieved in school education. Our country today has a most advanced educational system providing everyone with the opportunity to study.

The principles of socialist education are being thoroughly applied.

In the homeland there is universal compulsory ten-year education at state expense. We spare nothing for the education of the rising generation. Our students not only study free of charge; the state also supplies them with school uniforms at low cost each season. Last year all children and students throughout the country were provided with padded taffeta coats. They number more than 6.8 million in all. As we did this all at once, a foreign resident remarked that though he had visited many countries of the world, Korea was the first to provide millions of students with good clothes at the same time.

Our country has ample facilities to educate all the children and students at state expense. Wherever there are children and students, whether it be at the foot of Mt. Paektu or in the plains, there are well-equipped nurseries, kindergartens and schools. You have probably noticed that everywhere the best buildings are set aside for nurseries, kindergartens and schools. Our children and students are growing up happily in the best conditions our country can afford and are studying as much as they wish.

In the educational work for the coming generation we have achieved really tremendous successes. This is our nation's great pride. Many people in foreign countries admire us for our achievements in the field of education. Recently I met the governor of the Japanese prefecture of Osaka, who was on a visit to our country. He said that in Korea he had been most impressed by the cheerful appearance of our young people and children. He added that their eyes twinkled like stars, their faces were beaming because they were confident of their ambitions and prospects, but that in the corrupt and decaying Japanese society you could not see any trace of cheerfulness in the faces of young people because their future was gloomy. He went on to say that he felt keenly that they must educate their youth and children in Japan in the same way as in Korea.

Although life in our country is not yet prosperous, our Party and the Government of the Republic will, as in the past, continue to spare no efforts to educate the rising generation.

Chongryon, too, has so far gained great achievements in its educational work. In spite of the difficult and complicated situation in Japan, the educators of Chongryon have energetically conducted the education of the rising generation, taking great honour and pride in their work. The result is that today all students under Chongryon work hard and are disciplined. Their national pride is also very high. Also, the Chongryon educators are building up the schools efficiently and running them with great dedication. In addition, they have accomplished many praiseworthy things in educating the younger generation.

Chongryon is conducting its educational work in a far more difficult situation than in the socialist homeland.

In the socialist homeland there are few factors that can have adverse ideological effects on developing the students' world outlook. In our country there are neither landlords nor capitalists, nor swindlers, nor corrupters. Here in the socialist homeland everyone enjoys a happy life, helping and guiding each other. Our people are very sound ideologically and their political awareness is also high.

Some days ago we visited the Samhwa Cooperative Farm, Chonnae County, Kangwon Province on guidance work. We wanted to have a talk with the women there. We asked a woman student trainee how many backward women there were on the farm. She replied that there were no backward women in our society. We were very glad to hear this, and noted that the word laggard is now no longer used in our society. In fact, by talking to a woman working on the farm, we found that she was not only well acquainted with the Party's policies but also clearly understood the reactionary nature and corruptness of capitalist society. She was also convinced that in order to bring about the final victory of our revolution, we must carry it on, enduring all hardships. This single case must make you well aware how high the ideological consciousness of the people in the homeland is.

Of course, there are still some people who have remnants of obsolete ideologies and old habits. In order to eliminate these completely, we are continuing the ideological and cultural revolutions.

The present ideological outlook of the students growing up in the socialist homeland is excellent. They have no desire for money or gain. For all that, it is not so easy to give a revolutionary education to students brought up in the socialist homeland. It must therefore be even more difficult to educate students in a revolutionary way when they grow up in a complicated social environment such as exists in Japan, affected by negative ideologies.

You know better than we do the social conditions in Japan. Japan is one of the capitalist countries where public morals are most corrupt. Recently I saw a Japanese feature film. It showed many foul scenes in which people fought, robbed each other of their property and led dissolute lives. The scenes were too offensive to look at. Watching this film, we realized that public morality in Japan is absolutely rotten.

Exploitation and oppression, hunger and poverty are dominant in Japanese society; deceit, fraud and dissipation are rampant there. In Japan the rich live well, but the poor have to go in rags and starve.

In Japan people are extremely egoistical; and human relations are determined by money. Many are looking for only idleness and pleasure. They know only money.

From olden times the Koreans have lived on good terms with their neighbours. When they prepared a rare dish, they would share it with their neighbours. When a family was going to have a feast, the whole neighbourhood helped them. Today our people hold ceremonial feasts in such an ostentatious manner that it involves a great waste. So, here in the homeland we are combatting these practices. But this does not mean that we object to neighbours living in harmony and gathering together for recreation. We are opposed to pomp and formalities.

There cannot be such good manners and customs in Japanese society where individual selfishness has reached the extreme. There, people are so selfish that they do not care whether their neighbours die of hunger or cold. They think that if they make money and live affluent lives themselves, it will suffice. Some people in seeking money go so far as to forsake their parents and brothers and sell their dear wives without hesitation. That is what they say.

Nowadays, many south Koreans are moving in this direction. Last year a south Korean journalist was in Pyongyang to cover the plenary talks of the representatives of the north and south Red Cross organizations. I was told that he said to our guide: "Here, the state guarantees everybody's livelihood; this is good. But there is no 'freedom', and this is no good. In south Korea we can make money and drink wine or lead idle lives just as we please. How nice it is!" He is an extremely egoistic fellow. He is satisfied insofar as he eats well and lives in comfort, without caring that so many south Koreans are starving to death because they have no money.

The social environment in Japan where money dominates everything and egoism has reached the extreme, is exerting a negative influence on the minds of the children of our compatriots there. From their early years, they are so adversely affected by Japanese society that they become greedy and selfish.

Reactionary Japanese literature and arts are also adversely affecting the formation of their world outlook. At present Japanese cinemas and TV broadcasts show lots of *samurai* and gangster films which extol militarism. Young people and children are inclined to put into practice what they have seen in these films. We are always concerned about how to prevent Korean boys and girls in Japan from being adversely affected that way. I was informed that the organizations of Chongryon are now carrying out a "Don't watch TV" campaign among the compatriots. This is good. But since they are living in Japan, it will be impossible to completely prevent the children from seeing television broadcasts, however hard you may try through such a campaign. Accordingly, it will be hard to protect them completely from the bad influence of the decadent Japanese literature and arts.

In such a completely corrupt social environment the students under the charge of the educators of Chongryon are exposed hourly and daily to capitalist ideological infiltration from various directions; they are also affected by the obsolete ideas retained by their parents. Therefore, it is by no means a simple matter to educate and equip the children of our compatriots in Japan with a revolutionary world outlook.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I should like to express warm thanks to you for striving, in your very difficult and complicated conditions, to apply the principles of socialist education so thoroughly in your work and firmly arm Korean children with socialist patriotism.

What we have already achieved is only part of our work. We have not yet accomplished the cause of national reunification, the greatest national desire of all the Korean people. The southern half of our homeland is still under the colonialist rule of the US imperialists and there still exists a system of exploitation that benefits a tiny handful of landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats. In the south these people rule the roost and live in luxury, bleeding the working masses white. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of the working people are in rags and starving. We must drive the US imperialists out of south Korea and crush their stooges as soon as possible. In this way, we shall achieve the country's reunification and turn the southern half of Korea into a society in which all the people will lead as happy a life as in the northern half of Korea.

If we are to reunify the country and achieve the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution, we must train the rising generation to be true revolutionaries.

This honourable and responsible mission devolves on our educational workers. The educators of Chongryon must not rest on their laurels; they must make every endeavour to carry out this important revolutionary task entrusted to them with distinction.

To make revolutionaries of the students, the teachers must first of all be revolutionaries themselves.

If they are not, they cannot train the students to be revolutionaries. This is particularly true for the educators of Chongryon. Since they are training students who are greatly affected by capitalist ideology in a corrupt, unhealthy capitalist society, they will be unable to bring up the students to be true revolutionaries unless they themselves become staunch revolutionaries first.

If the Chongryon educators are ideologically unsound and infected with capitalist ideology, they will behave in a capitalist way, even

though they chant socialist and communist slogans. If you see the Korean feature film *Rolling Workers*, you will know that in those days when the individual tradesmen and manufacturers were being transformed along socialist lines in our country, those not yet completely free from outdated ideas worked at factories in the daytime, and in the evening, engaged in their individual economy at home, although they had become socialist working people. This is one of the sources of the joke about some people being socialists by day and capitalists by night in the period of socialist transformation. This shows that if people do not rid themselves completely of outdated ideas, they are unable to work and live in a communist way. If the Chongryon educators are tainted with capitalist ideology, what they tell students will not tally with their actual deeds, and they will not be able to set a practical example to their students. Then the teachers will never be able to train the students to be revolutionaries.

More than 40 thousand students are said to be studying at Chongryon schools at all levels. Their revolutionization depends on whether the Chongryon educators themselves will be revolutionized or not. If they thoroughly revolutionize themselves, they can revolutionize the students; if not, they cannot. The Chongryon educators should keenly realize their great responsibility to the revolution and positively endeavour to revolutionize themselves.

They must be firmly armed with our Party's Juche idea and well versed in Marxism-Leninism. They must clearly understand the reactionary nature and corruptness of capitalist society and have a deep hatred for the capitalist system. They must also have a firm resolve to fight devotedly for the triumph of the cause of communism. Moreover, the educators of Chongryon must not be infected by the bourgeois way of life and must be equipped with all the traits the communist is supposed to have. In a word, they must firmly arm themselves with a revolutionary world outlook and become staunch revolutionaries with communist qualities.

To root out old ideologies and equip themselves firmly with our Party's revolutionary ideology, the Juche idea, and revolutionize and

working-classize themselves, the educators of Chongryon must first study hard.

In the homeland at present everybody is studying under the slogan, “The Party, the people and the army must all study!” Particularly for cadres, it is a matter of duty to study at schools at various levels for one month a year, while on full pay. Managers, chief engineers of large factories and other administrative and economic officials study at the University of National Economy, and Party workers and People’s Army cadres attend Party schools. After attending lectures for a month according to the educational programme, the cadres have discussions on the subjects they have studied. During these discussions criticisms are also made with regard to their work. Through this one month of intensive studies at schools, the cadres wipe out the traces of obsolete ideas and firmly arm themselves with Marxism-Leninism and our Party’s revolutionary ideology.

In the homeland Saturday is set as a study day for cadres. On Saturday all cadres work half a day and study the other half. In addition, there are lectures for cadres every Wednesday. A strict system is established for the Saturday studies and Wednesday lectures so that they are conducted in a thorough manner from the capital downwards, and every cadre attends them. Furthermore, it is obligatory for cadres to study for two hours every day after work before going home.

Chongryon organizations should also establish the same system as in the homeland for everyone to study and intensify studies. Chongryon must also set up a system under which the teachers will study for a fortnight or a month a year. At the same time, all the cadres and educators of Chongryon must study two hours every day and never fail to study on a Saturday. If this regular study system is established and all teachers study well, they will be able to equip themselves firmly with Marxism-Leninism and our Party’s Juche idea and hasten the process of their revolutionization.

Next, the educators of Chongryon must make consistent efforts to train all the sons and daughters of our compatriots to be revolutionaries.

Amongst these are quite a few sons and daughters of medium and small tradesmen and manufacturers. It is harder to revolutionize them than the sons and daughters of workers and peasants. However, you must not think it impossible to make revolutionaries of the sons and daughters of tradesmen and manufacturers. Not only the children of workers and peasants can be revolutionized. Those who have heterogeneous class origins can also become revolutionaries. This is fully borne out by the experience of the international communist movement and the revolutionary struggle in our country.

As is shown by the international communist movement and the history of revolutionary struggle in foreign countries, not only the sons and daughters of the workers and peasants joined in the revolutionary activities but a considerable number of those coming from well-to-do families. Our former armed struggle against Japanese imperialism was also joined not only by the children of workers and peasants but by those who came from well-to-do families. All those who took part in the anti-Japanese armed struggle became staunch revolutionaries and fought devotedly, irrespective of their class origins. Therefore, it is wrong to consider that only those of worker or peasant origin can become revolutionaries. It is not a question of what class origin one has, but of what world outlook one has. Even those with heterogeneous class origins can participate in the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system and become revolutionaries, if they grasp the meaning of the contradictions of capitalist society and have a firm belief in socialism and communism.

If we do not educate those whom we are quite able to reform and bring within the fold of revolution and just leave them to their own devices, they may take the path of reaction. Education has a very great effect. We can even make revolutionaries out of the sons and daughters of the medium and small tradesmen and manufacturers, if we educate them well. Especially, since we have our Party's Juche idea and clear-cut revolutionary line, we shall be perfectly able to revolutionize them.

The educators of Chongryon must make every effort to revolutionize not only the sons and daughters of workers and peasants

but also all those of other sections of our compatriots in Japan. They should bring up all the sons and daughters of our compatriots to be revolutionaries, whether their parents are entrepreneurs or run shops or restaurants. If they are all revolutionized, they will play an important part in reunifying the country and achieving the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution, even though they are living in a foreign country.

In order to train all the children of our compatriots to be revolutionaries, we should teach them to have a correct understanding of socialism and communism. By intensifying their communist education, the educators of Chongryon should train them to have a boundless hatred for capitalist society where exploitation and oppression predominate and deceit and fraud are rampant, and to develop a firm resolve to fight against the utterly rotten capitalist system and for the construction of a socialist and communist society in which everybody will be prosperous.

The Chongryon educators should particularly intensify the education of the Korean children in socialist patriotism. Thus they will fervently love their socialist homeland where there is no exploitation and oppression and everybody lives happily; they will develop a revolutionary determination to strive devotedly to defend this homeland.

At the same time, the Chongryon educators should vigorously conduct educational work to establish a sound way of life amongst the students so that they will not be infected by the bourgeois way of life and will always live simply.

Furthermore, the Chongryon educators should work well with the parents of students.

This will help to promote the work of national education in Chongryon and, further, consolidate its organizations.

The educators of Chongryon should work properly with the parents of students, so that they actively join in the movement to take loving care of Chongryon's schools. For them to take loving care of their children's schools under Chongryon means, in fact, to love their nation, because the work of national education conducted by

Chongryon is precisely a movement to save the nation. The Korean children in Japan are learning our spoken and written language and our country's history in Chongryon schools. If a Korean in Japan does not know the Korean language, either spoken or written, and our country's history he cannot be considered as belonging to the Korean nation. Wherever they live, Koreans must know their own language and history.

The campaign for Korean parents in Japan to take loving care of the Chongryon schools which their children attend is a very honourable task, as it is a movement to defend their nation, to reclaim their nation. The Chongryon educators should educate the parents thoroughly and encourage them to love their children's schools under Chongryon deeply.

In addition, through their good work with the parents of students the educators of Chongryon must rally them more firmly around Chongryon organizations.

Chongryon is active where the south Korean reactionaries and other enemies are incessantly carrying on subversive activities. The harder its revolutionary tasks and the more vicious the enemies' subversive stratagems, the further it must strengthen its organizations and the more firmly it must unite compatriots around them. The educators of Chongryon should always keep a sharp eye on the enemies' subversive activities and rally more people around Chongryon, so as to prevent any enemy from frustrating its patriotic work.

If they work well with the parents of students, the educators of Chongryon will be able to unite more people around Chongryon. Because what Chongryon is doing is beneficial and just, a large number of people are coming to support it. It is natural that with the exception of a tiny handful of evil reactionaries, everyone should strongly support and sympathize with those who are engaged in a righteous cause.

As you all know, Kim Dae Jung has been kidnapped recently. Indignant over this incident, the press and many people in Japan are hitting out at the south Korean authorities. This shows that the

Japanese people, too, positively support righteous people and oppose evildoers.

In order to work well with the parents of students the Chongryon educators must develop the system of taking care of five households each. This system started when we visited the Yaksu Middle School in Changsong County and gave the teachers the task of taking five households under their charge to raise the farmers to the standard of middle school graduates. The teachers of this school mixed with the farmers and did an excellent job, raising the level of all those in their charge to the standard of middle school graduates. If Chongryon also develops this system, they will be able to educate many parents and to rally them more solidly around Chongryon. From now onwards, the Chongryon educators must develop the system whereby each of them takes care of five households.

Some of our own university rectors are present here today. You should all know clearly that educators are entrusted with a very important task. Those at home are working in much more favourable conditions than the educators of Chongryon. The former must actively help, keep close contact with and pass on their experience to the latter. The teachers of Chongryon are training revolutionaries in the midst of a hopelessly corrupt capitalist society; the educational workers of Chongryon are fighting behind enemy lines.

I hope all the educators of Chongryon, with ardent patriotism and national pride in their hearts, will carry on their resolute struggle to train revolutionaries, who will carry forward our revolution, in larger numbers and in a more effective way.

**TALK TO THE DELEGATION  
OF THE DENMARK-KOREA  
COOPERATIVE RELATIONS  
PROMOTION COMMITTEE**

*September 3, 1973*

It is a great pleasure to me that you have come to visit our country with a letter of introduction from the Chairman of the Socialist People's Party.

I have also received greetings from your Prime Minister Anker Joergensen. We are very glad that the relations between Korea and Denmark are developing favourably.

When you return home, I should like you to convey my greetings to your Queen and your Prime Minister and the Chairman of the Socialist People's Party.

You have just said that you were greatly impressed by the great progress which our Republic has made in the last 25 years. I am grateful to you for your words of encouragement.

Our country was reduced to rubble during the three-year-long war unleashed by the US imperialists. However, our people were not in the least depressed or discouraged and worked hard as one to build a new life. People are more than ordinarily enthusiastic when they are determined to start from scratch and rise to the occasion. After the war our people came out as one to overcome the hardships as quickly as possible and to improve their living conditions.

When the war was over I told our people that if we pooled all our

efforts, we should be able to rise from the devastation and make rapid progress because we had the territory, people's power and the Party. Even in the situation where our country had been reduced to rubble and drenched with blood by the US imperialists, it healed its war wounds quickly and achieved the success which we see today. This is because all the people have worked hard to free themselves from the postwar difficulties as soon as possible.

As you said, our country made great strides in many fields. However, we are in no way resting content with the success we have achieved. We are still short of many things and have to solve many problems to make the people more prosperous. The success which we have achieved so far, means no more than having laid solid foundations for the independent national economy.

We are not conceited about our success, but take great pride in having laid the foundations for the independent national economy from scratch. If a man is to be a completely independent social being, he must stand on his own feet. Likewise, if a country is to be an independent sovereign state, it must stand on its own feet. If a man walks supported by others, he will not feel free, nor will he be able to walk fast.

We suffered many difficulties in the past, but now we can advance independently. The people, the Party and the country can now advance on their own. It is scores of years since some countries started building a new society, but they are still unable to advance independently. When we compare our country with them, we feel greater pride. As we stand on our own feet, we can advance faster if we want to.

We have a bright future. But our way is beset with many difficulties. We have traversed a rough and difficult path, and I think we shall have to continue to follow this path during the years ahead. Our people have the strength to overcome the difficulties in their way by themselves.

We are educating our people to produce what they lack, to make up for what they do not have, to learn what they do not know, to overcome the difficulties in their way and to value the products which they have

made, although their quality is somewhat low.

Our shops stock no foreign goods; they are well stocked with homemade goods. It is characteristic of our shops that they do not sell foreign goods. Admittedly, the quality of our goods is still a little low. But we are not disappointed at this. We often tell our people how praiseworthy it is for them, who had nothing in the past, to make things to meet their own needs and produce textiles to provide themselves with clothing. But this in no way means that we follow a policy of isolation. We do not close our doors. We only follow the policy of not importing consumer goods.

If there are any foreign goods in our country, they are machinery and equipment. We import some machines from abroad.

When we were importing them in the postwar years, some people found fault with us, asking if we were going to eat machines. Then I told them that if our country was to develop into an independent country quickly, we had to import machinery and build industry.

We are also proud that we have an army of our own intellectuals.

When we had defeated Japanese imperialism and liberated the country, we had few intellectuals capable of developing the economy and culture. Although the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea for 36 years, they established only one university in Seoul. At that time almost all the university professors were Japanese. The Japanese taught Koreans mostly medicine and law.

After liberation the only university in our country was in the area occupied by the US imperialists. Most of the south Korean intellectuals were sons and daughters of rich people, and the US imperialists told them a lie that communists would behead intellectuals.

At that time we made it clear that communists valued intellectuals in order to develop the national economy and culture and called upon the intellectuals throughout Korea to turn out to build a new country. In response to this call, many south Korean intellectuals came over to north Korea. They have done a great deal of work in training our own cadres. They have distinguished themselves. They are still working devotedly for the country and the people.

Now our country has over 140 universities and colleges and 600,000 technicians and specialists serving in the Party and state bodies and in different fields of the national economy. Cadres are dear to the country.

Today we are building houses and factories for ourselves, producing machinery for ourselves and making almost everything to meet our own needs. In our country the cadres we have trained since liberation are working as managers and chief engineers in factories, and managing the national economy efficiently. They are devoted to their duties with a single desire to serve the Party, the country and the people faithfully. Our officials are young, but they have rich experience because they have been educated in adversity and trained in complicated practice. In a word, we have many able “operators” of our society. We take great pride in this.

I have received your questions, and now I should like to talk about some subjects in answer to these questions.

First, on the building of socialism in our country.

In a nutshell, socialist construction in our country is now proceeding smoothly.

The major task of our Party at the present stage of socialist construction is to carry out the three revolutions—technical, cultural and ideological—successfully.

What we must do for the technical revolution in the immediate period ahead is to implement the three major tasks of this revolution put forward by the Fifth Congress of our Party. The three major tasks of the technical revolution are basic to the Six-Year Plan.

By carrying out the task of socialist industrialization, we have laid a solid foundation on which to promote the technical revolution to a higher stage.

The first major task of the technical revolution is to narrow the difference between heavy and light labour considerably and bring the former close to the latter. This is aimed at making the people’s work easier and increasing production and providing them with a more independent and creative life. We intend to reduce the difference

between heavy and light labour to a great extent so as to free the working people from laborious work and provide everyone with better living conditions.

In order to decrease the difference between heavy and light labour we shall have to solve many problems.

There is still a great deal of hard work in our heavy industry, particularly in the mining industry. So we are now channelling great effort into the technical revolution in mining.

Since it is not easy at all to narrow the distinction between heavy and light labour, we are not going to solve this problem with our own techniques only. I also explained this problem to the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Denmark on his visit to our country. To solve the problems in carrying out the technical revolution we shall study them for ourselves and, at the same time, introduce advanced technology from other countries. We shall adopt good techniques and advanced experience in the mining industry from various countries including Denmark, Sweden and Finland. Our country is rich in mineral resources, for instance, and it has many mines. So we intend to import high-speed tunnelling machines from Sweden.

We have developed economic relations with other countries steadily in the difficult situation where capitalist countries, abetted by the US imperialists, have been pursuing the policy of economic blockade against our country for over 20 years. In recent years alone, we have signed a contract with Denmark for an up-to-date cement factory with a capacity of three to five million tons. We shall build a modern cement factory with a capacity of five million tons and another one of the similar capacity elsewhere, with equipment which is to be imported from Denmark.

We shall undertake the technical revolution by studying for ourselves and introducing technology from foreign countries in all sectors including the cement, iron and mining industries, so as to ease work and increase production.

The second major task of the technical revolution is to reduce the difference between agricultural and industrial labour.

An important factor in implementing this task is to press ahead with the technical revolution in the rural communities.

We set the tasks of irrigation, electrification, mechanization and an extensive use of chemicals for the rural technical revolution.

Other socialist countries gave precedence to mechanization for the rural technical revolution, but we set irrigation as the primary task and carried it out first. Needless to say, mechanization is important in the rural technical revolution. But adequate irrigation depending on even old-fashioned techniques can prevent damage from drought and flood. In our country the dry weather lasts throughout spring and rainfall is heavy in summer. Hence, if irrigation is not carried out first, drought and flood damage cannot be prevented. As a result of irrigation, our country grows rich crops every year.

We have also carried out the task of rural electrification with success. Our country is ahead of Japan in terms of rural electrification. The statistics show that in 1970 Japan supplied 1,200 million kWh of electricity to the rural areas. But in recent years our country has been supplying more electricity to the rural communities than that. Our country has a smaller area of cultivated land than Japan, but supplies more electricity to our rural areas.

We are now striving to complete the mechanization of agriculture.

In the rural theses we set the task of supplying 70,000 to 80,000 tractors to the rural communities. Next year will mark the tenth anniversary of the publication of the theses. Our working class pledged themselves to carry out this task by July 27 next year, the “day of support for the rural technical revolution”. The Six-Year Plan envisages increasing the number of tractors per 100 hectares of cultivated land to six to seven. When this task has been carried out, the difference between agricultural and industrial labour in our country will be reduced considerably.

We are also making a great effort for the introduction of chemicals in agriculture.

At present, advanced countries use more than one ton of chemical fertilizer per hectare. We use only 500 kilogrammes. But next year we

shall fulfil the task of increasing the use of chemicals as defined by the rural theses. The theses put forward the task of applying more than one ton per hectare in terms of the quantity of fertilizer. We are building fertilizer factories in different places, and we shall produce over two million tons next year. This will enable us to apply one ton per hectare as set by the theses.

At present, the technical revolution is progressing smoothly in our rural communities. I think, if we work well, we can largely free our farmers from toilsome labour in the near future.

The third major task of the technical revolution is to emancipate women from the heavy burden of household chores.

The important thing here is to lighten their burden of bringing up children by building many nurseries and kindergartens.

In our country nurseries and kindergartens are now being built in a mass campaign, and all the children are raised at state and public expense. Engels said that it would be an important communist measure for the state to bring up all the children. Today our country is implementing the communist policy of bringing up all the children in the care of the state.

In addition, we are developing the food-processing industry and building many communal amenities such as laundries and clothing repair shops in order to free women from the heavy burden of household chores.

Of course, we shall not be able to carry out all the three major tasks of the technical revolution during the Six-Year Plan. If we are to carry them out, we shall have to go on working hard even after the fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan. I think that it will take us ten more years after the Six-Year Plan to carry them out.

An important task in the cultural revolution is to raise the working people's level of knowledge above that of a middle school graduate and train them to acquire at least one technical skill each.

Today our younger generation are all receiving 10-year compulsory education, and the adults who had no access to education in the past are studying in working people's middle schools. In addition, there are

mothers' schools for women. Our country is developing a campaign for all the people to study and acquire at least one technical skill.

At present we are working hard under the slogan, "The Party, the people and the army must all study!" Our country has a system under which all the working people study for more than two hours every day and cadres for half a day on Saturdays. In addition, cadres attend a short course for one month a year at regular schools, while on the job. Party workers study at Party schools and economic officials at the University of National Economy.

The main task of the ideological revolution is to give all the working people revolutionary education.

In giving ideological education, we are making a point of encouraging everyone to love work. It would be impossible to live or build a communist society without working. In a communist society work will be easier but work itself will not be dispensed with. We are, therefore, educating people to love work and to acquire the habit of wanting to work particularly in their early years.

At present the Children's Union members are engaged in a widespread campaign for good conduct such as planting trees or killing flies. This is aimed at cultivating in them the habit of good behaviour on behalf of the people. Our young people and children formed "greenery guards" and established forests on all the mountains which had been ravaged by US air raids during the war. All the trees and flowers on the roadside have been tended by the Children's Union members.

In addition, we are training all the people to love not only labour but their homeland and people and to take good care of state and public property. In our country there is no one who beats people or misbehaves after drinking. Our people do not steal state property nor covet the possessions of others. In our country there are no thieves, and farmers do not lock their doors when going to work in the fields.

We are uniting all the people and converting the whole of society into a great, harmonious revolutionary family through the ideological revolution.

Next, you asked about the question of “two Koreas”. I should like to refer to this.

Before answering why we are opposed to “two Koreas”, I should like to explain how we have struggled for the harmony of the whole nation.

We are not against non-comprador capitalists, medium and small shopkeepers and manufacturers. Some people think that we liquidated all the propertied classes during the socialist revolution, but we did not do so.

We did not liquidate non-comprador capitalists nor expropriate their property during the socialist revolution, although some other countries did. It was the US imperialists who ruined our non-comprador capitalists and medium and small entrepreneurs. The US imperialists’ bombing raids devastated all their property during the war.

In the war the US imperialists destroyed all our towns and villages. In Pyongyang, for instance, all the houses were reduced to rubble, except the skeletons of the ferroconcrete buildings of the department store, the bank and the city people’s committee. The houses and property of medium and small entrepreneurs were all bombed, and they became destitute. When the war was over, nothing but the exploiting idea remained in the minds of the non-comprador capitalists, and of medium and small shopkeepers and manufacturers, and their economic assets were all gone.

In our country the socialist revolution was carried out in this peculiar situation.

In the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland which was published when we were fighting against Japanese imperialism, we made it clear that we would protect the interests of non-comprador capitalists and medium and small entrepreneurs. In the 20-Point Platform which was issued after liberation we reaffirmed our policy of protecting national capital and of allowing and encouraging the freedom of the private handicraft industry and trade. Therefore, the people of all sections, including non-comprador capitalists, and medium and small entrepreneurs,

supported us. They supported us in every way not only when we were fighting the Japanese imperialists but also in the post-liberation years. Why should we oppose them when they support us? We have no reason to do so, and we have never done so.

Some people say that communists have done away with religion. That is also untrue.

Both the Ten-Point Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland and the 20-Point Platform stipulated clearly that freedom of religion would be guaranteed. We ensured it after liberation.

It is not communists but the US imperialists who destroyed the churches in our country. These churches were bombed and all demolished by the US imperialists.

I should like to give you an account of a Christian pastor in order to help you to have a better understanding of our policy on religion.

When the country was liberated, there were many Christians in the north and they harboured a great many illusions about the United States. A long time ago, Americans came to Korea to invade her and plunder her people. They had stolen gold from Korea ever since 1866 when their pirate ship *General Sherman* intruded here. They took away a large quantity of gold from Korea every year and in return built a few schools and hospitals in some places at the cost of a tiny fraction of the sum they had plundered. This was all aimed at currying favour with Koreans. They also sent a few Koreans to the United States for the purpose of training them to be pro-Americans. This engendered a great many illusions about the United States among some Koreans, Christians in particular.

As the US army established military government in south Korea after liberation, those Christians in the north were expecting the Americans to enter the north. So we advised them at the time to pray not for America but for Korea. The pastor about whom I am going to tell you now, also cherished an illusion of the United States after liberation and prayed to God day and night for the entry of the Americans into the north.

During the war American soldiers came to the village where he lived. He took all his congregation to the street waving flags to welcome the Americans.

He believed that Americans were very noble and honourable people. But their troops committed all kinds of bestial atrocities: as soon as they got off their trucks in the village, they plundered the people of their property, took away animals and raped the women. Even his daughter was outraged. The pastor who had long been an ardent admirer of the United States, became disillusioned about Americans at the sight of their brutalities and tore the cross off his neck.

When we were visiting a village after the truce, he called on us and said that, after liberation, he had adopted a double-dealing attitude towards us because we were communists and patriots. He said that he had respected us as patriots, but feared us as communists who might eliminate them in the future because their belief differed from ours and that, because of the fear, he had not supported the people's government wholeheartedly as well as our policy. He expressed his resolve that from then onwards he would give our policy unqualified support. After that the pastor took an active part in state affairs until he died of old age.

Once we told him to raise funds among his congregation to rebuild their church if they wanted to keep their faith in Jesus Christ, saying that we were not against it. Later the Christians sent me a letter saying that they were very grateful to the state for the advice to rebuild their church but that they would, however, build schools and kindergartens instead of the church because it was useless to build it and believe in Jesus Christ.

All this shows that it was not the communists but the US imperialists who destroyed the churches and religion.

Our rich farmers were also ruined by the US imperialists. The bombing raids by the US imperialists destroyed all our villages, and, as a result, rich farmers as well as middle peasants went bankrupt. We confiscated nothing from the rich farmers.

Since private farms, including the estates of rich and middle farmers, were devastated in the war, we did not need to take the trouble

to develop private farming and revive the rich farmers and then to wage a class struggle against them. Therefore, we put forward the policy of agricultural cooperativization after the war. We formed cooperatives with poor peasants and allowed rich and middle peasants to join them according to their wishes. They realized the advantages of agricultural cooperativization and joined the cooperatives of their own accord. As a result, they became socialist cooperative farmers, and they are now equally well off. In the past the middle peasants had no grain to spare, but now all our farmers have cereals in reserve and are living well, eating their fill all the year round.

The south Korean people are not yet well informed of the fact that we did not carry out expropriations against the propertied classes during the socialist revolution.

In the future, too, we shall not act against the medium and small entrepreneurs and non-comprador capitalists in south Korea. Why should we oppose them when they can help the development of the national economy? But we are opposed to comprador capitalists. We cannot tolerate them to bring in capital from Japan, the United States, West Germany and the like to hamper the free development of the national economy and ruin the medium and small enterprises.

There are two different systems in the north and the south of our country, but we are a homogeneous nation. Both cooperative economy and private farming can exist within a nation-state. I think we can cooperate with the south Korean non-comprador capitalists. For instance, if the state-run enterprises in the northern half of our country and the medium and small enterprises in south Korea cooperate in exploiting our rich mineral resources, our people will live better. What harm is there in doing this?

In our talks with the south Korean authorities, we raised the question of cooperation between the north and the south. The northern half of our country is rich in mineral resources, as well as machines to exploit them. But south Korea is poor in mineral resources. At present it is importing iron ore from far-away countries and receiving foreign loans without prudence. Worse still, there is a large number of people out of work in

south Korea. A Japanese magazine carried an article *The Facts about South Korea*, in which it said that there are now 1,200,000 beggars there, in addition to the unemployed. The south Korean authorities even sell our fellow countrymen to foreign countries. They have already sold them to West Germany and Brazil. We proposed to the south Korean authorities that instead of selling their fellow countrymen, they should contribute manpower and we would contribute machinery for the joint development of the nation's mineral resources, that they would get anything they need out of the results of joint development, and that this would also promote mutual understanding. But the south Korean authorities refused to accept our proposal.

Today the coastal waters of south Korea are short of fish. Due to the reckless introduction of polluting industry from Japan a lot of fish disappeared. So we told the south Korean people to fish in our coastal waters as they please and seek shelter from heavy seas in our ports if need be. This proceeds from our regard and affection for our fellow countrymen.

We are also completely prepared to comply with the request of the south Korean authorities if they want us to build irrigation works for them. Today south Korea suffers a great deal of drought damage every year because of the lack of irrigation. By contrast, the rural areas in the northern half of Korea are well irrigated. When north-south talks were held in Pyongyang, the south Korean delegates came by helicopter. They said that during the flight they were amazed at the sight of our rural communities with orchards on the hills, wide stretches of irrigation canals for rice fields and water sprays in non-paddy fields. The head of the delegation was anti-communist, but he frankly told us about his impression of the giant strides made in the rural areas of the northern half.

So I told him that, if they were envious of the irrigated rural areas, we would build irrigation works for them, that all that was needed for the project was to build reservoirs and canals and that we were able to produce irrigation facilities on our own and were experienced in irrigation.

At present, the south Korean authorities, refusing cooperation with us, are inviting foreign capital and begging Japan for a loan of thousands of millions of dollars. It is a very dangerous act which gives Japan an excuse to send its aggressor troops to south Korea in the future.

According to an article in the Japanese magazine *Sekai* Park Chung Hee said that it would be better to bring a US firm into south Korea than one US army division and that it would be better to invite a Japanese firm than one Japanese army division. What does this mean? It means that the south Korean authorities are going to invite invaders and obstruct national reunification by giving both the United States and Japan an excuse for sending their troops to south Korea in the name of “protecting” their property. The history of our country shows that when the peasants rose in revolt in 1894, the Japanese invaded our country, on the pretext of “protecting” the Japanese residents in Korea.

At present, the people in all walks of life, including the workers, peasants and intellectuals in south Korea want reunification. The south Korean authorities and reactionaries alone are opposed to it “Presidential elections” took place in 1971 in south Korea. At that time Kim Dae Jung who raised the slogan of peaceful reunification, obtained, in fact, more votes than Park Chung Hee. This means that the majority of the south Korean people want peaceful reunification and that only a small number of them seek division.

To divide a single Korea into “two Koreas” is an act of treachery against the will of the people.

The case of our country is not the same as that of Germany. Germany invaded other countries in the past and was defeated. But we are not a country which invaded other countries, nor are we a defeated nation. The north and south Korean people all want reunification.

Now, on the question of UN membership. If our country is admitted to the UN as “two Koreas”, it will be divided into two for ever, and half of our country will be swallowed up by the US imperialists. So we are resolutely opposed to separate UN membership for the north and the south.

The Park Chung Hee regime should not be viewed in the same light

as the government of our Republic. Park Chung Hee seized “power” through a military coup instigated by the US imperialists. And the “government” of south Korea is a puppet regime which is backed by the US army. How can we call south Korea, whose “government” is maintained on the strength of foreign troops, an independent state? Therefore, we cannot enter the UN as “two Koreas”.

Korea must not be divided into two but reunified as one. I consider that if a democrat in south Korea who wants peaceful reunification comes to power, we shall be able to achieve peaceful reunification of the country in cooperation with him.

You asked if our proposal to found the Federal Republic of Koryo means retaining the two systems in the north and in the south as they are for the time being and establishing a unified government step by step in the future. This is exactly what we mean. In other words, our proposal is to maintain the two systems and the two governments in the north and in the south for the time being, the two parts of the country taking joint action in dealing with foreign relations and discussing and settling internal affairs within the nation.

We also proposed the reduction of the armed forces of the north and the south and the withdrawal of all foreign troops so as to facilitate the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The reason for distrust between the north and the south lies in the confrontation of large armed forces. So we are trying to reduce the armed forces of the north and the south and get all the foreign troops out of Korea. However, the south Korean authorities are refusing to accept this proposal of ours.

No matter how the south Korean authorities may try to hamper national reunification and plot for “two Koreas”, national reunification will assuredly be achieved by the concerted efforts of all the people of north and south Korea.

I express my thanks for your readiness to endeavour to promote friendly and cooperative relations between Korea and Denmark and also to render positive support to our people’s struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea in the future.

## **CHONGRYON OFFICIALS SHOULD STRENGTHEN UNITY**

**Talk to a Group of Koreans in Japan Who Came  
to Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Foundation  
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

*September 8, 1973*

I am very pleased that you are visiting the homeland to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic.

On your return, I should like you to convey my thanks to the Central Standing Committee of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) for having sent the congratulatory group.

As I say whenever I receive a delegation from Chongryon, we have not yet reunified the country. Reunification of the country requires the strengthening of the revolutionary base in the northern half of Korea and the revolutionary forces in its southern half. The revolutionary base in the north is now on a solid basis, but the revolutionary forces in the south cannot yet be regarded as having been strengthened.

Chongryon occupies a very important place in awakening and encouraging the south Korean people to fight for the reunification of the country. It must give the south Korean people a clear understanding of the need for them to fight against the fascist system, and for social democracy, great national unity and for the independent reunification of the country. To do this work efficiently, it must strengthen itself still further.

As you all know, before the formation of Chongryon, the Korean

compatriots in Japan fought against Japanese monopoly capital and its reactionary government under the leadership of the Japan Communist Party. Our Party put forward a policy for a change in the line of the movement of Koreans in Japan; Koreans must work for the Korean revolution before anything else, and the Korean compatriots in Japan must fight to defend their democratic national rights and for the reunification and independence of their homeland.

Some of the Koreans in Japan opposed the formation of Chongryon. However, thanks to the great efforts made by Comrade Chairman of Chongryon and many other comrades to implement our Party's policy to change the line of the movement of Koreans in Japan, Chongryon was organized in 1955. This was a great event in the campaign of our compatriots in Japan.

I think that now all the Korean compatriots in Japan clearly understand how correct it was for them to have formed Chongryon and fought for their democratic national rights, for the reunification and independence of the country and for the Korean revolution and how wise our Party's policy for the change in the line of the movement of Koreans in Japan was.

The most important task in consolidating Chongryon is to strengthen the unity and cohesion of its ranks.

The Chongryon organizations and the Korean compatriots in Japan must resolutely unite on the basis of the Juche idea. There cannot be two ideas in one organization. Chongryon must unite on the basis of our Party's revolutionary idea, the Juche idea.

If unity is to be strengthened, everyone has to work to this end. The effort of any one person alone is not enough to achieve unity. Unity cannot be attained if people merely call for it, while making mischief behind the scenes.

Another factor which is essential in strengthening Chongryon is to tighten organizational discipline.

You must first observe established discipline strictly in dealing with personnel affairs.

Here in the homeland, a single official is not entitled to deal with

personnel affairs as he pleases. No one is allowed to dismiss a cadre casually or appoint him as he pleases. In the homeland all personnel affairs are discussed and decided by the Party committee collectively.

It is only when strict organizational discipline is maintained in dealing with personnel affairs that fawning upon individual officials can be done away with.

People who have made mistakes should be re-educated patiently rather than dismissed without prudence. No one in this world is perfect. If there is anything which can be called flawless, it can only be an image of Buddha. Because the image sits on its pedestal doing nothing, it cannot make any mistakes. But man is not infallible. It is important to correct one's error as soon as possible.

To proceed, Chongryon officials must increase their studying.

At present in the homeland the system of Saturday study, Wednesday lectures, two hours' daily study and of month-long training course has been firmly established throughout the Party—from its Central Committee down to the lowest organizations.

In the homeland all the cadres study for two hours after work every day. On Saturdays they study collectively for half the day. And on Wednesdays, lectures are given on the internal and external situation and on matters concerning the Party's policies.

Cadres in the homeland attend a one-month training course every year. Cadres of national level and senior provincial officials study at the Higher Party School or the University of National Economy, county officials go to a provincial communist university and ri officials to a county Party school. All cadres of the People's Army are also given academic training for a month. In the course of one month's study at these institutions every year, cadres harden themselves ideologically by criticizing the shortcomings revealed in their work. When cadres temper themselves constantly in this way, they will be able to work well all the time without committing errors. As a result of the intensification of study among our cadres in recent years, the number of those who make mistakes has decreased greatly.

Officials of Chongryon should also maintain rigid study discipline and study hard as we do in the homeland.

In the homeland even those cadres who are far away from their office on business, make it a rule to return to their respective organization on Saturdays and take part in group study. Cadres of Chongryon should also do this. It is only when rigid discipline is maintained in study in this way that the cadres will not make mistakes.

We are revolutionaries, and the first and foremost task of revolutionaries is to study. If officials neglect study, they will not be able to carry out their revolutionary tasks properly. In order to advance the revolution and construction successfully, all officials must be armed with a firm revolutionary world outlook. To achieve this, they must study constantly.

The Chongryon organizations must guide and supervise all their officials so that they study hard. They must immediately criticize the shortcomings which appear in their work and life and help them to correct them. Just as a piece of iron rusts when it is left unattended in the open air, people will also become degenerate if they are left uneducated. A piece of iron does not rust when it is polished frequently. In the same way, people will only remain untainted when they are given ceaseless education. This is a fact.

Next, Chongryon must establish strict financial discipline.

Chongryon must establish strict discipline so that not a single penny is spent without the approval of its Chairman. And a regular account of spendings must be given, once a month or once in six months.

In the homeland, nobody can spend the money of the state at his discretion without our approval. If it is necessary to spend some money for a particular purpose, this matter is discussed collectively and the money is only spent after we approve of this. If in a family the father, the son and the mother spend money separately, the household will go bankrupt. Likewise, if the state and an organization lack strict financial discipline, and everyone spends

money as he pleases, the state and the organization cannot be maintained. The Vice-Chairmen of Chongryon should help its Chairman in maintaining tight financial discipline.

Now I shall speak briefly about the subject of revolutionizing Chongryon educational officials.

As I pointed out when I met the educational workers of Chongryon and the students of Korea University who visited the homeland some time ago, the education of the children of Korean compatriots in Japan may be more difficult than teaching the younger generation in the socialist homeland.

There are no exploiting classes in our country and no one leads a dissipated life. Everyone in the socialist homeland lives in harmony, helping and urging each other forward; our people's ideology is very sound.

In Japanese society, however, selfishness has reached the highest limits and many people consider that money is everything. In Japan where money means everything and selfishness has gone to the extremes, it may be much more difficult to train the children of our compatriots to be revolutionaries than educating the new generation as builders of socialism and communism in the homeland.

If Chongryon neglects the education of the younger people they may degenerate. They must not be allowed to approve of idleness, not knowing how the socialist system has become what it is today.

We ought to educate the new generation so that they will develop a love of work and take an active part in creative activities for the prosperity and development of the country and the happy life of the people.

If they are to train the younger people to be true revolutionaries, the teachers themselves must first become revolutionaries. The educational workers within Chongryon must prepare themselves to be more staunch revolutionaries than anyone, because they are working under difficult conditions. They must endeavour to become steadfast revolutionaries before others and must temper themselves ideologically still more. Those who train revolutionaries must be

revolutionaries above all others.

Chongryon has to pay particular attention to the education of teachers. It must organize training courses for them once a year and keep them fully informed about the socialist homeland and socialist system. Teachers who do not know about them well, will not be able to indoctrinate the pupils in socialist patriotism.

Although your present stay in the homeland is short, it is beneficial for you to visit it once as you have done on this occasion.

I hope that all of you will complete the itinerary of your visit in good health and return home safely.

**SPEECH AT THE BANQUET  
TO CELEBRATE THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE  
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

*September 9, 1973*

Dear comrades,  
Esteemed foreign friends,

Today we are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with great national pride and on a grand scale.

On the occasion of this auspicious national holiday, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I warmly congratulate our workers, farmers, working intellectuals and all the rest of the Korean people who, under the banner of the Republic, have devoted themselves to the struggle for the prosperity and development of the country.

I also extend a warm welcome to the members of the congratulatory group of Koreans who have come from Japan to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the DPRK and to the members of the home-visiting groups of the Korean compatriots in Japan.

Many foreign comrades and friends from various countries of the world are present here to congratulate us on our national holiday. This is a clear expression of international solidarity with our revolution. On behalf of the Government of the DPRK and all the Korean people, I

heartily welcome these foreign comrades and friends and express our warm thanks to the governments and peoples of many countries for having sent us friendly envoys.

Comrades,

In the past 25 years the DPRK has traversed a victorious and glorious road of struggle of which we are proud, and has performed great exploits in the revolutionary struggle and construction.

Under the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Republic has pressed ahead with the revolution and construction and thus established an advanced socialist system free from exploitation and oppression in our land and carried out the historic task of industrialization with credit. It has brought about the flowering of socialist national culture and has resolutely built up the country's defence power.

On the basis of the great socio-economic changes made in the past, our Republic today is prospering and developing steadily as a socialist power which is independent in politics, self-supporting in the economy and self-reliant in national defence.

Under the care of the Republic, our people are leading an independent and creative life as masters of the country and state power. They are all equally prosperous, without any worries, and they work and learn as much as they wish.

Indeed, in the past 25 years, the appearance of our country has changed radically. Society, people and mountains and rivers have also undergone changes.

The situation in our country today is very good.

Everyone is firmly united behind our Party and the Government of the Republic with a single ideology and purpose, and a harmonious, cheerful and spirited atmosphere pervades the whole of society.

The Six-Year Plan, a grand programme of socialist construction put forward by the Fifth Congress of our Party, is also being executed successfully. Conspicuous progress has already been made in the implementation of the technical revolution with its three major fields of emphasis, which is the most important task of the Six-Year Plan,

and further innovations are constantly being made in industry, agriculture and all other branches of the national economy. In particular, in recent years we have given nationwide assistance to the rural areas and made great efforts for agricultural mechanization and the application of chemicals. As a result, this year, too, our crop situation is excellent and promises a high grain yield.

If we maintain the present speed and spirit in our advance, we shall succeed in attaining the major goals of the Six-Year Plan in 1975.

When the Six-Year Plan has been carried out, our socialist country will be still more prosperous, and great strides will be made in our people's advance towards socialism and communism.

Through its endeavours over the past 25 years, the DPRK has convincingly proved the justness of its cause and its indestructible vitality. All the Korean people have a firm faith in the invincible might of the Republic and see their future happiness in its prosperity and development.

Comrades,

The Government of the DPRK and our people have a heavy task of continuing to press ahead with the revolution and construction on the basis of the successes already achieved in the building of a new society so as to attain the country's reunification and expedite the nationwide victory of the revolution. In order to reunify the divided country and win a nationwide victory of the revolution, the Government of the Republic will accelerate socialist construction in the northern half, support the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people in every way and strengthen solidarity with the international revolutionary forces.

Pressing ahead with socialist construction in the northern half of Korea is our most important revolutionary task at the moment.

By giving a strong stimulus to the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions, the Government of the Republic will hasten socialist construction to the maximum and consolidate the revolutionary base in the northern half still more.

We must give the highest priority to the ideological revolution and

thus imbue all the working people with our Party's Juche idea and the communist world outlook and revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society thoroughly.

In accordance with the policy put forward by the Fifth Party Congress, we must work hard to implement the three major tasks of the technical revolution in all branches of the national economy so as to free the working people from difficult and exhausting work as soon as possible and develop the country's productive forces still more. To this end, we have to make a greater effort to develop the machine-building industry as a matter of priority, so as to bring about a sharp rise in the production of tractors, lorries, excavators, rolling stock, vessels and machine tools and make further innovations in the manufacture of special-purpose equipment. All spheres of the national economy must be fearless in smashing conservatism and passivism, fear of technology and empiricism and launch a widespread collective movement for technical innovation so as to reach the high peak of the technical revolution with its three major goals without fail.

We must apply ourselves to the cultural revolution so as to improve the quality of universal ten-year compulsory education, and creditably implement the task given by the Fifth Party Congress—the task of training an army of one million intellectuals in the near future. In addition, the obsolete way of life must be discarded completely in all spheres of social life, and a socialist way of life and socialist production practices must be established.

Reunifying the country independently and peacefully is the supreme national task of our Party and the Government of the Republic.

Since the first days of their foundation, our Party and the Government of the Republic have put forward a series of fair and reasonable proposals for the country's independent and peaceful reunification and have been making tireless efforts for their implementation. None of them, however, have so far been effected because of the actions of the US imperialists and the south Korean authorities to split the nation and their obstructive moves, and

tremendous difficulties still stand in the way of reunification.

If these difficulties are to be overcome and the country's reunification achieved, the contact and talks between the north and the south have to be continued, military confrontation between them eradicated and tension eased, social democracy achieved in south Korea and a north-south Federation set up to establish the Federal Republic of Koryo. This is the only way for us to succeed in the cause of independent and peaceful reunification on the basis of great national unity.

As in the past, so in the future, our Party and the Government of the Republic will do everything in their power for the country's independent and peaceful reunification. If the entire nation combines its efforts and works hard to implement the policy of independent and peaceful national reunification advanced by our Party and the Government of the Republic, the cause of reunification will be accomplished without fail.

Thanks to the independent and revolutionary foreign policy of the Government of the Republic, the international position of our country has been greatly improved and international solidarity with our revolution further strengthened. In the international arena the ranks of supporters and sympathizers with our revolution are continuing to grow, and many countries and progressive people throughout the world fully support the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic on independent and peaceful reunification.

In the future, too, the Government of the Republic will pursue an independent and revolutionary foreign policy so as to strengthen solidarity with the international revolutionary forces and create a still more favourable international environment for our revolution.

In unity with all the progressive people of the world, the Korean people will fight against US imperialism, the worst common enemy of the world's people, and work hard to build a world free from imperialism, exploitation and oppression, a peaceful and happy new world.

The Government of the Republic regards it as its noble

internationalist duty to strengthen unity with the international revolutionary forces and support and encourage the revolutionary struggle of all peoples and it does so unreservedly.

The Government of the DPRK and our people strongly support the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples fighting against imperialist aggression and interference and for the complete national liberation and sovereignty, and express firm solidarity with their struggle.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, the Government of the Republic will unite with the peoples of the socialist countries, with the international working class, with the embattled Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and with all the peace-loving people of the world and continue to fight dauntlessly for the victory of the cause of peace and democracy, national independence, socialism and communism.

Comrades,

During the 25 years since the foundation of the DPRK, our people have accomplished a great deal, indeed, and achieved a great victory in the building of a new society. However, our revolution is not yet over and difficult and colossal revolutionary tasks still face us. We must not be complacent with the victory, but continue the revolutionary struggle and advance rapidly.

Our struggle is fruitful and its future is bright. Victory and glory will always be for our people who are fighting under the wise leadership of our Party.

Let us all march forward spiritedly for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country and for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism, firmly united behind our Party and the Government of the Republic.

On the occasion of our momentous national holiday, I propose a toast to the reunification and eternal prosperity of our motherland, to the final victory of the world revolution, to the health of the foreign comrades and friends who are here to congratulate us on our gala day, and to the health of all other comrades.

## **TALK TO THE DELEGATION OF THE PERU-KOREA INSTITUTE OF CULTURE AND FRIENDSHIP**

*September 15, 1973*

I am very pleased to have celebrated the momentous 25th anniversary of the foundation of our Republic in your company.

Your visit to our country and participation in the celebrations of our national holiday are an expression of deep trust in us.

Even under the difficult conditions in Latin America where the schemes of the US imperialists and reactionaries are diabolical, you organized the Peru-Korea Institute of Culture and Friendship and have given wide publicity to our country and full support to our people in their struggle for national reunification and socialist construction. You have made a great contribution to strengthening the friendship between the Korean and Peruvian peoples.

I am grateful to you for your resolute solidarity with our people's just struggle and for the kind and inspiring speech you, the head of the delegation, have just addressed to me.

It gives me a great pleasure that I have good friends like you in Peru.

In many parts of Latin America, at present the progressive forces are growing rapidly. This is very gratifying.

Because this frightens them, the US imperialists are cunningly resorting to ceaseless armed intervention, coups and subversive activities and sabotage against the revolutionary Latin-American

countries. Several days ago, they instigated the reactionary forces of Chile to overthrow the legal government of Allende and murder the President.

In Chile, reactionary forces have been on the rampage for a long time. Allende visited our country before he came to power. On that occasion I had a long talk with him and stressed that if he was to make a revolution in the face of these reactionary actions, he would have to strengthen his base, win over a large number of people and keep the army under his control. I also told him that after he seized power, he need not be in a hurry to establish diplomatic relations with our country.

Although Allende has been murdered, his revolutionary spirit will continue to live and tens of thousands of new fighters will grow up in Chile. There is not the slightest doubt that in the future the Chilean people will fight resolutely against the US imperialists and domestic reactionaries. The progressive forces of Chile are said to have formed a resistance organization and started fighting recently.

The Korean people express their firm solidarity with the Chilean people in their struggle and lay bare and denounce the criminal acts of the US imperialists and the Chilean reactionaries. Tomorrow a mass meeting will be held in Pyongyang to denounce the US imperialists and the Chilean reactionaries who overthrew the progressive government of Allende. In the future, too, our people will support the struggle of the Chilean people against the US imperialists and domestic reactionaries in every way that they can.

Although the US imperialists influenced the Chilean reactionaries to overthrow the government of Allende recently, they will not be able to prevent the growth of anti-US forces in Latin America by this method. These forces will continue to grow in Latin America with the passage of time.

You say that you will forcefully continue your just struggle in the future also. I believe this is a very good thing.

In the final analysis, the road to be followed by all countries and all nations is the road to socialism. The road to capitalism is a road to

exploitation and oppression, subordination and ruin. If the countries which have won national independence follow the road to capitalism, they will not be able to put an end to exploitation and oppression and get rid of their imperialist chains. It is only when they advance along the road to socialism that they will be able to consolidate national independence and build an independent, new society.

This is the era of independence. People in all countries of the world are demanding independence. No nation wants to be subordinated to others and none will tolerate its sovereignty being trampled underfoot.

Today the peoples of the third world are raising their powerful voice for independence. Some time ago, General Peron of Argentina said that his country was making a revolution in the Argentine way which is different from the capitalist way and the socialist way of a certain country. This means, in effect, that he is carrying out the revolution in an independent way. It is very important to adhere to independence in the revolutionary struggle. I consider that his slogan is excellent.

Not only the third world countries, but developed capitalist countries such as France and Canada are also opposed to US imperialist control and interference and want to follow an independent road. In Japan, too, young people and others are demanding independence, although the reactionary government is pursuing a policy of following the United States.

It is an irresistible trend of the times that people the world over are calling for independence and following an independent road.

The time has already passed when the imperialists could invade other countries with impunity and lord it over the world.

The neocolonialist policy put forward by the US imperialists after the Second World War is now meeting total failure.

The neocolonialism pursued by the US is a crafty artifice of aggression and a method of ruling which is aimed at subordinating and plundering other countries through the intensification of political, economic and cultural infiltration.

The US imperialists who had amassed a tremendous amount of

wealth during the Second World War, attempted after the war to bring other countries under their domination and subordination by using their “aid” as a bait, in the guise of the “Truman doctrine” and “Marshall plan”. At that time many countries followed the United States, pinning their hopes on its “aid”, and joined “NATO” and other aggressive military blocs.

Nearly thirty years have passed since then. During this period many countries have rehabilitated their economy and are now able to dispense with US “aid”. By contrast the economic power of the United States has weakened greatly. The value of the US dollar has fallen and its granary is empty. The US imperialists can no longer manipulate other countries with their “aid” as a bait.

The US imperialists’ nuclear blackmail has also failed completely.

Atomic bombs are not the monopoly of the US imperialists. In the Korean and Vietnamese wars they could not use these bombs even though they lost a large number of soldiers and suffered ignominious defeats. In the future they will not be able to use them recklessly either.

When it thus became difficult for them to dominate other countries both economically and militarily, the US imperialists produced the “Nixon doctrine”. This doctrine is a cunning policy of aggression which aims at making Asians fight against Asians, Africans against Africans, and Latin Americans against Latin Americans. There is nothing new in this method which is employed to get others to fight among themselves. They use this method whenever they need to find a way out of their predicaments. This is a timeworn artifice which was already used by the feudal rulers in the past.

Moreover, the US imperialists are resorting to crafty double-dealing tactics. They are trying to compromise with great powers and get along on good terms with them under the guise of “peace” on the one hand, and, on the other, to swallow small countries one by one by threatening them with arms and invading them. This is also a timeworn artifice. There is an old saying: “Politics, seven-tenths, military affairs, three-tenths.” This means using 70 per cent of peaceful means and 30 per cent of military methods to demoralize the enemy.

Although the US imperialists are now putting their hopes in a series of cunning artifices, none of them will be effective.

The more desperate the US imperialists become, the more firmly the revolutionary countries should unite and fight them determinedly. Even small countries will be perfectly able to win if they maintain independence and fight in solid unity.

Last, I shall refer briefly to the question of reunifying our country.

The US imperialists are the main force which obstructs the reunification of our country. They are stubbornly trying to finalize the division of our country and keep south Korea as their colony for ever. This was their ambition from the outset.

Because talks were held between the north and the south and the trend towards reunification was increasing amongst the south Korean people recently, the US imperialists made a proposal for the simultaneous admission to UN membership of “two Koreas”. This is an insidious scheme to prevent our country’s reunification and perpetuate its division by creating “two Koreas”. Therefore, not only the people in the northern half of our country but also the south Korean people categorically oppose it.

At present, people in a certain country are asking whether it is not advisable for Korea to enter the UN as two countries like Germany. We can never do this.

The situation in our country is different from that of Germany.

Germany was an invader and was defeated in the last war. For this reason, Europeans do not like Germany being united because they are afraid that it will appear as a dangerous aggressive force again if it is united.

Our country was neither an invader nor a defeated nation in the last war. Even if it is reunified, it will never become a force which threatens its neighbours. Therefore, Asians are not afraid of Korea being reunified. All the Korean people unanimously and sincerely desire the country’s reunification.

The overwhelming majority of countries in the world also desire Korea’s reunification and strongly support and encourage the struggle

of our people for national reunification. The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations held in Algeria several days ago unanimously adopted “A resolution on the Korean question” to the effect that all forms of foreign interference in Korea’s affairs should be ended, that the foreign troops occupying south Korea under the UN flag be withdrawn, that the “UNCURK” be dissolved and Korea’s entry into the UN be effected under a single name either after the complete reunification of the country or following the establishment of the north-south Federation.

No matter how hard the US imperialists try to create “two Koreas”, it will be of no avail. With the full support and encouragement of the progressive people all over the world and with their united efforts, our people will resolutely smash the moves of the US imperialists to create “two Koreas” and reunify the country independently and peacefully, come what may.

Once again, I express my thanks to you for your full support of our people’s struggle to reunify the country.

I hope that at some time in the future you will visit our country again with your families.

**TALK WITH THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
AND CHIEF EDITOR OF IWANAMI  
SHOTEN, PUBLISHERS, JAPAN**

*September 19, 1973*

I am very happy, Mr. Midorikawa Toru, that you have come to our country and joined us in celebrating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Your visit to our country is an expression of your deep love for and trust in the Korean people. I am happy to have another Japanese friend like you, and I thank you for visiting our country.

I also feel grateful to your Shoten, Publishers, for its friendly and brotherly conduct in widely introducing all the achievements made by the DPRK and for many good things it has done for our country out of its sympathetic stand towards us. On your return home, I hope that you will convey my best regards to the president and the staff of Iwanami Shoten.

Some time ago, *Sekai* magazine published by Iwanami Shoten carried an article entitled *South Korea Today*. I read the whole text. It was very interesting. It gave us a great deal of information. Although we have much information about south Korea, the corruption of the south Korean authorities laid bare in your article infuriates us as Koreans.

It is quite reasonable that you should use your pen to expose and criticize the crimes of the south Korean authorities and their corruption. By so doing, you are helping to raise the awareness of the

Japanese and south Korean peoples and all the rest of the people in the world and are making a great contribution to strengthening friendship between the peoples of Korea and Japan. Moreover, through this work, you are playing an important role in disseminating progressive ideas throughout the world.

We are well aware that the editorial staff of *Sekai* magazine and the staff of Iwanami Shoten are making great efforts for world progress.

You asked about my impression on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK. Well, we have just held a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, and analysed the achievements scored in the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the last 25 years since the foundation of the Republic. Therefore, if I tell you about them, I think it would answer your question suitably. Since I cannot repeat in this limited time everything which was discussed for over a week at the plenary meeting, I shall just touch briefly on the major points.

The last plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee considered that our Party's lines and policies pursued since the foundation of the Republic are most correct. Their correctness has recently become all the more conspicuous when the international situation is rapidly changing and developing in so many different ways. In particular, our Party's line of independence in politics, self-reliance in the economy and self-defence in guarding the nation has been proved to be absolutely correct. All our achievements are due to the Juche idea consistently maintained by our Party and to the line of independence, self-reliance and self-defence which is the embodiment of this idea.

How correct is our Party's maintenance of the principle of political independence, economic self-reliance and national self-defence has now been proved more clearly than ever. At present many countries of the world want to follow the road to independence—in our opinion, not merely the nations of the third world but also those of the second world such as Japan, Canada and France. We are inclined to think that this is the common aspiration of people the world over. It is true that the

reactionary forces are taking up the policy of following in the wake of great powers. However, almost all the peoples of the world, progressive forces and highly awakened public figures are demanding independence. I think the same is true of Japan, our close neighbour. The great majority of the people, progressive forces and most public figures in Japan, except a tiny handful of reactionaries, are all emphasizing and demanding independence.

As you see, our Party's line of independence has come into being at a time when people in all countries are aspiring to independence, and it is in full accord with the trends of the present time. In other words, it is coincident with the aspiration of the world's people, although the independence line of our Party and the Government of the Republic was chosen by the Korean people themselves. Therefore, we can say that we are taking the same road as the progressive people of the world, in keeping with international trends.

This was clearly shown also at the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations recently held in Algeria with the participation of the heads of state and government and their representatives from more than 80 nations or more than 100 delegations. Our country was not represented at this conference. However, the conference condemned foreign interference in Korea's internal affairs and the plot to create "two Koreas". It adopted a resolution that there must be an end to all forms of foreign interference in Korea's domestic affairs and that the 28th session of the UN General Assembly must decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops occupying south Korea under the UN flag and on the dissolution of the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". The conference also resolved that Korea must be admitted to the UN after the complete reunification of Korea or after the institution of a north-south Federation under a single name. We received this information during the last plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee and through this we have become more firmly convinced of the correctness of our Party's line and have realized more clearly than ever that many peoples in the world support us.

Not only the non-aligned nations but the peoples of Japan and many

other countries are backing our line of independence. This support and encouragement convince our people more deeply of the justness of their cause and inspire our struggle.

We have made great progress not only in the sphere of foreign activities but also in the internal affairs.

Our people are united solidly with one mind and one purpose on the basis of the Juche idea. In our country today the tendency to flunkeyism handed down over many years has been eliminated and the firm politico-ideological unity of all the people has been brought about on the basis of the Juche idea. If our Party had been captivated by flunkeyism and had not carved out its destiny by its own talents, blindly following the policies of other countries, it would not have obtained this politico-ideological unity of all the people nor would it have achieved brilliant victories in the revolution and construction as today.

At the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee we proudly analysed that despite manifold hardships in its advance over the last 25 years since the founding of the Republic, our Party had been able to achieve the brilliant successes which we are witnessing today because it had hewn out its way by its own efforts, using its own initiative. We also estimated that the proud successes were possible because our Party's Juche idea and the line of independence, self-reliance and self-defence moved the hearts of our people, and because the whole Party, the entire army and all the people accepted them and made them part of themselves.

Today all our working people are firmly equipped with the Juche idea and give full rein to their creative zeal to carry out their tasks with the attitude of masters. Our Republic has achieved all these successes during the last 25 years because those who had money donated their money, those with knowledge devoted their knowledge and those with techniques offered their technical skill. In other words, they are the fruit of the struggle all our people have waged to overcome hardships by giving full play to their energies and talents. Needless to say, with a few persons' efforts and talents, it would have been impossible to turn

our Republic in such a short time into a powerful socialist country which is prospering and developing today.

Not only workers and peasants, but also the intellectuals who had previously been prosperous, took part in the struggle for the prosperity and progress of the Republic, dedicating all their wisdom. Thanks to our Party's correct policy on intellectuals, none of the old intellectuals who had joined our revolutionary ranks became a laggard. Many of them fought devotedly to carry through the lines and policies of the Party and the Government to the last moment of their lives.

Our Republic has been able to enjoy the present prosperity and progress because all our people, ideologically united as one man, worked in this way with the attitude of masters in order to consolidate their government and make their country richer and stronger.

A great deal of progress has also been made in the sphere of culture.

Immediately after liberation we began with the work of eradicating illiteracy. When I was Chairman of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, we discussed the pencil supply problem as the first item on the committee's agenda. We did this immediately after liberation in order to educate our children and wipe out illiteracy, but now, we are considering how to make all the working people acquire a high level of cultural and intellectual attainments—the middle school graduate standard and above—and master at least one kind of technical skill.

Moreover, our Party trained a large number of new intellectuals, at the same time re-educating the old intellectuals to become working intellectuals in the service of the people. The result is that we have now more than 600,000 technicians and specialists. The Party has proposed the goal to increase their ranks to more than one million in the near future and is working hard to achieve this.

All these successes scored in the development of culture fully show how correct was our Party's cultural policy which has been followed during the last 25 years since the birth of the Republic and how rapidly the cultural revolution has taken place in our country.

We have also made great progress in the economic field.

Of course, we received some assistance from the fraternal countries

for our economic construction. This was not the main thing, however. Our Party persisted in relying on its own internal forces for economic construction.

Now we can say that we have succeeded in building a completely independent national economy. Our economy is not only able to stand firmly on its own feet but also has the foundations to develop more rapidly in the future. Today our nation's economy is powerful enough to advance independently and confidently, unaffected by any worldwide economic fluctuations. This has been proved by events.

At present we are discussing how to develop our economy more quickly. If there is any hardship in our economic development it may arise in the course of our rapid advancement. There is neither economic stagnation nor depression any more. That is a thing of the past now.

We can claim with great pride and confidence that in the last 25 years following the founding of the Republic, we have made tremendous progress and successes throughout the ideological, cultural and economic realms.

Now our Party is appealing to all its members and other working people not to be complacent about the existing successes but to carry on an uninterrupted fight to consolidate them and make fresh advances.

In order to consolidate the nation's economic foundations and capture the material fortress to satisfy the people's vital demands more fully, all the working people must continue to work hard, without becoming infatuated with their successes, or indolent. If we do not strengthen the ideological education of the working people, they could become conceited and lax as they become more prosperous. Therefore, we must guard against any tendency to indolence and selfishness which may be expressed among the working people as they become prosperous and must induce all of them to work and live with the collectivist spirit under the slogan: "One for all and all for one". So the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee laid great emphasis on the necessity for ideological struggle against the tendencies to self-conceit and slackness which could breed as cares

and worries are removed from our lives, and called upon the whole Party to prevent such tendencies.

You asked me how the Six-Year Plan is progressing in our country. Let me say a few words about it.

Today our workers and farmers have a fierce enthusiasm to fulfil the Six-Year Plan ahead of time and the whole nation is working hard to do so.

The three major tasks of the technical revolution are the crux of the Six-Year Plan. At the last plenary meeting of our Party Central Committee great emphasis was given to the necessity to carry out the three major tasks of the technical revolution with dynamism in order to fulfil the Six-Year Plan successfully.

We are now attempting to narrow the gap between heavy and light work and to bring them closer together. We can only fulfil the Six-Year Plan before the set time if we quickly accomplish the tasks confronting us to diminish the differences between heavy and light work and liberate all the working people from backbreaking labour.

It is no easy task to eliminate the distinctions between heavy and light work completely. We intend to reduce the differences to a considerable extent in the near future. Now our country is making steady progress in lessening the differences between heavy and light work. We have already scored a great success in this respect.

In narrowing these differences and freeing the working people from toilsome work the primary task is that of introducing technological innovations in the mining industry.

We must also put an end to heat-affected work in the realm of industry. It is important here to introduce automation into production processes and then gradually switch over to telemechanics. Therefore, the Fifth Congress of our Party proposed the development of electronics as a major task in order to introduce automation satisfactorily.

All these problems are by no means simple ones. However, we are capable of solving them one by one.

If we are to fulfil our tasks of the technical revolution, we must

study and invent many things for ourselves. We are now devoting great effort to this. In addition, we must also introduce foreign techniques. This is not contradictory to self-reliance. Some people regard self-reliance as doing everything entirely on one's own. This is not correct. Self-reliance means to rely on one's own efforts, instead of depending on others. As for the techniques already invented and developed by others, it is better for us to introduce them than to start research on them by ourselves. In my opinion, mastering foreign techniques also conforms with self-reliance. It is wrong to keep the door shut, instead of learning from others. If we inspect technological branches in foreign countries and learn their techniques, we shall advance more quickly.

I think most of the indices envisaged under the Six-Year Plan will be attained by 1975. However, we have to continue to work hard to develop our technology.

From now onwards, we must put a great deal of effort into heavy industry.

If we complete construction projects for heavy industry quickly, we shall expedite the fulfilment of the tasks assigned to this field. But if we slow down construction, the fulfilment of these tasks may be somewhat delayed. We are now pressing forward to fulfil the tasks of heavy industry under the Six-Year Plan by the end of 1975. But I am afraid some of the indices of heavy industry might not be achieved before the first half of 1976.

At present light industry is also going well. I think this industry will attain the major goals of the Six-Year Plan next year.

Our country is developing light industry in two directions. That is to say that we are developing central and local industries. By developing central industries we mean to build and run the large-scale, modern light industry factories, and by local industries we mean to operate the small and medium-sized light industry factories in localities, using their raw materials.

In 1975 we shall fulfil the tasks assigned to light industries as envisaged in the Six-Year Plan.

Now our working people are very enthusiastic to accomplish the Six-Year Plan ahead of schedule and we have also many favourable conditions. Formerly we traded only with socialist countries but at present, we have trade relations with many capitalist countries as well as newly independent countries. In particular, we have closer trade relations with the newly independent nations in the third world.

Next, we are striving to diminish differences between agricultural and industrial work and to bring them closer to each other. Here it is important to accomplish the tasks advanced in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

Next year we shall celebrate the tenth anniversary of the announcement of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. We are endeavouring to carry out the tasks put forth in the theses on the occasion of the tenth anniversary. I think that next year we shall fulfil almost all the tasks of the theses except those of the ideological revolution.

We foresee that the major tasks of the rural technical revolution proposed by the theses will be almost fulfilled next year.

The irrigation of land in our country areas has long since been completed and electrification has also been splendidly achieved. We are now striving to complete mechanization.

The theses define that the number of tractors in the countryside must be increased to 70,000-80,000 (in terms of 15 hp units). The workers at the tractor plants are battling to reach this target by next July.

In our country there are some 1,500,000 hectares of cultivated land where machines can be used. If 80,000 tractors are produced, we can supply five or six tractors per 100 hectares of land. When 70,000-80,000 tractors are supplied to the rural areas, we shall have basically satisfied their demands for the machines.

The Six-Year Plan envisages the number of tractors per 100 hectares of arable land to be augmented to six or seven. We think we shall be able to attain this goal in 1975. The task of using chemicals more widely in agriculture set forth in the theses will also be fulfilled

next year. The theses on the rural question set it as a task to provide each hectare with more than one ton of chemical fertilizer. This goal will be accomplished by the first half of next year. One ton of chemical fertilizer for each hectare is not so bad. Next year the goal of supplying different agricultural chemicals will also be attained. Next year will thus see the fulfilment of the major tasks of the rural technical revolution put forth in the theses.

The prospects for grain production are also fine. As we have just seen in the farming villages, our country is expecting a bumper harvest this year. Onchon County which we have just visited was one of the most backward counties before, but, its grain production is now increasing every year. This county's grain production record was 53,000 tons. But they say 70,000 tons will be harvested this year. This county has a goal to produce 73,000 tons of grain under the Six-Year Plan. So, if it produces 3,000 tons more next year, the county will have fulfilled the Six-Year Plan. This is not very difficult. If just a little more is produced on each hectare, that will suffice. Our rural officials might rest content with the achievements we have made this year. That is why at the last plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee we warned them not to become complacent.

In all probability the agricultural goal of the Six-Year Plan will be attained next year. We can say that, on the whole, our Six-Year Plan is being carried out satisfactorily.

Next, we are working hard to free our women from the heavy burden of household chores. This campaign is also being conducted on a nationwide scale. In particular, our women are striving to liberate themselves from drudgery, displaying a high degree of creativity.

In the battle to free women from the heavy burden of household chores, many successes have already been gained. Korean women had carried water jars on their heads for many centuries. But, now, with the introduction of water services to many villages, they no longer do so. When I talk to old women in the country areas, they say through tears of emotion that they had to carry water jars on their heads for so many years, but only in the era of the Workers' Party have they been relieved

of this trouble. Indeed, carrying water jars was a very heavy burden for our women.

The introduction of water services has eliminated this practice in the rural areas and, moreover, enabled the villagers to drink purified water. The farmers are delighted at the introduction of the water services more than anything else.

While lessening the women's burdensome work, we have also taken measures to lighten their burden of raising children. Rearing children is a heavy burden to women. The state has built many nurseries and kindergartens in order to do away with this.

The children looked after at nurseries and kindergartens are provided with lunch and snacks there, although they have breakfast at home. Our women are deeply moved by this solicitude shown by the Party and the state. They say that since all these conditions are provided, they never feel tired from their work.

If you talk to our comrades you will obtain more detailed information about the Six-Year Plan. We are sure that we can succeed in fulfilling this plan. Come again to our country when the Six-Year Plan is completed. You said in the car that in the DPRK one year makes an epoch. When the Six-Year Plan is over, the appearance of our country will have changed still further.

You asked about the questions of Korean reunification and the United Nations, so I will refer to the former in relation to the latter.

As far as the UN is concerned, its Charter is not bad in itself. However, the UN has so far been dominated by the great powers; it has been under their control. Therefore, the UN has been unable to work in accordance with its Charter. The UN Charter has not been observed because the US imperialists, in particular, have indulged in power politics and exerted pressure in the UN.

But today many newly independent nations and progressive countries have become members of the UN. As I have said, the newly independent nations demand independence. Accordingly, there is an increasing demand among the UN member states that the UN be an organization to ensure independence to every country.

If it is to be faithful to its Charter, the UN must be an organization that ensures independence to all countries alike, large or small. But we do not mean that the UN is no longer necessary. Many countries are still pinning great hopes on the UN.

Of course, should the UN continue to act contrary to its Charter, under the influence of great nations' power politics and their pressure, it would lose the confidence of the people of the world.

As the people of all countries are now beginning to see through the essence of the US imperialist policies of aggression and neocolonialism, the prestige of US imperialism is being gradually eroded. The pressure exerted by it at the UN is also losing its force. At present, many countries are putting up a firm resistance, demanding that the UN act in the spirit of its Charter. In my opinion, the political awakening of the newly independent nations will be decisive to the future functioning of the UN.

Now, the south Korean authorities, US imperialism and the Japanese government have been plotting the simultaneous admission of "two Koreas" to the UN. This is why the problem of admitting "two Koreas" to the UN has been placed on the agenda of the UN General Assembly for discussion this year.

Why have they put forward the proposal on the simultaneous admission of "two Koreas" to the UN at a time when negotiations are going on between the north and south and no agreement has been reached as yet between the two sides?

This proposal lays bare the real intention of the US imperialists and some of the Japanese reactionaries who have long schemed to perpetuate the division of Korea. In other words, it fully reveals their ambitions regarding Korea.

The proposal on the simultaneous admission of "two Koreas" to the UN is also aimed at forestalling the discussion at the UN General Assembly on the problem of the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea. This is the main purpose they are pursuing. They advanced this proposal in an attempt to arouse the world's interest in the problem of the simultaneous entry of "two Koreas" into the UN and divert its

attention from the question of the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea. The proposal is a trick to achieve this very purpose. In short, it is based on the scheme to keep US troops in south Korea, as they are no longer able to find any excuse for this. In the last analysis, the proposal is designed to attract less attention of many nations at the UN General Assembly to the question of the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea and keep them in south Korea under the UN cloak.

The US imperialists, the Japanese reactionaries and the south Korean puppets also know that they cannot bring about the simultaneous entry of “two Koreas” into the UN. They cannot because one of the two agrees to the entry into the UN while the other does not.

However, the US imperialists put forward the proposal on the simultaneous entry of “two Koreas” into the UN in an attempt to cause controversy over this question and then equivocally skip over the question of the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea. This is a mere conjuring trick to hoodwink the people of the world. Deceptive tactics cannot last long before their eyes. If you see a conjurer’s trick more than once, you can easily understand the secret.

This problem may create a sensation at the UN General Assembly this year. However, the substance of the matter is already being brought to light

The Fourth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Nations held in Algeria declared that Korea should enter the UN as one, not as two. In my opinion, the countries participating in the conference came to this conclusion because they had seen through the trick of the admission of “two Koreas” to the UN.

The simultaneous admission of “two Koreas” to the UN will not be beneficial to the Korean people. We shall never recognize “two Koreas”.

The American and the Japanese reactionaries and the south Korean authorities have stubbornly insisted on placing the simultaneous entry of “two Koreas” on the agenda of this year’s session of the UN General Assembly also because it is going to consider the admission of East and West Germany to the UN. They want to take advantage of this.

The US imperialists are very cunning.

Our case is fundamentally different from that of East and West Germany. Both of them want separation. Formerly Germany was an aggressor nation. As a result of the war, it was divided into two; one became a worker-peasant state, and the other a monopoly-capitalist state. The maintenance of the worker-peasant state in East Germany will, in the long run, serve to weaken the strength of monopoly capital in West Germany. In addition, the neighbouring European countries do not want Germany to reunite and become a strong militarist power, because, then, Germany could re-appear as a force of aggression.

But our case is quite different. We have never invaded any country. Our country was formerly a colony, and then it was liberated. Our neighbours do not consider that our country would invade others when reunified. Neither the Chinese nor the Soviets nor the Japanese think so. For the Asian countries, a reunified Korea would be more beneficial than two Koreas antagonistic to each other. The Japanese people hold this view, and so do the Chinese and Soviet peoples.

The most important thing here is that the Korean people both in the north and south do not want the division of their country. Koreans are a homogeneous nation which has a long history as a unified state. That is why they do not want to be divided.

It is only a handful of south Korea's reactionary forces, the pro-American reactionaries in Japan and the US imperialists who want the partition of our country. The US imperialists want this in order to keep south Korea as their military base.

Why should our country be divided when the overwhelming majority of nations want to see Korea reunified? We have had enough suffering of national division in the last 28 years. Why must we continue to have this suffering? We are resolutely opposed to the entry of "two Koreas" into the UN. We believe that the countries sympathetic towards us are also against it

Now let me touch briefly on your question about how to form the Federal Republic of Koryo.

We proposed that the Federation be named Federal Republic of

Koryo because a unified state named Koryo once existed on our territory. It is a good name acceptable to both sides. If we named the federal state the Democratic People's Republic of Korea or the "Republic of Korea", it would mean forcing one side's demand on the other. For this reason we proposed naming it Federal Republic of Koryo so that both the north and south can accept it on the principle of equality.

Our Federation proposal is that a federal state be formed, leaving the present social systems in the north and south as they are for the time being. So the main thing here is that the two sides trust each other and achieve great national unity.

In our opinion, it is first necessary to convene a Great National Congress and settle matters concerning the country's reunification through extensive consultations. This congress must discuss the question of eliminating military confrontation and removing tension between the north and south. In order to solve this question, it is necessary to introduce a number of measures already proposed by us, such as the reduction of the armed forces of the north and south. This will create conditions for mutual trust and national amity between the two sides.

We also maintain that there should be overall collaboration and interchange between the north and south in the political, economic, cultural and all other fields.

Despite the institutional differences between the north and south there are many problems on which we can work together now. Both sides can jointly exploit the mineral resources and make use of the results of scientific and technological research. Overall collaboration is possible in many other fields.

If the north and south bring about all-round collaboration and interchange in different spheres, conditions will be created for the two sides to understand and trust each other in the course of this, and as time goes by, their mutual understanding will deepen. Then the two sides will be able to have a correct understanding of each other's system, and this will help remove the fear still entertained by some

south Koreans of the socialist system in the northern half of Korea. Further, if, through north-south collaboration, right is distinguished from wrong, the latter eliminated and the former encouraged, favourable conditions will be created for achieving great national unity.

Since ours is a single nation which has shared the same culture and the same language through many centuries, we shall understand each other quickly once the north and south collaborate.

All we are doing today is for the benefit of our nation. We have done nothing which conflicts with the interests of our nation. We have never sold our national interests. We are always doing all we can to protect and safeguard our nation's interests.

On the contrary, the south Korean authorities are selling our national interests. We cannot tolerate this.

Should they collaborate with us the south Korean authorities can solve many problems without selling the interests of the nation. Let me give you an example. At present they are exporting huge amounts of manpower, including nurses and miners. If, instead of this, they collaborate with us, they will be able to solve their problems of living conditions.

We are proposing to institute the north-south Federation on the basis of mutual understanding between the two sides and of great national unity through these different measures.

At present the south Korean people are criticizing their authorities for their excessive immoderate behaviour and their corruption. The south Korean authorities are apprehensive lest these misdeeds should be brought to light once they collaborate with us. We have repeatedly made clear that if the south Korean authorities frankly admit their crimes against the country and people and desist from treacherous acts, their past crimes will be condoned. If they assure us that they will not commit misdemeanors and corruption any more, we will not be particular about their past deeds. However, if the south Korean authorities continue to indulge in them, they will inevitably be criticized and condemned not only by the people in

south Korea but by the whole Korean people.

Since the detailed measures for the formation of the Federal Republic of Koryo have to be decided upon through consultations between the north and south, I cannot make any further remarks about them.

And as regards your question about the North-South Coordination Commission, I have nothing to say because the Premier of the Administration Council dwelt on it in detail in his report made at the central meeting to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Republic. The views he expressed were not his own but those of our Party Central Committee.

Our position is that the north and south must continue to promote contact and dialogue, instead of keeping the door closed. The matter depends entirely on the attitude of the south Korean authorities. We have to wait and see how they will react.

Now, I should like to refer to the relations between our country and Japan.

As we have stated on a number of occasions, the normalization of state relations between our country and Japan depends entirely on the Japanese government's attitude.

At present, we are not very concerned about the normalization of state relations between our country and Japan. Normal relations will not settle all the problems arising between our country and Japan. We cannot say that once the Japanese embassy is set up in Pyongyang or our embassy in Tokyo, everything will have been settled with regard to relations between us.

What is important in improving relations between our country and Japan is that the two countries should deepen their mutual understanding and, especially, that the Japanese government should stop its hostile policy towards our country. Our country and Japan do not understand each other properly. In our opinion, the two countries should first have a better understanding of each other.

You said that the visit of our Mansudae Art Troupe to Japan had given great assistance to increasing mutual understanding between the

two countries. I thank you for this judgement.

While our Mansudae Art Troupe was staying in Japan, the political parties, social organizations, individual figures of different backgrounds and the mass of the people expressed their active support for our people. They showed hospitality to our artistes, as their friends and comrades, and firmly supported our people's struggle to reunify the country. This means that our two peoples have a very amicable relationship. We have an old saying: A good neighbour is better than a cousin. I wonder whether you have a similar Japanese proverb.

We believe that despite their different social systems, our country and Japan can have good-neighbourly relations and further cement friendship and solidarity between their peoples. If the Japanese government has no objection, from now onwards, we will make arrangements for more visits to Japan, similar to the Mansudae Art Troupe's. This will help develop friendly relations between the Korean and Japanese peoples.

# **LET US STRENGTHEN THE COMPANIES OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY**

**Speech Delivered to a Meeting of the Korean People's  
Army Company Commanders and Company  
Political Instructors**

*October 11, 1973*

Comrades,

This meeting today is being attended by company commanders and company political instructors who have come from their posts at the front and in the rear—from those on Height 1211, Mt. Taedok, Mt. Wolbi and Mt. Paektu and from coastal, naval and air defence posts. I am very pleased to see you, dear comrades, who are fighting courageously at your posts in defence of the country.

The company commanders and political instructors who are attending this meeting have all been fighting day and night for the country and the people, for the Party and the revolution, at the front and in the rear. You have been guarding the defence posts for 24 hours a day and also educating and training the soldiers at great physical cost by enduring every kind of hardship. No amount of money or gold would be large enough to reward you for all your services. No complimentary words would be enough to praise you for all your services.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, the Government of the Republic and all the Korean people, and on behalf of the comrades-in-arms who have fought with me over the past 40 years, I should like to offer warm thanks to you, comrade company

commanders and political instructors, for the valiant services you are rendering for the country and the people, and for the Party and the revolution, enduring all hardships and difficulties.

In your speeches, you wished me, your Supreme Commander, good health, and I thank you for your wishes, and I also wish you good health and success in your service.

There is a saying that a general without an army is no general. In terms of that proverb, a supreme commander by himself is no supreme commander. A supreme commander presupposes an army, and without an army there can be no supreme commander. During the former anti-Japanese armed struggle, my comrades and comrades-in-arms supported me and made me the Commander of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army; and today you and all the other soldiers of the People's Army supported me and made me the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army.

If the Supreme Commander is to remain in good health, all the People's Army soldiers must be in good health and the People's Army must be strong. Only when you hold your posts dependably in good health, can the security of the country and the people be guaranteed, can the Party and the Government be strong, and the Supreme Commander be healthy. I hope that you will implement the slogan, "Let us defend the Party Central Committee at the cost of our lives!" thoroughly by maintaining your posts in national defence firmly in good health and performing all your revolutionary tasks successfully.

Now, I am going to talk about some tasks in strengthening the companies of the People's Army.

The company is a cell of the People's Army.

As you all know, a human body is composed of cells, and the work of these cells makes him a living organism. If a man is to be healthy, all his cells must be healthy and function properly. If some of the cells of a human body become unhealthy, an inflammation or a boil will develop in that part of the body, making the man uncomfortable or causing fever all over his body. This is a principle of human physiology.

We called the basic Party organization a cell in comparison to an

organic body. Our Party consists of cells. Therefore, if we are to strengthen our Party, we must first strengthen its cells, the basic organizations, and improve their function and role in every way. If any of the Party cells becomes corrupt or if something is wrong with it, it can hamper the development of the whole Party. This is also a scientific principle.

We can also say the same about the People's Army. Companies are the cells of the People's Army. The company is the basic organization and the basic combat unit of the People's Army. The rank-and-file soldiers of the People's Army live in companies, and there they are given military and political training. Party cells, the basic organizations of our Party, are also active in companies. These companies make up battalions, regiments, divisions, corps, field armies, and the People's Army. For this reason, the position and role of companies in the People's Army are very important.

The capabilities of the People's Army depend largely on whether we strengthen the companies or not. If all its companies become stronger politically and militarily, the People's Army will be incomparably stronger; if, on the contrary, anything is wrong with a company or if it fails to do its duty, it can hinder the strengthening of the battalion, regiment and division and, further, badly affect the development of the whole of the People's Army.

Some people consider it unimportant to lose a unit as small as a company during a war. They are mistaken. Losing a company in a war can be likened to the occurrence of a boil on one of the limbs of a human body. If the boil grows worse, the arm or leg with the boil may have to be amputated or, if the case is more serious, it may have to undergo a more severe operation. If a company is lost in battle, the combat power of its battalion, regiment and division will be weakened, and the People's Army as a whole may become weaker.

Because the position of the company is so important, it is essential to strengthen the company in increasing the capabilities of the People's Army.

In view of its importance, it is also imperative to destroy the

enemy's companies in battle. If we destroy a large number of them at different places, though not a large force at one stroke, we shall be able to give the enemy a heavy blow. Destroying hostile companies at different places in battle can be likened to causing boils all over a human body. One boil or two on a man's body may not affect him seriously, but, if he gets them on his legs and arms, on his waist and all over his body, the whole of his body will ache, and he will not be able to move freely because of the pain and may finally die. If we destroy a few companies from each of the enemy divisions and corps every day when we fight him, these divisions and corps will very soon be weakened and the enemy will finally become exhausted.

The company commanders and political instructors must have a clear understanding of the importance of companies and devote all their energy and talent to strengthening them.

A company has a deputy company commander, a sergeant major, platoon leaders, assistant platoon leaders, squad leaders and other soldiers in addition to the company commander and political instructor. Every member of the company plays an important part. If platoon leaders and squad leaders do not perform their duties as they should, it will be impossible to strengthen the company, however hard the company commander and political instructor may work. It is only when all its members are well prepared politically, ideologically and in military technology that the company can be a sound cell.

In the belief that the company commanders, political instructors, deputy company commanders, sergeant majors, platoon leaders, assistant platoon leaders, squad leaders and all other men will endeavour to strengthen their companies in accordance with the Party's military line, I extend my greetings to all the soldiers of the companies of the People's Army.

My greetings are also addressed to the officers of the battalions, regiments, divisions, corps and field armies who help and direct companies, and I wish them greater success in their work of directing the strengthening of the companies.

If we are to strengthen companies, we must first increase the role of

company commanders and political instructors in every way.

Company commanders and political instructors are in charge of the cells of the People's Army. In other words, the company commanders are militarily responsible for their companies, the cells of the People's Army, and the company political instructors are politically responsible for these companies. Both of them educate and train the men directly and participate in the men's political life, in their daily routine and in all other aspects of their lives. They also fight alongside the men in the same trenches in wartime. That is why it depends largely on their role whether the companies are strengthened or not. If the company commanders and political instructors give their men good education and training and see that the men take good care of their weapons and equipment and follow the daily routine well, their companies will be strong and always emerge victorious in battle. But, if they neglect the men's education and training and the management of the units, their companies will be in low spirits and fail in battle.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we always kept the guard company with us, educating and training the men and we ensured that the company was run efficiently. So the guard company always looked like a regular army unit, was equipped with efficient weapons and defeated the enemy whenever it fought. The experience of other units of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army showed that the companies which had been trained and operated well by their commanders and political instructors were good fighters. But those companies which were educated and managed carelessly by their commanders and political instructors used to suffer shortages of food and ammunition and even tended to flee under enemy pressure. All this demonstrates that success in strengthening companies depends mainly on the role of their commanders and political instructors.

All the company commanders and company political instructors of the People's Army must improve their role in order to strengthen their units.

We can say that a company commander is to a company what the eldest brother is to a family and that a company political instructor is to

a company what the eldest sister is to a family. So both of them must educate their men and take care of them, with the devotion of an eldest brother and eldest sister.

The company commander must treat his men just as he does his own younger brothers, and when any of his men has made a mistake he must criticize him sternly and intelligibly. The company political instructor must, like a good-natured eldest sister, deal with the men kindly and gently. Suppose a man made a mistake and was criticized severely by the company commander. Then, the company political instructor must see him and explain to him kindly that he must not complain of the criticism made by the company commander, that his mistake was a fact, that the criticism will benefit him because it will stimulate him to improve and that he should try to correct the mistake with the help of his comrades. If, instead, the political instructor joins the company commander in criticizing the men, the men will not follow the commander and the political instructor enthusiastically. They will say that they have no one to depend on in the company, and become homesick.

Only when the company political instructor treats the men with the tenderness of an eldest sister, will the men come to see him and speak their minds. The political instructor must listen to what they have to tell him, and, if he hears of any serious error, he must persuade the man involved to correct it immediately, and maintain secrecy about those matters which he must keep to himself.

The commander and the political instructor of a company must work in unison with each other in performing their military duties and in educating the men. The commander must not run a one-man show by ignoring the political instructor, nor should the latter have everything his own way by usurping the former's authority. If the company commander has criticized a man severely, the political instructor must talk to the man and persuade him to correct his mistake as soon as possible. This is the way they should work together. If they work in close cooperation in this way, the company will be successful in everything.

If they are to play their role satisfactorily, the company commanders and the political instructors must possess the noble communist moral qualities which are required of fighting men.

This is very important in strengthening companies and increasing their fighting efficiency. They can only set their men an example in their daily routine and in difficult battle situations and lead them to display mass heroism in carrying out their revolutionary tasks if they have these qualities. They must, therefore, make a strenuous effort to acquire the noble communist fighting moralities as follows.

**First, the company commanders and company political instructors must be courageous.** If they are, instead, cowardly, the men will not follow them. If things come to this pass, the commanders and political instructors will be unable to lead their companies properly and defeat the enemy. Therefore, they must show courage on the battlefield, without being terrified by the roar of guns which might shake their hearts a little, and must plunge into the thick of the fight ahead of the other soldiers. Cowardice in daily routine and in the fight against the enemy cannot be tolerated in company commanders and political instructors. They must be brave.

**Second, the company commanders and company political instructors must have fortitude.** If a man is weak and lacks fortitude, he will yield to even minor difficulties. A weak-willed man can achieve nothing. The company commanders and political instructors must oppose feebleness and endeavour to become strong-willed so that they will overcome all difficulties and trials.

**Third, the company commanders and company political instructors must have a high sense of responsibility in everything.** They must always remember that each of them is responsible to the Party and the Supreme Commander for one cell of the People's Army and for the lives of a large number of soldiers. They must rid themselves of an irresponsible, careless work attitude and perform all their duties with a high sense of responsibility.

**Fourth, the company commanders and company political instructors must strictly observe discipline.** They must be

exemplary in abiding by all the conditions of the military regulations beginning with punctuality in working and training hours. Only then can they order their men to observe discipline. Otherwise, they cannot do this. They must refrain from violating discipline in the slightest degree and observe the established system voluntarily.

**Fifth, the company commanders and company political instructors must have a high sense of organization.** If they lack this spirit, their companies may become organizationally slack and anarchic. They must observe organizational discipline voluntarily, and plan all activities with the utmost care so as to prevent the slightest violation of the rules in the companies.

**Sixth, the company commanders and company political instructors must be patient.** Even when they find themselves so enraged by something undesirable that they want to knock everything over, they must be patient. They must also refrain from showing impatience in anything.

**Seventh, the company commanders and company political instructors must always live and fight optimistically.** The expression on their faces will have a great influence on their men. Their facial expressions on the battlefield, in particular, greatly affect the men's morale. If they look fearful or dispirited, the men may feel that they have failed in battle, and become discouraged and dejected. If, on the contrary, the company commanders and political instructors fight valiantly and optimistically, even though they are facing imminent death, the men, too, will fight courageously, unafraid of death. So they must not lose heart in any adversity, but live and fight with optimism.

**Eighth, the company commanders and company political instructors must know how to mix with their comrades.** If they live like hermits, they will not be able to mix with their comrades nor will they be able to combine with them. They must always mix with their comrades and be kind to them. When they have something to eat, they ought to share it with their men; and when they find their men in a difficult situation, they must work to help them out. This will

encourage the men to follow their company commanders and political instructors and will promote esprit de corps in their companies. Company commanders and political instructors must rid themselves of egoistic practices and make every effort to promote solidarity with their comrades.

**Ninth, the company commanders and company political instructors must acquire the revolutionary spirit of the working class.** They must fight staunchly for our Party and our people and combat uncompromisingly all reactionary attempts to harm the interests of the revolution.

**Tenth, the company commanders and company political instructors must be absolutely loyal to the Party and the revolution.** Their loyalty to the Party and the revolution must be expressed by carrying out the decisions of Party organizations as well as the orders and instructions of higher authorities, which are intended to implement the Party's line and policy. They must, therefore, develop the habit of implementing these decisions, orders and instructions faithfully.

**The company commanders and company political instructors must acquire these ten qualities, namely, courage, fortitude, the sense of responsibility, discipline, organization, patience, optimism, esprit de corps, the revolutionary spirit, and loyalty.** Of course, the communist fighting moralities which are required of company commanders and political instructors may include other qualities than those which I have already mentioned. But I consider that these ten qualities are the most important. The company commanders and political instructors must always judge each of their actions by the standard of these ten qualities. In this way they will all be fully qualified as commanding officers of the People's Army.

They must have the revolutionary attitude of setting a personal example in all work and daily routine.

Their personal example will serve as a very important factor in strengthening their companies and in ensuring victory in battle. If company commanders and political instructors keep themselves clean and neat, observe regulations and the established system well, and set

an example in study and training, all their men will follow their example. Their personal example is all the more important in wartime. In attacking an enemy, for instance, if a company commander or a company political instructor orders the men to charge, while himself remaining behind, the men will be reluctant to dash forward. If the company commander and political instructor advance in the front ranks, the men will follow them and rush forward bravely.

The importance of company commanders and political instructors setting an example is well illustrated by the experience of the work of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. When units of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army came to a bivouac on their march in winter in those days, they used to make campfires by cutting trees. Cutting trees after marching through untrodden snow all day was not an easy job. So, when they arrived at the bivouac, company commanders or political instructors used to take axes first and go out to cut down trees. When the company commander had to go to post sentries around the camp, the company political instructor was the first to take an axe, and when he was going to post the sentries, the company commander took an axe first. As company commanders and political instructors set an example in this way, their men followed them in spite of their weariness. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, company commanders and political instructors always ensured victory in battle by fighting in the front ranks.

All the company commanders and company political instructors of the People's Army must emulate the commanders and political workers of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army by acquiring a thoroughly revolutionary attitude of setting an example in all work and life and bearing the brunt of difficult work.

Company commanders and political instructors must also strive to strengthen unity based on love between the revolutionary comrades.

Unity based on this love is the source of the unbreakable strength of the People's Army and guarantees all its victories. As we always say, you can never carry out the revolution single-handed. If a revolution is to be victorious, a large number of people must participate in it, and

there must be unity and solidarity between them. Genuine unity and solidarity can be achieved when these are based on love between the revolutionary comrades.

The word comrade does not imply schoolmates, or friends who came from the same home town or who are accustomed to drinking together. It means people who share the same idea and purpose and fight together for the sake of the revolution and of socialism and communism.

Comradely love is deeper and more valuable than love between parents and children, love of wife and children and love between friends. Stories in former days described a great deal of human relations such as love between father and son, between mother and son, and between wife and husband. But love between revolutionary comrades is the most valuable of human relations.

That love between revolutionary comrades is the most valuable of human feelings is our view of life which has been shaped in the course of the long revolutionary struggle. I have been loved by my comrades more than by my parents. I lived under the tender care of my father until I was fourteen years old, and then in the loving care of my comrades until today. Since we embarked on the road of revolution, we have shared life and death, joy and hardship, with a large number of our comrades. During the former underground struggle and anti-Japanese armed struggle in particular, many a comrade helped me and protected me in spite of difficulties and dangers. Through this revolutionary struggle we have learned clearly that comradely love is the most valuable. Therefore, if we are told to put the different categories of love in the order of importance, we always put comradely love in the first place, parental love in the next place, and love of wife and children, and then love between friends.

But some people give the first place to parental love or love of wife and children and the next place to comradely love. These people do not know how precious comradely love is. Parental love, no matter how deep, is not deeper than comradely love. Parents give birth to their children and bring them up, but in many cases they do not share life

and death, joy and hardship, with them on the road of revolution. Therefore, parental love or love of wife and children cannot be more valuable than love between comrades who fight, sharing life and death, joy and hardship with each other on the revolutionary road.

At present, the south Korean reactionaries slander us by saying that communists even disdain their parents and brothers. This is aimed at maligning us. Not only do communists not disparage parental love or love of wife and children, but blend it with comradesly love and thus make it the deepest and most sincere love.

Communists not only treasure comradesly love, but are also faithful to comradesly obligations. Although the situation in our country immediately after liberation was very difficult, we established the Mangyongdae Revolutionary School before doing anything else and educated the children of our comrades who had fallen in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, in order to fulfil our obligations to them. At present, we are educating at this school the children of the comrades who have laid down their lives in the valiant fight for the complete independence and reunification of the country and in defence of the socialist achievements since liberation. We communists fulfil comradesly obligations faithfully because we value comradesly love.

When we were founding the People's Army, we did not have many comrades. The number of our revolutionary comrades has increased greatly in the revolutionary struggle since the founding of the People's Army, and this army has developed to become unbreakable revolutionary ranks which are united solidly in ideology and purpose, on the basis of love between revolutionary comrades. This is the glory of our Party, of our people and of our country. Because there is the unconquerable People's Army which is united by this love, our country will prosper and develop further, and our people will entrust their destiny all the more willingly to the Party. Because it has the unbreakable People's Army which has achieved unity and solidarity based on love between revolutionary comrades, our Party is capable of achieving the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution and contributing better to the world revolution by mercilessly destroying

the class enemies of all kinds. We consider it a great honour to have the great force, the unbreakable People's Army, which is united on the basis of revolutionary comradeship.

But we must not rest content with this.

Company commanders and political instructors must further promote the beautiful tradition of revolutionary comradeship so as to continue to strengthen the unity of the soldiers of their companies on the basis of love between revolutionary comrades.

Company commanders and political instructors must regard their relationship with the men primarily as comradely relations rather than merely as being between superiors and subordinates. The soldiers of the People's Army, whether they are men or officers or general officers, all fight for the revolution under arms; they are revolutionary comrades who share life and death, joy and hardship in the fight against the enemy. That is why the relations between the soldiers of the People's Army are primarily a comradely relationship. This is precisely one of the characteristics which distinguish the People's Army from the armed forces of capitalist countries.

We do not see our own relations with the company commanders and political instructors who are present here merely as between superiors and subordinates. You are our comrades, our revolutionary comrades-in-arms, our own brothers, who have pledged to fight in our ranks on the arduous road of the revolution.

The motto, "Unity between superiors and subordinates, between officers and men", now upheld by the People's Army, can only be satisfactorily implemented when all the soldiers display the noble and beautiful traits of revolutionary comradeship to the full. The company commanders and political instructors must ensure that their companies overflow with the beautiful traits of revolutionary comradeship so as to unite officers and men, superiors and subordinates, truly in body and soul.

If they are to give rein to revolutionary comradeship and strengthen comradely unity, the company commanders and political instructors must criticize their comrades for their shortcomings and help them to

correct them before it is too late. Company commanders and political instructors must not tolerate their men's shortcomings or refrain from criticizing them on the grounds of strengthening comradely unity. Refraining from criticism is not a way of showing love for their comrades.

If comrades make a mistake, we criticize them severely without conniving at it, and sometimes even punish them. This is the way we encourage them to maintain comradely relations with us and work for the flowering of the revolution. This is the sincere attitude of loving one's comrades in the true sense of the word.

Company commanders and political instructors must ensure the unity of ideology and will, which is based on revolutionary comradeship, by criticizing the shortcomings shown amongst the men of their companies and helping them to correct them as soon as possible. In this way they will see that our People's Army, as a match for a hundred, will display its unbreakable strength to the full.

Next, in order to strengthen companies, it is necessary to imbue their soldiers with our Party's Juche idea and establish the Party's monolithic ideological system throughout the companies.

Our Party's Juche idea is a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary belief which has been evolved during the long years of revolutionary struggle. The Juche idea requires that one should consider and judge all problems arising in the revolution and construction, using one's own intelligence and solve them by one's own efforts and that everything should be subordinated to the interests of the revolution and of the people in one's own country.

Our Party's Juche idea is expressed in the principles of independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-reliance in defence.

Our Party always formulates its line and policy on the principle of independence and implements them through its own efforts. Even in the years immediately after liberation, when the situation at home and abroad was very complex and difficult, our Party laid down an original policy for agrarian and other democratic reforms and carried

it out correctly over a short period.

Our Party also settles matters in the field of international relations on the principle of independence. When the Israeli aggressors invaded Egypt and Syria on a large scale a few days ago, our Party was the first in the world to send a letter to the peoples of these aggrieved countries in unqualified support for their just struggle. It is natural that they are fighting to win back their lost land from the Israeli aggressors, and this also accords with Marxist-Leninist principles. Therefore, our Party and our people are giving firm support and encouragement to the struggle of the peoples of Egypt and Syria from an independent stand, regardless of the attitudes of the peoples of other countries towards the war in the Middle East. When the military fascist clique in Chile killed Allende and overthrew the legitimate Popular Unity Government by a reactionary military coup, we judged from an independent stand that it was no longer necessary to maintain state relations with Chile and took steps to withdraw our embassy from that country. As our Party follows an independent line in this manner, the authority and prestige of our Republic are rising in the international arena all the time.

On the principle of self-reliant defence, our Party made a great effort to increase defence capabilities so as to protect the country, the people and our revolutionary achievements. In spite of the fact that there were shortages in the days after liberation, our Party set up the Pyongyang Institute and the Central Security Officers School without hesitation, enrolled fine young people in these schools and trained them to be cadres for the raising of the people's armed forces. After these preparations we founded the People's Army. Because our Party founded the People's Army at the opportune moment and developed and strengthened it, we were able to defeat the US imperialist aggressors in the Fatherland Liberation War and win a historic victory. The great defence capabilities which we have now are due entirely to the fact that our Party's military line of self-reliant defence has been carried out.

In the past some undesirable people were opposed to the Party's military line of self-reliant defence, saying that, if we used the words

self-reliant defence, we would not get foreign aid. Self-reliant defence means defending oneself by one's own force. Our Party's military line of self-reliant defence does not preclude receiving foreign aid in the form of some weapons which we need. Even though we receive those weapons which we do not have, we shall be implementing self-reliant defence so long as we protect the interests of our revolution and of our people by our own efforts. Our Party thwarted the evil attempt of the undesirable people before it was too late, and maintained the military line of self-reliant defence to the letter.

The validity and vitality of the line of political independence, economic self-support and self-reliant defence has been patently proved by the practical struggle of our people. Today, a large number of people around the world have realized the correctness of this line of our Party which is an embodiment of the Juche idea, and support it positively.

The Juche idea is the monolithic guiding ideology of our Party. Only the Juche idea can exist in our Party. Any ideological trend which is alien to the Juche idea cannot be allowed in our Party on any account. If it is likened to a human being, our Party can be called the Party of the stock of Juche. Our Party only needs blood of the Juche type; no other type of blood can ever be administered to it. When giving a blood transfusion to a man of blood type A, he must be given blood of that type. If he is given blood type B, he may become feverish or die. Likewise, only blood of the Juche type must circulate in our Party which is of the stock of Juche. If, instead, blood of a flunkeyist or revisionist type infiltrates it, our Party will cease to be a revolutionary party or it will be unable to maintain its normal existence. Just as a human body must only have one type of blood, so a Marxist-Leninist party must have only one guiding ideology. This is the fundamental principle of building a Marxist-Leninist party.

The experience of the communist movement in our country in the early period clearly proves the fact that, if it is to strengthen and develop soundly and lead the revolutionary struggle to victory, a Marxist-Leninist party must have a single guiding ideology. The early communist movement in our country failed mainly because its ranks

were not united on the basis of a single revolutionary belief, the Marxist-Leninist guiding ideology.

An ML group, a Tuesday group, and various other factions emerged in the early communist movement in our country and they were given to factional strife. That was why the early communist movement failed. We must not forget this bitter experience.

Basing ourselves on the principle of building a Marxist-Leninist party, and proceeding from the experience of the revolutionary movement in our country, we defined it, a long time ago, as the most important task to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system. We have worked hard to imbue the entire Party and all the people with the Juche idea, the guiding ideology of our Party. As a result, our Party has now become indestructible. In the future, too, we will continue to equip the entire Party and all the people with the Juche idea and develop this work in depth.

Establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system in the company, the cell of the People's Army, is the basic guarantee for strengthening the company.

Only the Juche idea, the monolithic guiding ideology of our Party, has a place in the company, and no ideas which are contrary to the Juche idea can be permitted in the company on any account. The company can only develop soundly when Juche-type blood circulates through its veins. If unhealthy ideological trends such as bourgeois, flunkeyist, dogmatic and revisionist ideas which are contrary to our Party's Juche idea, infiltrate a company, that company will become confused.

Some people consider that, if each soldier is equipped with a modern weapon, the army will acquire strong combat power, but they are seriously mistaken. The basic guarantee for increasing the fighting power of our People's Army, a revolutionary army, consists of imbuing all its soldiers with our Party's Juche idea rather than arming them with a certain kind of weapon or technical expertise. It is only when all the soldiers of the company are imbued with the Juche idea that the company can have strong combat power and fulfil its mission. Firmly believing that the work of arming the whole company with our

Party's Juche idea is the basic task of politico-ideological education, the company commanders and political instructors must educate the men in Juche thoroughly. In this way all the servicemen will be armed firmly with the Juche idea, and the whole company will be filled with the monolithic ideology of our Party.

In addition to Juche education, communist education must be intensified among the men in the company. The basic element in communist education is class education. Class education must be intensified amongst the company so that all the soldiers have boundless hatred for landlords and capitalists and the exploiting system as well as a firm revolutionary determination to destroy the exploiting classes and their system.

It is also necessary to improve the education of the soldiers in socialist patriotism so as to encourage them to love their socialist motherland intensely and devote themselves to the fight to defend the socialist system.

Next, you must improve military training.

In this age, military science and technology have developed tremendously. In step with progress in military science and technology, the weapons and equipment of the armed forces have been modernized, and the soldiers' technical standard has risen beyond comparison.

The weapons and equipment of our People's Army have also been modernized now, and the technical level of its soldiers has risen very high. It is true that our People's Army has fewer aircraft, atomic bombs and aircraft carriers than the US imperialist aggressor army has or none at all. But this is no reason why the People's Army should not fight and defeat the enemy. Victory or defeat in war is in no way determined by atomic bombs, aircraft carriers or aircraft.

At present, the US imperialists are boasting about their atomic bombs, but you must not be in the slightest afraid of them. Our People's Army depends firmly on our people's united power which is stronger than atomic bombs, and it also enjoys the powerful support and encouragement of people the world over. Since the end of the Second World War, the US imperialists have not dared to use atomic

bombs because of the pressure of the people throughout the world and they will not be able to use them in the future, either.

Aircraft will also pose no problem. During the Fatherland Liberation War, the US imperialists tried to do everything by using aircraft, but they were unable to bring our people to their knees, nor did they succeed in conquering the Vietnamese people, although they have resorted to indiscriminate bombing for seven or eight years by mobilizing a large number of planes in the war in Vietnam. Now, they cannot fly in our territorial airspace as they please. Our courageous airmen can shoot down an enemy plane with one shot if it intrudes into our territorial airspace. In addition, if we use different kinds of anti-aircraft weapons efficiently and shoot down enemy planes as soon as they enter our airspace, they will be unable to intrude as they please.

The US imperialists now threaten people by sending aircraft carriers everywhere whenever they have a chance, but these are not terrible things, either. If they bring their aircraft carriers to the waters off Jeju Island, for instance, their planes will not be able to fly further than the air above Hwangju. A longer flight will be difficult. Since they can fly for a limited time, they cannot return, if they fly too long a distance when on bombing raids. If they are to intrude deep into the airspace of the northern half of Korea, they will have to bring their aircraft carriers to the waters off Wonsan. If they do that, we shall destroy them by one means or another.

As you see, the enemy cannot bring the People's Army, a revolutionary army, to its knees by means of atomic bombs, aircraft or aircraft carriers. If we are well prepared for fighting, we shall even be able to defeat a technically superior enemy without difficulty. The point is how we prepare ourselves to fight.

If we are to emerge victorious in a war, we must first prepare ourselves well in politics and ideology. It is only when all the soldiers of the People's Army have a high degree of Party spirit, working-class spirit, and people-oriented spirit as well as courage, a self-sacrificing spirit, and strong revolutionary willpower that they can fight and defeat the enemy.

Good physical preparedness as well as political and ideological readiness is needed. To be efficient in marching, swimming and in overcoming obstacles, one must be physically strong. A physically weak man can do nothing well. All the soldiers of the People's Army must have strong physiques capable of overcoming any difficulties.

Good preparations for military technology are also necessary. A soldier, however brave, cannot fight the enemy if he does not know how to use his weapon. All the soldiers of the People's Army must become familiar with their weapons and equipment and handle them skilfully.

**If the People's Army is to win the battle against the enemy, all its soldiers must make good preparations in every way—in politics and ideology, physically and in military technology.** No matter how well they are prepared physically and technically, they will be useless unless they are prepared politically and ideologically. Even though they are well prepared in politics, ideology and military technology, they will be unable to fight well on the real battlefield unless they are physically prepared; they may be eager to fight, but will be as useless as a general with a broken leg who can only boast in his own room. Even though they are prepared politically, ideologically and physically, they will be unable to destroy the enemy if they are not prepared in military technology and do not know how to handle hand grenades and mines properly and do not shoot well. Every soldier of the People's Army must, therefore, be prepared thoroughly in three ways, namely, **first politically and ideologically, second physically, and third in military technology.**

If all the officers, noncommissioned officers and men of the People's Army are well prepared in these three ways, our People's Army can be a match-for-a-thousand revolutionary army, not a match for a hundred. Then, it will be able to destroy not only the south Korean puppet army, but the US imperialist aggressors and the Japanese militarists if they attack us.

Today, as General Secretary of the Party and as Supreme Commander, I call upon you, the company commanders and company political instructors, to prepare all the soldiers of your companies well,

politically, ideologically, physically and in military technology.

In order to prepare the soldiers in this way, it is necessary to intensify their political and ideological education and military training still more. As I have already stated how to improve political and ideological education, I shall only speak about how to improve military training.

The most important thing in military training is to adhere to Juche-oriented military science which meets the specific conditions in our country and the requirements of modern warfare. Foreign combat regulations and fighting techniques do not suit the particular situation in our country. The People's Army must, therefore, conduct military training by adhering to Juche-oriented military science which accords with our own situation and the requirements of modern warfare. In this way all the soldiers will be trained to be crack shots, to be capable of conquering steep mountains, big rivers, precipices, swamps and other obstacles, and to be able to withstand severe cold.

In the first place, you must intensify physical training. Soldiers can only fulfil their military mission well in any adversity when they have strong physiques and willpower.

During parachute training at an airborne unit some time ago, a comrade fell from an altitude of 800 metres without his parachute open, and I was told that he had survived. Some people say that God has ordained that he should live, but there can be no such ordaining. He has not survived because God had ordained so. He has survived because he is a man of strong will and strong build and because he had mastered the techniques of parachuting through day-to-day training. If he had been weak in mind and body and had not been familiar with parachute jumping, he could not have survived.

Companies must improve physical training by means of the horizontal bar, parallel bars, hurdles and various other sports items so that all the soldiers become physically strong.

Good swimming training is also necessary. Our country is seabound on three sides and has many rivers and lakes. So all the soldiers must become good swimmers. If they are good swimmers, they will be able to swim to the high seas and destroy enemy aircraft

carriers or they can swim back to their units even if their own ships are damaged in battle.

A few years ago a small boat was wrecked at sea, but all the crew came back alive without any injury. At that time even aircraft were mobilized and they tried everyway to find them for some days, but in vain. But on the eighth day after the shipwreck, these comrades arrived on the shore of our country by swimming. They were able to swim through rough winds and waves and came back to the embrace of the motherland in spite of all the hardships because they were all strong-willed, courageous and good at swimming. Strong-willed, courageous and physically strong men seldom die before their time.

You must intensify training in swimming so that none of the soldiers is afraid of big rivers or the sea and so that all of them can swim for many days. In order to teach them how to swim, it is necessary to build swimming pools. The units which are on high mountains like Height 1211 may find it difficult to build swimming pools, but other units can build them without difficulty.

Companies must receive a great deal of training in marching.

Whether or not they are good marchers is an important factor which contributes to victory or failure in battle. In order to engage the enemy, the People's Army must advance close to it and, when necessary, it will have to retreat. To do this, the soldiers have to cross mountains and rivers and conquer precipices and swamps. The companies must have a great deal of training in marching so that the soldiers can all move rapidly along any kind of route and over any distance.

Training in marching is necessary not only for infantrymen, but also for units of all other arms and services.

Soldiers of tank units must also be good marchers. If they think that they do not need training in marching because they fight in tanks, they are mistaken. Of course, they fight mainly in tanks. But if their tanks are damaged in battle, they have to fight with small arms in the ranks of the infantry. So the soldiers of tank units must also be trained thoroughly in marching during peacetime.

Airmen must also receive this training. They must not look down on

walking and must refrain from using motorcars between their homes and airfields. Even airmen cannot expect that they will always be flying. If they are shot down in an aerial battle behind the enemy lines, they will have to escape quickly and organize the local people in guerrilla action. Airmen must also have a great deal of training in marching so that they are prepared to fight in any circumstances.

Mechanized infantry troops must also train themselves in walking a great deal, instead of thinking of moving by motor vehicle only. Of course, a motorized march is easy and fast. But, if their vehicles are destroyed or if it is impossible to use them in wartime, they will have to walk. In countries where there are wide deserts and plains, mechanized units will be the main fighting force, but the situation is different in our country. There are hills, depressions and wet lands in all parts of our country. In particular, there are many mountains in our country. So the soldiers must not think of fighting only in motor vehicles and armoured vehicles in wartime. In our country they will have to fight by marching more often than by driving motor vehicles. All arms and services must, therefore, have a good deal of training in marching in peacetime.

Commanding officers who move by car also need a great deal of walking exercise. When they are under pressure of time, they will have to go by car, but otherwise they should walk. If they are used to riding about all the time, they will find it very hard and inefficient to walk if they are suddenly compelled to do so. Commanding officers of the People's Army must have a good deal of mountaineering and walking exercises so as to be efficient in commanding battles in an emergency.

What is of particular importance in this training is to march a great deal at night. If soldiers are not well trained in night marches in peacetime, they may get into trouble and incur serious losses in battle. During the Fatherland Liberation War some soldiers who had not been well trained in marching at night dozed off and straggled on the march which continued for some days without sleep. Our own experience of the anti-Japanese armed struggle shows that it is very difficult to march for a number of nights without sleep. On the night march one must overcome sleep. This is required of men, but commanders must guard against sleep

all the more. They have to deal quickly with any unexpected situation. So all the servicemen, both the commanders and the men, must devote a great deal of effort to training for night marching so as to develop their ability to march well without sleep for several days.

Cold-weather training must be well conducted. It is very important in war preparations to intensify cold-weather training and get the soldiers to endure the cold weather well. If they do not develop their ability to endure cold weather in peacetime, they may suffer frostbite in battle against the enemy. If many cases of frostbite occur among the soldiers when fighting against the enemy, that company will be unable to perform its combat mission satisfactorily. In the future, we shall have to fight a great deal in the cold weather in winter and inflict a crushing blow on the enemy. I was told that the Japanese militarists are now training some divisions in Hokkaido in the cold weather with a view to fighting against us. If we give our soldiers efficient cold-weather training, we shall be able to defeat the Japanese militarists, no matter what cold-weather training they may have before they invade us.

In our country there are many places suitable for cold-weather training. Places like Phyonggang and Hoeyang in the forward area are ideal for this purpose. In former days the Japanese imperialists gave cold-weather training to their soldiers in Phyonggang in order to send them on “punitive” operations against the anti-Japanese guerrillas, I was told. The units in the northern region can have cold-weather training at Jangjin, Pujon and similar places. In future, all units and elements must devote a great deal of effort to cold-weather training. In this way the soldiers will be able to perform their combat mission well without getting their hands and feet frostbitten however cold the weather conditions.

Good training in marksmanship is also essential. No matter what arms or branch of service they belong to, soldiers ought to be good marksmen. They can only destroy a large number of enemy troops when they are good at shooting. To be a good marksman, one needs an efficient gun; but more than that, one needs a great deal of shooting practice. Night shooting practice is particularly necessary. In a future

war the People's Army units will frequently have to fight at night, so the soldiers must be good at night shooting. Since infantry units and snipers' units will have to operate mostly by night rather than by day, they must be more skilful in night firing than anyone else. Airmen and naval men must also be good at shooting by night. Then, they will be able to strike the enemy harder. Shooting practice, and particularly night marksman training, must be intensified in all companies so that all the soldiers will be able to hit any target both by day and by night.

This meeting is being attended by many company commanders and political instructors from the technical units, so I should like to talk about some points on the training of technical arms. Company commanders and political instructors from artillery, armoured and other technical units must organize combat training carefully to suit the characteristics of those particular units in order to increase their combat efficiency.

The main thing in artillery training is to increase the number of hits. Artillerymen who cannot hit their targets are unworthy of being called artillery. The shells they fire are very precious. In the past it was said that a shell was worth an ox, but one of the shells you have now is worth more than ten oxen. Artillerymen must conduct firing exercise well and increase the rate of hits to the maximum lest they waste precious shells. They must also be familiar with their weapons so that they can repair their guns quickly if they stop working.

The important thing in armoured vehicle training is to cross wet land without difficulty. There are many wet lands in our country. Particularly in summer, rice fields are flooded, so most of the fields are wet. The soldiers of the tank units must not train themselves by driving tanks only on highways, but by driving them extensively on wet ground and always study how to overcome wet land.

The training of the signalmen must also be intensified. They play a very important part in war. During the Fatherland Liberation War some of them were unable to perform their duties satisfactorily partly because the level of their technical skill was low and partly because communications equipment was inadequate. Signalmen must improve

the quality of their training and ensure efficient communication for the commanders by various means and methods. The munitions industry must produce large amounts of better communications equipment for the People's Army.

Next, the supply services must be improved.

In this work, it is important to supply the soldiers with meat on a regular basis. All units of the People's Army have to build more cold storage and maintain the existing refrigerators well so as to ensure a regular supply of meat to the soldiers.

The service facilities in the units must also be developed. Laundries, clothing repair shops, shoe repair shops and barber's shops will have to be improved so that the soldiers experience no discomfort at all. In addition, the capacity of the existing footwear factory must be increased to ensure an adequate supply of footwear for the troops.

The problem of drinking water must also be solved satisfactorily. At present, the rural communities are going ahead with the construction of waterworks through a mass campaign. The People's Army, too, must work hard to build a water system so as to supply clean water to all the soldiers.

The senior officers of the General Logistics Bureau and other officers in charge of logistical support must provide all the necessary conditions for the soldiers to eat their fill, rest well, and train well. Company commanders and political instructors must also pay close attention to the men's lives.

Comrades,

Today the international situation in general is developing in favour of our revolution.

With the passage of time, more and more people around the world are supporting our Party's policy for the reunification of the country and are expressing firm solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of our people. In particular, the progressive people of the world are raising their voices louder in support of the five-point programme for national reunification which we put forward last June.

The Fourth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Nations, held

in Algeria some time ago, condemned the plot of the US imperialists and south Korean reactionaries to create “two Koreas” and expressed firm solidarity with our people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. The Summit Conference adopted a unanimous resolution that all forms of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea should be ended, that the foreign troops occupying south Korea be withdrawn, that the “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea” be dissolved, and that Korea be admitted to the United Nations under a single name after its complete reunification or after the establishment of a north-south Federation. In addition, the current session of the UN General Assembly adopted a unanimous resolution that the Korean question be discussed with the participation of the delegate of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea without reservation. All this clearly shows that the number of people supporting and sympathizing with our revolution is quickly increasing and that the general situation is changing in favour of our people with every passing day.

Today the peoples of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America support our people in every way because our Party follows a just line and policy and advances independently on the basis of the Juche idea. All the progressive people of the world want to live in a Juche-oriented manner and advance independently. The present major trend of developments in the world is that small nations are uniting on the basis of independence.

In this situation, if we establish Juche firmly in all spheres of revolution and construction and thoroughly implement the principles of independence, self-support and self-reliant defence, we shall be able to create an international environment which is more favourable to our revolution, and to accelerate the accomplishment of the historic cause of national reunification.

All the officers and men of the People’s Army must always be fully prepared to accomplish the historic cause of national reunification and achieve the nationwide victory of the revolution and must always guard their posts with a high degree of vigilance.

Because we have been confronting the enemy for a long time, some of the soldiers may feel weary, but they must not feel weary nor must they become slack and careless. When war broke out in the Middle East some days ago, the south Korean reactionaries also ordered “emergency martial law”. You must not be lulled simply because the south Korean reactionaries proclaim “emergency martial law” too frequently. If the sky becomes cloudy often, it will rain. You cannot predict when they will attack us after ordering “emergency martial law” frequently. The soldiers of the People’s Army must, therefore, be extremely vigilant at all times and keep a watchful eye on the enemy’s movements.

The question of national reunification can be settled peacefully, eventually, when a revolution breaks out in south Korea and the south Korean people seize political power with our assistance. Simply shouting a slogan for peaceful reunification will get us nowhere.

At present, the young south Korean students are fighting stoutly against fascism and for democracy in spite of harsh repression by the reactionaries. Where there is oppression, there will be resistance, and where there is resistance, a revolution will break out. The south Korean people and students are certain to rise in a decisive revolutionary struggle in south Korea at some time in the future.

Company commanders and political instructors must make every effort to increase the combat readiness of their companies. All units and elements must perfect their defence system so as to beat back enemy invasion and provocations successfully and must improve cooperation between services, arms and units. In particular, all units must improve their combat and political training so as to be prepared at all times to carry out their combat mission with honour. If the People’s Army increases its fighting capabilities in every way and is always prepared for battle, the country will be reunified sooner.

I wish you, company commanders and company political instructors, greater success in your struggle to strengthen your companies and carry out the Party’s military line.

# **FOR THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN OUR COUNTRY**

**Speech Delivered to a Consultative  
Meeting of Educationalists**

*October 27, 1973*

I am very sorry that I have summoned you suddenly this evening as if we were holding an emergency meeting. For a long time, we have been thinking of talking to university lecturers about the subject of improving the qualifications of scientists and university students, but we could not find the time to do so. This evening I managed to find an opportunity and called you to this meeting without warning.

I think that, as you were invited unexpectedly this evening, you are not well prepared for this consultation. Today I shall first give you my opinion of the problem of improving the qualifications of scientists and students, and then listen to your opinions at some time in the future. I only invited to this meeting the lecturers of Kim Il Sung University and Kim Chaek University of Technology, and it seems a good idea to hold a consultation of all the university lecturers, if necessary, in the future.

At present, the qualifications of our scientists, and our natural scientists in particular, are very low.

When we were putting forward the three major tasks of the technical revolution at the Fifth Party Congress, we expected a great deal from our intellectuals. However, through the practical struggle to

implement these tasks over the past three years, we have found that our intellectuals are not sufficiently qualified to meet the Party's expectations.

At present, the three major tasks of the technical revolution are not being carried out satisfactorily. This is mainly because scientists and technicians are unable to solve scientific and technological problems skilfully, the problems arising in the implementation of the three major tasks of the technical revolution. Certainly, the Party's slogan with regard to these tasks aims very high, but this does not mean that the Party's policy for carrying out these tasks is unreasonable. If we are set on putting up a slogan, we should put forward one with a high goal. Our Party's slogan which points to the three major tasks of the technical revolution is very reasonable in that it accords with Marxist-Leninist principles and meets the objective requirements of the developing revolution in our country.

Reducing the differences between heavy and light labour is one of the three major tasks of the technical revolution. It is an important revolutionary task which we must tackle in order to build socialism and communism. But our scientists and technicians are not implementing this task well.

If we are to narrow the distinctions between heavy and light labour and eliminate heat-affected and harmful work, we have to introduce semi-automation and automation widely in different sectors of the national economy. To this end, it is necessary to develop the electronic and automation industries. On our visit to Kim Chaek University of Technology a long time ago, we instructed that the scientists there should develop electronics quickly so as to contribute to the semi-automation and automation of production processes in all sectors of the national economy. But they are not yet able to make efficient direction finders and shoal detectors for fishing boats.

The task of reducing the differences between agricultural and industrial labour is also not being implemented smoothly.

Agricultural labour in our country has been the most difficult and labour-consuming work for thousands of years. That was why many of

the farmers in former days wished that their sons would not have to work on farms, although they themselves were farmers. Of course, this was an expression of an obsolete idea. But it shows the strong desire of the farmers to be free from difficult and backbreaking work. The slogan for reducing the distinctions between agricultural and industrial labour aims at meeting this desire of the farmers. What a good slogan this is! The Party's slogan is good, but it is not being implemented smoothly because scientists and technicians cannot make a large number of efficient machines.

At present, the state is producing a large number of tractors for the rural communities. But tractors alone cannot free farmers from difficult work. This task requires large numbers of efficient rice-transplanting machines, harvesters and mobile threshers. We have emphasized the need to make rice-transplanting machines and rice harvesters since the days immediately after liberation, but these machines have not been made properly. Cooperative farms have had to thresh their harvested rice after transporting it to the threshing grounds, so that they have wasted a great deal of rice in transit. Because of the heavy rain in the autumn of last year in particular, rice sheaves had to be moved many times, and I was told that this alone caused the loss of 10 to 20 per cent of the harvested rice. Early this year, therefore, the Party put forward the task of producing a large number of mobile threshers for the rural communities. But the scientists have not yet made efficient ones. The mobile thresher made by the scientists is inferior to the one made by the farmers. As their technical level is low, intellectuals are not making a positive contribution to the rural technical revolution.

The Party put forward the task of freeing women from the heavy burden of household chores so as to facilitate their participation in social work. Success in the implementation of this task will expedite the revolutionization and working-classization of women as well as their training to be better partners in moving the wheels of society forward.

But the task of the technical revolution to free women from the

heavy burden of household chores is not being implemented well. At present, the scientists and technicians are not able to make efficient equipment for modern rice-cooking houses and *kimchi* processors. Many scientists and technicians have been engaged in research on the industrial method of *kimchi* production for a long time, but they have not yet completed it.

The three major tasks of the technical revolution are not being carried out successfully mainly because of the low qualifications of our scientists and technicians who have to carry them out. Certainly, there is another reason for the unsatisfactory implementation of these tasks; that is that the machine-building industry is not yet capable of producing sufficient machines and other facilities needed for the purpose. But I do not mean to say that the material and technical foundations of our machine-building industry are weak by any standard. If these foundations which have already been laid are used effectively, most of the equipment needed to carry out the three major tasks of the technical revolution can be produced on our own. The point is that scientific and technological problems arising in carrying out these tasks are not solved successfully because the scientists and technicians are incompetent.

Since last year we have studied the cause of the unsuccessful implementation of these tasks and reached the conclusion that our scientists and technicians have not acquired the capability of undertaking and carrying out these tasks.

Many countries are now making a “green revolution” in order to increase grain production and are obtaining high-yielding strains by establishing the first filial generation system. But our agricultural scientists are not efficient in seed improvement; they have not succeeded in obtaining the first filial generation hybrids from seeds available in our country.

Our scientists and technicians are also inefficient in adapting already established foreign techniques in production to the specific conditions of our country. Many scientists and technicians say that they have studied technology abroad, but they are not able to apply

their knowledge to production as they should. If they are to do this skilfully, they must be well qualified; but they cannot do so because their technical standards are still low.

With a view to expediting the introduction of chemical means in agriculture, the Party instructed that the scientists and technicians concerned should import foreign agricultural chemicals for experiment and that, if these chemicals are good, they should produce them domestically. But they have not yet implemented this task satisfactorily. Our scientists and technicians are also inefficient in making modern machines based on foreign patterns.

Here are other instances which show the low qualifications of our scientists.

As I have mentioned on many occasions, as early as the war years we were planning to develop poultry farming for the purpose of providing the people with meat, and immediately after the war we organized a chicken farm at Sopho. But we failed because we lacked the knowledge and experience of chicken raising. After that we ourselves studied poultry farming and acquired a great deal of knowledge. A foreign book on poultry farming said that hens could lay more eggs if they were fed with various kinds of essential micronutrients even though ultraviolet rays were not available for them. So I summoned the scientists in poultry farming, gave them this information and asked them what were the micronutrients needed for hens. But none of them had a clear knowledge of them.

The qualifications of horticulturists are also low. It is already more than twelve years since the Party Central Committee held the Pukchong Enlarged Meeting of its Presidium for the purpose of increasing fruit production. It is high time, therefore, that the orchards which were created after the Pukchong meeting in a mass campaign were proving their worth as young fruit gardens. We estimated that we should be able to produce one million to 1.5 million tons of fruit in 1975 or 1976 from the large number of orchards which have been created since the Pukchong meeting.

But these orchards are not yet producing a large amount of fruit.

Some time ago, I summoned horticulturists and asked the reason. None of them could give us a cogent answer. Some of them explained the failure by saying that after the Pukchong meeting most of the fruit trees were planted on slopes of weathered granite and that, therefore, these trees were unable to strike roots in such depth and width as to take in sufficient nutrients. I asked why they did not improve the soil by removing the weathered stone and laying down fertile earth systematically every year if the soil of weathered stone was planted with fruit trees. I also asked why fruit trees in weathered stone should not bear fruit when cucumbers and tomatoes bear good fruit even in gravel land if they are given various kinds of fertilizers and micronutrients liberally. Then, they were at a loss for an answer.

A few years ago, we discussed with scientists and technicians the matter of sharply increasing the production of iron ore in order to ensure success in reaching the goal of steel set under the Six-Year Plan. As you all know, it is most important in reaching this goal successfully to extend the Kim Chaek Iron Works on a large scale. It would be impossible to increase iron production, no matter how you might extend the iron works, unless it is supplied with sufficient ore. So we raised the matter of increasing the capacity to produce concentrate in addition to the task of extending the Kim Chaek Iron Works.

At first we considered building an ore-dressing plant in Chongjin to increase this capacity. This project would cost us a great deal in materials and manpower because it would require new buildings and facilities to bring industrial water and electricity as well as a new railway. So we gave up this idea and proposed the idea of replacing the equipment of the ore-dressing plant at the Musan Mine with a large, modern one so as to produce six million tons of concentrate every year.

When we were visiting North Hamgyong Province, we summoned the technicians working in this sector and consulted them on the possibility of increasing the production of concentrate through modernization. Some technicians, shaking their heads, were not ready to accept the idea, and a senior official of the State Construction Commission said that it was impossible to do so. We gave the Ministry

of Metallurgical Industry the task of making a further technical study of this matter.

Officials of this ministry took instructors of Kim Chaek University of Technology to the Musan Mine and investigated the matter and reached the conclusion that the production of six million tons of concentrate would be well within the capability of the mine's dressing plant if it were re-equipped with large, modern machines, instead of constructing a new dressing plant. In spite of this, the senior official of the State Construction Commission, who was in the habit of worshipping the large powers, questioned how we could do it when there had been no precedent in foreign countries, and added that, if we followed the opinion of a few university instructors, we might make a mess of the Six-Year Plan. At that time, a foreign ore-dressing technician happened to be visiting our country. Our officials asked him about the possibility of the project for six million tons of concentrate at the Musan Mine. He made an inspection of the mine and said that if the equipment of the dressing plant was replaced by large, modern facilities, it would be able to produce 6.5 million tons, not six million tons. Only now did the senior official of the State Construction Commission give up his objection to the Party's policy on modernizing the outdated dressing plant at the Musan Mine. If the Party had followed the opinion of the senior official of the State Construction Commission and built a dressing plant in Chongjin, it would have wasted a great deal of labour and materials.

When the idea of transporting the concentrate produced at the Musan Mine through a pipeline was proposed, some people also did not accept it readily.

The smooth transport of concentrates from the Musan Mine is very important. These are now shipped by rail, and the Kim Chaek Iron Works is in great difficulty because of the transport problem. As the concentrates are transported by rail, they freeze in winter and are difficult to load and unload. If their production at the Musan Mine increases in the future, their transport will pose a more serious problem. That is why we proposed the idea of sending the concentrates

from the Musan Mine to Chongjin through a pipeline. Pipeline transport will reduce the cost of conveyance considerably and remove the difficulty caused by the freezing of the concentrates in winter.

When we proposed this idea, some people were dubious about it, saying that the distance was too long and many mountains would have to be crossed. Without wavering, however, we said that foreign experiences must be studied and that experiments would have to be carried out. In this way, we came to the firm conclusion that this project was completely feasible. At present, the pipeline is being constructed by the people concerned.

Our scientists and technicians are under the influence of flunkeyism in this way and do not accept the Party's ideas readily. This is mainly because their qualifications are low.

There are some reasons for their low qualifications.

In the first place, we did not have many well-qualified intellectuals in the days immediately after liberation, intellectuals capable of training good scientists and technicians.

In the past, the Japanese imperialists did not give the Koreans an opportunity to obtain higher education. In the few cases where they did so, they admitted a few Koreans to the courses of social science such as law and literature, not to those of natural science. As a result, there were very few well-educated natural scientists in our country immediately after liberation. So our Party established universities immediately in those days and recruited students, and ensured that 70 to 80 per cent of the students were enrolled in the courses of natural science and 20 to 30 per cent in those of social science.

The shortage of instructors was a difficult problem in the training of national cadres at the universities established after liberation. To be candid, when we established Kim Il Sung University, there were few qualified professors amongst the teaching staff of the university. In order to meet the shortage of instructors, our Party sent many students abroad. If they were to study well in foreign countries, they had to know the languages of those countries well. But, because they did not know these languages, they spent time in learning them and were

unable to acquire a great deal of the knowledge of science they needed.

As you can see, we had not many well-qualified intellectuals because the Japanese imperialists did not give Koreans higher education in the past; and, although a large number of people went to study abroad after liberation, they, too, were unable to learn science as they should. This is why the university instructors who had a mission to train the technical cadres of our nation were not well qualified from the outset. In other words, the quality of the “pedigree” for the training of our technical cadres was not good. So it is obvious that the new intellectuals who have been educated at universities since liberation are not of a high standard.

The low qualifications of these intellectuals can also be explained by the fact that the universities we have established have not been provided with adequate, necessary, material conditions.

It is no exaggeration to say that our Party started the training of the nation’s cadres from scratch after liberation. Of course, it is a great success that our Party has trained so many intellectuals from scratch as we see today, and that these intellectuals are managing industrial establishments and all the state affairs. But we have been unable to train a large number of competent intellectuals because of the shortage of well-qualified university instructors and of the state’s inability to provide sufficient material conditions.

Another major reason for the low qualifications of the scientists and technicians is that they do not study hard. They ought to work tirelessly so as to improve their expertise, but they seriously lack enthusiasm for study. Because they neglect study after graduation from university, many of the scientists and technicians do not have a clear understanding of the world trend of scientific progress and the present situation in our country.

Not only scientists and technicians, but also university students have a low standard of knowledge.

This year the Party included university students in the three-revolution teams and sent them to work in the industrial and agricultural sectors, but they are not carrying out the three major tasks

of the technical revolution satisfactorily because their standard of knowledge is low.

Instances of students of agriculture working on cooperative farms as members of three-revolution teams are a clear evidence that their level is low. Certainly, it was a good thing that this year, following the Party's policy, they prevented rural manpower from being diverted to other sectors and tractors from being used for work other than farming at random and that they encouraged the managerial workers of cooperative farms to set a personal example in farm work. But they were not very successful in solving scientific and technological problems.

Because these students did not really know how to use chemical fertilizer and herbicides, they were unable to teach the farmers how to use them well nor could they effectively prevent farmers from using them in the wrong way. As a result, rice plants on some cooperative farms collapsed because of the improper use of chemical fertilizer.

The collapse of some rice plants this year was caused by the excessive use of nitrogenous fertilizer. If too much of this fertilizer is used for the rice crop, the plants grow high but their stalks are weak and fall over easily. This year, the rice crop which had been transplanted particularly where the seedlings had been bedded out suffered heavily from collapse, and this is due to the fact that excessive nitrogenous fertilizer had been used for the seedlings. If potassic and phosphorous fertilizers had been used in proper combination for the beds where seedlings had been removed, considering the fact that a great deal of nitrogenous fertilizer had been used while raising the seedlings, the rice plants would not have fallen down, and a rich harvest could have been reaped. Some of the rice plants in marshy fields also fell down, and this was because their soil lacked phosphorous and potassic elements.

Rice plants also fell down in the paddies where urea fertilizer was used as a top dressing later than July this year. We stressed more than once that urea fertilizer must not be used later than July. If you use it later than July, rice plants only grow higher and are liable to fall down

so that the seeds do not ripen well. Some members of the three-revolution teams did not teach farmers properly how to use urea fertilizer nor did they control the fact that they used it later than July.

If cooperative farms had established a correct fertilizing system so as to prevent rice plants from collapsing, they could have increased grain production this year. But they failed where they could have succeeded, because agricultural students working on cooperative farms could not ensure the establishment of a correct fertilizing system.

Not only agricultural, but also other university students possess a low standard of knowledge. At present, many students of mechanical engineering are working in industrial establishments, but none of them has designed an efficient machine.

We considered the cause of the low qualifications of university students from various angles and discussed the matter with the senior officials concerned on many occasions. Some people say that the students' educational attainments are low because they are mobilized in support of rural communities and in socio-political activities frequently. It is true that they work a great deal in support of rural communities and that this interferes with their studies to a certain degree. Under our present circumstances, however, we cannot afford to exempt them from this work.

The university students alone in our country number nearly 110,000, and if the students of higher technical schools are added to this, the number totals more than 240,000. In addition, a large number of young people are serving in the People's Army. Because so many young people are performing military service or studying in educational institutions, there is a strain on our labour situation, and we are short of young and middle-aged work hands in particular. We have built a large number of factories, but we are not operating them on three shifts because of the shortage of labour.

In the rural areas, women and old people are engaged in difficult farm work because there are not many young and middle-aged farmers. How can we refrain from mobilizing university students for work in support of the rural communities in this situation? If we are to exempt

them from transplanting seedlings, we have to mass-produce rice-transplanting machines for the rural areas. But our scientists and technicians are not yet able to produce an efficient machine of this kind. It is, frankly, a shame that we have to mobilize hundreds of thousands of students and People's Army soldiers annually for rice transplanting because we cannot make rice transplanters for the rural communities when we have so many intellectuals. Nevertheless, we cannot but send students to help farming so as to ease the acute manpower shortage in the rural communities.

Of course, we do not encourage mobilizing a large number of students for rice transplanting. When perfect transplanting machines are mass-produced for the rural communities, the students will not have to go to work there. The Party is resolved to make every effort to ensure the manufacture of machines for transplanting in 30 per cent of the rice fields next year. To this end, the required number of machines will have to be produced before the transplanting season next year. If we go on at the rate of 30 per cent every year, we shall be able to mechanize rice transplanting completely within the next few years.

When mechanization and the application of chemicals have made considerable progress in the agricultural sector at some time in the future, fewer students will have to go to help the rural communities than now. Even then, however, they will still have to go to help them a little.

Their working a little in the rural areas will not lower their standard of knowledge. Work and study are closely linked. Universities must combine education and productive labour closely, and this is the way to give their students a rich knowledge and train them to be useful cadres.

During the past anti-Japanese armed struggle, we managed to find time to study even when fighting against the enemy, and used to read even on our difficult march. Even now, we still continue studying in spite of having many complicated affairs to deal with every day. It is wrong to argue that students are not well qualified because they work. As we are communists, we must analyse all problems on the principle of Marxism-Leninism.

If that argument were true, the children of rich people in former days should have studied better than those of poor people. As far as I know, however, rich people's children were not good students nor did any of them become famous scientists. The students who worked their way through university in the past were good students although they had to deliver newspapers or milk every day, and many of them became renowned scientists. Probably some of you lecturers who are present here studied by working as newspaperboys or milkmen.

If they are attentive in class, learn with all their hearts and study hard even by making use of all their spare time, students will be perfectly able to raise their standard of knowledge even though they do a little extra work.

Some people say that students' standard of knowledge is low because they participate a great deal in socio-political activities. We cannot agree with these people, either. Students can acquire a working knowledge and become competent workers by participating widely in socio-political activities. If they refrain from these activities in their university days, they will not be efficient in work after graduation. In our middle-school days, we spent much time in the student movement, but we did not lag behind others in study. We cannot attribute students' low standard to their sociopolitical activities.

What, then, is the reason for their low standard?

The main reason is that the lecturers themselves are not well enough qualified to teach their students well. The analysis of the composition of the teaching staffs of universities shows that most of them have been teaching at the universities from which they graduated. Many of them are said to give lectures by depending on the notes they took down in their university days. So it is only natural that the students' standard of knowledge is low. University lectures should be given in such a way as to deal with the textbook available to all the class in a short time and then offer a wealth of information which is needed to assimilate the principles included in the textbook in greater depth. But quite a few instructors still cannot do this.

Students' low level of attainments is also due to the fact that they

are not provided with sufficient reference books, and laboratory and practical work facilities. Reading many books and using these facilities widely are indispensable for them to increase and consolidate their knowledge. But they are inadequate. So the students are obliged to confine themselves to reading their textbooks until they finish university, and this is why their academic attainments are low.

Their low level of knowledge is also partly due to the fact that Party and LSWY organizations in universities and educational administrators neglect organizing work. In the past years, they have not organized work in such a way as to get the students to study when they are mobilized for the support of rural communities or for socio-political activities. They have neglected the establishment of a revolutionary habit of studying among the students.

The officials in charge of science and education must rectify these shortcomings quickly and bring about a great change in scientific research and university education.

To bring about this change and raise our standard of science and technology is very important not only in solving the present scientific and technological problems but also in ensuring the future development of the country. We must raise the standard of science and technology in our country. This is the way we can succeed in carrying out the three major tasks of the technical revolution put forward by the Party and develop the national economy on a steady basis. A high standard of science and technology is also essential to eliminate flunkeyism and establish Juche thoroughly in all sectors. No matter how we develop social science and intensify education in the Juche idea, it will be impossible to establish Juche thoroughly in all spheres if our standard of science and technology is lower than foreign standards. If we lag behind other countries in science and technology, people will look up to foreign things even though they are told not to worship them. Therefore, we always stress that, if we are to eliminate flunkeyism and establish Juche thoroughly, we must be more advanced than others in all spheres. Raising the standard of science and technology is also necessary for the introduction of advanced foreign

science and technology in our country.

The workers in the fields of education and natural science must regard it as an important Party task to develop science and technology and bring about a great change in this work so as to raise science and technology in our country to a higher level.

If we are to ensure rapid scientific and technological progress in our country, we must provide university instructors, scientists and students with sufficient time and material conditions for study. We must take the plunge and tackle the task of providing universities with sufficient material facilities so that they produce a larger number of well-educated, competent young intellectuals. In this way these intellectuals will create new techniques and make many inventions.

It is necessary, first of all, to publish a large number and wide variety of reference books for university instructors and students.

It is impossible for them to improve their qualifications if reference books are not available. Students must read many reference books as well as textbooks. Each of them must read at least scores of books on his speciality during his university days. This is the way he can acquire a wealth of knowledge in his special field.

From now onwards, it must be considered an important task to provide university instructors and students with an adequate variety of reference books. If these books are available in large numbers, they will manage to find time to read them.

The Education Department of the Party Central Committee and the Education Commission of the Administration Council must take prompt measures to produce different kinds of reference books in large numbers. Lecturers and scientists must be given the task of writing books on science and technology and of translating those from foreign countries.

At present, many of the university lecturers, scientists and students do not know foreign languages. So it is necessary to translate and publish a large number of foreign books on science and technology to help them to know the trend of the world's scientific progress and increase their knowledge by reading the translations. These

translations will also help our people to operate imported machinery.

In the early years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the guerrillas captured large numbers of machine guns, mortars and other heavy weapons from the Japanese imperialists, but they did not know how to use them. We organized a raid and captured manuals on the structure and use of machine guns from the enemy and got them translated. Some of the guerrillas had gone through middle school, and some of them had even received a university education for some time, and they were able to translate them immediately. By means of the translated manuals we trained many of our men to be machine-gunners.

We have to solve our problems ourselves even by translating foreign books on science and technology and referring to them.

If we mobilize university lecturers and scientists, we shall be able to translate and publish a large number of books on science and technology without establishing a translating institution. Professional translators are not the only people who can translate foreign books. It will be difficult to render Korean books into foreign languages, but it will not be very difficult to put foreign books into the Korean language. Even people who cannot speak a foreign language fluently, can translate books written in that language into Korean without difficulty. It is said that there are thousands of teachers in the field of higher education alone. If an assignment is given to each of those who know foreign languages, an assignment to translate three to four books a year by specifying the titles of the books to be translated and the teachers to do the work, a large number of books on science and technology can be translated and published. Through this translation, teachers can increase their own knowledge. Therefore, university lecturers and scientists who know foreign languages should be mobilized for the translation of a large number of books on science and technology.

We have many of these books which are worth translating for readers. Immediately after the armistice, we imported hundreds of thousands of books on natural science and technology in order to train a large force of cadres and help scientists in their study. These books, if

translated and published, will be a great help to the development of science and technology in our country. University lecturers and students will not be infected with revisionist ideas because they read the translations of foreign books on science and technology. Natural science and technology have nothing to do with revisionism.

University lecturers and scientists should translate and publish the ones which are needed from among these imported books.

Approximately a hundred thousand kinds of books will have to be translated and published within the next few years. We may not be able to print a great many copies of them, but we have to print at least ten thousand copies of each kind. This does not imply that these many copies should be published without discrimination. According to the need, some will have to be limited to 5,000 and some to about 2,000 copies. The number of copies of such books should be enough for circulation to the libraries of universities and senior middle schools and to those of cities and counties.

Foreign scientific journals will have to be made available to university lecturers. If we import a few copies of each of these journals we need, and then have them translated and published for circulation, they will serve the purpose.

The problem of paper to print various kinds of reference books will have been solved. If we do not have enough paper, we have to import it for this purpose.

If university lecturers and students are to be encouraged to read scientific and technological books widely, universities must organize their libraries well and operate them regularly. We cannot afford to supply a copy of every kind of book on natural science and technology to each of the university lecturers and students. At present, paper production is not able to meet our needs. We have to print a tremendous number of textbooks every year for the ten-year compulsory education which we are introducing. In these circumstances, we cannot afford to print books on natural science and technology in unlimited numbers. Therefore, universities will have to organize their libraries well and keep scores of copies of each kind of

these books there. Then, lecturers and students will be able to refer to these books in their libraries whenever they need them.

Universities must also be provided with sufficient laboratory and practical-training facilities. Adequate supplies of modern instruments and other equipment for these purposes must be provided for Kim Il Sung University, Kim Chaek University of Technology, the Pyongyang University of Medicine, the Pyongyang University of Mechanical Engineering, the university of agriculture and other major universities in particular.

It is desirable that the existing university of agriculture in each province should produce the agriculturists who will work in the rural communities of the province, and that a university of agriculture of a national character should be developed well. This will ensure the development of agriculture in our country on a long-term basis. We must carry out a great revolution in agricultural production. The Six-Year Plan has set the goal of seven million tons of grain, and this is not an impossible target. In the future, we shall have to produce at least 10 million tons, and then 20 million tons every year.

The universities of light and chemical industries are also of a national character, so they must be developed well.

Kim Chaek University of Technology must be provided with adequate modern laboratory and practical-training instruments and facilities. In order to build communism we must ensure that people increase the production of material wealth while working with ease. In a communist society work will be done by machines, and people will only have to watch and control the work of machines. If we are to automate production processes to this extent, we must first develop electronics. We must equip Kim Chaek University of Technology with a modern laboratory and sufficient practice facilities so that it can produce many competent technicians needed for the electronics and automation industries and many other sectors of the national economy.

The authorities concerned must supply these facilities to universities. We shall even have to import those facilities which are not available in our country or which are in short supply. I was told that the

State Planning Commission had turned down the proposals of universities for the importation of laboratory and practice equipment. The commission was wrong. If it refuses again in the future, then the Presidential reserve funds should be used for the purpose.

University lecturers and students must acquire a thoroughly revolutionary habit of studying.

If they do not establish this habit, they will be unable to improve their qualifications and develop science and technology in our country. The Party and LSWY organizations in universities must develop an uncompromising ideological struggle against their neglect of study and see that they work hard.

In order to establish a revolutionary study habit, it is also necessary to tighten control of their study. The mere words of emphasis that university lecturers and students should study are not enough to stimulate them to work hard. The university Party organizations and LSWY organizations must, therefore, control their study regularly.

Recently, the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee established a system aimed at controlling the study of the heads of the departments of the Party Central Committee and their deputies and the heads of their sections. This system requires them to prepare lectures themselves and deliver them on Wednesdays or on Saturdays. Since the establishment of this control system, the study attitude is improving in the Party Central Committee. According to the report, departmental heads of the Party Central Committee and their deputies now study hard, preparing their lectures by reading books and taking notes of necessary information.

A similar system should be established for university lecturers and scientists so as to intensify the struggle to acquire the habit of studying. In addition, the Education Department of the Party Central Committee and the Education Commission of the Administration Council should make it a strict rule for teachers to sit an examination once every year. It seems to me that examinations for university lecturers have not been strict so far, but from now onwards their examinations must be strict.

Students must acquire practical knowledge while they and the

lecturers must adopt the revolutionary habit of studying. No matter how much knowledge a university student may have, it will be useless if it cannot be used in our country. University lecturers must make every effort to teach their students practical knowledge which can contribute to the revolution and construction.

It is also necessary to take steps to improve the qualifications of the scientists and technicians who are working on production sites. Most of them are people whom you have educated. So you ought to make the effort to improve their qualifications. Over the past years, however, university lecturers have not paid attention to this matter. At present, there is no training system by which to improve their qualifications. That is why their standard of knowledge is not rising.

At present, our country has no administrative organization which directs the work of developing technology on a national basis. This is why factories and other enterprises do not observe the norms of the consumption of electric power and raw materials and other technical and economic indices. They simply ask for more workers instead of carrying out the technical development plan. At present, many of them neglect the invention and manufacture of efficient machines, nor do they work hard to modernize outdated facilities, to put flesh on production processes and take steps to increase the rate of machine operation. Therefore, production has not increased quickly in recent years.

It would be a good idea to organize lectures on scientific subjects widely in order to raise the standards of scientists and technicians working on production sites. If university lecturers give lectures for them, they will not only help their audience to raise their technical standards, but also improve their own qualifications a great deal. If they deliver lectures once or twice on the subjects they have studied, they will be able to consolidate their knowledge. If the authorities concerned organize this work well, scientific lecture meetings can be introduced without difficulty.

In our middle-school days, university lecturers used to travel, giving many scientific lectures, and these lectures were attended by

intellectuals including teachers and students and office workers and even by soldiers. These lecturers did not receive travel expenses from the state. They gave lectures, travelling from place to place by using the money they earned from giving lectures.

Since in our country the state pays the travel expenses of the people who go on official journeys, university lecturers can visit factories and other enterprises to give scientific lectures, without having to use their own money. If they visit Songnim or Hamhung, for instance, and stay there for a week or so, giving a scientific lecture every day, the workers and technicians will benefit a great deal from them. From now onwards, these lectures should be widely organized.

I think that there will be many other problems which must be solved for the development of science and technology and the improvement of university education in our country. I hope that on your return you will study these problems and make many good suggestions. You should bring your suggestions to the Party Central Committee, suggestions to develop science and technology and improve university education in our country based on the instructions I have given you today.

The Party Central Committee is going to review the work of the student members of the three-revolution teams early next year, and will then hold a national meeting of educationalists for the purpose of working out measures to solve the outstanding problems in scientific research and university education. The Education Department of the Party Central Committee must make good preparations for the meeting, starting now.

# **LET US ACHIEVE NATIONAL REUNIFICATION AND WORLD PEACE THROUGH STRUGGLE**

**Speech at the Pyongyang Mass Meeting to Welcome  
the Party and Government Delegation  
of the Bulgarian People's Republic**

*October 28, 1973*

Esteemed Comrade Todor Zhivkov,  
Esteemed guests from Bulgaria,  
Dear comrades and friends,

Today we people of all walks of life in Pyongyang have gathered here with great joy to welcome the goodwill envoys of the fraternal Bulgarian people.

First of all, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people, I once again warmly welcome the Party and Government delegation of the Bulgarian People's Republic led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic and our intimate friend.

I also extend warm greetings of fraternal friendship from the Korean people, through you, to the Bulgarian people.

The present visit of the Party and Government delegation of the Bulgarian People's Republic to our country is a great encouragement to our people who are fighting for the building of socialism and the

independent and peaceful reunification of the country and is an event of epoch-making significance in further developing the friendship and cooperation between our two Parties, two countries and two peoples.

We are satisfied that the fraternal friendship between our two peoples, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is being consolidated and developed with every passing day.

We are very happy to learn through our meeting with you that socialist construction is continuing successfully in Bulgaria.

During the Second World War the Bulgarian communists and patriotic people, under the guidance of Comrade Georgi Dimitrov, a prominent figure of the international working-class movement and a staunch anti-fascist fighter, fought bravely with arms in hand, against the Hitler fascist clique and the internal fascist monarchy.

The Bulgarian people, who became the masters of the country after the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, have turned their once backward country into a prosperous socialist state with a developed industry and a mechanized agriculture under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, displaying patriotic devotion and creative activity.

Today the Bulgarian people continue to achieve many successes in the process of implementing the programme set forth by the Tenth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party on building an advanced socialist society.

The Korean people sincerely wish the fraternal Bulgarian people greater success in their future struggle to create a new life.

At the same time, our people regard it as their internationalist duty to support the endeavours being made by the Bulgarian Communist Party, Government and people against the imperialist policy of aggression and war and for peace and security in Europe and good-neighbourly relations among the Balkan states.

Convinced that the successful carrying out of revolution and construction in each socialist country is precisely the way of making a practical contribution to the revolutionary cause of the international

working class, we have energetically pushed forward the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in our country.

Under the leadership of our Party our people have turned their country into an advanced socialist state with modern industry and agriculture and brilliantly blossoming science and culture in a short time, while smashing the ceaseless aggression and warlike actions of US imperialism and its lackeys.

Upholding the magnificent programme set forth by the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, our people are now waging a tenacious struggle to hasten the complete victory of socialism and the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, while accelerating the revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society by giving clear priority to the ideological revolution.

The common experiences gained by the two peoples of Korea and Bulgaria who have been following the road of building a new society since the Second World War vividly show that the road of socialism is the only way to ensure genuine freedom and happiness to the working people.

The successes gained in the building of socialism in the northern half of Korea thanks to the original policies of our Party, creative applications of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of our country, and thanks to the devoted struggle of our people, instil great hope and pride in the south Korean people and provide a firm political foundation for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

Last year the North-South Joint Statement was published and dialogue took place between the north and the south thanks to the consistent efforts made by our Party and the Government of the Republic for the peaceful reunification of the country.

But the policy of US imperialism and its stooges to split our nation has now driven our people into a serious situation where they are confronted by the choice—the reunification of the nation or its division for ever.

Because of our sincere desire to satisfy the long-cherished hopes of the entire nation for peaceful national reunification, we put forward a new, five-point programme of national reunification on last June 23.

However, the south Korean authorities turned it down and, finally, in company with the US and Japanese reactionaries, brought up before the United Nations a proposal for the simultaneous entry into the UN of “two Koreas”.

The proposal to enter the UN as “two Koreas” runs diametrically counter to the July 4 North-South Joint Statement in which they agreed to achieve reunification independently without reliance upon outside forces, in a peaceful way and on the principle of great national unity; it is aimed at dividing Korea into “two Koreas” completely.

It is simply unthinkable that our nation, which has lived as a single nation in one and the same peninsula throughout a long history, should be divided into two in our time.

Today, what Korean would want to see his country divided?

If there is any force demanding division among the Koreans, it is only the handful of south Korean comprador capitalists who are servants of foreign monopoly capital, and political stooges of US imperialism and Japanese militarism.

To seek the division of the country is a venomous crime of treachery which can never be pardoned through all eternity; it is a traitorous action which is again leading our nation to ruin.

The traitorous force of south Korea is trying to gratify its lust for power and enjoy personal wealth and honour in return for dividing the country and the nation and selling them off to the foreign aggressors.

The foreign forces of aggression seeking the division of Korea are trying to use these traitors and hirelings to take over south Korea.

This is a plot to reduce south Korea to a colonial military base of US imperialism for ever and to make it a commodity market for Japanese militarism.

Basically, it is one of the main methods of modern colonialist aggression to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, form factions and encourage division, and to plot subversion.

For nearly 30 years since the first days of the artificial division of our country due to the occupation of south Korea by US imperialism, our people have been carrying on a tireless, ceaseless struggle for

reunification.

The present situation urgently demands that we should further intensify the struggle against the protagonists of division at home and abroad—the traitors and the foreign forces of aggression—in order to accelerate peaceful reunification.

At the present time, the patriotic young students and other people in south Korea have again risen in the struggle against the present military fascist regime and for the democratization of society and the independent reunification of the country.

The students of Seoul University, who turned out in a demonstration, shouting “Down with the Park regime”, stated in their declaration: “Unable to remain onlookers any longer to the lamentable reality in which the right to existence of all the people is threatened, we have risen determinedly today according to the dictates of our conscience.”

This clearly shows that the south Korean people will never tolerate the military fascist rule and traitorous, country-selling acts of the present rulers.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic will always render active support and encouragement to the just struggle of the south Korean people, and will adhere to the stand of sharing with them all the responsibility for their struggle since it is directly related to the vital interests of the whole nation.

The battle against the “two Koreas” plot and for the peaceful reunification of the country is also being waged vigorously by the 600,000 Korean citizens in Japan and all other Korean nationals abroad.

How can any Korean with a national conscience just sit passively with folded arms today when the nation is in danger of being divided into two for ever?

Once again we solemnly appeal to all those concerned about the future destiny of the country and the nation to turn out as one in the noble patriotic struggle to prevent the permanent division of the country, whether they are in the north or the south, at home or abroad, irrespective of political views, religious beliefs, and affiliations to any parties or groupings.

There cannot be a nobler duty for us communists than to fight against imperialism for a righteous settlement of our national affairs.

When we advocate reunifying the country in a peaceful way, we aim, in the final analysis, to prevent south Korea from going into the mouths of the tigers—US and Japanese imperialism.

Our struggle is a just struggle.

We can only achieve peaceful reunification through struggle; we can make no compromise whatsoever with those who would divide us.

We are convinced that our struggle to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country will receive greater support and encouragement from all the peace-loving peoples of the world.

First of all, the socialist countries and all the peoples in the third world who love justice and fight for complete national liberation must strike out at those who are trying to divide Korea for ever and resolutely oppose the inhuman repression and massacre of the patriots, democratic figures and people in south Korea by the present south Korean military fascist regime which is hated and rejected by all the Korean people.

The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States held some time ago unanimously adopted a resolution demanding the dissolution of the “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea” and the withdrawal of foreign troops under the cloak of the “UN forces” from south Korea, opposing the simultaneous entry into the UN of “two Koreas” and fully supporting our policy of independent and peaceful reunification.

Being a correct reflection of the trend of the present times against imperialist aggression and intervention and towards independence, this was a great support and inspiration to our people’s cause of national reunification.

In conformity with the unanimous desire of the Korean people and the people of the world and the demands of the times, this year’s session of the UN General Assembly must reject the proposal for simultaneous entry into the UN of “two Koreas” and adopt measures to dissolve the “United Nations Commission for the Unification and

Rehabilitation of Korea” and strip the US army troops in south Korea of their “UN forces” helmets and make them withdraw.

It is high time, we consider, that the United Nations should cease obstructing the reunification of Korea as a tool of the US and should adopt new resolutions giving genuine help to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, instead of the old resolutions.

The Korean people will creditably settle the question of national reunification in a peaceful way on the principle of national self-determination, once all external factors hampering reunification are eliminated.

Comrades and friends,

In the field of international relations, too, all the revolutionary forces of the world should firmly unite and continue to wage a stubborn battle against imperialism if they are to win the victory of the common cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

There is now a growing opinion on the international scene that this is a time for switching over from cold war to detente, from confrontation to peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic consider it natural that this trend of the times towards peace and peaceful cooperation should grow daily under the present circumstances in which the forces of socialism and national liberation are growing in scope and strength and imperialism is weakening and failing day by day; and they sincerely hope that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence will triumph.

But the lasting peace and security of the world cannot be considered apart from the resolute struggle against imperialism.

The aggressive nature of imperialism will never change.

The more difficult their position becomes, the more stubbornly the imperialists cling to duplicity holding an olive branch in one hand and brandishing a bayonet in the other, and the more cunningly they carry out their acts of aggression, intervention and subversion under the slogan of “peace” in every part of the world.

Recently the United States engineered a fascist military coup d’etat

in Chile—murdering President Allende and overthrowing the legitimate Popular Unity Government.

It also egged on the Israeli aggressors to start another war of aggression against Egypt and Syria.

It was also the United States which started the aggressive wars in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in the past.

The mastermind fanning the colonial wars in many African countries including Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Azania, and so on, is also the US imperialists.

The people are for peace; but the imperialists occupy themselves always with aggression, subversion and war.

Today in Korea, we advocate peaceful reunification; but the United States made its stooges scrap the July 4 Joint Statement immediately after signing it, regarding it merely as a sheet of paper, and is openly heading for the setting up of “two Koreas”.

We have proposed to stop arms reinforcement and the arms race, cut down the armed forces and conclude a peace agreement, but the south Korean authorities are stepping up war preparations, branding our proposal as a lie.

Claiming that the dialogue should be backed up by armed forces, they are desperately boosting their military strength. They are talking about “two Koreas” today, but who can guarantee that they will not loose an arrow against our Republic tomorrow?

Therefore, we consider that one should not evade struggle against imperialism and adopt a submissive attitude for the purpose of preserving peace and should not try to obtain security through unprincipled compromise with imperialism.

Peace must be won only through a resolute fight against the imperialists.

No one should be fooled by the false peace talked about by the imperialists but always keep a high degree of vigilance against their acts of aggression and war, and bring pressure to bear upon them, thereby compelling them to follow the road of peace.

A peaceful solution can only be found to the problems of each

country when it is ensured that they are settled according to the will and interests of the people of that country under all circumstances.

We believe that the Arab question should also be settled in the interests of the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples.

If the present ceasefire in the Middle East has been achieved at the request of the Arab peoples, we will support it, and if the Arab peoples oppose it, we shall also do so.

From this point of view, we were the first to support the Egyptian and Syrian peoples when they rose up in the just war against the Israeli aggressors; and in the future we shall also give unsparing, active support and encouragement to the Arab peoples as long as they continue their struggle against imperialist aggression.

We hold that the Indochinese problems including the Cambodian question should also be solved in conformity with the interests of the peoples of those countries.

It is important to cement the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries in order to strengthen the world anti-imperialist forces.

When they advance as a united force, the socialist countries can exert greater influence upon the development of the world revolution and successfully carry out the struggle against imperialism and for preserving and consolidating peace as well.

Our Party holds fast to our principle based on independence in the campaign to achieve the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

We maintain that the socialist countries should attain unity on the basis of opposing imperialism, supporting the national-liberation movement in colonies and the international working-class movement, continuing to advance towards socialism and communism and abiding by the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit.

We strongly maintain that the socialist countries, the newly-independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and all the peace-loving countries of the world should unite and wage a forceful fight against imperialism.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic regard it as an

unshakeable principle of their foreign policy to support and encourage the national-liberation struggle and the revolutionary struggle of all the peoples in the world fighting against imperialism.

In the future, too, our Party and our people will continue to fight resolutely for the victory of the cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism, in unity with the peoples of socialist countries, in unity with the international working class, in unity with the fighting Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and in unity with all the progressive peoples of the world, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist struggle.

The Korean people and the Bulgarian people have formed strong ties of fraternal friendship in the fight against imperialism and for the victory of the cause of socialism.

During our Fatherland Liberation War and our postwar reconstruction, the Bulgarian people gave our people a great deal of aid, both material and moral.

Our people do not forget this.

Today, too, the Bulgarian people actively support the struggle of our people for socialist construction and the independent and peaceful reunification of the motherland.

I take advantage of this opportunity to renew my deep thanks to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian Communist Party, Government and people for the valuable support and cooperation given by the Bulgarian people to our people as their class brothers.

We are convinced that the fraternal friendship and solidarity between the two peoples of Korea and Bulgaria will be further consolidated and developed in all fields in the future in the struggle to realize the common purpose and ideal.

Long live indestructible, fraternal friendship and solidarity between the Korean people and the Bulgarian people!

Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian People's Republic!

Long live the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism!

**KOREAN MERCHANTS AND  
MANUFACTURERS IN JAPAN MUST  
MAKE A STRONG CONTRIBUTION  
TO PATRIOTIC WORK FOR THEIR  
HOMELAND AND NATION**

**Talk to the Second Group of Korean Merchants  
and Manufacturers from Japan  
on a Visit to Their Homeland**

*November 19, 1973*

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Republic and all the Korean people, I warmly welcome your visit to the homeland. I am very glad to hear that you are enjoying good health while staying in the homeland.

You have all done a great deal of excellent work for your homeland and for Chongryon (The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan). I offer my thanks to you for this.

I should like to take this opportunity of meeting you to explain the situation in the homeland, our Party's policy towards merchants and manufacturers and the tasks of Korean merchants and manufacturers in Japan.

I shall first refer briefly to the situation in our country.

Today our country is achieving a brilliant success through being guided solely by our Party's Juche idea and by implementing it in all spheres of the revolution and construction.

Our Party has always firmly maintained an independent position: it

formulates all its lines and policies independently in the interests of our people and as required by our revolution and carries on the revolution and construction on its own responsibility and on the principle of self-reliance.

The validity and vitality of our Party's consistent line of independence are being proved more clearly every day. At present, people in many lands around the world are giving active support to the Juche idea of our Party and the independent policy of the Government of the Republic and are expressing their warm sympathy with them.

The great strength of international support for our revolutionary cause was shown clearly at the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations and at the 28th Session of the UN General Assembly which were held this year.

The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations which was attended by more than 100 delegations, including heads of state and government from some 80 countries and their delegates, adopted a unanimous resolution in support of our five-point policy for national reunification. Later, in the name of the Chairman of this Summit Conference, Chairman Boumediene of the Revolutionary Council of Algeria, sent a cable to the heads of state of the non-aligned nations, calling on them to continue to make positive efforts for the just settlement of the Korean question at the 28th Session of the UN General Assembly this year in accordance with the resolution of the Summit Conference.

At the last UN General Assembly session, our delegate spoke about the policy of independent national reunification, and his speech is said to have drawn a great response. When he took the floor, it was reported, a large number of delegates stood up and welcomed him with enthusiastic applause. When he finished his speech, they came to see our delegate one after another and embraced and encouraged him. This was unprecedented in the history of the UN General Assembly. I was told, however, that, when the delegate of the south Korean stooges was speaking, other delegates did not even listen to him.

At that session of the General Assembly the delegates of Algeria,

Cuba and many other countries spoke in support of our policy of independent national reunification. Comparing the speeches of the delegates of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of the south Korean stooges in his speech, the Cuban delegate said that, as far as he had heard, the former was an ardently patriotic speech whereas the latter was a traitor's dirty speech, and that the former advocated independent national reunification whereas the latter advocated keeping the country divided for ever.

Our country has won active support and warm sympathy from so many countries because it firmly maintains independence. The peoples of those countries which are fighting for national independence against imperialism all support us.

You can have a high sense of honour and national pride in being citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, your independent, socialist homeland.

Independence in politics cannot be guaranteed without an independent national economy. If, in economic matters, a man is seized by the throat by someone else, he cannot follow an independent policy, nor can he say what he wants to. Our country is able to adhere to independence in politics because it has built a powerful independent national economy. We are not dependent economically on any country.

In order to build the independent national economy we first made particular efforts to construct a Juche-oriented industry which depends on our resources and techniques, and to solve the problem of the nation's technical cadres.

Establishing Juche in industrial construction is the way to develop the country independently. We are endeavouring to obtain at least 70 per cent of the raw materials for industry from domestic sources. Our country has unlimited deposits of iron ore, anthracite and other underground resources, and it is also rich in electric power resources. We are developing metallurgical, mechanical and many other industries by depending on our rich resources. We are importing some coking coal at the moment, but we intend to develop the iron industry by using domestic coal and electricity in the future.

Because we have built a powerful, Juche-oriented industry we are advancing steadily, unaffected by any change in the world situation or economic fluctuations. Many countries are now undergoing great difficulties because they cannot obtain sufficient oil on account of the war in the Middle East. But our country is immune from the repercussion because it is developing industries which are fed with domestic fuel and raw materials.

It is true that we have to overcome difficulties in our effort to build industries ourselves and that it takes us some time to do so. The shortage of technicians posed the most difficult problem in our country in the days immediately after liberation. As a consequence of Japanese imperialists' colonial rule, there were only a few scores of university-trained technicians in our country immediately after liberation. These imperialists even employed only Japanese as locomotive drivers, so that there were few Koreans who knew how to drive locomotives. In these circumstances, we were obliged to make great efforts to train the nation's cadres and technicians. We built universities and specialized schools and trained intellectuals ourselves by making belt-tightening efforts. This is how we have trained the more than 600,000 technicians and specialists we have now; we are going to increase their number to one million during the Six-Year Plan.

Now that we have an army of our own technical cadres and a powerful independent national economy, we are able to make whatever we choose. We are building modern factories like the vinalon factory and the Ryongsong Machine Factory on our own without difficulty. At present, we are devoting great effort to the development of the mining industry in order to carry out the Six-Year Plan, and the large excavators, bulldozers, lorries and many other kinds of large machines and equipment needed for this purpose are all manufactured on our own.

At present, Japanese reactionaries seem to think that, if Japan does not export steel plants to us, we shall be unable to carry out the Six-Year Plan. But we are building 1,000 and 1,500 cubic-metre blast furnaces ourselves. The south Korean puppets are driving a wedge to

prevent Japan from selling steel plants to our country allegedly because our country would become stronger by importing steel plants from her. That is a foolish action. Even though we do not import equipment from Japan, we shall build blast furnaces of 2,000 and 3,000 cubic metres by our own efforts and with our own techniques, and in the near future we shall be able to produce more than 10 million tons of steel every year. The steel output per capita in our country will then be high by world standards.

The imperialists and their stooges are trying to subject our Republic to an economic blockade, but they will not be successful. We are on friendly terms with many countries, so we can import through them as much modern machinery and equipment as we need. Moreover, our talented scientists and technicians can manage to make whatever machines they choose.

The important task in building socialism in our country at the moment is to carry out the Six-Year Plan, and the struggle to carry it out is proceeding successfully. We are confident that the Six-Year Plan will be carried out far ahead of schedule.

If there is a small problem with our national economy, it is with our foreign trade and service sector. There are shortcomings in these sectors.

In the past, we have traded mainly with other socialist countries in the form of barter. From now onwards, however, it is necessary to make our way into the capitalist market on a wide scale. We must, therefore, improve the quality of our commodities, make them look better, and pack them better. It is also necessary to know how to deal with capitalists. But the quality of our commodities is not yet good, and, worse still, our trade workers are inefficient.

There are large sources of foreign currency in our country. If we improve the quality of goods and find a market and extend it around the world, we shall be able to earn a large sum of foreign currency. Processed tobacco, for instance, is a good source of foreign currency. The tobacco produced in Songchon in our country is celebrated throughout the world. It is aromatic and of a beautiful colour. I was

told that, therefore, a certain country imports it and mixes a little of it with its own tobacco in processing and sells it at a high price on the foreign market.

Our service workers, too, have many defects in the management of hotels, restaurants and other amenities. Scenic spots are not developed to the fullest possible extent. Mt. Kungang in our country is a world-celebrated mountain, but it has not been developed well because we have had to concentrate on building factories since the end of the war. We shall have to develop this mountain and other scenic spots in the future.

The shortcomings in our foreign trade and communal services do not mean that our economy is underdeveloped. The main reason for these shortcomings is that the people engaged in these sectors came from the families of formerly oppressed and exploited workers and peasants and are not experienced in dealing with capitalists and do not clearly understand how to trade with them. The defects can also be explained by the fact that some of our officials, content with today's happiness, do not work hard to make further progress.

It is advisable for you merchants and manufacturers to give our trade and service workers a great deal of good advice about their work on the occasion of this visit to the homeland.

Today our country is pressing ahead with the ideological revolution to revolutionize and working-classize people.

Our Party is intensifying the ideological education of the working people as the material and technical foundations of the country become stronger and as the people's material and cultural standards rise quickly. If ideological education is slackened in the slightest degree, the remnants of outdated ideas may revive. If ideological education is neglected when the Party and the state give the working people a great many benefits and when their standard of living is improving with every passing day, people may become lazy, lax and idle. At present, our state supplies rice to the factory and office workers at a price of eight *jon* per kilogramme, so a worker can earn enough money to buy the rice needed for a month by working for a few days. So, if people

become selfish, they may go to work for only a few days a month so as to earn the money to buy rice, and then stay away from work, fishing and loafing away their time. Therefore, the higher the people's standard of living becomes and the more benefits the Party and the state give the people, the more we are intensifying the ideological education of the working people so as to prevent selfishness and other remnants of outdated ideas from reviving in their minds.

We are paying particular attention to teaching the new generation not to forget the past lot of their parents who suffered all kinds of miseries under the exploitation and oppression of the Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists and to filling them with the spirit of liking work. We do not bring up children and young people in luxury. We encourage the young people to bear the brunt of the most difficult work and, in the busy farming season, send even university students and senior middle-school children without exception to rural communities to transplant rice and carry the rice sheaves. This year saw unusually rich crops in our country, and a large number of university students helped cooperative farms with their harvesting.

Next, I should like to talk briefly about our Party's policy towards merchants and manufacturers.

I think it important that on this visit to the homeland you should have a clear understanding of our Party's policy towards private merchants and manufacturers. Only when you have a correct understanding of this policy can you have a correct attitude to your work and exert a good influence on your Korean colleagues in Japan so that they can rally closely behind the Government of our Republic. You must also have a good influence on the medium and small traders and manufacturers in south Korea.

At present, the south Korean puppets are making false propaganda that, when the country is reunified, we shall hang all the merchants and manufacturers in south Korea. This is slander against our socialist system and a malicious lie. The socialist system is not a system which hangs people. The socialist system in our country is the best social system which abolishes the exploitation and oppression of man by man

once and for all and provides all the people with an equally happy life.

As you well know, from the time of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, we enlisted national capitalists in the revolution, carried out the national-liberation struggle, and, after liberation, the democratic revolution in cooperation with them. As the Twenty-Point Platform which we published after liberation clearly stipulates, we did not hang private traders and manufacturers, but guaranteed them freedom of business activity and gave them active encouragement. Since the first day of our triumphant return home after liberation, we have called upon all sections of the population, including private traders and manufacturers, to build a rich and powerful, independent and sovereign state for the lasting prosperity of our nation—upon those who have money to contribute money, upon those who have knowledge to contribute knowledge and upon those who have strength to contribute strength, for this purpose.

Our attitude towards private traders and manufacturers since liberation has been to unite with them, cooperate with them and take them along as far as a socialist and communist society.

At the stage of the socialist revolution after the war, our Party followed the policy of reforming private traders and manufacturers on socialist lines rather than expropriating them. When the war was over, they were empty-handed because of the US imperialists' indiscriminate bombing during the war. Their property was all destroyed by the enemy's air raids. In these circumstances, they themselves supported our Party's policy for socialist reform. We did not need to expropriate them, nor would there have been anything that could be expropriated even if we had wanted to. The state confiscated none of the property of medium and small businesses. In the postwar years, our Party and the Government of our Republic admitted them to different forms of the cooperative economy on a strictly voluntary principle in order to provide these impoverished people with a means of living.

The policy of our Party and the Government of our Republic towards the private traders and manufacturers is being appreciated

even by people who are not communists. A great many visitors to our country from capitalist countries say that they support and approve socialism in Korea.

On your return to Japan, you should tell the merchants and manufacturers who are affiliated with “Mindan” (the Federation of South Korean Residents in Japan) and the medium and small entrepreneurs and traders in south Korea that our Party does not follow the policy of expropriating private merchants and manufacturers.

We communists do not on any account infringe upon the interests of medium and small businesses. We are not against them; we are opposed to the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who, hand in glove with the US and Japanese aggressive forces, sell out the interests of our nation. Not only do we not oppose national capitalists and medium and small traders and manufacturers, but we will cooperate with them in our fight for independent national reunification and the prosperity of our nation.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to the tasks of the Korean merchants and manufacturers in Japan in their patriotic cause.

I once more highly appreciate the fact that, closely rallied behind Chongryon, they have been fighting staunchly for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, for the building of a prosperous homeland, and in defence of the democratic, national rights of our compatriots in Japan.

I am grateful to you for the firm resolve you have made on this visit to make a strong contribution to socialist construction in the homeland.

In the future, too, the Korean merchants and manufacturers in Japan must do a great deal of work for the good of the country and the nation.

They must first unite more closely behind Chongryon and give active assistance to its patriotic work.

Working for Chongryon means working for the homeland. At present, they are contributing the money they have earned through enterprises for the construction of many schools for the children of our compatriots in Japan and are helping Chongryon in every way in its work of national education. This is indeed excellent. They must do

their best to thwart the Japanese militarists' policy of assimilating our nation and to preserve our national spirit and defend democratic, national rights.

I hope that the Korean merchants and manufacturers in Japan will succeed in their enterprises and work devotedly to strengthen Chongryon and develop national education and all its activities.

Next, the Korean merchants and manufacturers in Japan must make every effort to contribute to socialist construction in the homeland.

Deprived of their country, the Koreans in Japan were subjected to all kinds of national mistreatment and humiliation and hardships in the past. I myself experienced the miseries and sufferings of a stateless people to the marrow of my bones from my childhood. When I was a boy, my father used to say that people without their own country are more miserable than a dog in a house of mourning. While growing up, I realized the true meaning of his words clearly. Therefore, we set about the revolution with a firm resolve to liberate the country and at last achieved this cause by defeating Japanese imperialism. As a result of the liberation of the country, the Korean compatriots in Japan were freed from the bitter lot of a stateless people and became legal overseas citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, their glorious, socialist homeland.

For the Korean compatriots in Japan nothing is more precious than their homeland. Therefore, it is the most noble duty of the Korean merchants and manufacturers and all our compatriots in Japan to contribute all their efforts and talents to the prosperity of their socialist homeland.

I firmly believe that the Korean merchants and manufacturers in Japan will cherish the pride of having their socialist homeland and make every possible contribution to socialist construction in the homeland.

Furthermore, they must fight to expedite the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

National reunification is the greatest desire and supreme task of our nation. In reunifying the country independently, it is very important to

achieve great national unity. The Korean merchants and manufacturers in Japan must play an important part in achieving this.

At present, there are many businessmen amongst the Korean compatriots in Japan, and on your return you must work well with them. You must clearly explain about our Party's policy towards merchants and manufacturers, persuade them that they must do their bits in building socialism in the homeland and in reunifying the country and you must encourage them to rally closely behind Chongryon.

The Korean merchants and manufacturers in Japan must unite with their colleagues who are under the influence of "Mindan" and with medium and small businessmen in south Korea and fight against the US imperialists and their stooges effectively through the concerted efforts of the whole nation.

With the backing of US imperialists and Japanese militarists, the south Korean stooges are now not only obstructing national reunification, but also selling out the country and the nation and perpetrating all kinds of despicable acts which are a disgrace to the nation. Recently, I read an article in a Japanese journal, an article which was written by a south Korean journalist who had been exiled to Japan. I could not sleep that night. At present, the south Korean puppets are said to be selling a large number of south Korean women to Japan as *kisaeng*, and it is said that Japanese capitalists are visiting south Korea as "tourists" and having "*kisaeng* parties" every day. What a storm of indignation this arouses among us Koreans! How can we tolerate the traitorous acts of the south Korean puppets who trample upon the noble chastity and purity of the Korean nation and sell out our nation? We must reunify the country as soon as possible so that our nation can be freed from all miseries and sufferings for ever and that they all live happily in the beautiful land of Korea.

I hope that the Korean merchants and manufacturers and all other Koreans in Japan will fight devotedly for the noble cause of national reunification, following our Party's policy of independent and peaceful reunification.

## **ON SENDING THREE-REVOLUTION TEAMS TO THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD**

**Speech Delivered to Members of the Three-Revolution  
Teams Going to Work in the Educational Field**

*December 11, 1973*

Early this year, by decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, we sent the three-revolution teams of the Party Central Committee to factories and other enterprises and cooperative farms, teams which are composed of university students and officials from Party and social organizations and state bodies. It is nearly a year since these teams went to work in the industrial and agricultural sectors. In this period they have achieved many successes.

The reports of their study of the situation in these sectors show that the universities, colleges and other educational institutions have not trained well-qualified cadres in the past.

Most of the cadres now working in factories and other enterprises and in the agricultural sector were trained by our institutions of higher learning, particularly by Kim Chaek University of Technology, the Wonsan University of Agriculture and the Pyongyang University of Agriculture. There are few graduates of Kim Il Sung University working in productive establishments. Most of them are probably working in Party and state bodies.

I have studied the cadres who were trained by our universities and are working in factories and other enterprises and on cooperative farms, and I have found that these cadres have many failings. Of

course, they have many good qualities as well. These technicians and specialists have developed our country, once a colony with backward agriculture, into the fine industrial country that it is today, and are managing it by their own efforts. This very fact is a matter of great honour for them, and they must be proud of it. But there are many instances of their lacking the work attitude of masters, an attitude befitting the technicians of a socialist society. More often than not, they work like salaried men who were in the habit of slavish service during the rule of Japanese imperialism. Some of them are working in a slipshod manner and practising a great deal of bureaucratism, being infected with outdated ideas, instead of combatting the remnants of these ideas. Worse still, they are lagging behind the present situation because they have neglected their studies since they graduated from university. Poisoned with bourgeois ideas and revisionist ideas, some of them are even becoming ideologically corrupt and are leading indolent, dissipated lives. They are so degenerate that we can scarcely say that they have been educated by our universities.

When we were visiting the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee and directing its work recently, we were able to see more clearly that our officials had serious shortcomings.

Some time ago, we visited Hamhung and heard the report of the three-revolution team on its work there. Since the team members had worked for nearly a year, mixing intimately with the local people, they knew the workers' living conditions, their struggle, the ideological tendencies of the cadres and their work attitude in detail. They knew the officials' bureaucratic practices, the instances of their misappropriating or wasting state property, the shortcomings revealed in the work of the Party organizations and working people's organizations and many other major problems.

In fact, executives of industrial establishments who were given a university education have many shortcomings. Because of the low level of their politico-ideological awareness and other qualifications, many of them are inefficient in both the management of existing factories and in the construction of new factories. In spite of their

university education, some of them do not even know how to work out a design properly nor do they know how to write an account of their travels as they should.

This meeting today is being attended by many university lecturers and I should like to remind you that most of the cadres now working in the industrial establishments and on cooperative farms are the people you have educated. The low qualifications of these cadres show that shortcomings exist in the educational work of the universities which have trained them.

At present, the university education of both the social and natural sciences is generally of low quality. This is why the officials who have received a university education are not well-qualified in terms of science and technology and political theory, nor do they have a high degree of Party spirit, working-class spirit and people-oriented spirit.

Some time ago, therefore, we summoned the heads of departments and higher-ranking teachers of Kim Il Sung University and Kim Chaek University of Technology and emphasized the need for university lecturers to work hard to improve the quality of education. We told them that, to this end, the teachers must acquire the habit of studying hard, translate many foreign books, write many books themselves and develop all the university libraries properly.

We also consulted the officials concerned about the cause of the low level of the qualifications of university students. Some of them attributed it to the fact that the students have to do too much work in addition to studying. But we do not see this matter in that light.

It is true that our university students have to do more extra work than their counterparts in a bourgeois society. But, given the present circumstances in our country, we cannot afford to exempt them totally from such work.

You know that there were not many university students in our country before liberation. In those days only rich people had access to education; poor people had no opportunity for education. In our country at present, however, the number of regular university students, excluding the worker-students, amounts to almost 110,000, and, if we

add those of higher technical schools, the number is more than 240,000. Moreover, a large number of young people are serving in the People's Army. As you can see, most of the young people of working age in our country are enrolled in schools or are performing military service. Our military strength is not very large but the school population is enormous. The enrolment in educational establishments from primary schools to universities is more than 4.6 million, and, with the addition of the children in nurseries and kindergartens, the total number exceeds eight million.

No country in the world has so many pupils and students in relation to its total population as our country. The school population in proportion to the total population in our country is the largest in the world, and the number of nurseries in our country is many times greater than those in other countries, and the number of kindergartens is the greatest in the world. This means a very heavy burden on the state. But we are proud of it rather than considering it to be a heavy burden. We believe that the state has to bear this burden because our country was underdeveloped in the past and because it has to overtake and outstrip developed countries as soon as possible.

In addition, there are also very large numbers of teachers, nurses who take care of children, kindergarten teachers, medical doctors, and officials of state institutions and social organizations in our country. All these people take no direct part in production. How can we afford to exempt the university students totally from labour in these circumstances?

Several days' transplanting of seedlings and some work to help weeding and harvesting on farms cannot be the cause of their low qualifications. In former days, self-supporting students had to work every day, but they were better students than rich people's sons and daughters who did not have to work. We cannot on any account say that our students show poor records because they work too much. This explanation is wrong.

Their low qualifications are due to the fact that the quality of university education is low and that the students are not provided with

adequate facilities needed for a thorough study of different scientific fields.

The most serious defect in their study at present is that few reference books are available to them. They need many different kinds of reference books to read so as to enrich and consolidate their knowledge, but they cannot read a great deal. This is why their qualifications are low.

Educationists must work hard to produce a large number of reference books for their students. We are going to hold a national meeting of educationists early next year. Each of the university lecturers throughout the country must be encouraged to set about writing a book or translating a foreign book now and finish it before the convocation of the meeting. If they do this, a great many books will be published. If university students participate widely in this work, there will be no problem in publishing hundreds of thousands of books a year.

The low qualifications of the students can be attributed mainly to the low qualifications of their teachers.

At present, many of the university lecturers do not know foreign languages. We have more than once emphasized the need for a campaign for each teacher to master a foreign language, but this task has not been implemented with credit. Because they do not know foreign languages, teachers cannot read foreign reference books. To make matters worse, not many of these books have been translated and published. The source of the knowledge of some of the university lecturers is limited, after all, to the notes they took when they were students. In this situation, it is obvious that these lecturers cannot teach their students well.

In order to help the teachers and students to study a great deal, we imported hundreds of thousands of foreign books and organized the central library in Pyongyang immediately after the armistice when the whole country was reduced to ashes and the people were still living in huts. When we told people of a foreign country that we wanted to buy these books, they were surprised. They exclaimed that, in spite of the

acute shortage of food and clothing, the Koreans were buying books to train their own cadres rather than requesting food and clothing.

As you can see, even in the very difficult circumstances immediately after the armistice, we paid particular attention to the training of national cadres. But university lecturers have not applied themselves to studying, and their qualifications are low. Their low qualifications have resulted in the low quality of their teaching. In these circumstances, it is inevitable that the students' qualifications are low.

Because the quality of university education is low, the Party Central Committee has decided to send three-revolution teams to the educational sector for the purpose of correcting the shortcomings in university education and improving this work.

Improving the quality of university education is very important in training our younger generation to be revolutionaries.

Our universities train the nation's cadres at state and public expense. In our country people lead a collective life for a long time until they complete their university education. Even if we count from the kindergarten, leaving aside the nursery, they lead a collective life for two years in the kindergarten, and then are trained through a collective life for ten years in the primary and senior middle schools. This means that they have led a collective life for 12 years by the time they finish the senior middle school. After this, they work in factories or serve in the People's Army for some years. We intend to reduce the term of military service slightly in the future. If the four to five years of military service under the present system are included, the period of their collective life amounts to as many as 17 years. If five years of a university course are added to this, the period of their collective life totals 22 years.

There is a saying that ten years can change rivers and mountains, and so 22 years are more than enough time to change them twice. If Party organizations and educationists organize their work well, they can train all our new generation to be excellent revolutionaries during their school days.

It is, of course, true that the state has to bear a heavy burden and overcome difficulties if it is to ensure universal ten-year compulsory education which includes senior middle-school training and give a large number of people university education. Only a few socialist countries have introduced ten-year compulsory education.

It is not yet 30 years since our country was liberated from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialists. The fleeing Japanese imperialists destroyed a great deal, and the whole country was reduced to ashes during the three years of the Fatherland Liberation War. Although we have been building socialism in these circumstances, we lead other countries in introducing universal ten-year compulsory education. Therefore, our country has a good educational system which can give all the younger generation an excellent training.

If we appoint fine kindergarten teachers and let them give good education to the children from the start of their collective life, if we select sound teachers for the schools at all levels and let them give correct guidance to the collective life of the schoolchildren, and if the army conducts a well-organized collective life, we shall be able to give the people revolutionary training before they finish university and go to work for society.

It is very good for young people to train themselves in the People's Army for some years after completing the senior middle school course. Their training through difficulties and a disciplined life in the army is as valuable as a workman's experience. That is why we regard the records of military service as very important in dealing with personnel matters. We can judge that a man with a record of many years of military service is, in fact, better-qualified than a man with a record of as many years of physical work. This is because ours is a revolutionary army. Discipline and organizational life in the revolutionary army are very strict. During many years of service in the People's Army, young people are trained by means of revolutionary discipline and through a revolutionary organizational life. A man who has gone successfully through the five years of collective life and study at a university after military service will become an excellent revolutionary who has

acquired an unshakeable revolutionary outlook on the world.

If we operate the very effective educational system which we have already established, all our younger generation will acquire both civilian and military virtues in 10 to 20 years. In other words, they will become stalwart revolutionaries who are well versed in both science and military affairs. No force in the world will then be equal to our nation.

The advantages of our educational system and the solicitude of our Party and state for the education of the younger generation are even admired by foreigners.

The late Chilean President Allende visited our country before he came to power. At that time, I managed to find time to talk a great deal with him, and he said that, if he came to power and built socialism, he would, in spite of everything, build it the way Korea was doing. He added that he would definitely send his wife and sister to Korea to study our educational system and many other matters. After he became President, he sent his sister to our country, as he had promised.

On her visit to our country, his sister was deeply moved by the fact that all our pupils and other children had been supplied, at the same time, with padded coats made of taffeta. We met her at that time, and the Chilean ambassador to our country who was attending the interview said that, although he had travelled in many lands around the world, he had never seen a country with such an astonishing capability as ours to provide so many pupils and other children of the whole country with winter clothes within a month.

We have established this wonderful educational system, and the state provides all the facilities needed for school education. Everything depends on how universities and other educational institutions teach their students and pupils.

The three-revolution teams for the educational sector are now going to work in universities. They must study in detail whether or not university education is being given in keeping with the advanced educational system of our country.

The duties of the three-revolution teams in the educational field are

not the same as those of the teams operating in the industrial and agricultural sectors. The latter have a duty to guide the factories and other enterprises and cooperative farms to press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. The former have mainly to inspect and guide the ideological and cultural revolutions at universities. In other words, the three-revolution teams going to work in the educational field must investigate whether universities are training their students to be dependable heirs to our revolution or not, and whether they are giving proper ideological education and establishing a proper attitude to study, and must then guide these activities. The educational sector is not given such a task of the technical revolution as improving equipment or transforming techniques directly. Therefore, the three-revolution teams in this field are not in duty bound to carry out the technical revolution themselves. These teams must guide universities in such a way that the teachers train their students in modern science and technology and the students work hard to raise the level of their knowledge of science and technology.

The three-revolution teams in the educational field must first see whether the educationists who have a heavy responsibility to train their students to be revolutionaries are themselves prepared as communists and revolutionaries.

As we have said on many occasions, if they are to train their students to be communists, the lecturers themselves must first become communists. For this reason, the three-revolution teams must first get to know whether or not the rectors of universities, the heads of educational affairs departments and all other educationists are equipped firmly with communist ideology, with our Party's Juche idea, and whether they have a communist personality or not. This is the most important thing.

If they go and study the situation at the universities, the three-revolution teams may find that some of the lecturers are unsound. Of course, these people can be dismissed from the ranks of lecturers, but they must be educated and reformed as far as possible rather than

dismissed. In other words, you must educate these people and correct their defects just as doctors cure people's diseases.

Next, these teams must examine whether universities are teaching their students in a revolutionary manner as required by the science of socialist education or whether they are still teaching a jumble which is neither socialistic nor capitalistic.

According to the report we received from the three-revolution teams on our recent visit to South Hamgyong Province, a library there was still stocking a number of feudalistic books and bad books written by anti-Party factionalists. This means that the revolutionary wind has not yet swept through there.

If universities teach their students a mixture of socialist, capitalist and feudal ideas, the students who have received such an education are bound to become people with confused ideas. If they are to train communists who are ready to fight devotedly in defence of the socialist system and for the construction of a communist society, the universities must give a socialist and revolutionary education. The three-revolution teams in the field of education must, therefore, closely examine whether or not the universities are teaching a mixture of capitalist and feudal and all other unsound ideas, whether they are giving a socialist and revolutionary instruction in keeping with the principle of socialist education. On this basis, they must guide the universities in such a way as to ensure the thorough implementation of this principle.

The most important principle of the science of socialist education is to fill the students with a bitter hatred for the landlord and capitalist classes and the exploiting system.

An important slogan of our Party is not to forget the past when we were oppressed and exploited by the imperialists, landlords and capitalists. Schools must teach the pupils and students clearly how harshly our people were exploited and oppressed by the Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists in the past when our country was a colony of those imperialists. They must also teach them plainly how our revolutionary forerunners fought against these imperialist

aggressors and landlords and capitalist classes. To put it another way, they must educate the students in the brilliant revolutionary traditions of our Party. They must also give them a clear understanding of the true nature of the capitalist society, the essential character of the socialist society and the superiority of the socialist system to the capitalist system. This is the way the students can be trained to be revolutionaries who hate imperialism, landlords and the capitalist system, love the socialist system and fight devotedly in defence of the revolutionary achievements.

Schools must also educate the pupils so that they do not forget the southern half of the country. South Korea, half the territory of our country, is still occupied by the US imperialists, and in the south landlords and capitalists still exist with impunity. South Korea is under fascist rule. In that society, people who cannot endure poverty resort to family suicide by drinking poison, and students who cannot pay their school expenses drown themselves. These tragic events are an everyday occurrence. We must never forget the south Korean people who are suffering all kinds of miseries and hardships under the fascist rule of the US imperialists and their stooges.

South Korea is not only under US imperialist occupation, but is gradually being reduced to a colony of Japanese militarism. That is why the patriotic students and other young people in south Korea are now fighting fiercely every day under the slogans: "We are opposed to becoming an economic colony of Japan!" and "Down with the Park regime!" Today's news report says that the students of many south Korean universities proclaimed their statement and are still fighting against the "government" and fascism. It is our noble national duty and class responsibility to support and encourage their fight and assist the south Korean revolution. Our schools must teach the students not to forget the south so that they fight to fulfil their national duty and class responsibility.

Teaching the students to love their communist future is one of the important contents of socialist education. It is only when they are educated in this spirit that they can fight to build a communist society

in the beautiful land of Korea, a society free from exploitation and oppression, and fight to the end for a new world where there are no imperialism, landlords or capitalists.

Schools must also make great efforts to encourage the students to get rid of feudalistic ideas, capitalistic ideas, flunkeyist ideas and all other outdated ideas and equip themselves with Marxist-Leninist ideas and the Juche idea of our Party.

Schools must teach all the students to arm themselves with the collectivist idea of fighting on the principle of “One for all and all for one!”, to like working, to treasure and take good care of state and communal property, and to study hard to explore new fields of science and technology so as to implement the three major tasks of the technical revolution which is aimed at freeing the working people from difficult and labour-consuming work.

The science of socialist education thus requires that schools should educate the students in a socialist and revolutionary manner. The three-revolution teams in the educational sector must examine the educational work of the universities by these standards of socialist educational theory and set it right.

Further, the three-revolution teams in the educational sector must stimulate the teachers and students to acquire the habit of studying, so that all of them study willingly.

In addition, they must be encouraged to intensify the life in the Party and working people’s organizations and tighten up school discipline.

All the teaching staff and students must be encouraged to take an active part in the organizational life of the Party and the League of Socialist Working Youth and observe school discipline strictly. At present, school discipline is very lax. Schools must tighten up discipline so that the students will not be late for school or absent without leave and so that they wear neat clothes and caps and clean shoes. Teachers must set an example in establishing school discipline. The Education Commission must direct teachers themselves to dress neatly and to observe school discipline willingly.

Teaching discipline must also be established so as to prevent students from misbehaving or disturbing order in class.

Of course, a coercive method such as is practised in a capitalist society must not be used because discipline has to be established. But it is necessary for schools to make it a strict rule to inspect students. A system of morning inspection will help towards strengthening school discipline in general. The three-revolution teams going to work in universities must ensure the establishment of the discipline of study and organizational life as well as university discipline in general.

One of the important tasks of university education is to teach the students how to work with the masses.

As matters now stand, officials who have been educated at university are infected with outdated ideas and become bureaucrats soon after their appointment and practise bureaucratism in their work. This shows that the universities have not trained their students properly. Since universities are institutions for the education and training of the nation's cadres, they ought to give the students an opportunity to participate in socio-political activities and teach them how to work with the masses. This will help them to know how to speak to the masses, explain the Party's policies and scientific and technological problems to the masses and how to work with them skilfully, in addition to attaining a rich scientific knowledge.

Universities must also give lectures on current events periodically for the students. Because they do not do this well, students are not well informed of developments in the world. From now onwards, universities must lecture once every week by using written information supplied by the Central Committees of the Party and of the League of Socialist Working Youth and thus keep their students abreast of the situation at home and abroad.

Today international conditions are very good for our revolution. The international prestige of our Party and the Government of our Republic has risen very high, and the number of people who support our revolution is increasing with every passing day.

As all of you know, the US imperialists and the south Korean

reactionaries proposed an idea of “two Koreas” simultaneous admission to the UN at its General Assembly session this year for the purpose of keeping Korea divided for ever. But many countries objected to this proposal.

There are now many non-aligned nations in the world, and these countries are supporting our Party’s policy for independent and peaceful reunification. The recent Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations which was held in Algeria and attended by heads of state and delegates from more than 80 countries, adopted a resolution that any form of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea should be ended, that the foreign forces occupying south Korea under the UN flag should be withdrawn and the “UNCURK” dissolved, and that Korea should be admitted to the UN under a single name after her complete reunification or after the establishment of a north-south Federation. Anticipating discussion of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly session after the Summit Conference, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Algeria in the name of the Chairman of the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations sent a cable to the heads of state of the non-aligned nations. In his cable, he reminded the heads of state of these countries of the “Resolution on the Korean Question” adopted at the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations and called on them to continue to make every effort to achieve the peaceful settlement of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly session this year in the spirit of the resolution of the Fourth Summit Conference.

At present, the UN has some 130 member nations. There was no doubt that, if more than 80 non-aligned countries, out of the 130 UN member nations, object to the “resolution” on the Korean question proposed by the US imperialists and their stooges, this “resolution” would be turned down. That is why they were compelled to withdraw their proposal for “two Koreas” simultaneous admission to the UN. This was how this scheme of theirs was frustrated at the UN General Assembly session this year. In addition, the so-called “UNCURK”

which had been manipulated by the US imperialists was dissolved.

This year's UN General Assembly session was unable to settle the question of withdrawing the US imperialist aggressor forces from south Korea which is occupied by them under the UN flag. We did not put this question to the vote at the UN General Assembly session this year. This was because, even if a resolution which expresses our Party's policy on this matter is passed by the UN General Assembly, the question of withdrawing the US imperialist aggressor forces from south Korea will not be settled. The question of withdrawing these forces which are occupying south Korea, wearing "UN forces" uniforms, will be finally decided by the UN Security Council and not by its General Assembly. So, after voting by the UN General Assembly session, the question will be brought to the UN Security Council. If any one of the Security Council member nations exercises the veto in the discussion of this question, no resolution can be adopted. If this question is brought to the UN Security Council, the delegate of our Republic will have no opportunity to speak on this matter. Therefore, we did not put the question to the vote at this year's UN General Assembly session. We shall continue to fight on this question in the UN.

Although their plan for "two Koreas" simultaneous admission to the UN was shattered at this year's UN General Assembly session, the US imperialists and their stooges have not given up their reckless ambition of aggression. The US imperialists are trying to keep our country divided in order to continue to use south Korea as their military base for aggression, and the Japanese militarists are plotting to turn it to their lasting commodity market.

Having seen through these aggressive designs, the south Korean students and other young people are fighting bravely against them. The situation in south Korea is also developing in favour of our people's struggle for national reunification.

In this situation, we have the important task of imbuing all our people with our Party's revolutionary thinking, the Juche idea, and of training the younger generation, the heirs to the cause of our

revolution, to be ardent revolutionaries, true communists. We must also press ahead with socialist economic construction with greater energy and improve the people's standard of living quickly.

As a result of our people's successful struggle in the past, both our defence industry and heavy industry have developed to a considerable degree. If there is any shortcoming in our heavy industry at all, it is that the mining industry is not developing well ahead of other sectors. According to information available from the three-revolution teams, the production of coal and iron ore is not keeping ahead of other sectors, and this is considerably retarding the development of the national economy as a whole. So our Party has recently taken decisive steps to develop the mining industry faster than other industries.

An important task, in addition to that of the mining industry, which our Party has put forward for the immediate period ahead, is to make a great effort to increase the production of consumer goods so as to improve the people's standard of living. Our Party is planning to provide our people with better clothing and better footwear within the next few years so that they will become as happy as any other people.

This year, following the Party's policy the farmers worked hard and raised rich crops. We have produced enough food for next year and to spare.

We can predict that next year the problem of meat will also be solved. Recently, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee explored the possibility of ensuring a daily supply of 55 grammes of meat per head of the population next year. This task will be well within our capability if we organize work well and tackle it successfully. We also intend to develop the food-processing industry.

In this way the Party is making great efforts to raise the people's standard of living. We consider that, if we endeavour to develop light industry in the next two to three years, the people's standard of living will be radically improved.

I am not going to make a long speech to you comrades. The Party Central Committee has not yet studied the work of the educational sector in detail. What I can say conclusively about educational work at

the moment is that the qualifications of the officials educated by our universities in the past are low. It is true that some of them are well qualified, but, in general, university graduates have low qualifications. The Party Central Committee is completely certain of this. The three-revolution teams now going to work in the educational sector must concentrate their efforts on correcting this defect.

I was told that on this occasion the three-revolution teams are going to operate in 15 universities for six months, and I think this is good for the present. It is also desirable that in the future three-revolution teams composed of the students of the university of education should make an inspection of the schools in the general education sector. It is necessary to send three-revolution teams to senior middle schools so as to establish an atmosphere of study and tighten up the organizational life of the teachers and students.

This time the three-revolution teams have to go to the universities first in accordance with the arrangements which have been made. These teams must examine the work of the universities, study the general situation of the educational sector and work out measures to correct its shortcomings, in accordance with the instructions I have given you today, and must report the result to the Party Central Committee.

It is desirable to receive the report of the three-revolution teams operating in the educational sector towards May next year and review the initial stage of their work.

# **ON THE REVIEW OF THIS YEAR'S WORK AND THE DIRECTION OF NEXT YEAR'S WORK**

**Speech at a Meeting of the Political Committee  
of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**

*December 31, 1973*

At today's meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, I should like to review this year's work and talk about the direction of next year's work.

Originally I wanted to speak about these subjects after New Year's Day, but a preliminary meeting for the agricultural conference will have to be held on the third of January, and the national agricultural conference will be held from the fourth of January. So we shall have no time to meet and talk for many hours like this early in the new year.

In my New Year Address, I shall not be able to talk about everything that I want to say. Since the New Year Address is delivered at a banquet, a long speech will not be interesting. Therefore, I am going to talk about the performance of this year's work and about the direction of next year's work in more detail at today's Political Committee meeting.

We have pressed ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions this year and achieved many successes in all fields of politics, the economy, culture and military affairs.

First of all, Party work has made great progress. We can say that this work in general has attained a higher level. I value the great

progress in this year's Party work highly.

Party work amongst the masses has developed in depth this year. The Party's guidance was extended to the subordinate units, and officials mixed with the masses and organized them actively for the revolution and construction. This year in particular, the Party Central Committee sent three-revolution teams to the industrial, agricultural and other sectors so as to press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. At present, the members of the three-revolution teams operating in factories and other enterprises and on cooperative farms have mixed with the masses and are performing their revolutionary duties very well.

We have been able to learn the actual situation of the country clearly with the help of the three-revolution teams we sent.

We have obtained a clear picture of the ideological state of the Party members and other working people and of the work efficiency of cadres in particular. At present, their ideological state is good, and cadres are not inefficient in their work. If we assess them as the People's Army does its training test, we can say that they are "good" or so.

Because we have obtained a clear understanding of the ideological state of the Party members and other working people and of the qualifications of the senior officials, that is, their fighting efficiency, we are in a position to give a stronger impetus to the revolutionary struggle and construction from now onwards. The clear knowledge of our own fighting efficiency this year is so valuable that it cannot be exchanged for gold.

There is no greater danger than not knowing one's own capability. If one is to succeed in any undertaking, one must know one's own capability, whether it is weak or strong, for instance, whether it is worth 50 *jon* or one *won* in value. A weak man must not assume that he is strong, an ignorant man must not pretend to knowledge, a poor man must not feign that he is rich, nor must a stupid man behave like a wise man.

If a man wants to know his strength, he has to test it in practice. During our former anti-Japanese armed struggle, we learned about the

combat power of our units through several battles against the Japanese imperialist forces.

This year we have confirmed our fighting efficiency by sending the three-revolution teams to all sectors of socialist construction so as to press ahead with the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in these sectors. Since sending the three-revolution teams on this mission, we have visited many districts and heard reports from them. In this process, we have been convinced that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working class and the rest of the working people and their technical and cultural standards are high, that the qualifications of the senior officials are fairly high, and that the organizing power and mobilizing efficiency of Party organizations are not weak.

We have also learned clearly about the shortcomings and problems in our work.

Generally speaking, senior officials are fairly efficient in their work. To be more specific, however, officials working at intermediate echelons are rather weak. In other words, the officials of the ministries, general bureaus and management bureaus under the Administration Council are not well qualified as leadership personnel. For this reason, we cannot achieve greater success in socialist construction, which was, otherwise, possible.

A major problem in economic construction is that the mining industry and transport are not developing ahead of other sectors. The Party's policy on giving priority to the development of the mining industry and transport has not been carried out. As a result, many sectors of the national economy are not being supplied with sufficient raw materials and fuel, and the strain on transport has not been eased. There are also many shortcomings in organizing production, in storing and managing raw materials and products and in taking care of state property.

This year we have thus clearly learned the good points and defects in our work through the three-revolution teams sent to increase the momentum of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. We can say that this year we have taken the pulse of our work and formed a

correct judgement of it. We have made many successes by taking various organizing steps on the basis of this correct assessment.

This year we have strengthened the Party's monolithic ideological system and its unity and solidarity still further and established strict revolutionary discipline within the Party. We have also intensified the struggle to revolutionize the cadres and other Party members and, as a result, a great change has taken place in their work and lives. Certainly, the struggle to revolutionize the cadres was a little behindhand, so the effect is not yet very tangible. I think that it will become fully apparent next year.

This year has also witnessed a great change in building the socialist economy. We have discovered the shortcomings in economic work and tried to rectify them. This has resulted in many successes in industry, agriculture and many other sectors of the national economy.

Great progress has also been achieved in the cultural revolution this year. By the devoted efforts of all the people, universal ten-year compulsory education has been undertaken successfully, and a large number of nurseries and kindergartens have been built. In our country more than 3.5 million children are now growing up in nurseries and kindergartens, and over 4.6 million pupils and students are being educated at institutions of learning of different levels. This means that more than eight million children and students, who account for almost half the population of our country, are being brought up or educated at state and public expense.

We have also achieved great success in defence construction this year.

This year our Party has won a great victory in the struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

Our Party has been waging an intensive political struggle against the enemy since the publication of the July 4 North-South Joint Statement and has increased it this year in particular. By a stubborn battle against the enemy we have opened a phase which is favourable to our people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

This year we have compelled the dissolution of the “UNCURK”, an instrument of US imperialists’ aggression against our country and their interference in the affairs of our nation.

We have also laid bare before the whole world the true colours of the south Korean authorities who had been using delaying tactics in the north-south dialogue for the purpose of creating “two Koreas”.

As early as the beginning of the north-south dialogue, we knew that the south Korean authorities were coming to negotiate with us under a mask. So we tried hard to unmask their true colours. Confronted with the adroit tactics and active struggle of our Party, they had to throw off their mask and come to a showdown. Last year they exposed their own plot for “two Koreas” which they had been hatching behind the scene of the north-south dialogue. They even went so far as to declare it to be their “policy”.

Because their sinister plan for “two Koreas” was brought to light, people throughout the world can see clearly that the south Korean authorities are dyed-in-the-wool traitors whereas we are true patriots, that they are trying to keep our country divided for ever and selling out the southern half to the US imperialists and Japanese militarists while we are fighting for the reunification of the country, and that they are seeking the division of the country and the nation in order to feather their own nests and to remain in office for a long time while we are working to promote great national unity and achieve the complete reunification and independence of the country in the interests of all the Korean people.

At present, the south Korean authorities are intensifying fascist repression and terrorism against the people and resorting to more overt acts of national betrayal such as selling south Korean women and other people abroad as *kisaeng* and slaves.

The south Korean people are indignant at their policy of national division and their traitorous acts. Last autumn the south Korean students and young people and all other sections of the people rose again in a courageous fight to save the country in spite of harsh fascist repression. They are still fighting staunchly.

We have also achieved great success in our external work this year.

The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations which was held last September and attended by the heads of state and government and delegates from more than 80 countries condemned the plot of the US imperialists and the south Korean authorities for “two Koreas” and adopted a unanimous “Resolution on the Korean Question”. The resolution is fully in accord with our Party’s policy for independent and peaceful reunification.

This year we have furthered state relations with other countries. We have established diplomatic relations on an ambassadorial level with many countries. As a result, our country has diplomatic relations with 64 countries now.

All this shows that the international position of our Party and our Republic has risen very high and that international solidarity with our revolution has become stronger. Some time ago, a Japanese journal commented that there was a confrontation between the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and south Korea in the international arena this year and that in this confrontation the DPRK triumphed and south Korea could scarcely breathe a sigh of relief. I think the comment is correct.

The whole Party has worked hard throughout this year and won a great victory in the revolution and construction. We can proudly say that this year was a year of victory.

This victory is the result of the devoted struggle you have waged in support of the Party’s line and policy. This year many cadres worked hard, touring from place to place on urgent missions to implement the tasks given by the Party, sometimes being criticized or rebuked. You comrades have had a great deal of trouble this year.

The year 1974 will require greater efforts from us.

We must not in the slightest rest content with this year’s success. We must press ahead with the revolution and construction more energetically next year so as to bring about a new improvement in building socialism.

We must first concentrate great effort on capital construction.

Next year we shall have to undertake capital construction on a large scale in order to reach the major goals of the Six-Year Plan.

We have to extend the dressing plant of the Musan Mine on a large scale and modernize it, construct a large new blast furnace, sintering furnace, coke oven, converter, hot-rolling workshop of the Kim Chaek Iron Works, and accelerate the extension of the April 13 Iron Works and of the Kangson Steel Plant, in order to reach the target for steel set under the Six-Year Plan. We must also construct the Chongchongang Thermal Power Plant, an Orlon factory, polyethylene factory, naphtha factory, paper mill and urea fertilizer factory in the Namhung district as well as a vinalon factory, vinyl chloride factory, caustic soda factory, sodium carbonate factory, rubber factory and other large modern factories in the Nampho district. In addition, we have to speed up the second-stage construction of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant and of the Sodusu Power Station and the construction of the Taedonggang Power Station, now under way, and build a large modern cement factory in Sunchon.

We must also build many other factories such as a brewery, cornstarch factory, tannery, elastic cord factory, knitwear mill, textile mill, dry battery factory, electric wire factory, bearing factory and so on. There is a great deal of factory equipment which we have already imported, and we shall have to import a sizable amount of it now under contract. If we do not accelerate construction next year, we shall have to pay a large sum of money to foreign countries in vain.

We must specify next year as a year of construction and concentrate the efforts of the whole Party and the whole country on capital construction.

The capital construction sector must develop a shock-brigade action by concentrating on the major projects for the successful attainment of the targets of the Six-Year Plan, including the extension of the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the April 13 Iron Works, and the Kangson Steel Plant, the second-stage construction of the Sodusu Power Station and the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant, and the construction of the Chongchongang Thermal Power Plant, the

Taedonggang Power Station, the Youth Chemical Works, the Nampho Chemical Works and the Sunchon Cement Factory.

The other construction projects will have to be postponed for a little. Because of the limited amounts of materials, funds and manpower, it is impossible to undertake the construction of all the necessary facilities at the same time. We must, therefore, save every single nail, every single plank and every single penny of foreign currency so as to concentrate on major construction projects. At present, a large sum of foreign currency is spent by the many people who go abroad on business trips, and they must use their travel allowances most economically.

In my New Year Address tomorrow, I am going to stress the need to give priority to capital construction. We concentrated great efforts on the production of machine tools in 1972, and on the production of tractors and lorries in 1973. In 1974 we have to give priority to capital construction. In order to ensure success in this next year, we have recently examined how the construction of the Youth Chemical Works was progressing and have organized the work of accelerating capital construction.

Another important task we have to carry out next year is to develop the mining industry ahead of other industries so as to ensure a sharp increase in the production of coal and ore.

To this end, we have to develop new coal and ore mines on a large scale, introduce large, modern and high-speed mining machinery, and different means of transport.

The machine-building industry must take determined steps to build many more large ships and concentrate on the production of one-off items. The Ryongsong Machine Factory, the Pukjung Machine Factory, the Ranam Coal-Mining Machine Factory, the Charyongwan Mining Machinery Factory and other major machine plants must ensure timely production of sufficient one-off items which are needed for different sectors of the national economy.

Next year we must increase the production of different kinds of high-quality consumer goods by developing light industry very quickly.

This is an urgent task in demonstrating the advantages of the socialist system in our country and providing against a possible war.

We have to make an effort to improve our light industry radically for about two years from next year. This project does not need a large amount of funds. If they make a little effort, our officials can develop light industry rapidly.

At present, however, our officials do not get down to the task of developing light industry. The equipment for an elastic cord factory was imported many months ago, but the senior officials of Pyongyang have not yet organized this factory. Once it starts working, large amounts of good-quality socks and tights can be produced, but officials are not attending to this matter.

Light industry executives only try to build new factory buildings, instead of thinking of organizing the existing buildings neatly so as to house the machines and produce goods as soon as possible. We must modernize the existing local industry factories by exploring and mobilizing locally available reserves in every way on the one hand, and on the other build many new ones. In this way, we shall improve the people's standard of living quickly and give full scope to the advantages of the socialist system in our country.

Next year we must increase our support for rural communities in every way in order to carry out the rural technical revolution successfully. The machine-building industry must increase the production of tractors and lorries for the rural communities, and the chemical industry must produce large amounts of various kinds of chemical fertilizers and phosphatic fertilizer in particular. If we increase the supplies of tractors, lorries, and chemical fertilizer to the rural communities, we shall be able to ensure a sharp rise in agricultural production next year.

The agricultural sector must make full preparations for next year's farming. A few days ago, I visited rural areas and found that these preparations were not being made well. This task can be carried out if the metallurgical industry supplied a few thousand tons of steel needed for the production of tractor spare parts and trailer farm machines, but

this is not being done. More than once we have emphasized the need to give preference to the supply of materials needed for agriculture, but the officials in the metallurgical industry are not yet implementing these instructions as they should. This industry must supply steel without delay.

We must also supply large amounts of commodities to the rural communities. The farmers' present requirements for good-quality suiting, fabrics for women's clothes and a variety of other goods are great. These needs have to be met.

We are going to celebrate the New Year with the farmers and hold an agricultural conference.

This year the farmers raised rich crops in hearty response to the call of the Party. We promised them that, if they were successful in this year's farming, we would invite them to Pyongyang and show them the Grand Theatre, the Indoor Stadium, and good films and operas. They are now said to be eagerly asking for the showing of the revolutionary opera *The Sea of Blood*. They have produced and are selling large amounts of cereals to the state, so it would be a good idea to invite them to Pyongyang and organize a sightseeing tour.

On this occasion, the Party Central Committee is going to invite farmers to Pyongyang and organize short courses and other educational functions for them. The officials concerned must organize work well so as to ensure success at the agricultural conference.

Next, we must intensify the campaign to revolutionize cadres.

The present situation in our country is as tense as ever. War can break out any minute. Our revolutionary struggle today is an acute class struggle. This is a fight between the working class and the capitalist class, between the socialist system and the capitalist system, and between our people who have lost half the territory of their country and the US imperialists who are trying to make the whole of Korea their colony. In order to emerge victorious in this battle we must strengthen our revolutionary ranks further. The key to strengthening them lies in revolutionizing cadres.

We must strive to revolutionize the cadres who are working in the

intermediate echelons in particular.

At present, workers are faithful to their duties, and there is no problem with the senior officials. The problem is with the officials at the intermediate echelons. Passive elements in these echelons are not enthusiastic about their work, and this is one of the major reasons why the revolutionary tasks given by the Party are not being implemented successfully and why the national economy is not developing more rapidly. We must uncompromisingly combat the bad habit of those officials who are not enthusiastic about their work and do not care whether their work is successful or not. This struggle, of course, does not mean stigmatizing these people politically or dismissing them at random. To all intents and purposes, we must mainly educate them and reform and revolutionize them through an ideological struggle.

If they are to revolutionize the officials at the intermediate echelons, the senior officials at the higher echelon, that is, the Members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, the Secretaries and departmental heads of the Party Central Committee, and the Vice-Premiers and ministers of the Administration Council must revolutionize themselves first. We must revolutionize the cadres at higher echelons first, and then get them to educate and revolutionize their subordinates, and in this way we shall revolutionize all the cadres.

In revolutionizing cadres, the Party organizations must make a point of equipping all of them firmly with the Juche idea of our Party and of uniting them solidly around the leader of the Party.

As you all know, a revolution does not emerge victorious spontaneously. It can only advance and triumph through struggle. It is the Party that leads the revolutionary struggle to victory. We organized the Party in order to undertake the revolution. Under our Party's correct leadership, our revolution has been advancing victoriously up until now.

The cadres who are present here are our long-standing revolutionary comrades. For instance, even those comrades who joined in the struggle immediately after liberation have been working with us

for the revolution for nearly 30 years. Thirty years is not a short period by any means. For a long time, we have trusted each other, loved each other and united with each other in our struggle. For this very reason we have been able to emerge victorious in the revolutionary struggle.

We must continue to strengthen this unity. Today we are faced with three revolutionary tasks. The first is to reunify our divided country, the second is to win the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea, and the third is to unite with the international revolutionary forces and achieve the victory of the world revolution. Precisely for the common purpose of carrying out these revolutionary tasks successfully, all the cadres must unite in thought and will.

There must not be the smallest gap in the Central Committee of our Party.

We must ensure true comradesly unity amongst the cadres, communist unity based on the Juche idea, and preserve it thoroughly, and see that all the cadres trust the Party single-heartedly and are loyal to the Party to the end.

If they are to revolutionize themselves thoroughly, the cadres must refrain from flocking together and acting contrary to unity.

Cadres must not be greedy for material wealth. This is particularly important in revolutionizing themselves. They must on no account covet material things or money. If they become corrupt and used to taking bribes or gifts to satisfy their material greed, they will not deserve the people's trust and respect.

Cadres must not, on any account, accept gifts from people. They must also educate their families well not to receive presents from other people. If they find anything at home which is unfamiliar to them, they must get to know how it happens to be there. They must thus guard against any attempt of their subordinates to flatter them by means of presents.

Cadres must try hard to use state property most economically in addition to guarding against greed for material wealth.

At present, there are many instances of cadres not using it economically. The state has imported deluxe cars for cadres at the cost

of precious foreign currency. But some cadres are damaging them by using them carelessly. They ride in cars in order to throw their weight about. They must not do so. The state has provided them with cars in order to help them to work more efficiently by visiting people on business and saving time. They must, therefore, make effective use of them in their work, instead of driving them about carelessly.

Cadres must pay particular attention to the revolutionization of their families. They must educate their sons and daughters well, their younger brothers and their wives in particular and revolutionize them thoroughly. If cadres cannot revolutionize their wives completely, they must at least prevent themselves from being influenced by the bad ideas of their wives. They must be immune to this influence and devote everything to the cause of revolution.

It is important in revolutionizing cadres that Party organizations should work with them well so that they will not vacillate in their class attitude.

Preventing the vacillation of their class attitude means ensuring that cadres of whatever class origin have a firm determination to serve the working class and remain loyal to the revolution to the end.

A great many of our cadres, in spite of involved family backgrounds, are consistent in their loyal service to the working class. Yesterday I talked to the chief of the technical section of the General Bureau of Electricity of the Ministry of Electricity and Coal Industries about the matter of developing hydropower resources in our country. This electrician was once hardened through labour, and his family background is rather involved. He has been working in the same post for almost twenty years. Without being in the slightest discontented with his rank, however, he has kept his post, working faithfully for the working class. This is why he was elected as a member of the Party Central Committee. Yesterday we gave him the task of making a slightly more ambitious plan for the development of hydropower resources in our country. The Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee should help him to carry out this task successfully.

Today I have taken his case as an example because there are still

some officials who worry about their personal records. The Party trusts them, and that is all there is to it. Why, then, should they worry about their personal records?

As we always say, a personal file is not something with which to trace back one's family line. The Party refers to personal files in order to see what ideological influence cadres have received and what ideological elements they have in their minds, and to apply quick and effective remedies to get rid of bad ideological elements.

Some officials, however, do not have a clear understanding of this and worry needlessly over their personal records. This is partly due to inefficient personnel administration by Party workers. At present, some Party officials handle personnel affairs mainly by referring to personal files.

There were instances of people who, coming from the landlord class, fought with us for the revolution in the past. If we had taken issue with their family backgrounds, they could not have fought for the revolution in our ranks nor could they now work under the socialist system. What does the personal file of a man who has fought for the Party and the revolution, for the working class, for 20 or 30 years, matter?

Party officials must work prudently with people and rally the masses closely behind the Party. They must do so particularly with cadres, in case officials with involved family backgrounds become diffident or become faint-hearted in their work. Only then will they be revolutionized. Party organizations must help cadres with involved family backgrounds compassionately so that they can work successfully with courage and confidence.

In addition, these cadres themselves must make strenuous efforts to become revolutionaries who are faithful to the working class. Anyone who dedicates all his life to the revolutionary struggle can become a revolutionary. Comrades Jong Jun Thae and Kang Yong Chang, though not of working-class origin, are both revolutionaries.

Party organizations must not study cadres' family backgrounds narrow-mindedly, and the cadres for their part must not be limited by

their family backgrounds. Even those cadres who came from checkered families must trust the Party only and keep the working-class standpoint without the slightest hesitation.

The next important thing in revolutionizing cadres is that all cadres must acquire the habit of living by depending totally on their Party organizations and of telling all their problems to the Party frankly. A Party member, whoever he is, must, of his own accord, bring all his problems, even his personal problems, to the Party organization and speak frankly about them. When it is difficult for him to speak directly to the man in charge of the Party organization, he can tell another cadre who can report his case accurately to the head of the Party organization.

No man in the world can be perfect. Each case depends on the nature of the mistake committed and on how it is corrected. Even though a man has committed a mistake, there will be no problem if he realizes it before it is too late and corrects it immediately.

Party members must confess their mistakes to the Party frankly. They will then feel relieved and can correct them quickly with the help of their Party organizations.

A man who keeps his mistake to himself is a dangerous man, and the case is bound to pose a problem sooner or later. In the past, a certain person confessed to the Party to the extent that he had written a letter of conversion when he was a prisoner, but he kept to himself the fact that he had informed against his revolutionary comrades. Of course, it was wrong that he had written the letter of conversion, but it was a grave act of betrayal that he had informed against his revolutionary comrades. Nevertheless, we gave him an appointment in our belief that he would frankly confess his mistake to the Party. The Party trusted him, but he did not open his heart to the Party to the end about his having informed against the revolutionary comrades.

I think that there are two reasons why some officials still do not open their hearts to the Party. One is that they have a sort of doubt, and the other is that they are afraid that something terrible might happen if they should only now speak of what they did not say at first. In any

case, it is wrong to hide one's mistake without opening one's mind to the Party. It is good to tell the Party frankly about one's mistake even though it might seem too late.

If they are to revolutionize themselves thoroughly, cadres must first participate in the organizational life of the Party more enthusiastically, and secondly acquire the habit of studying hard. The enemies by whom we are now confronted are very cunning. We have to fight not only against the south Korean puppets but also against the crafty US imperialists and Japanese militarists who are backing up their stooges. In order to fight and defeat these enemies, the cadres, the personnel who lead the revolution, must first strengthen their revolutionary training and equip themselves with a firm revolutionary outlook on the world. To this end, they must intensify their organizational life in the Party and establish a thoroughly revolutionary habit of studying.

We must pay particular attention to the revolutionary training of the provincial Party officials and the executives of the economic establishments. At present, the staffs of provincial Party committees and economic establishments have a considerable number of officials and executives who lack hardening in their Party spirit. The Party Central Committee must, therefore, work more efficiently with them and harden them further in a revolutionary manner.

Next year, we must effect a great upswing in building the socialist economy by pressing ahead with capital construction to reach the major goals of the Six-Year Plan on the one hand, and on the other bring about a change in Party work so as to accelerate the revolutionization of cadres. In this way, next year will be made a year of construction in the field of building the socialist economy, and a year of cadres' revolutionization in the sphere of Party work.

Further, we must continue to intensify the struggle to establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party.

Party organizations must improve the education of Party members and other working people and imbue them with our Party's monolithic ideology, the Juche idea, so that all of them have a firm attitude and

viewpoint that they know nothing but our Party's ideology and the leader.

In establishing the monolithic ideological system of the Party, it is particularly important to ensure that there will be no illusion about individuals. The experience of history shows that such an illusion is very harmful to the Party and the revolution. Within the Party no one can be a sacred cow. This applies to the sons and daughters of the revolutionary martyrs as well. Of course, we ought to value and love them. But they cannot be sacred beings because they are sons and daughters of the revolutionary martyrs. They must not throw their weight about by relying on their fathers' records of revolutionary struggle; they have to build up their prestige in the eyes of the masses by carrying out their revolutionary tasks faithfully.

In the future, the Organizational Leadership Department and the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee must examine the "Ten Major Principles of Establishing the Party's Monolithic Ideological System" which has been circulated to the lower units, and make necessary amendments and supplements to it before it is reissued. The Party organizations at all levels must continue to develop the work of establishing this system in depth on the basis of the principles.

Superficiality is not allowed in establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system.

Some time ago I paid a visit to South Hamgyong Province and found that Party organizations in this province have not established the Party's monolithic ideological system to the letter. There is still a great deal of parochialism there, and many remnants of bourgeois ideas remain in the minds of the people. Parochialism and bourgeois ideas are totally alien to the monolithic ideology of our Party.

Erecting a bronze statue and having portraits hung in people's homes do not always prove that they have established this ideological system. Of course, it is necessary to erect bronze statues and hang portraits for the establishment of the Party's monolithic ideological system. But these are not enough for the purpose. In addition, they

must give the Party members and other working people a clear understanding of the Party's line and policies so that they can digest them to become their flesh and bones.

Next, I shall talk briefly about the question of the dialogue between the north and the south.

At present, the south Korean authorities are plotting to crush the anti-fascist, anti-“government” struggle of the south Korean people by taking advantage of the north-south dialogue. They pretend to be enthusiastic about the dialogue so as to deceive the people and delay progress in the talks.

Therefore, we are studying how to push ahead with the dialogue. We intend to discuss this matter again at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee at some time in the future.

In order to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, it is necessary for us to conclude a peace agreement with the United States as soon as possible. This is one of the major objectives in our fight for national reunification. We must also see that the armed forces in the north and the south are reduced and that the “Anti-Communist Law” in south Korea is abolished so as to democratize the south Korean society. In this way, people of different political parties and social organizations in the north and the south will be given the freedom of visits and political activities. This will open a phase which is more favourable to our people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

However, the south Korean reactionaries are doggedly opposed to our Party's policy for peaceful reunification, saying that, if they accept this idea, the south Korean people will rise in revolutionary struggle. They are making desperate efforts to preserve their “Yushin system” of fascism. This is why we must continue to battle stubbornly against the south Korean authorities in order to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

