

**KIM IL SUNG**

**WORKS**

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

# KIM IL SUNG

## WORKS

**27**

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## **NEW YEAR ADDRESS**

*January 1, 1972*

Comrades,

We have rung out 1971, the year which shone with victory and glory, and are now ringing in 1972, the New Year full of hope.

Welcoming the New Year, I extend, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, warm congratulations and greetings to you comrades present here and to all the Korean people.

1971 was the first year for fulfilling the grand programme put forth by the Fifth Congress of our Party. Last year we worked to carry out the decision of the Fifth Congress of the Party with the main emphasis on the task of building socialism successfully in the northern half of Korea, giving active support to the south Korean people in their revolutionary struggle and strengthening our international solidarity with the revolutionary peoples all over the world. Under the wise leadership of the Party our people achieved brilliant successes in all fields of the revolution and construction last year by displaying mass heroism and patriotic devotion.

Our people achieved particularly good results last year in carrying out the three major tasks of technical revolution, the central task of socialist construction advanced by the Fifth Congress of the Party.

Our Party saw the main factor in the fulfilment of the three major tasks of technical revolution as the production of machine tools and concentrated on this in the first year battle of the Six-Year Plan. The

heroic workers of the Chollima Huichon Machine-Tool Factory, infinitely faithful to the Party, boldly undertook to refashion their equipment and automate production processes and thus performed the incredible feat of surpassing the annual production level of 10,000 machine tools, which amazed the people of the world. Following the torchlight of technical innovation raised by the workers at Huichon, the Kusong Machine-Tool Factory, the Mangyongdae Machine-Tool Factory and all the other machine-building factories brought about a great change in the production of machine tools.

Our heroic working class is now out for the final assault in their fight to produce 30,000 machine tools before May Day this year. If we produce 30,000 machine tools in a year, we shall be able to expand important machine-building factories, further improve technical equipment in all fields of the national economy and strengthen the repair bases in various branches.

Last year a great change was also brought about in the production of tractors and motor vehicles. The material and technical foundations of the tractor and vehicle factories were further strengthened and their output increased markedly.

With the great increase in the production of machine tools, tractors and vehicles, a big advance was made in introducing mechanization in the coal mining and other fields of the extractive industries and great progress was also made in the rural technical revolution. In addition, the technical equipment of the transport services was improved, transport capacity markedly increased and the material and technical foundations of the fishing industry further consolidated.

In 1971 we made a breakthrough in the fulfilment of the three major tasks of the technical revolution. Through their endeavours of the past year our people built solid foundations for carrying out the three major tasks of technical revolution set forth at the Fifth Congress of the Party creditably, and gained firm confidence that victory can definitely be won in the glorious battle for the fulfilment of those tasks.

With the development of the machine-building industry and other key branches of heavy industry, light industry made rapid progress.

The new light industry factories were adequately developed, and production was put on a regular basis at the existing light industry factories. This provided the basis for producing and supplying larger quantities of various kinds of high-quality consumer goods to our people.

In 1971 an unprecedentedly rich harvest was reaped in agriculture by finishing rice-transplanting before May 25 with the active support of workers, office employees, students and soldiers and by doing all farm work effectively at the right time. We also reinforced the foundations of livestock breeding to supply more subsidiary foodstuffs to the people.

Last year a great success was also scored in the field of the defence industry. The existing basis of the defence industry was further strengthened and the production plan was overfulfilled at all munitions factories. As a result, we have been able to augment our defence power which is of a self-defensive nature.

These successes made by our people in the economic construction of socialism and defence building in the past year are a great contribution to further consolidating the revolutionary base of the northern half of Korea and promoting the revolution in south Korea and the independent reunification of the country.

The Central Committee of the Party is highly satisfied with the magnificent successes achieved by our Party members and working people in their first year battle for carrying out the grand programme of socialist construction set forth at the Fifth Congress of the Party.

Looking back with pride upon 1971, a year full of creation and innovation, I convey my warm thanks to our heroic workers, cooperative farmers and all other working people who, by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, have made great achievements on all fronts of socialist construction.

Last year our valiant officers and men of the People's Army and the People's Security Forces frustrated the incessant military provocations of the enemy at every step and firmly defended the security of the country and the people. Our public security personnel, exercising a

high revolutionary vigilance, ably protected the gains of revolution from the enemy's subversive activities and sabotage, and the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and the Young Red Guards took part in military and political training and further increased their combat readiness and fighting power.

Greeting the New Year, I extend wholehearted thanks and congratulations to the officers and men of our People's Army and People's Security Forces, to the public security personnel, Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards, who are stoutly defending the security of the country and the gains of revolution.

In 1971 the south Korean people fought bravely against the fascist policy of the US imperialists and their stooges and for the peaceful reunification of the country. Broad sections of the south Korean people, including workers and peasants, fought stubbornly against the vicious schemes of the Park Chung Hee puppet clique to remain in office for a long time, and further extended their fight for the right to existence and democratic freedom. The young people and students, without yielding to the harsh repression and terrorism of the enemy, waged a mass struggle against compulsory military training and fascist suppression of the universities. Last year, in particular, the broad democratic forces of south Korea formed the "National Council for Defending Democracy", a united front organization, and fought vigorously against fascism for democracy.

The south Korean people struck a heavy blow against US imperialism and its stooges through their brave struggle and won a great victory. In south Korea where the words peaceful reunification were taboo in the past, people are now free to pronounce them, and the south Korean authorities which had been so doggedly opposed to national reunification and contact between the north and the south, found it unavoidable, though belatedly, to agree to hold preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations of north and south Korea. This is a great victory won by the south Korean people in their fight for democratic freedom and the peaceful reunification of the country.

I warmly congratulate the south Korean people upon their victory in

the battle for democratic freedom and the peaceful reunification of the country and extend my New Year greetings to all the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and young people and students of south Korea.

Last year Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) and the Korean nationals in Japan rallied closely around it, fought stoutly for their democratic national rights and for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. In particular, the Chongryon organizations achieved a great success last year in their fight to defend the right to conduct national education and develop it. Furthermore, the Koreans in Japan, united with the Japanese people, vigorously fought against the Japanese militarist scheme to resume aggression in south Korea and against the hostile policy of the Japanese reactionaries towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Greeting the New Year 1972, 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.

In 1971 a great change took place in the international situation. The revolutionary struggle of the people of the world for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism was further intensified and the imperialists, headed by the US imperialists, were hard hit in all parts of the world and found themselves even deeper in the mire.

First of all, the revolutionary peoples of Asia won a brilliant victory in the struggle against US imperialism and Japanese militarism. Our people and the peoples of China, Indochina, Japan and other countries of Asia united firmly and waged a vigorous anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, thereby making the "Nixon doctrine" fail in Asia and striking a heavy blow at the revival of Japanese militarism and its plans for overseas aggression.

The Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples, holding aloft the anti-US banner for national salvation, fought heroically against US imperialism and its minions last year. Through their valiant struggle the Indo-Chinese peoples dealt a telling blow to the US imperialist

aggressors and made a great contribution to the common cause of the progressive people throughout the world for peace, national independence and socialism.

It was a major event in the political life of the world last year that the international position of the People's Republic of China, our fraternal neighbour, improved. The People's Republic of China regained its legitimate rights in the United Nations with the active support of many countries of the world and the Jiang Jieshi clique was expelled from all the UN organizations last year. This is not only a triumph for the Chinese people but also a common victory for the progressive people of the world.

Last year the Japanese people achieved great success in their struggle against the revival of Japanese militarism and its schemes of overseas aggression. In particular, the Japanese people and broad democratic forces of Japan stubbornly fought the hostile policy of the Japanese reactionaries against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and thus contributed greatly to developing friendly relations between the peoples of Korea and Japan last year.

I warmly congratulate the Chinese, Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, Japanese and other Asian peoples on their glorious victories in the fight to shatter the aggressive acts of the US imperialists and Japanese militarists in Asia and against the adventurous "Nixon doctrine", and express militant solidarity with them.

Last year the heroic Cuban people daringly beat back the incessant acts of aggression and provocations of the US imperialists and achieved great success in the socialist revolution and building of socialism. The Chilean people who set out on building a new society fought vigorously to consolidate national independence and achieve social progress. And the peoples of Uruguay, Bolivia, Argentina and many other Latin-American countries waged a forceful battle against US imperialism and pro-US dictatorships. On the occasion of the New Year, I should like to convey my warm congratulations and greetings to the heroic people of Cuba, the Chilean people and all the progressive peoples of Latin America.

The Arab peoples fought dynamically last year against US imperialism and its lackey, the Israeli aggressor, for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories. I warmly congratulate the Palestinian and other Arab peoples on their victories in the struggle against the US imperialists and Israeli invaders, and wish the Arab peoples still greater success in their just fight this year.

Last year the patriots of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) fought bravely and struck a heavy blow at the imperialists and colonialists. The peoples of many African countries made great progress in their struggle to build a new society. I should like to warmly congratulate and express militant solidarity for the African peoples who won brilliant victories in their fight for national independence and social progress.

Thanks to our Party's correct foreign policy, the international solidarity of our revolution was further strengthened last year. Our revolution gained more supporters and sympathizers in many Asian, African and Latin-American countries, and an increasing number of revolutionary people of the world are extending active support and encouragement to our cause of national reunification.

Entering the New Year, I, on behalf of all the Korean people, extend warm congratulations and greetings to the progressive peoples of all countries including the socialist countries and young independent states that are supporting and encouraging our revolutionary cause.

Comrades,

This year we have to consolidate the victories and achievements we have already gained and, at the same time, we must continue to accelerate socialist construction vigorously in the northern half of our country, render active support and encouragement to the revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people and work harder to strengthen our militant solidarity with the progressive people of the world, particularly the revolutionary peoples of Asia. By doing this, we should win a new, shining victory in socialist construction and expedite the peaceful reunification of the country—the greatest desire of the whole nation.

This year all our Party members and working people must wage a vigorous struggle, first of all, to carry out the three major tasks of technical revolution set forth at the Fifth Congress of the Party successfully and consolidate the material and technical foundations of socialism.

The most important thing in the successful fulfilment of the three major tasks of technical revolution is to increase the production of machine tools rapidly. This year we should continue to concentrate all our efforts on their production, just as we did last year.

The workers in the machine-building industry should make another innovation in the production of machine tools, following the example of the Red machine-builders in Huichon, Kusong and Mangyongdae. In particular, all the machine-tool factories, upholding the decision of the Third Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Party Central Committee, should launch a strong campaign to expand the variety of machine tools and improve their quality. In this way, they should supply various types of good-quality machine tools in larger quantities to all branches of the national economy including the mining and engineering industries.

To increase the production of tractors and motor vehicles rapidly is one of the most important tasks facing the engineering industry. Only when we manufacture large numbers of tractors and motor vehicles and send them to the rural areas, can we free the farmers from difficult and exhausting work, boost agricultural production quickly, and save agricultural manpower and transfer the surplus workers to industry. In the engineering industry, tractor and motor vehicle factories should further expand their production capacity and enlist all reserves and possibilities to normalize production, and thus produce more tractors and vehicles. By doing this we should bring the number of tractors per 100 hectares of cultivated land to 3-4 and that of lorries to 0.5-1 within the next 2 or 3 years.

In order to introduce semi-automation and automation widely in different areas of the national economy according to the Party's line, the electronic and automation industries should be rapidly developed.

We should further expand and strengthen large-scale electronic and automation industry bases and, at the same time, build small and medium-sized automation gauge and instrument factories in many places through a mass movement.

One of the most vital problems in the successful carrying out of the three major tasks of the technical revolution is to produce and supply an adequate amount of steel and various other metals. The mining and metallurgical industries should overfulfil their production quotas on all indices without fail, so that they fully meet the requirements of different sectors of the national economy for copper, tungsten, nickel and various other nonferrous metal supplies as well as for steel. In particular, they must unfailingly produce and supply steel needed for manufacturing machine tools, tractors and motor vehicles.

In the field of agriculture we should draw on last year's experiences in gathering a splendid harvest and take another big leap in agricultural production this year.

The key to the rapid growth of agricultural production is the vigorous promotion of the technical revolution in the rural areas. We should continue an energetic battle to raise the level of mechanization and continue the wider use of chemicals in agricultural production and widely introduce the sprinkler irrigation system. While making good use of this system where it is already established, we should further expand the area under irrigation and thus carry out double-cropping on a large scale. In addition, positive efforts should be made to improve seeds and produce good varieties suitable to the climate and soil of our country and introduce various advanced methods of farming over a wide area.

This year we should further strengthen the campaign for economy in all sectors of the national economy. All the people must resolutely fight against wasteful practices and value and take good care of state and social property. At all production units raw and other materials should be economized to the maximum and the standard of material consumption per unit of products lowered radically so that more is produced with a lower outlay of labour and raw and other materials.

To develop science and technology rapidly is an urgent task for the successful fulfilment of the programme of socialist economic construction put forward by the Party.

All the scientists and technicians must raise the science and technology of our country to a new, higher stage on the basis of firmly arming themselves with the Party's revolutionary idea of Juche and make positive efforts particularly for the early solution of the scientific and technical problems arising in the carrying out of the three major tasks of the technical revolution. In addition, a vigorous drive for technical innovations must be launched among the broad masses of producers and technological studies must be widely organized to raise the technical and skill levels of the working people as a whole.

An important task facing the educational field is to improve and strengthen educational work on the basis of the principles of socialist education set forth by our Party and make good preparations for introducing universal compulsory 10-year education in the near future. The educational workers must make perfect preparations on the basis of successes and experiences already gained for compulsory 10-year education to be made universal within a few years.

Literary and artistic workers are faced with an honourable task to continue to implement the Party's policy on literature and art thoroughly and make our literature and art into genuinely revolutionary models of our times.

Last year the Red literary and artistic workers of the Party produced many fine revolutionary works of literature and art with rich ideological content and high artistic quality, so that they made a great contribution to the work of raising the revolutionary consciousness of the masses of the people and revolutionizing and working-classing them. This year the writers and artists must produce more fine revolutionary works of literature and art to implant in the working people an infinite hatred for imperialism and the landlord and capitalist classes, and ardent love of the socialist system and a firm belief in the communist future, and inspire them forcefully to the revolutionary struggle and construction.

We must accelerate the work of revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society through an intensified ideological revolution.

This year we must also strengthen the all-Party, all-army, all-people and all-nation system of study for all Party members and working people to arm themselves closely with Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary ideas of our Party and hold fast to their revolutionary posts. At the same time, a strong campaign must be carried out amongst Party members and the working people to strengthen their organizational life, so that they all faithfully participate in their organizational life within the Party and working people's organizations. In this manner, all Party members and working people should temper themselves in a revolutionary way and become revolutionaries who are true to the organization and abide by revolutionary discipline willingly. Cadres, in particular, must improve their Party spirit, working-class spirit and serve-the-people spirit, so that they advocate and carry out the Party's lines and policies thoroughly and make themselves a model for the masses in all work.

The Fifth Congress of our Party set forth a number of important tasks to obliterate the differences in the working people's living standards and bring about a systematic improvement in the living conditions of all the working people. We should fulfil these honourable tasks set forth by the Party successfully by working hard in all fields this year and thus show more clearly the superiority of the socialist system in our country and the might of our socialist industrial state.

The counties should be developed well as supply centres for the farm villages, and the introduction of bus services and water supplies must be further promoted in the country areas, so that inconveniences in the daily lives of the rural population are removed quickly. Large numbers of dwelling houses should be built in town and country to satisfy the housing needs of the working people, and the health of the working people be furthered through the improvement of public health work. In particular, we should bring about a change in the production of consumer goods by putting emphasis on the textile, footwear, food,

daily necessities and other light industry branches and on the chemical industry this year, thereby raising the general living standards of the working people considerably.

To carry on economic construction and defence building simultaneously is the revolutionary line which our Party should continue to follow undeviatingly at the present time. We should promote the economic construction of socialism and, at the same time, concentrate great effort on the work of reinforcing the nation's defence capability this year as well.

We must continue to carry out the Party's military line for making the People's Army a cadre army and modernizing it, putting all the people under arms and turning the whole country into a fortress, and make complete preparations in all sectors so that we can deal with any surprise attack of the enemy.

The officers and men of the People's Army and the People's Security forces should undergo effective military and political training and thus increase the combat readiness and fighting capacity of their units in every way.

In the defence industry more and better new military equipment should be produced on the basis of the successes already achieved.

By carrying out all these tasks successfully this year, we should reinforce the revolutionary base of the northern half of Korea in political, economic, cultural and military terms, so that a sure guarantee is provided for protecting the revolutionary gains against the invasion of foreign aggressors and hastening the peaceful reunification of the country.

Comrades,

Today the aspirations of all the people in north and south Korea for peaceful reunification are growing more than ever. At Panmunjom representatives of the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations are now meeting for the first time in the 26 years since liberation to discuss the important question of alleviating the distress of our fellow countrymen living separated from each other in the north and the south. All the people in north and south Korea are very glad that such

contact between the north and the south has been made, although belatedly, and are unanimous in expressing the hope that the talks will pave the way for pulling down the barriers between the north and the south and bringing about the peaceful reunification of the country.

At this precise juncture the reactionaries and rulers in south Korea have proclaimed a so-called “state of emergency” pleading the nonexistent “threat of aggression from the north” as their excuse and have started using fascist tyranny against the south Korean people. They are now fabricating all kinds of infamous fascist laws every day, suppressing all the elementary democratic liberties such as those of speech, the press, assembly and association and keeping south Korean society constantly in a state of unrest and fear. A few days ago they announced a monstrous fascist law entitled “special law on measures for national security” in face of strong objections from the opposition parties and the public. Such fascist acts of the south Korean reactionaries against the unanimous aspirations of the whole nation and the trend of the times are aimed primarily at suppressing the ever-growing trend towards peaceful reunification amongst the south Korean people and frustrating contacts and negotiations between the north and the south.

Basically, the present puppet rulers in south Korea are military gangsters who usurped “power” by force of arms with the backing of the US imperialists to hold back the trend towards peaceful reunification which was growing rapidly among the south Korean people following the April 19 Popular Uprising of 1960. After they assumed power as puppets, they put up such ostentatious slogans as “independence”, “rehabilitation” and “modernization” in their attempt to deceive the south Korean people, but their true colours were exposed long ago in the eyes of the public. Over the past ten years south Korea has not travelled the way to “independence” but complete dependence, not the way to “rehabilitation” and “modernization” but to total bankruptcy and ruin.

The south Korean puppet clique have lapsed into a serious political and economic crisis which cannot be reversed and this plunges them

into ever-increasing unrest and despair. Although they are trying to find a way out of the blind alley by means of proclaiming the so-called “state of emergency” and starting a new fascist tyranny, this is only the death-bed struggle of a doomed man.

The south Korean puppet clique are crying out about the nonexistent “threat of aggression from the north” while declaring a “state of emergency”, and this is an extremely base action to deceive the south Korean people and the people of the world, so that they can beg their masters for a few more weapons and a few more dollars. History will never leave unchecked this cowardly behaviour of traitors to the nation, and their despicable tricks will deceive nobody.

Recently the south Korean puppet clique have developed the habit of claiming that since we have completed war preparations, we will start an invasion soon. It is true that we are building up our defence power. But we do not intend to solve the question of national reunification by force of arms. It is to defend the country and nation and protect our socialist gains from the aggression of the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists.

Our armed forces are entirely for self-defence. The power of the proletarian dictatorship will resist by using force only when the imperialists, reactionary classes and counter-revolutionary elements use forces against the revolution. This is the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism and a guide to action for the Government of our Republic. Therefore, it is nothing but absurd, false propaganda that the south Korean puppet clique are spreading about the “threat of aggression from the north”.

As facts show, no one is fooled now by the lying propaganda of the south Korean puppet clique. Rather, their fraudulent propaganda and fascist suppression are rousing great indignation and protest amongst the south Korean people and people of the world. Even some of the reactionary ruling circles and reptile press in the United States and Japan say that the proclamation of the “state of emergency” in south Korea has not been caused by the threat of southward intrusion but is a political trick invented because of the internal situation and is an

attempt to tide over the social crisis. A Western newspaper reported that the declaration of the “state of emergency” by the south Korean rulers is not due to the “threat of aggression from the north” but to many problems which need to be solved internally, and that it aims to smother the ever-growing discontent of the south Korean people caused by the acute economic crisis and suppress the demonstrations of the young people and students, the protests of the intellectuals and the resistance of the opposition parties.

The south Korean puppet clique should no longer entertain the foolish hope that the US imperialists and Japanese militarists will deliver them from ruin. Times and circumstances have changed. The days are gone when the US imperialists decided the internal affairs of other countries at their own whim; they have long been on the decline and they cannot escape their fate. The US imperialists are now in a serious political and economic crisis at home and stand in total international isolation. The Sato clique of Japan is also staggering because of the discord within the ruling circles and the strong anti-government struggle of broad sectors of the people. In the last analysis, there is little difference between the position of the south Korean puppet clique and that of its masters. Just as they were unable to save the Jiang Jieshi gang of Taiwan and the Thieu band of South Viet Nam from ruin, the US imperialists and the Sato clique of Japan will not be able to save the south Korean puppet clique.

Even now when the situation is taking this direction, the south Korean puppet clique keep clinging to the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists in their efforts to maintain their puppet rule. They are begging US imperialism not to “reduce” its aggressive armed forces in south Korea; the latter, finding itself in a difficult situation, is paying lip service to the policy of “cutback”. The Japanese militarist aggressive forces have been called into south Korea again, this time by the puppet clique there. Such traitorous acts of the south Korean puppet clique against the nation only help to hasten their own defeat.

Furthermore, the south Korean puppet clique are dreaming of “reunification by prevailing over communism” with the backing of

the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists. This is really ridiculous.

History has already furnished ample proof that nothing can destroy communism. The communist movement has over 100 years of history, counting only from the Paris Commune. All the imperialists and their lackeys have opposed communism, but so far none of them have succeeded in destroying it.

The successive puppet rulers of south Korea, too, without exception, have made every desperate attempt to oppose communism under the slogan of “anti-communism”. But communism, far from being destroyed in our country, has rather gained in scope and strength with each passing day. In the northern half of Korea communist ideology became an absolutely dominant ideology long ago, and has turned into a great material force in all political, economic, cultural and military fields. Communist ideology has even struck deep roots in the hearts of many south Korean revolutionaries and people. This being the situation now, it is quite clear that the south Korean puppet clique’s dream of “reunification by prevailing over communism” is under no circumstances likely to come about.

The south Korean puppet clique must face the stern reality of today. If they do not renounce the outdated way of thinking that they are following now but persist in the dirty act of betraying the country and the nation, going against the tide of history, they will not be able to find a way out. If the south Korean rulers want to find some way out, they should not resort to sordid trickery as they are doing now but should honestly admit their crimes even now, stop their acts of selling out the country and the nation to the US imperialists and Japanese militarists, discontinue their fascist suppression of the south Korean people at once and respond to the earnest call of the Government of our Republic to bring about peaceful reunification through negotiations between the Koreans themselves.

The Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has time and time again advanced the most fair and reasonable proposals for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. Last year

alone, the Government of the Republic put forward 8-point proposals for peaceful reunification at the Fifth Session of the Fourth Supreme People's Assembly; in particular, in our speech on August 6, we once again clarified our readiness to make contact at any time with all political parties, including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individual personalities in south Korea. All our proposals and suggestions for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country have received enthusiastic support and response from the broad sectors of the people and personalities from various levels in south Korea, to say nothing of the people in the northern half of Korea. The south Korean rulers, too, must have the courage to respond to our fair and just proposals, keeping abreast of this nationwide trend. This will be the only correct act befitting them as Koreans. And only when they do this, I suppose, will the south Korean puppet rulers be able to redeem themselves even in some measure for the crimes they have committed against the country and the people, although they will have left it a little too late, and find a way of saving themselves.

If, even now, the south Korean rulers renounce their reliance on outside forces and abandon the road of treachery to the nation and return to a truly Korean position, we will not ask about their past but will settle the question of national reunification with them peacefully.

In future, too, our Party and the Government of the Republic will continue to advocate the independent, peaceful reunification of the country and make every effort for its implementation. But if the south Korean puppet clique do not respond to us in spite of our patient efforts, but keep following the road of betraying the nation, they will ruin themselves without ever redeeming their crimes as traitors.

US imperialism is on the decline today, but its aggressive nature remains unchanged and it continues its death-bed struggle. The claims of "peace" put forward by the US imperialists are nothing but a screen to mislead people. Nixon is a more vicious and crafty rascal than anyone. The US imperialists do not give up their wild ambition to perpetuate our country's partition and make south Korea their permanent colony. They are inciting the south Korean puppet clique to

continue with aggressive provocation against the northern half of Korea. And the Japanese militarists, revived by US imperialism, are openly proclaiming their unrestrained intention of invading our country again. The Japanese militarists, the “shock force” of US imperialism, are fully prepared to take part in an aggressive war against our country and are watching for a chance of aggression all the time.

Under these circumstances, all the people in north and south Korea should sharpen their vigilance against the aggressive actions of the US imperialists and Japanese militarists. Our people cannot allow the US imperialists and Japanese militarists to rob them of their country and enslave them and repeat the disgraceful history of 1910 when their country was lost. All the Korean people, irrespective of different political views and religious beliefs, should unite firmly under the banner of the country’s defence and independent reunification, and fight forcefully to frustrate the aggressive schemes of the US imperialists and Japanese militarists.

Even those who committed crimes against the country and the nation in the past should turn out valiantly in a nationwide campaign against the aggression of the US imperialists and Japanese militarists and for the independent reunification of the country, thereby expiating their crimes. If they want to atone for their crimes against the nation, the south Korean rulers should also join in their struggle. They should fight to drive out the US imperialists, instead of imploring them not to pull out of south Korea, and should not try to bring the Japanese militarists into south Korea but should fight to smash their manoeuvres for resumption of aggression.

If all the people in the north and the south fight in firm, monolithic unity, they will be fully able to frustrate any imperialist invasion. If the US imperialists and Japanese militarists dare to unleash a war of aggression in our country, all the north and south Korean people will unite and fight a decisive battle against the enemy, annihilate the aggressors and reunify the divided country.

This year the Chongryon organizations and all the Korean nationals

in Japan should continue a vigorous struggle to protect all the policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, defend their democratic national rights and improve national education. The Korean nationals in Japan must fight resolutely to expedite the peaceful reunification of the homeland. In firm unity with the Japanese people and broad democratic forces of Japan, they should start a dynamic battle against the Japanese militarists' schemes to reinvade south Korea and the hostile policy of the Japanese reactionaries towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In particular, the Korean nationals in Japan should smash the divisive actions and all the subversive activities of the US and Japanese reactionaries and the factionalists, further consolidate their ranks, rally themselves closely around Chongryon and carry on a forceful fight.

The international situation is now developing in favour of the revolutionary cause of our people. The anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces of the world are growing in extent and strength with every passing day; more and more countries actively support and encourage our people in their struggle for independent, peaceful reunification.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic will, this year too, try hard to strengthen their militant solidarity with the revolutionary peoples of the world and promote relations of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of all the countries supporting our people's righteous cause. In particular, we shall launch a powerful joint struggle against the US and Japanese imperialists and their stooges, in firm unity with the peoples of China, Indochina, Japan and other Asian countries. By doing this, we shall smash the US imperialists' notorious "Nixon doctrine" and the Japanese militarists' schemes of overseas aggression, thus preserving peace in Asia and the rest of the world and bringing about a more favourable turning point in our people's cause of independent, peaceful reunification.

Comrades,

The New Year 1972 will be a year of great importance in the revolutionary struggle and construction work of our people. This year we shall take another giant stride forward in our endeavour to carry out

the magnificent programme of socialist construction set forth at the Fifth Congress of the Party and open up bright prospects for the peaceful reunification of the country. The cause of our revolution will be ever-victorious as long as there is the correct leadership of our Party and all the people unswervingly support and defend its lines and policies and fight devotedly to implement them.

Let all of us rally closely around the Party Central Committee and work even harder for the successful fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan, the peaceful reunification of the country and the hastening of the bright communist future.

**ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL  
AND ECONOMIC POLICIES  
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND SOME  
INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS**

**Answers to Questions Raised by Newsmen of the Japanese**

**Newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbum***

*January 10, 1972*

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to our country.

Over the past years you have been friendly towards our country and have given great assistance to our citizens in Japan in their activities to defend their democratic, national rights and in their repatriation work.

You have also done a great deal to improve relations between Korea and Japan.

We are grateful for this.

You have spoken a great deal about our personal guidance. We go to the masses to learn from them rather than to try to guide them.

We had been engaged in the revolutionary struggle in the past, and when we set about building the nation, we came up against many problems. In order to solve them we decided we should go to the masses, particularly the workers and peasants—the producers—and learn from them. That is why we often visit factories and villages and discuss issues with the workers, peasants and other working masses.

When a Marxist-Leninist party representing the interests of the working class and working masses assumes power, it can become more and more subjective and commit bureaucratic errors. In order to avoid this, it must go to the masses. Especially when it is in a difficult situation, it should go deep amongst the masses and discuss all matters with them and take their advice.

The masses of the people are our teachers. We always learn from them.

In the period of peaceful construction following liberation, during the Fatherland Liberation War and in the postwar years when we carried out the socialist revolution and socialist construction, we constantly went to the masses, with whom we looked for ways out of the difficulties confronting us, and gained confidence and courage from them. We could quote many instances of this.

It is our steadfast belief that the key to success either in the revolutionary struggle or in the work of construction lies in unity between the Party and the masses.

Today we have hosts of unsung heroes in our factories and farm villages. They support the Party and provide the motive power for the revolution and construction. Our Party tells the masses of its aims, summarizes their creative opinions and, on this basis, formulates its lines and policies. Our Party's lines and policies, therefore, enjoy wholehearted popular support and they are all carried out successfully by the united efforts of the Party and the masses.

Our Party always breathes with the masses of the people. We can say that this is the reason why our Party has become neither subjective nor misguided up to now. In the future, too, we shall continue to strengthen close ties with the masses to avoid committing subjective errors and further expand and develop existing successes.

I have received your questions through the Central Committee of the Journalists Union of Korea.

They concern many problems covering a vast field of activities.

For the sake of convenience, I should like to arrange them in groups according to their contents in order to answer them.

## 1. ON THE JUCHE IDEA

You asked me to explain the Juche idea in detail.

I shall give you a brief answer.

I think you will get a clearer idea of it if you read some of my books on the subject.

The Juche idea is the sole guiding idea of our Party and the guiding principle for all activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Taking the Juche idea as a steadfast guide in revolution and construction, we have firmly established Juche in all fields of our activities.

Establishing the Juche orientation means that the people approach the revolution and construction in their own country as masters. In other words, it means the embodiment of independence and creativity; the people must adopt an independent and creative stand in order to solve all the problems arising from the revolution and construction mainly by themselves in the context of their own country's actual conditions.

Revolution cannot be exported nor imported. Foreigners cannot carry out the revolution for us. The people are the masters of the revolution in each country, and the decisive factor of victory in this revolution is the strength of the country itself.

Furthermore, as the revolutionary movement of the working class and the masses of the people forges ahead, many new difficult and complex problems arise.

Therefore, in order to carry out the revolution in each country, the people themselves, as masters of the revolution, must work and fight, and through their own intelligence, judgment and efforts, solve all the problems which arise from the revolution and construction, in conformity with the situation in their country. This is the only way to carry out the revolution and construction successfully.

Thus, the Juche idea demands that everyone makes the revolution in his country the focal point of his thinking and revolutionary activity. Revolution and construction are carried out by people. For victory in the revolution, therefore, people must have a correct revolutionary world outlook, and it is important for them to be prepared to accept responsibility as masters for the revolution and construction in their own country.

The Juche idea is based on these requirements of the revolution.

Establishing the Juche orientation was especially important for us. Long ago some people in our country developed flunkeyism towards great powers—the servile attitude of not believing in their own strength but worshipping others whether right or wrong and serving those powers. Even when the country was in danger, those who were infected by this attitude engaged in sectarian strife with the backing of their masters, turning to others for help instead of trying to overcome the crises by relying firmly on their own people and their own efforts. As a result, our country was eventually ruined by others.

Flunkeyism towards great powers was not even eliminated later on and, accompanied by dogmatism, did great harm to the development of our revolution. The main reason for the collapse of the nationalist movement and the failure of the early communist movement in our country lay in flunkeyism and the resulting sectarianism.

There are many examples of this, not only in our country, but also in other countries. In some countries factionalists appeared who failed to maintain an independent stand in the national-liberation and communist movements but followed the ideological trends of foreign countries, greatly hampering the development of revolution.

We learned from this the important lesson that when a person takes to flunkeyism he becomes an idiot, when a nation takes to flunkeyism the country is ruined and when a party takes to flunkeyism it makes a mess of the revolution.

If anyone, captivated by flunkeyism, blindly follows others and acts as they do, he cannot discover the cause of any error he commits, nor the way to remedy it. But when one judges all matters for oneself and

solves them to suit the actual conditions of one's own country, one will not only be able to carry out the revolution and construction successfully but will also be able to find the cause of an error quickly and remedy it if one is at fault.

In the light of this experience, the Korean revolutionaries were determined to avoid sliding into flunkeyism in the revolutionary struggle and to build an independent and sovereign state in the true sense of the words, on the basis of the Juche idea, when they would establish a new country in the future. This was the unanimous intention of the early Korean revolutionaries.

The establishment of Juche became increasingly important for us following the August 15 liberation. Because of the US imperialist occupation of south Korea, our revolution became difficult and complex; the flunkeyist idea of worshipping, fearing and submitting to America took root in south Korea and illusions about Japanese militarism became widespread.

Viewing the establishment of Juche as the key to the destiny of the revolution and construction, we have fought unyieldingly all the time against flunkeyism and dogmatism in order to establish Juche firmly. In the course of this historic battle, we achieved the complete spiritual emancipation of our people from the yoke of flunkeyist ideas which had corroded the spirit of national independence and creative wisdom for a long time. The Juche idea has been thoroughly embodied in all areas of the revolution and construction in our country.

Our people, as well as Party members and cadres, arm themselves thoroughly with the Juche idea. They do not waver in the least, regardless of any winds which may blow in from other countries, and are not in the least affected by these winds. The ideas of our people are very sound.

You asked about the essential points of our Juche-based policy.

All our Party's internal and external policies are based on the Juche idea and proceed from it. Juche underlies our specific measures as well as all lines and policies—political, economic, cultural and military.

The Juche idea is embodied, first of all, in the lines of political independence, economic self-sufficiency and national self-defence.

Political independence is the first criterion of any sovereign state. Only when a nation exercises its legitimate right to political self-determination, can it ensure the country's complete independence.

We have established and are establishing all our lines and policies independently on the Juche idea. We do not act on orders or instructions from any foreigners; neither do we copy nor imitate foreign ways. None of the policies determined and implemented by our Party since liberation have been copied. They were created by ourselves in accordance with the requirements of our revolution from the standpoint of Juche.

This does not mean that we do not refer at all to other countries' revolutionary movements and their experiences. We have considered foreign ways objectively and applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism creatively to suit our actual conditions from the Juche stand. That is why we have committed no errors and have been able to steer the revolution and construction along the right path.

From our Juche standpoint we have solved all issues entirely in accordance with the existing conditions in our country.

An example of this is that, in order to lay the foundation for an independent national economy and to ensure the rapid improvement of the impoverished lives of people when everything had been destroyed by the war, we advanced our basic line of socialist economic construction—that of giving priority to the development of heavy industry at the same time as the development of light industry and agriculture. This is an original line arrived at by reflecting the demands of our own economic development correctly and through the creative interpretation of Marxist-Leninist theory.

After assessing our specific requirements properly, we also established a policy of agricultural cooperativization to reorganize the economic forms prior to technological reconstruction. We proposed the reorganization of the capitalist commerce and industry on socialist lines. These proposals were original and unknown in other countries. When our Party advanced this line and proposals, those who were infected with flunkeyism and dogmatism criticized them, saying, "No book has ever dealt with them," and "They have never been tried

before.” But the validity of the line and proposals has been proved by the fact that our country has become a socialist industrial state with a developed agriculture in a short time.

With regard to our intellectuals, we have also followed a different policy from other countries.

Despite their former wealth, the old intellectuals of our country have a national, revolutionary spirit, because they were subjected to national oppression and discrimination under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism.

As regards those intellectuals who were educated in the old way and worked in a bourgeois or feudal society, if they wanted to work for the people and the development of the nation, we pursued the policy of developing the revolution with them, educating and reforming them in the practice of revolution. In this way, they have been reformed as revolutionary intellectuals serving the revolutionary cause of the working class. They have already done a great deal and even now, are still working faithfully.

The Juche idea is demonstrated in our unique line of simultaneously developing the nation’s economy and defences to increase both our economic and defence powers to meet the imperialist schemes for aggression and war, and also in our original line and policy of peaceful reunification of Korea by the Koreans themselves, following the expulsion of the US imperialist aggressors from south Korea, and free from foreign interference.

That is why all our Party’s policies are in conformity with the prevailing conditions in our country and the aspirations of our people, and we are able to maintain our political independence firmly without wavering in adversity.

Economic self-sufficiency is the material basis of political independence. The country which depends on others economically cannot help depending on others politically.

This was why, immediately after liberation, we put forward the line of building an independent national economy and implemented it despite many difficulties.

To build an independent national economy through one's own efforts does not mean closing the door of one's country. While building an independent national economy under the banner of self-reliance, we have developed economic relations of mutual accommodation and cooperation with other countries on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

Our struggle has borne good fruit and, as a result, we now have a comprehensively developed independent national economy equipped with modern technology. This firmly guarantees the political independence of the country.

National self-defence is the military guarantee for the country's political independence and economic self-sufficiency. As long as the world is divided into national states and imperialism remains in existence, one cannot speak of independence and self-sufficiency if one has not the defence capacity to protect the country and people against foreign aggression.

By implementing the military line of self-defence thoroughly, we have built up an enormous defence capacity to smash any provocation on the part of the aggressors and to defend the country's security and the revolutionary gains stoutly.

With the thorough implementation of the principles of independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-defence in protecting the nation, we have built the proud, powerful and reliable new socialist country that we hoped for. If we had not established Juche but had, instead, bent with the wind and danced to the tune of others, we could not have achieved today's successes.

Some capitalist newspapers call a socialist country which maintains independence "national communism". Our Juche idea has nothing in common with the "national communism" which the reactionaries talk so much about.

The Juche idea is based on Marx's principle "Workers of all countries, unite!" and is in full accord with proletarian internationalism.

We make it a principle to maintain and defend independence on the Juche ideology and, at the same time, to strengthen international unity

and cooperation. Independence we advocate is by no means alien to proletarian internationalism. There can be no internationalism without independence, and vice versa. It is not fitting for a communist to turn his back on proletarian internationalism on the pretext of maintaining independence. This simply means sliding into ethnocentrism.

We maintain mutual relations with other countries on the basis of complete equality and independence.

We do not intend to encroach upon the interests of other nations nor shall we allow anyone to trample upon the rights and dignity of our nation. We are developing political and economic relations, on the principles of complete equality and mutual respect, with large and small countries which adopt a friendly attitude towards our country.

Independence is also a prerequisite for unity and cooperation between the socialist countries. In order to achieve genuine unity, all should abide strictly by the principle of independence. We hold fast to our principles in our effort to achieve unity and cohesion between the socialist countries.

Our principles are, firstly, to oppose imperialism; secondly, to support the national-liberation movement in colonies and the working-class movement in various countries; thirdly, to march on towards socialism and communism; and fourthly, to abide by the principles of noninterference in each other's internal affairs, mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit. It is our belief that, even if differences exist, they should give way to these four principles so that unity can be achieved.

As regards our attitude towards the revolutionary struggle and democratic movement in other countries, we also abide strictly by the principles of independence and noninterference.

The party and people of each country know their national circumstances better than anyone else. It is natural, therefore, that they should decide how to conduct the revolutionary movement in their country. All we have to do is to support and encourage as best we can the just struggle of other peoples for national and social emancipation. We will not meddle in it or force our ideas upon them. We do not blindly follow the examples of others nor do we ask them

to adopt ours in their entirety.

The revolutionary and democratic movements now proceeding in many countries can develop successfully and emerge victorious only when the parties and people of those countries independently work out a correct guiding theory and scientific methods of struggle according to the actual conditions in their countries, and put them into practice.

## **2. ON SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN OUR COUNTRY AND THE CENTRAL TASKS OF THE SIX-YEAR PLAN**

As you know, the Fifth Congress of our Party reviewed the successes in the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan and adopted the Six-Year Plan as another target of socialist construction.

Originally, the Seven-Year Plan was to be carried out between 1961 and 1967. But due to the tense situation around our country, its fulfilment was delayed. While our people were carrying out the Seven-Year Plan, the American imperialists created the Caribbean crisis and escalated the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, thus greatly increasing tension. Moreover, the US imperialists perpetrated grave military provocations against the northern half of Korea, while accelerating their new war preparations in south Korea.

Under these conditions, we had to increase the country's defence potential and prepare fully to meet the enemy's invasion.

Our Party advanced the new line of developing the economy and our defences simultaneously and, in accordance with this line, it reorganized the socialist construction programme as a whole and appropriated adequate funds for defence preparations. Consequently, it took us more time than originally planned to carry out the Seven-Year National Economic Plan.

At that time, we directed considerable effort towards strengthening

the defence forces and attained a state of complete national defence, even though this hindered our economic development and the improvement of the people's living standards. That was how we were able to prevent the American imperialists from daring to attack us, although they openly attempted armed invasion of the northern half of Korea by creating the *Pueblo* and *EC-121* incidents.

Despite the difficult conditions we succeeded in carrying out the Seven-Year Plan. Although it took us ten years to do so, our national economy nevertheless developed at a very high speed. In the past decade during the implementation of the plan, our industrial production has grown at an average annual rate of 12.8 per cent.

This, I think, is a very high rate of development in comparison with other countries, and our people are very proud of this achievement.

Last year we embarked upon a new long-term project, the Six-Year Plan.

This plan is a blueprint for making great progress in the struggle to consolidate our socialist system even more and achieve the complete victory of socialism. It is a blueprint for turning our socialist country into a richer and stronger state— independent, self-sufficient and self-defensive.

As was made clear in the report to the Fifth Party Congress, the basic task of the Six-Year Plan in the field of socialist economic construction is that of cementing the material and technical foundations of socialism and freeing the working people from arduous labour in all fields of the national economy. This will be achieved through the consolidation and expansion of our successes in industrialization and the advance of the technical revolution to a greater degree.

The main contents of the Six-Year Plan consist of three major objectives for the technical revolution.

The objectives advanced by our Party are, firstly, to press ahead with the technical revolution in industry so as to narrow the distinction between heavy and light labour; secondly, to continue to accelerate the technical revolution in the rural areas to reduce the difference between agricultural and industrial labour; and thirdly, to extend the technical

revolution towards freeing women from the heavy burdens of household chores. Simply stated, the three major tasks of the technical revolution are lofty revolutionary attempts to free the working people from heavy and strenuous labour.

They express the requirements for our economic development following the achievement of socialist industrialization, coupled with the earnest wishes of the working people.

Our Party decided that the production of machine tools was the key to the three major tasks of the technical revolution.

The technical revolution is, in fact, an engineering revolution. It requires adequate supplies of machine tools.

Therefore, last year—the first year of the Six-Year Plan—we concentrated our efforts on the production of machine tools. Responding heartily to the Party's call, our machine-tool factory workers, including those from the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory, worked hard to increase production through improvements in equipment and extensive automation of production processes. As a result, our engineering industry surpassed the aim of producing 30,000 machine tools in a single year.

We have already made a major breakthrough in the implementation of the three major tasks of the technical revolution, and now have good prospects for the successful completion of the Six-Year Plan.

In order to carry out the three major tasks, we shall persevere in the manufacture of machine tools, increasing production and variety and improving their quality. We shall also continue to increase the production of tractors and motor vehicles and manufacture more farm machines of various kinds. And to attain the continuous intensification of the technical revolution, we intend concentrating great effort on the development of the electronics and automation industries.

We shall also increase production of steel and nonferrous metals for the engineering industry, as well as for the electronics and automation industries.

Judging by our achievements in the past year and the fighting spirit of our working people, we are certain that the three tasks of the

technical revolution will be successfully fulfilled in a short time.

During the Six-Year Plan our people's standard of living will also be further improved.

Today our people have no worries about food, clothing and housing, and are leading a decent egalitarian life.

During the Six-Year Plan we intend to take steps to raise their standards of living even higher. The most important task we have set ourselves in the improvement of living standards is that of eliminating as quickly as possible the difference in the standards of living of workers and peasants, and the difference between urban and rural living conditions.

To this end, we shall develop the county centres and enhance their role as supply bases for the rural areas, introduce bus services in all rural villages and provide them with water supplies. We shall also build houses for 300,000 families every year in both urban and rural areas, and shall continue to develop public health services. We shall raise the wages of workers and office employees as a whole, and bring about an increase in the production of consumer goods, thereby significantly improving the general living standards of our working population.

Providing we work efficiently for a number of years, our people should be able to live as well as any other nation.

During the Six-Year Plan, we also intend to proceed vigorously with the cultural revolution in parallel with the technical revolution.

During this period the number of technicians and specialists will be increased to more than one million, the working people's level of general knowledge and their technological skill as a whole will be raised, and science, literature, the arts and physical culture and sports will be developed further.

One of the important tasks in the cultural revolution during this period will be the enforcement of compulsory ten-year education.

With the introduction in 1967 of compulsory nine-year technical education in our country, all children and young people between the ages of 7 and 16 have received free education at regular schools. The introduction of this compulsory education was a landmark in the

development of public education and the construction of socialist culture in our country. As a result, all members of our young generation are growing into versatile and reliable men, possessing wide general knowledge and a basic understanding of modern science and technology.

We are going to introduce compulsory ten-year schooling following the successes and experience gained in compulsory nine-year technical education, and shall further improve educational work in accordance with our Party's socialist education principles.

The introduction of universal compulsory ten-year education will bring about large-scale progress in improving school education and in developing science and technology in our country. Of course, it is not an easy task to introduce compulsory education over a ten-year period, and to do this, the state must invest considerable amounts of money. But we have the strength to carry it out and we are sparing nothing for the education of our future generations. Last year we introduced the ten-year plan on an experimental basis in certain schools, gained experience and laid the foundation for it to some extent. We intend to introduce full compulsory ten-year education throughout the country, within a few years, beginning this year.

It is of great importance in developing a socialist society to combine the politico-ideological unity of the people properly with the class struggle.

This is why our Party has always paid great attention to this subject.

In the northern half of our country the exploitation of man by man ceased to exist and a socialist system came into being a long time ago. As a result, relations between the working people have become a comradely relationship of mutual assistance and cooperation, which has further strengthened the politico-ideological unity of all the people.

This, of course, does not imply that the unity of the masses of the people grows automatically stronger simply because of the establishment of socialist system. Under this system hostile elements remain, although they are insignificant, and there are also remnants of outdated ideas in the minds of the working people.

Therefore, in order to consolidate firm revolutionary ranks and

build socialism successfully, we must combine our activities properly to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the people with the struggle against the covert tactics of hostile elements.

Under socialism the basis of social relations is the alliance of the working class, peasantry and intellectuals. However, if one forgets this fact and overstresses or places too much value on only the class struggle, one will commit a “Leftist” error. In that event, one would tend to suspect people, treat the innocent as hostile elements and create an atmosphere of unrest in society.

On the other hand, there are also hostile elements and obsolete ideological hangovers under socialism and a class struggle continues. If one does not remember this fact but sees only the politico-ideological unity of the people and regards it as everything, one will commit a Rightist error. In this event, vigilance against hostile elements could be dulled, the struggle against outdated ideas weakened and the capitalist way of life could become widespread.

Therefore, we guard against Right and “Left” deviations and skilfully combine the fight against hostile elements with the work of cementing unity and solidarity amongst the working people. This leads to a constant strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the masses.

In order to strengthen politico-ideological unity amongst the working people, we must revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society by giving priority to the ideological revolution.

Only when priority is given to the ideological revolution can the historic task of revolutionizing and working-classizing the whole of society be carried out successfully, and the ideological and material fortresses in socialist and communist construction be occupied earlier.

To revolutionize and working-classize the whole of society amounts to a class struggle to remove all the outdated ideas and non-working-class elements from every facet of social life. But this is totally different from the former class struggle, and the character of this struggle is also different.

The task of revolutionizing and working-classizing people is that of reforming the working people in their fight for the earlier and better

construction of socialism and communism, and this arises from the need to introduce all working people to communist society. That is why our Party has conducted, and is conducting, the revolutionization and working-classization of the working people through explanation and persuasion, with the main emphasis on ideological education.

We have worked tirelessly in this direction amongst people from all walks of life on the principle of boldly trusting all those who wish to follow our Party, and of winning them over to the side of revolution, even when their family origins, their backgrounds and their social and political careers are doubtful.

Because we have conducted the struggle for revolutionizing and working-classizing the whole of society along the right lines, our people's ideological and moral qualities have now undergone a radical change, and our society has been consolidated internally more than ever before.

The unity of our workers, cooperative farmers and working intellectuals has been further cemented, and all the working people make up a great, united Red family, helping and leading each other forward.

The process of building socialism and communism is a process of revolutionizing the workers, peasants, intellectuals and all the other members of society, and of obliterating all class distinctions through the transformation of the whole of society on a working-class model.

The building of socialism and communism requires the elimination of differences between the working class and the peasantry in their working conditions through the developed productive forces and, at the same time, the gradual removal of distinctions in the thought, morality and cultural and technical levels of all members of society.

An important subject in this connection is the correct solution of the rural question.

A socialist state must end the backwardness of the rural areas through the final settlement of the rural question, before it can completely eliminate the breeding grounds of reactionary bourgeois viruses which might infiltrate from outside and footholds for the

remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes to engage in insidious actions. And only by raising cooperative property to the level of public property, can we develop the productive forces of agriculture on a large scale, root out the elements of selfishness which remain in the minds of the peasants, and lead all the working people confidently along the road of collectivism to work willingly and enthusiastically for society and the people.

Our Party has worked hard to promote the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the rural areas along the lines laid down in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. The Party is thus eliminating the technical backwardness of agriculture compared with modern industry, the cultural backwardness of the villages in relation to advanced towns, and the ideological backwardness of the farmers compared with the working class, the most revolutionary class. We are also continuously strengthening the working-class party's and state's guidance and assistance to the rural areas, and are steadily bringing cooperative property closer to public property, while organically welding the development of the two.

Thus, once class distinction between the working class and the farmers is eliminated and cooperative property becomes public property, the whole of society will achieve complete political and ideological unity with the common ideology on the same socio-economic basis. We are striving to hasten the day when this will be achieved.

### **3. ON THE PROBLEM OF THE REUNIFICATION OF OUR COUNTRY**

Today the general situation in our country is developing very favourably for the struggle of our people for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The successes of socialist construction in the northern half of the

country scored under the banner of the Juche idea are consolidating still further the political and economic basis for the independent reunification of the country, they are giving great hope and confidence to the people of the southern half and are arousing them to the struggle for peaceful reunification.

Lately, the tendency towards peaceful reunification is expanding rapidly in south Korea and the struggle against fascist rule and for the democratization of society is gaining momentum as never before. The massive advance of the young people, students and people which has gone on both before and after last year's puppet presidential "election" and fierce arguments about national reunification in public and political circles, indicate that the demands for peaceful reunification against the present ruling system in south Korea are rising with an irresistible force.

As our policy for peaceful reunification enjoys the unanimous support not only of the Korean people but also of the broad spectrum of public opinion throughout the world, and the tendency towards peaceful reunification increases in south Korea, even the south Korean authorities who had previously rejected any contact between the north and the south, were obliged, under the pressure of these trends, to attend the north-south Red Cross talks. I think that the preliminary talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations held at Panmunjom are belated and have a limited scope of subjects for discussion, but they are very significant since Koreans themselves have come together to discuss the nation's internal affairs. It can be said that this is a step forward in our people's struggle to reunify the divided country peacefully.

Our stand on the talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations is clear. We want to bring the talks to a successful conclusion by showing our utmost sincerity and thus rid our people as soon as possible of the sufferings due to division and pave the way, using these talks as a stepping stone, to the peaceful reunification of our country.

But the stand of the south Korean authorities is quite the opposite. From the first day they were compelled to attend the talks, they

dragged them out under this or that pretext and poured cold water on the growing tendency towards peaceful reunification, saying: “Don’t get too excited,” and “It is premature.” Moreover, they claimed that we would soon “invade the south” as we had “already prepared for war”, and they declared a “state of national emergency”. They are now introducing various evil fascist laws to buttress this declaration and are deliberately aggravating the situation.

This type of stratagem by the south Korean puppet clique cannot be interpreted otherwise than as being designed to prolong their remaining days by detracting from the increasing trend towards peaceful reunification in south Korea, and by frustrating north-south contacts and negotiation in order to perpetuate national division. It is not an accident that certain reactionary ruling circles and the government-controlled press in the United States and Japan say that the proclamation of the “state of emergency” in south Korea is not because of the threat of “southward aggression” but, rather, a political trick thought up because of the internal situation.

The south Korean rulers can solve nothing by such foolish tactics, much less deceive anyone.

It seems that alarmed by the rapid change in the internal and external situations to their disadvantage, they are going on a rampage. But they need to cool their heads and think matters over calmly.

Now both the times and the situation have changed.

The situation today is different from what it was in the 40s when the US imperialists could divide our country into north and south, abusing the name of the “United Nations”. The day has gone when they could rule the roost by meddling in the affairs of other countries.

Now the US imperialists and Japanese militarists can hardly settle their own affairs.

We think that the time has come when the south Korean rulers should give up their present anti-national stand—seeking a way out by turning their backs on their compatriots and clinging to the sleeves of the US imperialist aggressors, and calling in the Japanese aggressors.

If the south Korean rulers are to find a true way out, they have to

adopt a national stand, immediately renounce their absurd assertion of “building up strength” with the backing of outside forces to overpower north Korea by force and thereby attain “reunification by prevailing over communism”. They must accept our fair and sincere proposals to reunify the country in a peaceful way through the joint efforts of the Korean people themselves.

You asked about our detailed programme for the reunification of the country. Our programme for national reunification is no different from the previous one. We have constantly maintained that the question of our country’s reunification, an internal affair of our nation, should be solved not by the interference of outside forces, but by the efforts of the Korean people themselves, and not by means of war, but in a peaceful way.

We restated the programme for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country in the eight-point proposal for national salvation put forward at a session of the Supreme People’s Assembly of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea held in April last year, in the speech made on August 6 last year and in this year’s New Year Address. We shall continue to make every effort in the future to realize this programme.

The successful conclusion of the talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations, amid the great interest of the whole nation, will create a favourable atmosphere for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The south Korean authorities, talking about some sort of “stage”, claim that this can be done and that cannot, and that something should be done first and the other things deferred. These are delaying tactics and not the correct attitude for solving our problems.

If the north-south Red Cross talks bring forth good results and free traffic is achieved between the families, relatives and friends who are presently divided, their sufferings will be eased and, at the same time, the freeze between north and south will be thawed, thus deepening mutual understanding.

The removal of tension in our country is a matter of vital

importance for the peaceful reunification of the country as well as for peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

In order to remove this tension, it is necessary, first of all, to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement between north and south. We maintain that a peace agreement should be concluded between north and south and that the armed forces of both sides should be cut drastically following the prior withdrawal of US imperialist aggressor troops from south Korea.

We have made it clear more than once that we have no intention of “invading the south”. If the south Korean rulers have no intentions of “marching north for reunification”, there should be no reason for them to refuse a north-south peace agreement. If they truly want peace in our country and peaceful reunification, they should consent to this peace agreement, instead of making a fuss about fictitious “threats of southward aggression”.

We advocate strengthening contacts and ties between north and south and holding political negotiations to solve the question of national reunification.

There are many problems in bringing about peaceful reunification putting an end to the tragedy of national division. All these problems can only be satisfactorily solved through direct political negotiations between north and south.

We are ready to negotiate with the Democratic Republican Party, the New Democratic Party, the Nationalist Party and all other political parties in south Korea at any time and at any agreed place. The south Korean authorities now say this and that without actually meeting us. We do not feel that the rejection of negotiations while paying lip service to “peaceful reunification” is the proper attitude towards the peaceful settlement of the reunification question. For the peaceful solution of this issue the various political parties of both north and south Korea must hold bilateral or multilateral negotiations to exchange political views on national reunification and find a reasonable way towards a peaceful settlement.

We keep our door constantly open to anyone for north-south

negotiations and contacts. If anyone, regardless of earlier crimes against the country and the people, sincerely repents his past and takes the road of patriotism for the peaceful reunification of our country, we shall not ask about his past crimes but gladly negotiate with him on the question of national reunification.

If all Koreans unite and fight for the reunification of our country, we shall be able to drive out the US and Japanese aggressors, overcome the crisis of national ruin created in south Korea and undoubtedly achieve the peaceful reunification of the country. We are sure that although the question of Korean reunification is still complicated, there is nevertheless the prospect of an eventual peaceful solution in accordance with the will of our people and on the principle of national self-determination.

#### **4. ON SOME INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS**

In our time we are seeing the decline of the strength of imperialism while the forces of the people towards peace, democracy, national independence and socialism are gaining in scope and strength.

The US imperialists, who sustained an ignominious defeat for the first time in their history in the Korean war, are constantly being beaten and cornered everywhere in the world and their situation continues to deteriorate.

The US imperialists are now facing a grave crisis, both internally and externally. In the United States, the people's anti-war movement is proceeding with great force and there is increasing antagonism among the ruling circles. The economy has fallen into chronic stagnation and American international balance of payments is constantly getting worse. The US imperialists are sustaining one defeat after another in Indochina and other parts of the world while they are being isolated from their satellite countries as well as from their imperialistic colleagues.

The US imperialists oppressed and controlled others through nuclear blackmail and dollars but their strength has now waned. Now that nuclear blackmail no longer works and the dollars in their pockets have run out, few countries toe American imperialism's line. In order to extricate themselves from their difficulties, the US imperialists have formulated the notorious "Nixon doctrine" which is aimed at making Asians fight Asians and the Middle East people fight each other. But nobody, except a stupid person such as Sato, would support this doctrine.

Under these conditions, the US imperialists are once again using the cloak of "peace", and Nixon finds himself compelled to go on a tour of begging diplomacy with cap in hand.

But this does not mean that US imperialism has been completely destroyed or that its true colours have changed. US imperialism remains the main force of imperialism and its aggressive nature has not changed in the slightest. Whenever the imperialists get into difficulties, they invariably carry out their evil acts of aggression and war under the cloak of "peace".

Resorting to double-dealing, the US imperialists are now making more insidious attempts to invade other countries. The peoples of the revolutionary and all the fighting countries must therefore maintain constant vigilance against the US imperialist machinations for new aggression and war carried on under the cloak of "peace", and unite firmly to fight more strongly against these imperialists. This is the only way to defend peace and attain national independence and social progress.

The US imperialists attach special importance to Japanese militarism in establishing the "Nixon doctrine" in Asia.

They have long followed the policy of using Japanese militarism as the "shock force" in their Asian aggression, and the Japanese militarists, taking advantage of this policy, have been manoeuvring to achieve their own goals. The US-Japan summit talks held a few days ago were in lower spirit than previous talks, but showed that the collusion and conspiracy between these two aggressive forces remains unchanged in their Asian aggression. In the "joint communique" issued after the talks, Nixon and Sato reaffirmed the notorious "US-Japan security pact" and

promised to “cooperate closely” with each other in Asian aggression under the pretext of “peace” and “stability”.

Under the aegis and backing of US imperialism, Japanese militarism has been revived and the Japanese militarists have developed into a dangerous force of aggression in Asia. This is a hard fact.

Following the imperialist pattern, the Japanese militarists, in invading other countries, are employing the methods of subordinating those countries economically through a massive influx of goods and capital. They also paralyse their peoples’ spirit of independence through intensified ideological and cultural infiltration, and even send in their armed forces of aggression on the pretext of protecting Japanese economic rights.

Our country is the first target of Japanese militarism in its programme of overseas aggression.

The Japanese militarists, in conspiracy and collaboration with the south Korean puppets, have now thrust their black, aggressive hands deep into the political, economic, cultural and military fields of the southern half of our country. They have also worked out operation plans for invading our country, and other socialist countries of Asia, and are conducting successive war exercises. Sato has gone so far as to call for a “preemptive attack” against our country.

This being the case, to argue about whether Japanese militarism has been revived or not is no longer an issue. The point is to oppose the aggressive machinations of revived Japanese militarism and fight to check them.

The struggle of the Japanese people is very important in frustrating the aggressive plans of the Japanese militarists. As I said formerly, the Japanese people are not what they were before. They are a people who have suffered the pains and evil aftereffect of the overseas aggression of militarism; they are an awakened people. They will not remain passive if the Japanese militarists dare to try to unleash another war of aggression. The Japanese people themselves are now resolutely fighting for democracy, neutrality and peace against the militarist forces of aggression. This campaign is bringing great pressure to bear

on the reactionary ruling circles of Japan.

Opinions are divided among Japanese ruling circles about the launching of a war of aggression. There seem to be people who are opposed to war, because they feel that once a war breaks out the situation will become very difficult for them. This is because Japan is an island country and imports nearly all its industrial raw materials. They also feel that the objects of their aggression will not be easy to deal with. In fact, Asia today is unlike the Asia of yesterday, and its outlook has changed radically.

If all the anti-war forces in Japan unite and the Asian peoples, including the Koreans and Chinese, fight together, the Japanese militarists will not dare start a war, however much they may want it, and their aggressive schemes will be easily frustrated.

Asia is now the main arena of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle and developments in Asia exert a very great influence upon the changing situation throughout the whole world.

The peoples of our country, other socialist countries and the fighting nations of Asia, are winning brilliant victories in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and in the building of a new society, despite many difficulties and trials.

The US imperialists have pursued a policy of isolation and blockade against China for over 20 years. But China has not gone under. On the contrary, she has become a powerful socialist state, and has grown and strengthened into a reliable anti-imperialist revolutionary force. The international prestige of the People's Republic of China is increasing daily.

The People's Republic of China was restored to its legitimate position in the United Nations with the support of many countries, whereas the Jiang Jieshi clique was expelled from all the UN bodies. This was a great event in the international political arena. It was a great victory for the Chinese people and also a victory for the peoples of the world who fight for peace and progress.

Through their heroic fight against the US imperialist aggressors, the Vietnamese people have inflicted a crushing defeat upon the enemy

and are contributing greatly to the world progressive people's cause of peace, national independence and socialism. The Vietnamese people are accelerating the war to clear South Viet Nam of the aggressive forces of US imperialism and attain the genuine independence and reunification of the country.

The Viet Nam question should be solved on the basis of the four-point proposal for its peaceful settlement advanced by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the seven-point proposal made by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. If the US imperialists persist in challenging the Vietnamese people, refusing to accept their just demands, they will face a more ignominious defeat. The Vietnamese people will certainly win final victory in their struggle, holding higher the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism.

The Cambodian and Laotian peoples, who have already won great victories in the resistance struggle for national salvation against imperialism, are making incessant powerful attacks on the US imperialists and their puppet mercenaries and have driven them into an inextricable corner.

In Asia the US imperialists are now living their last days.

The peoples of Korea, China, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos and other Asian countries will unite firmly under the banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-US common struggle to eliminate imperialism and all forms of colonialism completely, and thus build a new, independent and prosperous Asia.

As you know, some changes have also taken place recently in the United Nations, reflecting a change in the balance between progressive and reactionary forces in the world.

It is becoming difficult for the US imperialists to act as they please in the United Nations as in the past. This shows that the days when the US imperialists could commit crimes at will, abusing the UN flag, are over.

As you have indicated, regarding the question of the United Nations, many countries and broad world public opinion now call 1972 the "year of Korea". Of course, we must wait and see whether this year

will be the “year of Korea” or not, but we think it is an expression of the world people’s support and trust in our struggle for national dignity, reunification and independence.

As for our stand on the United Nations, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has always respected the UN Charter and has never violated it.

It is the US imperialists themselves who have wantonly violated the UN Charter and defamed the name of the United Nations. Each time they resorted to policies of aggression and war, the US imperialists abused the UN flag. In particular, they committed aggression against Korea under the UN mask and thus left a most disgraceful blot on the history of the UN.

To be faithful to its sacred Charter, I think, the United Nations must rectify its past errors in connection with the Korean question.

The United Nations should revoke all “resolutions” on the “Korean question” fabricated illegally by the US imperialists in the world body. Or, it may adopt a just policy in the future towards Korea to ensure that all the previous illegal “resolutions” are nullified.

The United Nations must take steps to bring about the withdrawal of the aggressive forces of US imperialism presently occupying south Korea under the “UN” authority, and dissolve its “Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea”, which is a tool of US imperialism in its aggression of Korea. The United Nations must stop any further interference in the Korean question.

## **5. ON THE PROBLEM OF RELATIONS BETWEEN KOREA AND JAPAN**

Japan is our neighbour. As you say, however, our two countries have now become “close yet distant neighbours”. This can only be a very abnormal situation.

Historically speaking, our country was invaded by Japan, who was an aggressor against our country. But the aggressor was the Japanese imperialist, not the Japanese people. It is not a bad but a desirable development that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Japan, neighbours to each other, should establish normal relations.

Ever since its foundation, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has hoped to establish good-neighbour relations with Japan despite the differing social systems. This stand is based on the fair and honest foreign policy of our Republic which establishes amicable relations with all countries that adopt a friendly attitude towards our country on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

To our regret, however, the Japanese government has been unfriendly towards our country from the outset. Although several Cabinet changes have been made from Yoshida to Kishi, Ikeda, and Sato, there has been no change in the Japanese government's hostile policy towards our country.

This hostile policy has become even more unscrupulous since Sato formed his Cabinet. The Japanese government has been making inroads into south Korea following the conclusion of the "south Korea-Japan treaty" with the south Korean puppets, and encourages them to oppose national reunification and seek a fratricidal war. Japanese Prime Minister Sato and his followers openly talk about involvement in a war against the DPRK and wantonly insult the Korean people.

It is entirely because of the Japanese government's hostile policy towards our country that good-neighbour relations have not yet been established between us.

Our stand on relations between Korea and Japan is clear and constant. We hope even now to put an early end to this abnormal situation and establish normal relations between the two countries. We believe this is in the interest of our two peoples and in accord with their desire and also beneficial to peace in Asia and the world.

The Japanese government must, first of all, change its attitude towards our country in order to establish friendly relations, and

thereafter diplomatic relations, between us.

Whether the Japanese Cabinet will be replaced is an internal affair, and so we shall not meddle in the matter. The main point is the attitude of the Japanese government towards our country. Even if the Prime Minister of Japan is replaced, relations between our two countries cannot be improved as long as its policy towards us remains unchanged. If the Japanese government adopts a friendly attitude towards our country, all problems will be solved smoothly.

The Japanese government should change its incorrect policy in order to keep abreast with present trends. It must give up its hostile policy towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It must also abrogate the "south Korea-Japan treaty", stop its reinvasion of south Korea, and renounce the folly of trying to pit Koreans against Koreans by abetting the south Korean puppets, which is fishing in troubled waters.

Nowadays there is an extensive campaign afoot among the Japanese people and progressive circles to establish good-neighbour relations with the DPRK. Some time ago the "Dietmen's League for the Promotion of Japan-Korea Friendship", comprising 234 Diet members from the ruling and opposition parties, came into being. Local assemblies have also adopted resolutions demanding the establishment of state relations with the DPRK. We consider this is a very good development and hope their campaign will bear fine fruit.

If the Korean and Japanese peoples wage a joint struggle successfully, it will be possible to establish diplomatic relations between our two countries. Once this is done, the policy the Japanese government has so far wrongly pursued towards our country will end. We think that friendly relations between the two countries can be developed even before the establishment of diplomatic relations. Present conditions suggest that it will take some time for Korea and Japan to establish diplomatic relations. Even before we do that, we are ready to have as many visits of people as possible and conduct wide-scale trade and interchange in the economic and cultural fields.

The friendly relations between Korea and Japan must, on all

accounts, be established on the principle of reciprocity. Although there is presently some interchange between the two countries, it can only be unilateral in character, owing to the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese government. I wonder if the Japanese government is afraid of falling out of favour with either the United States or the south Korean puppets. It is clear that in these circumstances it is absolutely impossible to improve relations between the two countries.

In the long run, the establishment of good-neighbour relations between Korea and Japan and its timing depend entirely on the attitude of the Japanese government, no matter what detailed measures are taken to bring it about.

As for the question of the 600,000 Koreans in Japan, it is, in essence, a matter which resulted from the former colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists in our country. Korean citizens in Japan are not accorded the treatment due to foreigners, although it is an evident fact that today they have their own motherland. This is also attributable to the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese government towards our country.

Korean citizens in Japan have waged a strenuous campaign to defend their democratic, national rights, overcoming many difficulties. In particular, they formed Chongryon, an organization of overseas nationals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They have splendidly embodied the Juche idea in the movement of Koreans in Japan and, united closely around Comrade Chairman Han Tok Su, have been very successful in the fight to defend their democratic, national rights, promote the peaceful reunification of the country and cement international solidarity with the Japanese and the progressive people of the world.

It is thanks to the active support and encouragement of the Japanese people, progressive political parties and social organizations, and individuals from all walks of life that the Korean citizens in Japan under the guidance of Chongryon have scored these successes despite various obstructive tactics by the Japanese government. We are very grateful for this support and take this opportunity to express through the *Yomiuri Shimbun* our heartfelt thanks to our Japanese friends.

It is natural for the Korean citizens in Japan to defend their national rights and it accords with international law, too. Probably Japanese residing in other countries will also defend their rights, and will not waive them. This is the case with all nations.

Let me speak of the national education of Korean citizens in Japan.

As you know, a nation is characterized above all by a common written and spoken language. There can be no Korean nation which does not possess this. The Japanese government's persecution of the national education of Korean citizens in Japan, therefore, cannot be construed otherwise than as an act prompted by an impure political motive. We attach great importance to their national education and intend to continue our assistance, both material and moral, to this work in the future.

The reactionary circles of the Japanese government, hand in glove with the south Korean puppet clique, are now forcing the Koreans in Japan to apply for "permanent residence" and imposing "ROK nationality" upon them. They are ostensibly talking about "freedom" to choose nationality, but, in fact, accord special "favours" to those Koreans in Japan who accept "ROK nationality", and bring unfair pressure to bear upon those who retain DPRK nationality.

It seems some Koreans in Japan, harassed by this, accept "ROK nationality". There is no doubt that although they are forced to change their nationality, they will give active support to the DPRK just as the south Korean people unanimously support us today.

The repatriation of Korean citizens in Japan which was suspended for some time, has been resumed in accordance with the agreement reached between the Red Cross organizations of Korea and Japan. It is a positive step not only in defending the national rights of Korean citizens in Japan, but also in developing friendly relations between the Korean and Japanese peoples. We hope that with the support of the Japanese people, this operation will continue in the future, so that all Korean citizens in Japan who want to return home may do so.

It is also important to guarantee to Korean citizens in Japan the freedom of travel to and from their homeland, in addition to the right to

repatriation. Among the Korean citizens in Japan there may be some who cannot return home immediately for some reason or another. Nevertheless, they must not be deprived of the right to travel to and from their homeland. Of the foreigners now living in Japan, only Korean citizens are denied freedom to visit their homeland. This unwarranted discriminatory step and violation of human rights must be discontinued at once. The repatriation ship plying between Chongjin and Niigata should be allowed to carry not only those who are returning to their homeland, but also those who wish to visit their families, relatives and friends in Korea and then return to Japan.

We respect the opinions of Chongryon in defending the democratic, national rights of Korean citizens in Japan. We believe that the Japanese people, progressive political parties and social organizations as well as individuals from all walks of life will maintain close consultations with Chongryon in future and continue to give valuable support and encouragement to the just struggle of the Korean citizens in Japan.

# ON THE MAIN TASKS OF THE UNION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Speech Delivered at the Second Congress of the Union  
of Agricultural Workers of Korea

February 16, 1972

To begin with, I should like to offer warm congratulations to the Second Congress of the Union of Agricultural Workers (UAW) on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

I should also like to extend heartfelt thanks to the farm activists, all the cooperative farmers, the workers and technicians, including the tractor drivers, engaged in agriculture, who have devoted all their energies and talents to speeding up the building of socialism in the country areas.

Today I intend to make some remarks on the tasks of the UAW.

The main task of the UAW is to implement the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* to the letter. The theses is the action programme of the UAW. As everyone knows, all the tasks arising in socialist construction in the rural areas, including that of carrying out the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions thoroughly, are clearly set out in the theses.

If the UAW and the agricultural workers work hard and carry out the tasks proposed in the theses successfully, our country areas will become developed communist country areas. The implementation of the theses will eliminate the distinctions between town and country and the class distinctions between the workers and the

farmers and will free the farmers completely from backbreaking work while enabling them to increase their agricultural production with a smaller outlay of labour. Our rural areas will then become as good places to live in as the towns, and people will prefer rural life to urban life. When the farmers can afford to work an eight-hour day as the workers do, listen to the radio or watch television in comfortable tiled homes and travel freely everywhere by bus, they will prefer living in the country, with its beautiful mountains, clear streams and fresh air, to living in the cities. At present some backward farmers want to marry their daughters off to townsmen, but in the future urban dwellers will seek to have their daughters married to farmers.

In a capitalist society, as a rule, the towns exploit the country areas and cause them to become backward. But this must not happen in a socialist society. And yet, even today in some socialist countries farm produce is purchased cheaply and no positive efforts are made to abolish the backwardness of the rural areas. This is wrong.

Of course, a formerly backward country with an underdeveloped industry has to draw funds for socialist industrialization from the rural areas for some time following the victory of the revolution. But once socialist industry has made a definite advance, industry must give assistance to agriculture, and the towns must give support to the rural areas, so that they can overcome their backwardness as soon as possible. Only in this way can we eliminate the distinctions between town and country and the class distinctions between the workers and the farmers, develop cooperative property into all-people property and thus working-classize the whole of society and build a classless society.

The basic principles and ways of solving the rural question in a socialist society are clearly formulated in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. Therefore, this is a very important document from which we must always seek guidance.

At present revolutionaries and peoples of many countries, including Asian, African and Latin-American countries, think highly of the

theses; they give wide publicity to this document and study it zealously.

UAW organizations should further intensify the study of the theses amongst those engaged in farming and work energetically to put it into effect.

## **1. ON SPEEDING UP THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRY AREAS**

In the past our Party has put a great deal of effort into the technological modernization of agriculture in accordance with the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* and has invested an enormous amount of state funds in this. This has achieved great results in the rural technical revolution.

Our greatest achievement in the rural technical revolution has been the completion of the irrigation programme. So far our Party has carried out large-scale irrigation projects and brought all the paddy fields and a considerable portion of the non-paddy fields under irrigation. Consequently, it is no longer true to say in our country that farmers cannot raise crops for lack of water. This is a great victory which we have scored in the rural technical revolution.

We have also carried out the task of electrification in the rural areas with credit. Today none of our farm villages is without electricity. It is true that we have still not supplied the country areas with enough electric motors and other machines and equipment, and this prevents us from electrifying all the farming operations where electricity could be used. But everywhere in our rural areas people now have electric lights, listen to the radio, and use electricity freely for their daily needs. Ours is perhaps the only country where all the farming villages have electricity. I have been told that even in countries where the socialist revolution was accomplished a long time ago, carbide is still used as

the source of lighting in some rural areas. Advanced capitalist countries use a far smaller proportion of their electric power in farming districts than we do.

Great success has also been achieved in the mechanization of agriculture. Before our country was liberated, our peasants had scarcely ever seen a motorcar and had never heard of a tractor. But over the past years the state has produced large numbers of tractors, lorries and various kinds of modern farm machines and has sent them to the country areas. As a result, our agriculture has now attained an incomparably high level of mechanization. Take tractors. Their number per 100 hectares of cultivated land stands at 1.5, and this figure is not a low one.

We have also made great progress in the use of chemicals in agriculture. We now produce enough chemical fertilizer to apply 600 kilogrammes per hectare of land under cultivation. This is quite a large amount.

As can be seen, we have, so far, achieved great successes in the rural technical revolution and have radically changed the appearance of our countryside.

Today visitors from foreign countries, when looking round our farming villages, judge our Party's agricultural policy highly and quite envy our rural areas. Japanese journalists who came to see our country some time ago went to Panmunjom to cover the preliminary talks of the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations. There they met south Korean reporters and Japanese correspondents working in south Korea. They are said to have told them: "North Korea is wonderful; it has legions of tractors; although Japan has many tractors, they are only small ones, whereas north Korea has a huge number of powerful ones." On their return to Japan, the Japanese correspondents wrote in their reports that north Korea had all its hillsides covered with orchards, had completed the irrigation programme and rural electrification, and had innumerable tractors and lorries working in the fields.

In future we must apply ourselves still more to the rural technical revolution on the basis of the successes we have already achieved. The

Fifth Congress of our Party declared the drastic reduction of the distinction between agricultural and industrial labour to be one of the three major tasks of the technical revolution, and put forward the task of working hard to carry out the rural technical revolution.

First of all, we plan to place great stress on farm mechanization so that the number of tractors per 100 hectares of crop area reaches 5-6, and lorries, 1-1.5 in the near future. When this has been done, our agriculture will have attained a very high level of mechanization.

We are going to take forceful steps to introduce mechanization, particularly in the intermediary areas such as Nyongbyon, Hyangsan, Kaechon, Sunchon, Unsan, Kangdong and Songchon and thus further advance agriculture in these areas. Experience shows that the intermediary areas have great potential for grain production.

Last year, with a view to improving the living standards of the cooperative farmers in Nyongbyon County, we instructed the officials of that county to ensure that every workteam of the cooperative farms would plant one hectare of land with red peppers, and that early-ripening maize would be grown in cold beds and then planted out early and that after the maize harvest radishes would be cultivated as a second crop. They followed our instruction faithfully. As a result, last year every farm household in Nyongbyon County received an average of 3.3 tons of grain and 1,000 *won* in cash. They say some families received as much as 6,000 *won* in cash.

Some time ago, on our way back from the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory, we stopped over in Hyangsan County and talked to farmers. A workteam head there said that he would be able to increase grain production if he had more tractors and lorries. He said that an oxcart could carry compost out to the field in a valley only once a day when the days are short, and twice at most by driving the cart till late in the evening when the days are long. So, he said, the distant fields had to be sown without manuring even when there was enough compost to apply. He went on to say that an ox-drawn plough could only till a few hundred *phyong* of land a day and that this would delay the sowing and thus make it impossible to allow enough time for the growth of crops

and prevent prompt weeding, with the result that there would be more weeds than crops. He remarked that if his team had three tractors and one lorry, many of its members could be released for other work and yet per-hectare grain production would be increased by one or two tons. We believe that he was right.

A few days ago, we went to Kangdong County and had a talk with officials of the county cooperative farm management committee there. They pointed out that Kangdong County had only some 70 or 80 tractors although its crop area amounted to 9,000 hectares; and they said that they would boost grain production by 10,000 tons if they were given 100 more tractors. This meant an increase of one ton per hectare. We decided to comply with their request.

As you can see, the intermediary areas of our country have great potential for grain production. That is why not long ago the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee decided to send a large number of *Chollima* and *Jonjin* tractors to the in-between areas, while supplying *Phungnyon* tractors to the flat areas.

Our in-between areas have more than 500,000 hectares of cultivated land. If we supply them with large numbers of tractors and lorries, so that the per-hectare yields increase by at least one ton, we shall harvest more than 500,000 tons of additional grain.

We also plan to raise the output of chemical fertilizer to over three million tons by building more chemical fertilizer factories during the Six-Year Plan. This will make it possible to apply more than one ton of chemical fertilizer to every hectare.

Last year we established an extensive sprinkler irrigation network for non-paddy fields. While making rational use of this, we are going to expand the area under sprinkler irrigation every year in future.

The UAW organizations and the senior agricultural workers should conduct organizational and political work among the agricultural working people energetically and persuade them to work hard for the successful accomplishment of the rural technical revolution proposed by the Party.

In order to make the rural technical revolution a success, it is

necessary, first of all, to raise the technical and skill levels of senior agricultural officials and agricultural working people by intensifying their technological study.

As I have already mentioned, the material and technical foundations of our agriculture have been incomparably consolidated in recent years under the wise leadership of the Party. But at present the technical qualifications of the senior agricultural officials and working people do not measure up to the advancing situation.

There are now a considerable number of tractors in the country areas, but their rate of utilization is as low as 60-70 per cent. Needless to say, this is partly due to rough rural roads and poor tractor repair centres. But the main reason lies in the low technical and skill levels of the tractor drivers.

Agricultural workers' knowledge of chemistry is also inadequate. Quite a few of them have only a vague idea of the effect of chemical fertilizers; they apply them at random in the simple belief that the more they use, the better it will be. This causes rice-plant fever and a considerable loss in rice production. As urea fertilizer contains more nitrogen than ammonium sulphate, there should be a difference in the amount and method of applying them. But on some cooperative farms urea fertilizer is spread over the fields as liberally as ammonium sulphate. Moreover, during the past few years the agricultural workers applied a large quantity of nitrogenous fertilizer alone and did not use phosphatic and potash fertilizers. The result was that the crops thrived and turned dark green while young, but failed to bear good fruit.

Those who are engaged in farming cannot even handle pumping machines properly nor select the right strains of seeds suited to particular climatic and topographic features.

In spite of this, in the past the UAW has not directed and helped the agricultural cadres and working people properly to improve their technical qualifications. So far, it has neither dealt with those agricultural workers who neglect their technical studies nor organized the publication of books on agricultural techniques properly.

UAW organizations must intensify technological study amongst

tractor drivers, pump operators, electricians and other technicians and workers engaged in agriculture, as well as amongst all cooperative farmers, so that they acquire knowledge of farm machines, electricity, chemistry, biology, soil, and water control, and master various advanced farming procedures.

UAW organizations should also promote the study of socialist agronomics amongst the agricultural cadres and working people.

Today our agriculture has been equipped with modern technology and has developed into a large-scale collective economy. Therefore, the experience gained in the former individual farming is insufficient for the proper management of our advanced rural economy of today.

At present, however, some senior officials in agriculture, held captive by empiricism, are not introducing advanced farming methods actively. They do not try to improve their own managerial skills but work in an empirical and bureaucratic manner without using scientific methods.

In the past the staff of the Nyongbyon County Cooperative Farm Management Committee made the farmers plant the *Hamnam No. 23* strain, without giving any thought to the climate, soil and water conditions. The farmers there had had no experience in the cultivation of this strain and did not know its properties either. They insisted that they should plant the already familiar *Haebangjo* strain. But the workers of the county cooperative farm management committee forced the *Hamnam No. 23* upon them, saying that it was the Party's instructions. The farmers had no alternative but to plant it, and this resulted in crop failure.

We had previously said that seeds should be sown according to the principle of the right crop on the right soil and did not instruct all the cooperative farms to sow the *Hamnam No. 23* strain everywhere.

From now onwards, UAW organizations must intensify the study of socialist agronomics amongst the senior officials and working people engaged in agriculture so that they can improve their levels of economic management.

UAW organizations should also intensify the study of Party policies

amongst the senior agricultural workers and their own members. At present, many senior agricultural officials and working people do not make an adequate study of either the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* or the agricultural policy put forward by the Party at every period. This will not make the rural technical revolution a success. By improving the study of our Party policies amongst the cadres and agricultural working people, UAW organizations must make them understand and carry through the policy our Party has set forth for the rural technical revolution.

To promote the technical revolution throughout the rural areas, the UAW organizations have to intensify the study of technology, agronomics and Party policies amongst all the senior officials and working people engaged in agriculture under the slogan of three major studies, so that they will improve their political and theoretical levels, technical and practical skills, and managerial level. In this way, they will be able to carry out the tasks of the rural technical revolution set forth in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* successfully. This is the first and foremost task of the UAWP.

## **2. ON STRENGTHENING THE IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AMONGST AGRICULTURAL WORKING PEOPLE**

Today formalism is the most serious defect in the ideological revolution. Our officials continue to limit the ideological revolution mostly to formal procedures.

So far Party organizations have put up billboards everywhere bearing the slogans: “Long live the Workers’ Party of Korea!” and “Let us firmly arm ourselves with our Party’s monolithic ideology!” They have also opened a large number of rooms for the study of revolutionary history and rooms for the study of teachings. I definitely

agree that this is all necessary for arming our working people with our Party's monolithic ideology. But it is a great mistake to believe that the success of the ideological revolution only needs the assistance of slogan boards and study rooms. No matter how many slogan boards and well-furnished study rooms you may have, they will be of no use at all if they are simply meant for show; they should be properly used in arming the working people with our Party's revolutionary ideology. Revolutionary ideology and theory can only be effective when they are understood by people. Therefore, UAW organizations must carry out effective ideological education for the agricultural working people.

First of all, UAW organizations should equip the senior agricultural officials and working people thoroughly with our Party's revolutionary idea, the Juche idea.

It is the first and foremost task of all our Party members and working people to arm themselves firmly with our Party's Juche idea and establish Juche thoroughly in every field of the revolution and construction.

Establishing Juche means, in short, adhering to the independent and the creative stand in the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction. Only by rejecting flunkeyism and dogmatism and establishing Juche thoroughly is it possible to fight resolutely against all manner of virulent ideologies and carry on the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction successfully, closely following the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. If one fails to arm oneself firmly with the Juche idea and does not thoroughly establish Juche, one will lose one's independence and creativity in the revolution and construction, follow others blindly and sway with the wind.

The lessons of history show that when a people does not believe in its own strength but worships and follows other countries, it ruins its own country. In the past, we were forced to live as colonial slaves because the corrupt feudal rulers acted as flunkies. We must not allow this bitter disgrace to be repeated. Nevertheless, at present our younger generation are not fully aware of how the Japanese imperialists

invaded our land. Worse still, illusions about US imperialism and Japanese militarism are now widely held amongst the south Korean people.

We must not forget the lessons of history; we must reject flunkeyism and dogmatism in all sectors of life and establish Juche thoroughly today and down through future generations.

By fully arming all the senior officials and working people in the agricultural spheres with our Party's revolutionary idea, the Juche idea, UAW organizations should unite them firmly around our Party and cement the unity and cohesion of the UAW ranks. In addition, they should establish Juche thoroughly in ideology and, on this basis, carry on all the work of revolution and construction. Only then will our Party remain a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party forever, only then will our country flourish and develop into a rich and strong state which is politically independent, economically self-reliant and capable of defending itself.

Furthermore, UAW organizations must work hard to uproot the remnants of capitalist ideas from the minds of the farmers and equip them with communist ideas.

We cannot build socialism and communism successfully without uprooting capitalist ideas from the minds of people and arming them firmly with communist ideology. UAW organizations should set definite goals to arm the agricultural working people with communist ideas and attain them one by one.

In order to achieve this aim, UAW organizations should launch three "care-for" movements.

To begin with, a movement to treasure the land should be initiated among the agricultural working people.

Land is the basic means of production in agriculture. If there were no land, the tractors and other means of production in the rural areas, however abundant, would be of no use and the farmers themselves could cease to exist. Nevertheless, the senior officials and working people engaged in agriculture today are seriously lacking in the spirit of caring for the land. For a long time we have emphasized the need to

refrain from building factories or dwellings in the fields, but this practice continues. Besides this, they do not even feel regret when they see the edges of fields being washed away during the rainy season, nor do they take any positive step to prevent this erosion. Fields can be protected by planting willows on their borders and beside streams, or by banking them up with stones. But they do not do this properly. As a result, a great amount of land is lost in the rainy season every year. This is a matter for deep regret.

Cooperative farms are not realigning their fields properly, either. Some of them are now building a great many ridges to make terraced paddies. This causes a great loss of arable land. Some time ago, we visited a cooperative farm in South Phyongan Province and found that the ridges made up as much as 32 per cent of the total area of paddies on that farm. In fact, it would be more profitable in such a region to organize non-paddy rather than paddy farming.

It is not necessary for every cooperative farm to grow rice for its own consumption. Since our country is one big socialist family, the cooperative farmers will have rice to eat even if not all cooperative farms grow rice. We have only to produce as much cereals as possible, no matter what kinds they may be. Therefore, the practice of wasting land by laying out many terraced fields for paddy cultivation must end. However, this does not mean that all the existing terraced paddy fields should be turned into non-paddy fields. They should be properly realigned and minimum ridges should be left.

Piles of stones in the middle of the non-paddy fields should be removed. This will improve the view, provide favourable conditions for mechanization and increase crop yields.

When passing by the Jongbang Cooperative Farm in Pongsan County, North Hwanghae Province, we advised the farmers to clear the fields of stones. For some years they conducted a campaign to remove stones and thus transformed all the stony fields into good fields. But quite a few cooperative farms have not yet cleared their fields of piles of stones. In Kujang County, North Phyongan Province, stones have remained piled up in the fields for some ten years. I wonder if the

farmers there hold them dear. Why do they not clear them away? If young people had started a drive for carrying away some stones on their backs every morning, they would have already removed all of them. The officials there have not organized this kind of work. This shows that our farmers lack the spirit of caring about the land.

UAW organizations should strengthen the ideological education of the agricultural working people to fill them with a spirit of loving their farmland, and thus encourage them to tend and protect it with a great deal of care and undertake soil improvement and land realignment widely.

UAW organizations should also widely initiate a movement among the agricultural working people to look after farm machines and implements and agricultural production facilities and use them carefully.

At present our rural areas have large numbers of tractors, lorries and other modern farm machines, and numerous agricultural production facilities such as reservoirs, pumping stations and canals. All these have been built through the hard work of our people; they are valuable national assets created by the investment of enormous amounts of state funds. However, our farmers still do not prize and take loving care of the farm machines and agricultural production facilities.

Moreover, some farmers do not handle their farm implements carefully, such as spades, hoes and ploughs, which they use daily. In the old days our grandfathers handled a spade with care and used it for as long as ten or more years, once they had obtained one. Nowadays, however, our farmers ask for new spades every spring, having treated the old ones carelessly and rendered them useless. So far, the state has manufactured and supplied hundreds of thousands of spades every year. So, there must now be more than enough spades to supply every farm household. But farmers still keep asking for spades. As a matter of fact, there is not much use for spades in our country areas now, for the farmers work the land with tractors and other modern farm machines, not with spades and hoes as in bygone days. Our officials, however, demand spades and other simple farm implements every

year. This is because they lack the spirit of valuing the common property of the state and society, and misuse and break these tools.

Visiting cooperative farms, we find that they have no farm implement registration cards; most of them do not keep their farm machines such as tractors and threshers clean and in good repair.

UAW organizations should intensify ideological education amongst the agricultural working people to ensure the prompt repair and maintenance of tractors and other modern farm machines and agricultural production facilities, and to encourage them to use them efficiently, and handle spades, hoes, ploughs and other farm implements carefully.

UAW organizations should launch a widespread movement amongst the agricultural working people to take good care of the forests.

The love and proper conservation of forests will add to the scenic beauty of the country and yield enough timber for the development of the economy and the people's livelihood.

Trees are sparse on our mountains at present. The hillocks, in particular, are almost bare of trees because trees were felled at random on the pretext of planting orchards in the past. As a result, we are now short of timber and do not make and supply enough desks and chairs for schools. Moreover, the Jonchon Match Factory, for example, even has difficulty in producing matches for lack of lime trees. Jagang Province is a big consumer of lime trees. Therefore, if lime trees had been planted on a large scale every year with the mobilization of working people and young boys and girls in the province, things would not have come to the pass where lack of wood makes it impossible even to produce matches.

A long time ago we suggested that many lime trees and white poplars should be planted wherever they are used, and that fibre forests should be planted on an extensive scale in the vicinity of chemical fibre mills. However, our officials neglected to plant trees, but only kept on cutting them down. This practice still persists. Not so long ago, we told our officials to fell and use some large roadside trees before they got rotten inside. They cut them down and used them, but failed to plant

young trees in their place. If we do not plant trees but only fell them in this way, all of our mountains will be denuded in the future.

UAW organizations must initiate a vigorous ideological campaign amongst the agricultural working people against the random felling of trees instead of protecting them. At the same time, they must begin an extensive afforestation movement amongst the agricultural working people and thus transform all our hills into well-wooded ones.

By conducting these three “care-for” movements amongst the agricultural working people with vigour, UAW organizations should arm them with the communist idea of valuing and caring for the common property of the state and society.

Next, UAW organizations should be active in combatting wasteful practices amongst the agricultural working people.

At present agricultural workers frequently waste the common property of the state and society, instead of taking good care of it.

They neglect water control, which results in the waste of a lot of water. Channelling water to paddy and non-paddy fields requires an enormous amount of equipment, materials and electricity. Every drop of water applied to the paddy and non-paddy fields is as precious as gold. However, the agricultural workers do not keep irrigation ditches in good repair; pumps work day and night to lift water but much of it is wasted.

The agricultural workers are not sparing in the use of petrol and diesel fuel which the state has imported in exchange for precious foreign currency. Some drivers do not switch the engine off when the tractor is standing still. A considerable amount of fuel is probably wasted in this manner. It is true that it may be a nuisance for them to restart the engines after a halt because we still do not make good jet orifices and fuel pumps for tractors. But, if drivers develop a high sense of responsibility, they will not leave the engines running while the tractors are not working, and there will be no waste of fuel on that account.

The agricultural personnel also waste a great deal of electricity. Some cooperative farms keep electric lights on when they can dispense with them and leave loudspeakers going at a high volume even when no one is listening.

Some time ago we happened to pass the threshing ground of a certain cooperative farm at night. A loud noise was coming from the loudspeaker and electric lights were shining brightly. We believed that the farmers were working there without sleep, and stopped to have a look, but there was not a single person to be seen. I suppose similar instances could be found at other cooperative farms. At present, our officials have no scruples about wasting electricity since no meters are installed to measure the amount of electricity consumed and, moreover, electricity rates are negligible.

In addition, there are many instances where cooperative farms waste grain by setting aside more than the necessary amount of seed-grain and a joint reserve or waste chemical fertilizer and agricultural chemicals by applying them haphazardly.

The practice of wasting and managing the precious property of the state and society carelessly, which is current among agricultural workers, shows that the old ideas and habits of dealing negligently with common property still persist.

UAW organizations must launch a resolute ideological struggle amongst the agricultural working people against the practice of carelessly managing and wasting the common property of the state and society, so that they will adopt an attitude befitting masters towards the economic life of the state and cooperative farms. Then, every one of them will do something to bring more benefit to the state by saving a drop of water, a gramme of oil, a watt of electric power and a grain of rice.

### **3. ON ACCELERATING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE RURAL AREAS**

It is very important in the rural cultural revolution to build many schools and improve the general knowledge and technical

qualifications of the agricultural working people. But this is not enough to ensure the success of the rural cultural revolution. For this, it is necessary to establish cultured ways in work and life as well as public culture while raising the agricultural working people's levels of general knowledge and technical qualifications.

UAW organizations should strive first of all to establish modern production practices in agriculture fully.

This is sorely needed in agriculture as well as in industry. Unless these practices are strictly observed in farming, we can neither increase agricultural production nor improve the quality of produce, and, accordingly, cannot supply the working people with good farm produce.

The level of modern production practices in our agriculture at present is very low. Those involved in farming work in a careless way and are negligent in packing and storing farm produce.

They leave rice sheaves standing about, regardless of whether they get wet or not; they do not slack them properly; they thresh them carelessly. They do not polish rice clean, nor carry and store it with due care. As a result, a large amount of grain is spoiled or left to be eaten by rats and sparrows after it has been grown with painstaking labour.

This is also true of vegetable production. Take cabbages, for example. If they are packed neatly with all decaying yellowing leaves removed before they are delivered to towns, their bulk and weight will be less and the streets will be left much cleaner, although the price might be a little higher. But they are carelessly piled up, no matter where, still with their decaying leaves and are then transported to towns roughly. As a result, a great deal of the vegetable is spoiled, streets get dirty and it takes a lot of lorries to carry loads of decayed leaves out to the countryside.

The packaging and storage of fruit are also below standard. If fruit is packed neatly and appetizingly, it will be easy to keep it in storage and people will be pleased to buy it. But now our workers pick and box fruit carelessly, and fail to store it properly. As a result, great quantities of fruit are spoiled every year.

This is not the way to run the nation's economy. Since ours is a small country, we must manage the economy more meticulously and frugally. UAW organizations should further intensify the ideological education of the senior officials and working people in agriculture to establish modern production practices. In this way, all the agricultural operations, including the production and storage of grain, should be conducted with devotion and culture.

Now, it is necessary to establish a socialist modern way of life amongst the agricultural working people.

Over the past years our Party has built a great many comfortable modern dwellings and various public service establishments for our cooperative farmers at a heavy outlay of state funds so that they can enjoy a cultured life. Nevertheless, our farmers' present cultural standard is not very high.

Although the modern houses built by the state for the farmers are as good as those occupied by high-ranking Japanese officials before liberation, many of them have been damaged or become dilapidated because of careless maintenance and negligence over repairs. Our occasional visits to farmhouses have shown that some families did not even clean the courtyards, nor did they repaper floors and sashes promptly when their paper had been torn. So the houses look modern from the outside, but not inside. Houses should not be neglected like this. If the workteam and sub-workteam heads organize their work well, having the dwellings repaired regularly and encouraging the farmers to keep their houses clean, every rural house will be neat and tidy. But they do not organize this kind of work.

Farmers do not observe the rules of health strictly either. The Party has stressed more than once the need to build nice bathhouses for the farmers to enjoy frequent baths. But cooperative farms still lack adequate bathhouses, and the farmers cannot take baths regularly. The Women's Union has recently taken steps to build a mothers' school for each cooperative farm workteam, furnished with a bathroom, so that the rural women can study and enjoy a bath. This is a very good thing. UAW organizations should take positive steps to enable all the

agricultural working people to enjoy frequent baths.

Some of the farmers visit the barber shop only rarely and go about in ill-fitting clothes.

UAW organizations should make sure that the agricultural working people abandon uncultured habits and fully establish a socialist modern way of life. Through this, all farmers will be urged to keep their dwellings in apple-pie order, faithfully observe the rules of health, and live in a cultured, hygienic way no matter when and where.

Furthermore, UAW organizations should establish public culture in the rural areas.

At present UAW officials and agricultural cadres do not organize the houses of culture, publicity halls, schools, kindergartens, creches and clinics properly, nor do they manage them well.

The present houses of culture are attractive to look at from the outside, but once inside you cannot find a presentable chair or a proper heating system. Since farmers are busy in summer, they study and hold meetings mostly in winter. So a house of culture without a heating system is unfit for use in winter. Such houses are of no use, no matter how many there are. Almost all the existing culture houses in the rural areas have no heating system. Some time ago we visited the Thaegam Cooperative Farm in Sunan County and the Migok Cooperative Farm in Pongsan County and found their houses of culture without heating in spite of their inviting outward appearances. So we criticized the officials concerned and told them to install heaters quickly.

From now onwards, we must build attractive rural houses of culture and furnish them with all the necessary fixtures and heaters. I have been told that in Junghwa County, they built and are using boilers which burn rice husks, pine cones or sawdust. You should go and have a look at them and, when you return to your districts, install similar heating systems in all your houses of culture. In this way, the farmers will be able to study, hold meetings and enjoy a cultured life in well-heated buildings in winter.

We should also provide the country areas with modern buses. Suppose an old countrywoman takes a bus to visit her married daughter

after a long separation. If the bus is dirty and cold, she will be displeased. This will not do. We should produce many good buses with a smart appearance and a clean interior, so that rural travellers do not suffer any discomfort.

Creches and kindergartens should also be well furnished. Because we have always stressed this and the Women's Union has tackled this problem seriously, things are a little better in this field than elsewhere. But we should not rest content but make persistent efforts to improve them.

In our society the child is king of the country. We deny the children nothing. What foreign visitors envy and admire most is our educational system and our Party's concern for the children.

UAW organizations should equip rural creches and kindergartens more attractively, with a higher level of sanitation and culture, and give them preference in the provision of the best things.

Rural schools should also be kept in good condition. In the rural areas we still find quite a few poorly-maintained schools. UAW organizations should strive to equip schools well in a mass movement and thus enable our lovely children to study and romp about as they please in well-appointed schools.

Rural clinics, too, should be adequately furnished.

In addition, UAW organizations must press ahead with the introduction of water supplies in the farming villages.

Without a water supply in the village, women cannot be freed from the heavy burden of housekeeping and farmers are unable to live in a cultured, hygienic way.

From the outset of our revolutionary struggle in the past we sought to lighten women's burdens, such as the necessity of carrying a water jar on their head. One late evening, some ten years ago, we happened to pass a farming village and we saw about ten women standing in a queue at a well, with water jars in their hands. Seeing the women were having a hard time drawing water after working in the fields all day long, we made up our minds to have water supply systems installed in the farming villages at all costs. After that, we introduced water

supplies on an experimental basis in the Ripsok Cooperative Farm, Mundok County, and the Jangsuwon Cooperative Farm, Samsok District, and the Fifth Party Congress advanced the policy of installing water supply systems in the villages.

Closely following the policy of the Party, UAW organizations should promote this work energetically so as to free the countrywomen as soon as possible from the task of carrying water jars on their heads.

In order to carry out the cultural revolution in the country areas successfully, it is necessary to intensify the ideological struggle amongst the agricultural working people against the survivals of old ideas. Otherwise, it is impossible to do away with all the remnants of the backward, uncultured way of life and conventions amongst the farmers and remodel the rural areas on a modern socialist pattern.

UAW organizations, in cooperation with the organizations of the League of Socialist Working Youth and the Women's Union, should wage an energetic ideological struggle amongst the agricultural working people and thus get rid of all the outdated modes of life and uncultured and unsanitary practices in the country areas and raise the cultural level of our farmers.

#### **4. ON IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT OF THE COOPERATIVE FARMS**

At the February 1967 National Congress of Agricultural Workers we put forward in detailed terms ten-point tasks—one for the guidance of agricultural production and the other for the management of cooperative farms.

These two sets of ten-point tasks present detailed assignments for the implementation of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. If the agricultural workers carry out these two sets of ten-point tasks properly, they will be able to carry out the technical,

cultural and ideological revolutions in the rural areas successfully, improve the management of the cooperative farms and rapidly advance agricultural production. At present, however, our agricultural workers neither study the two ten-point tasks well nor strive to fulfil them. Today I should like, once again, to draw attention to a few points in these tasks.

To begin with, the managerial staff of cooperative farms must take an active part in productive labour. At present, some of them share in the incomes without taking part in productive labour. As a matter of fact, the management personnel of cooperative farms are busier than the rank-and-file farmers, since they have to attend to the farm affairs as a whole. For all that, they must join in productive labour, no matter how busy they are. If they go out to the fields and work in the van of the farmers in the busy rice transplanting and weeding seasons, they will be able to raise the farmers' enthusiasm and also acquaint themselves fully with the general farming situation, which will help them to improve farm management. UAW organizations should therefore establish a strict system under which the cooperative farm managerial staff play an active role in productive labour and take part in field work for at least 50-100 days or more a year.

You must also ensure that the Cooperative Farm Rules are strictly observed on the farms and that the cooperative farmers are regularly informed of the financial state of affairs of their farms. As everyone knows, unlike the state-owned economy based on all-people property, the cooperative farm is a socialist collective economy organized in accordance with the voluntary will of the farmers. This is why the cooperative farm should be managed on democratic principles with the active participation of its members and under their control. This makes it necessary for the managerial personnel to abide strictly by the Cooperative Farm Rules and to report regularly on the financial situation of the farm to its members. The cooperative farm should establish a rigid system in the future under which the farmers are informed of the farm's revenues and outlays once a month or every quarter.

The socialist principle of distribution should be strictly followed at cooperative farms. The work-points earned by the farmers should be assessed accurately: more should be distributed to those who have worked more and less to those who have worked less. And the sub-workteam management system and the workteam premium system, the superiority of which has been confirmed by experience, should be correctly enforced. In this way all the farmers should be encouraged to work hard to implement the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* thoroughly and increase agricultural production with the utmost display of their energy and wisdom.

## **5. ON RAISING THE ROLE OF THE UAW ORGANIZATIONS**

In our country areas, there are now three working people's organizations; the Union of Agricultural Workers, the League of Socialist Working Youth and the Women's Union. These organizations are all striving to carry out the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the country areas successfully. The UAW should give them the lead in the work of implementing the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

In order to implement the theses successfully, the UAW should develop its organizations at all levels and improve their role.

First of all, the ranks of UAW cadres should be developed. Only then will it be possible to get its organizations on the move and to organize and mobilize the agricultural working people for a vigorous struggle to build socialism in the rural areas. In future the ranks of UAW cadres should be made up of competent workers who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and have high politico-theoretical and practical levels, so that UAW organizations will increase their role.

UAW organizations must work effectively with those people whose

class origins and socio-political backgrounds are complicated.

Revolution and construction can only be successful when the broad masses take an active part in them. But some officials do not work properly now with those whose class origins and socio-political backgrounds are complicated. Worse still, certain officials go so far as to suspect grandsons of landlords and give them a wide berth. As we used to say, the landlord class disappeared in our country long ago. The former landlords have mostly died of old age and those who still survive are old and helpless. Under the care of the Party and the state their grandsons have all graduated from middle school, and received a great deal of revolutionary education under our system. In fact, we can say that the sons received certain benefits from their landlord fathers, but the grandsons have nothing to be indebted to their grandfathers for, nor have they been ideologically influenced by them. Therefore, it is completely possible to win them over to the side of the revolution. We must fight against the US imperialists down through the generations, but there is no need to do so against the landlords' grandsons.

This is also the case with those people who once joined the "peace maintenance corps". Some officials do not work well with them. It is now over 20 years since they joined that corps. As the saying goes, ten years is long enough to change the appearance of rivers and mountains. Therefore, it must be admitted that their thinking, too, has undergone a change in more than two decades.

UAW organizations should improve their work with different sections of the masses in conformity with the new changed situation and thus embrace, educate and reform all the people, except the tiny handful of hostile elements opposed to our system, and unite them firmly around the Party.

I hope that all UAW officials and agricultural working people will work harder for the successful building of socialism and communism, upholding the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

**CONCLUDING SPEECH AT AN ENLARGED  
PLENARY MEETING OF THE KANGWON  
PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA**

*March 23, 1972*

Comrades,

On this occasion, I was asked by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee to direct Kangwon Province.

Having stayed in Kangwon Province for several days, we have inspected some factories, studied information on guidance and inspection by the commission from the Party Central Committee, and held consultations with the workers of the June 4 Rolling Stock Factory, the Munphyong Smeltery, the fishing industry, light industry and agriculture. We have also talked to members of the national youth shock brigade which is participating in building the railway between Ichon and Sepho. In the course of this we have, on the whole, learned about the work of the Party organizations in Kangwon Province.

Today I should like to speak to you comrades about a number of matters.

Let me first give you a brief explanation of the present situation.

Today the general situation is turning in favour of our people's struggle for the building of socialism in the northern half of Korea and the peaceful reunification of the country.

As I said in the report to the Third Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the Party last year, the US imperialists are now

being beaten in many parts of the world and are on the decline.

Their decline started when they suffered an ignominious defeat in the Korean war. The imperialist United States was considered to be a great world power before the Korean war.

As is well known, the US imperialists made money during World War I without direct involvement in it and made stupendous profits in World War II. During World War II, the United States suffered no damage to its industries and sustained minor losses of manpower because it is geographically far from Germany and Japan, the hostile countries, whereas the Soviet Union suffered immense material and manpower losses. On the western front, the US imperialists marched into Germany only after the Soviet army had liberated most of it, so they experienced no casualties. When they did suffer any losses, these were only minimal and in the Pacific War. They earned a huge amount of money in World War II rather than suffered loss. So, when the war was over, the United States had the largest reserve of dollars in the world.

After World War II, the US imperialists concocted the “Marshall Plan” and gave dollar “aid” to the developing countries with a view to dominating the whole world. Thus, many countries followed US imperialism to obtain some dollars.

The US imperialists had an enormous amount of dollars, techniques and even atomic bombs. So the ideas of worshipping and fearing US imperialism spread among the people of many countries. Revisionists, who were affected with these ideas, also harboured illusions about US imperialism.

Thus, in those days US imperialism was regarded as something to be feared, not to be challenged or as someone exercising supremacy.

In the three years of the Korean war, however, the myth about the “invincibility” of US imperialism was shattered and its “prestige” was destroyed.

The US imperialists mobilized huge forces and spent an enormous amount of dollars in the Korean war, but failed to conquer the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and suffered a serious political

and military defeat. Since then, the people of the world including those in the colonies and quasi-colonies began to awaken. The Korean war made them understand clearly that the US imperialists were not something to be feared and this made them confident that even a small nation can achieve national independence if it fights US imperialism. As a result, the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle raged more fiercely in all parts of the world.

In Latin America which was called the quiet backyard of US imperialism, the Cuban revolution emerged victorious. In Africa the Algerian people drove out the French imperialists and won national independence. Today the peoples of Angola and many other countries are waging resolute armed struggles against imperialists.

US imperialism is being destroyed in Indochina. The US imperialists invaded South Viet Nam under the pretext of protecting the “free world” and ignited a war of aggression. They are being dealt a severe blow by the heroic Vietnamese people. The Laotian and Cambodian peoples are also fighting valiantly against US imperialism. By the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese peoples, US imperialism is being further driven into a tight corner, and its international “prestige” has been damaged beyond repair.

Its “prestige” has dropped further particularly in the incidents of the armed spy ship *Pueblo* and the spy plane *EC-121*, incidents which took place in our country.

When the brave sailors of our People’s Army captured the US armed spy ship *Pueblo* when it intruded into our territorial waters in 1968, the US imperialists demanded the immediate return of the ship and its crew. We rejected their unjust demand. We maintained a determined attitude by declaring that we would not return the ship on any account because we had captured it but might return its crew since they were prisoners. We added that even the crew would not be returned unless they made a written apology.

The US imperialists threatened us. They concentrated aircraft carriers, destroyers and many other warships off our east coast. They even brought an aircraft carrier which had been engaged in the

Vietnamese war. Massing huge armed forces, they boasted that they would “retaliate” by bombing Wonsan or Pyongyang. In that situation a war seemed imminent in our country. We thought they might unleash war to save face, but this did not make us afraid.

We were ready to fight if the enemy provoked us, even if the whole country would be reduced to ashes again. We were resolved to bomb Seoul or Inchon if they bombed Pyongyang or Wonsan and adopted a firm attitude by declaring that we would retaliate against the enemy for his “retaliation” and fight an all-out war against an all-out war. At that time we held a meeting of the corps commanders of the People’s Army and put the army on the alert. So the People’s Army had aircraft loaded with bombs and kept all its soldiers in combat readiness. As we stood firm, the US imperialists dared not attack us. Their warships did not come near our territorial waters but stayed south of Ullung Island for fear of attacks by our torpedo boats and they withdrew after a few months.

Almost one year after the *Pueblo* incident, US President Johnson made a written apology, promising that they would not repeat any acts of espionage against our country and we returned the crew to them. He probably thought that he would at least have to bring home the crew of more than 80 prisoners before the end of his term of office.

In the spring of 1969, after Nixon became President, the US imperialists again committed an act of espionage in our territorial airspace by sending a plane *EC-121* equipped with spying instruments similar to those of the *Pueblo*.

The air force units of our People’s Army had been under orders to shoot down any enemy aircraft which might intrude into our territorial airspace. One of our air force pilots shot down the US spy plane *EC-121* with one shot. The aircraft and its crew plunged into the East Sea.

At the time of the *EC-121* incident, the US imperialists threatened us by bringing larger forces of aggression near the east coast than at the time of the *Pueblo* incident. People throughout the world raised a hue and cry, predicting that there was no doubt that war was inevitable in

Korea, because Nixon was more belligerent than anyone. We also thought that Nixon might start a war. On that occasion, we were also prepared to fight if they ignited a war and alerted the People's Army and all the people. The People's Army had all its artillery in position and its aircraft loaded with bombs and its men in position. All the people were ready to fight. This deterred the enemy from attacking us, and the aggressors took flight. Eventually, the US imperialists knelt down again before the Korean people, although they did not formally surrender as the aircraft had been destroyed and its crew had drowned in the East Sea.

The incidents of the US spy ship *Pueblo* and the spy plane *EC-121* raised the international prestige of our country beyond measure. The people of many countries admired the brave struggle of our people, saying that Korea, a small country, had captured the ship belonging to the US imperialists, humbled them and compelled them to sign a letter of apology and shot down their plane, although even some big countries were kowtowing to the US imperialists.

The US imperialists are now experiencing a serious economic crisis.

When the United States had enormous amounts of dollars in the past, many countries followed it in the hope of getting some of them. Now that its dollars are gone, few countries do so. Today US imperialism is in no position to give proper aid to its faithful stooges because of the acute economic crisis. Last year the US imperialists gave "military aid" of 290 million dollars to the south Korean puppet clique, but this year they are said to be giving only 150 million dollars. So the south Korean rulers are begging for more "aid" now.

The US imperialists can no longer threaten people with atomic bombs. Today they cannot use them recklessly because many other countries have them. They could not use them in the Korean war nor in the Vietnamese war, although they are in a difficult situation. The time is gone when they could threaten people with atomic bombs.

Today the US imperialists are becoming more and more isolated, even within the imperialist camp. In connection with Nixon's visit to

China, countries of the imperialist camp are vying with each other to recognize the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate government of the Chinese people and have established diplomatic relations with her. Many countries have now approved the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. Few countries of the imperialist camp now follow US imperialism, and the contradictions between the large imperialist powers are becoming aggravated as time passes.

US imperialism is facing a serious political crisis at home as well. Today the anti-war movement is daily gaining momentum in the United States.

As you can see, US imperialism is being hit everywhere in the world and is facing a serious political, economic and military crisis. In brief, it is becoming continuously weaker and is sinking deeper into the depths of ruin.

This is a very favourable turn for the revolutionary people. Only a handful of stooges such as Sato, Jiang Jieshi and the south Korean puppet clique fear the downfall of US imperialism. Nixon's recent surrender visit to China has made these stooges more uneasy. That is why we said that Nixon's visit to China was a great victory not only for the people of China but also for the rest of the world.

The internal situation is also very favourable for our revolution.

Today the south Korean puppets are floundering in dire straits both internally and externally. Finding themselves in a predicament, the US imperialists, who are the patrons of these stooges, are trying to break away gradually from south Korea. That is why the south Korean stooges are now trembling with fear at the idea of being forsaken by the US imperialists and are begging for the permanent presence of their aggressive forces in south Korea.

The south Korean puppets are also in great economic difficulties. Middle and small businesses in south Korea used to process raw materials from the United States and Japan for the market. Since raw materials are no longer available from these sources, these enterprises are going bankrupt. As a result, unemployment is increasing daily in

south Korea and the prices of cereals continue to rise.

At present, the trend towards peaceful reunification is growing among the south Korean people with every passing day; democrats, students and other young people are demanding even more loudly that Park Chung Hee should visit the northern half of Korea and surrender just as Nixon did on his visit to China.

The south Korean stooges are stricken with fear and anxiety because the US imperialists, whom they believe in as though they were God, are going to leave south Korea, because Sato, who helped them is likely to be ousted by the struggle of the Japanese people, and because the fighting spirit of the south Korean people is rising rapidly. Moreover, the south Korean rulers are terrified by the fact that we have armed all our people and made a fortress of the whole country. Recently I heard that they were unable to sleep well, being a prey to insomnia.

The south Korean rulers were so upset by fear and apprehension that they declared a “state of emergency” under the pretext of the fictitious “threat of southward invasion” towards the end of last year. They did this, not because they thought we would attack, but because they realized that in the past the south Korean people had risen in revolt and overthrown Syngman Rhee. They did it because they knew that they would share the fate of Syngman Rhee unless the ever-mounting struggle of the people including the students and other young men and women was held in check.

Today even south Korean political circles say that the “state of emergency” is for the sake of Park Chung Hee himself, not for the security of the south Korean people. Since the declaration of the “state of emergency”, the south Korean puppet clique have been repressing the struggle of the students and other young men and women and the rest of the people by bringing a large armed force to Seoul. However, no amount of repression can ever break the fighting spirit of these people.

Today the south Korean puppets, who have been driven into a tight corner, have two alternatives. One is to fight against us by means of what they call “fostering strength” and by inviting the Japanese

militarist force to south Korea. The other is to accept our proposal for peaceful national reunification and negotiate with us. The only way they can survive is to negotiate with us.

We have made it clear more than once that we are ready to negotiate with them if they release political offenders, grant freedom of activity to political parties and public organizations, and democratic rights to the south Korean people. At present, the south Korean stooges seem to be afraid that, if they accept our proposal and open the door between north and south, a revolution will break out in south Korea and overthrow their ruling system or else they seem to be wondering whether they will be really forgiven if they surrender. That is why I said in my New Year Address this year that, if they sincerely repent of their crimes and benefit the country and the people, even offenders would be forgiven.

As you can see, the general situation is now developing in favour of our revolution. We must not, however, assume that the country will be reunified peacefully very soon nor must we have illusions about the enemy.

The nature of imperialism never changes until its end. With the day of doom approaching, the enemy may make a last-ditch stand. We must, therefore, expect two possible ways of reunifying the country—peaceful and by violent means—and make full preparations for both.

We must assert peaceful reunification and, at the same time, must be prepared to help the south Korean people at any time when they request it, rising up in a revolution. This is our Party's line of national reunification at the moment.

In order to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country as soon as possible we must lay down and carry out the correct line of foreign activities as required by the present situation and work hard to win over more supporters and sympathizers. We must also pay particular attention to strengthening the revolutionary forces in south Korea. In addition, we must further increase the country's economic power and defence capabilities by pressing ahead with both economic and defence construction. If we do this, we shall be able to accomplish the

cause of national reunification in the near future.

Well, how do matters stand with Kangwon Province today?

Party organizations in Kangwon Province have not implemented the tasks given by the Party as they should have done.

The Party gave them the task of ensuring the daily supply of 100 grammes of fish, 800 grammes of vegetables, 10 grammes of cooking oil, one or two apples or other kinds of fruit and the equivalent of half an egg to each member of the working population, but none of these items has been supplied adequately.

In this coastal province, Party organizations can ensure a regular supply of fish to the working people quite easily if they organize work carefully, but the supply of fish has not been satisfactory because Party organizations are indifferent to the people's lives.

The supply of eggs to the working people is not satisfactory, either. The province has built large chicken plants, but they are not producing eggs on a regular basis because of the shortage of feed. This shortage is the result of a great deal of waste on the part of the chicken plants.

Chicken plants in other provinces consume 120 gramme units per egg, whereas those in Kangwon Province provide 215 gramme units per egg.

The supplies of cooking oil and vegetables for the working people are also inadequate. Last autumn vegetable cultivation was unusually successful, and the working people seem to have been supplied with a little more. But they have not been supplied regularly with 800 grammes of fresh vegetables every day.

The supply of fruit for the people is also irregular. Pears, apples and even persimmons are not on sale in the shops in Kangwon Province at present. Shops sometimes even run short of soya sauce and bean paste, I am told.

Children and working people in this province are not provided with good clothing. This is probably because the chemical industry does not produce vinalon, staple fibre and other kinds of fibre as it should. But the main reason is that the Party organizations in the province are not working hard.

The variety and quantity of daily necessities on sale in the shops are not large and there are few good buses in the cities.

Kangwon Province is short of housing. We defined all the tasks of building socialist rural communities in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. Some years ago we gave the task of replacing the thatched houses with modern houses in the areas along the Military Demarcation Line. However, Kangwon Province has not developed an adequate building-materials production centre for housing construction. It only built a steel plant, and did not do that very well.

No county in Kangwon Province has constructed waterworks. At present, only two ri in the province provide a running water service.

As you can see, the living standards of the people in Kangwon Province are much lower than those in other provinces. That is why, whenever we visit Kangwon Province, people ask us to guide the work of this province.

It does not follow, therefore, that we have given little guidance to this province. In the postwar years alone, we came here more than once to direct the province. It is true that we paid fewer visits to this province than to others because it has few heavy industry factories. But we have never neglected Party work in this province. We have occasionally summoned senior officials of the provincial and county Party committees and given them tasks and explained in detail how to carry them out.

On this visit, however, we see that not only are the people's living standards low, but agriculture, fishing, construction and all other sectors of the national economy in this province are lagging behind those in other provinces.

Take city construction in Wonsan as an example. Little has been built since 1965 when the square, the station building and several multi-storeyed apartment houses were built on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the August 15 liberation. To be candid, there has been no improvement since then.

There are many shortcomings in industry as well.

There are quite a few factories in this province—nonferrous metal works, mechanical engineering, mining, cement and other heavy industry factories as well as light industry. So, if the province uses them efficiently, it can develop as quickly as other provinces.

However, factories and enterprises have not carried out their production quotas because of inefficient guidance on the part of the provincial Party committee. Few factories in the province seem to have fulfilled their production quotas last year. How can we expect you to carry out the Six-Year Plan when you failed in the first year of the plan?

If it is to carry out the Six-Year Plan successfully, Kangwon Province has to increase its industrial output value by 15.1 per cent every year. Since it was unable to fulfil its quotas last year, it will have to increase its industrial output value by 21.8 per cent on an average in each of the remaining years if it is to carry out the Six-Year Plan. To increase the industrial output value by 21.8 per cent every year is no easy matter.

By working hard to attain the first two years' targets of the Six-Year Plan by April 15 this year, many factories in other provinces have already reached these targets. But none of those in Kangwon Province has done so; things are quiet.

Economic and cultural establishments in Kangwon Province are under our Party's leadership just as those in other provinces are. So, how is it that they are lagging behind like this?

It is mainly because the senior officials in this province lack the revolutionary work attitude.

If a revolutionary likes indolence and idleness, he will not succeed in his revolutionary tasks. A revolutionary needs a high sense of responsibility for his duties as well as a fighting spirit and self-sacrifice. Senior officials, in particular, ought to study their work diligently and work hard to carry out Party policies.

But senior officials in Kangwon Province lack a high sense of responsibility for their revolutionary tasks, nor do they have a fighting spirit; they do not take the trouble to carry out Party policies.

There are other reasons for the backwardness of industry in Kangwon Province.

In the first place, there has been no widespread technical innovation campaign in factories and other enterprises.

The Fifth Congress of our Party set forth the three major tasks of the technical revolution: to reduce the differences between heavy and light work and between agricultural and industrial labour to a considerable extent, and to free women from the heavy burden of household chores. It is imperative, therefore, to relieve the working people of difficult and heavy work and eliminate work in excessive heat and under other harmful conditions by introducing mechanization and automation extensively in all sectors and at all units of the national economy.

The Munphyong Smeltery and many other factories and enterprises, however, are not developing the technical innovation campaign extensively. If things go on like this, you cannot increase production nor can you free the working people from difficult and heavy labour.

The second reason for industrial backwardness in Kangwon Province is that factories and enterprises do not take good care of their equipment.

Careful management of equipment can guarantee steady production and a rapid increase in industrial output. However, the factories and enterprises in this province neglect the regular repair and maintenance of their equipment, and even when they do this work, they do it when the machines have already broken down, so that it takes a long time to repair them, which greatly hampers production.

Inefficient labour management is another reason for the backwardness of industry in this province.

Last year we sharply criticized the neglect of labour management at the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and also emphasized the importance of labour management at the consultative meeting of the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees. In spite of this, Kangwon Province wasted as many as 200,000 man-days of

labour last year alone. Last year even the productive workers of factories, enterprises and cooperative farms in Kangwon Province were diverted to various other purposes and this seriously hampered production and resulted in a great deal of waste in manpower.

Yet another reason why the industry of Kangwon Province is lagging behind is that it has not worked hard for increased production and economy.

We have been told that a great deal of pig iron, steel, coal, timber and cement was wasted in Kangwon Province last year. The waste of electricity was also enormous.

The low extraction rate in production resulted in a great deal of waste. The low extraction rate in zinc production causes a great loss of zinc. The extraction rate is not high in mercury production, either.

The loss which is due to the low rate of extraction in production at the moment is by no means small. If we could export the lead and zinc which have been lost due to the low rate of extraction, we would earn 1,560,000 pounds. This amount of foreign currency is enough to import as many as 50,000 tons of wheat. Feed made from 50,000 tons of wheat will produce over 10,000 tons of pork. If we import cloth for 1,560,000 pounds, we shall be able to provide the adult population of Kangwon Province with good suits and their children with good-quality sweaters and jackets.

Workers of the Munphyong Smeltery, however, do not try to extract all the lead and zinc from the ore which had been produced by the sweat of the miners' brow and by their doing without sleep, but they discard a great deal of metal in the ash. If you waste the precious wealth of the country in this manner, you cannot succeed in building a socialist and communist society.

Party organizations in Kangwon Province must fight to eliminate these shortcomings in economic construction as soon as possible. They must see to it that all factories and enterprises launch a powerful campaign for technical innovations, improve the management of their equipment, completely eliminate the waste of manpower and materials, intensify the struggle for increased production and economy

and so fulfil their production quotas without fail.

Now I should like to refer to some tasks facing the Party organizations in Kangwon Province.

First, on industry.

The industrial sector must primarily work hard to increase the production of nonferrous metals quickly.

This is the way to promote technical progress in our country and earn a large sum of foreign currency so as to import the machinery and equipment needed for economic and defence construction. The Party organizations in Kangwon Province must ensure that the production of nonferrous metals is increased radically by raising the rate of extraction through the effective use of the existing facilities of the nonferrous metal industry.

It is necessary to produce lead and zinc over and above the plan, as well as large quantities of silver and mercury. You must also increase the production of radium, titanium, germanium and various other rare metals rapidly. Thus, Kangwon Province will earn four million pounds this year. If it earns four million pounds, it will be able to import more textiles than we export now, and will satisfy the clothing requirements of its population.

A few days ago we gave the senior officials of the Komdok Mine the task of increasing the production of ore by 50,000 tons and the officials of the Hamhung Railway Bureau the task of transporting this ore quickly. They will carry out these tasks without fail.

The Party organizations in Kangwon Province must ensure that the Munphyong Smeltery smelts all the ore sent by the Komdok Mine by making the maximum use of the *Velts* furnaces.

It is necessary to develop the mining industry quickly as well as the nonferrous metallurgical industry.

The Changdo Mine must be extended in a planned manner so as to attain a production capacity of 130,000 tons of ore by 1976.

Kangwon Province must produce 960,000 tons of coal this year and 1.4 million tons in 1976 so as to meet its own requirements of coal for industry and for domestic use during the Six-Year Plan.

In order to increase coal production, the Munchon and Chonnae Coal Mines must raise the level of mechanization and keep ahead with their tunnelling.

In addition, the management of coal mines must be improved radically. The Chonnae Coal Mine, which is now being managed by the province, is too large for this. So materials are not supplied adequately and its equipment is not being improved in every way. It is advisable, therefore, to hand over the Chonnae Coal Mine to the Ministry of Electricity and Coal Industries, and then part of the coal produced there should be supplied to the province.

After taking over this mine, the Ministry of Electricity and Coal Industries must increase its annual capacity to 600,000 to 700,000 tons by 1976.

Party organizations in Kangwon Province must also pay close attention to the development of the machine-building industry.

At present, there are the June 4 Rolling Stock Factory, the Wonsan Shipyard, the May 18 Factory and many other modern machine factories in this province. These factories play an important part in strengthening the material and technical foundations of transport and fishing, in accelerating economic construction and in improving the people's standard of living.

Party organizations in the province must ensure that the production of wagons, motor vessels, valves and other machines and equipment is increased by making the maximum use of the production capacity of the existing machine-building factories and by gradually extending them.

The extension project of the June 4 Rolling Stock Factory must be completed quickly, so as to produce 1,500 wagons this year, 2,000 in 1973 and 3,000 in 1974.

This factory must also produce 30 motor vessels this year and more next year and thus approximately 70 in all by making rational use of its production capacity.

Passenger boats must also be built. Such a boat is more comfortable than a bus because it is free from dust and jolting. Beginning this year,

the Wonsan Shipyard must produce one small passenger boat with domestically produced engines every year. Thus passenger-boat services will be provided for travellers and commuters between Wonsan and Munchon, travellers between Wonsan and Kosong, and tourists to Mt. Kumgang.

Motor production will also have to be increased quickly. The Wonsan Motor Factory must produce 3,500 small motors including 2,500 4-hp motors this year, 6,000 motors including 4,000 4-hp motors next year and 10,000 motors including 6,000 4-hp motors in 1974.

The May 18 Factory must increase its annual production capacity to 1.5 to two million valves and manufacture valves for cold-storage facilities and large valves, too.

In the future it is necessary to build a machine-building factory producing one-off equipment with steel supplied by the Munchon Steel Works. Now the Munchon Steel Works is not working at full capacity. It is advisable for the province to hand it over to the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 and receive a share of steel supplies from it. After taking over the Munchon Steel Works the ministry should build a big machine-building factory in Kangwon Province, a factory producing 10,000 to 12,000 tons of one-off equipment every year. In the future, when this factory has been built, Kangwon Province will have a solid machine industry centre and, on this basis, be perfectly able to solve all problems in its economic development.

It is necessary to develop the chemical industry and produce a large quantity of various chemicals needed for the development of light industry and agriculture.

The building of a sulphur factory, which is now under way, must be expedited so that it can start production in 1974.

Large quantities of sulphuric acid must also be produced. Because of the shortage of sulphuric acid at present, the production of paper and chemical fibre and also of chemical fertilizer is not going smoothly. Provincial Party organizations must take steps to increase the production of sulphuric acid by making use of every potential.

They must take steps to produce phosphatic fertilizer. The

agricultural sector is unable to increase grain production because of the shortage of phosphatic fertilizer. The inadequate supply of this fertilizer is a major cause of unsuccessful farming in Kangwon Province in the last few years. Therefore, it is necessary to build a factory capable of producing 50,000 to 60,000 tons of phosphatic fertilizer with the sulphuric acid from the smeltery. This, however, does not mean that all the sulphuric acid produced in this province should be used for fertilizer production. It must be supplied first to meet the needs of light industry and other sectors, and then the remainder should be used for the production of phosphatic fertilizer.

I shall refer briefly to the tasks of light industry because I emphasized them in detail at the consultative meeting of workers from the light industry sector in this province.

The most important task of this sector is to provide clothing for the population of the province on its own.

The textile mills in Kangwon Province are producing textiles with yarn supplied by other provinces as there is no spinning mill here. Kangwon Province will be unable to produce textiles if the yarn is not supplied by other provinces.

Party organizations in Kangwon Province must see to it that a spinning mill with 40,000 to 50,000 spindles is built as soon as possible. The province can set up a dyeing shop in the spinning mill as there is no danger of contamination. The Ministry of Textile Industry must supply this province with the equipment for a spinning mill with 40,000 to 50,000 spindles.

It is necessary to build a knitwear factory quickly.

Today knitwear production is becoming the most important item in the textile industry throughout the world. Knitwear requires less yarn than weaving, is easy to wash and needs no ironing. It suits everybody, man or woman, and it looks especially good on children. Moreover, knitwear can be made with cotton, vinalon and similar yarn as well as with wool, nylon and Orlon yarn.

The Party organizations in Kangwon Province must ensure that the building of a knitwear factory with a production capacity of five

million pieces of underwear and two million sweaters is finished quickly, within the first half of this year. This province, having a small population, will then be able to provide all women and children with sweaters within a year. For the present it is necessary to supply sweaters to all the children in Wonsan by next April 15.

The hosiery factory must also be equipped well. In the future we must buy more up-to-date hosiery-making machines and equip the existing hosiery factory for increased production. Hosiery must be made not only from nylon yarn but also from cotton or vinalon yarn for men.

Clothing factories must also be equipped well. Provincial Party organizations must take steps to build a modern clothing factory with an annual capacity of 10,000 good-quality suits. It is advisable for the factory to have dry-cleaning facilities. Some equipment for the clothing factory will have to be imported in the future. The existing Chungsong Clothing Factory must be equipped with more domestically produced machines so that it can make uniforms for schoolboys.

The production of footwear as well as clothing must be increased. It is necessary to increase the production capacity of the existing footwear factory to at least 4.5 to five million pairs and build a leather shoe factory with a production capacity of 100,000 to 200,000 pairs. The problem of footwear will then be solved. It is desirable for the Ministry of Textile Industry to give unified technical guidance to footwear factories. The Ministry of Local Industry is in no position to give technical guidance to them and provide them with adequate raw materials. The former, however, can perform these functions efficiently because it has the Footwear Management Bureau and a footwear research institute under its jurisdiction. It is advisable, therefore, to return the footwear factory in the province to the Ministry of Textile Industry.

It is necessary to develop the food industry very quickly so as to supply an adequate amount of tasty and nutritious food to the working people.

Vegetables and fruit grow well and fish abound in Kangwon Province. Therefore, if officials pay a little more attention to the food industry, they can ensure the regular supply of an adequate amount of food to the working people. Large amounts of jam, tinned, dried and powdered fruit can, perhaps, be produced by processing fallen fruit.

The Party organizations in this province must first pay particular attention to the processing of vegetables, fruit and fish.

They will have to make great efforts to ensure the production of children's food in particular. At present, our officials pay little attention to this matter, so that an adequate amount of children's food is not sold in the shops. It is impossible to bring up children collectively unless large amounts of food are produced for them.

The provincial Party committee has to take steps to build a factory which exclusively produces food for children and set up specialized children's food workshops in big food factories. In this way, jam, dried fruit, powdered vegetables, fruit, seaweed and anchovy will be mass-produced. These powdered and packaged items will be very welcome to nurseries and kindergartens. They can be fed to children, dissolved in water, boiled or mashed. These items will also be needed for families with children.

In addition, the Party organizations must ensure that the factories processing fruit and vegetables are well equipped.

Many refrigerator plants will have to be built if you are to ensure a regular supply of fish to the working people.

The construction of these plants has been widely undertaken in this province, but none of them has been commissioned. The projects now under way must be expedited so that all the plants start operation by August 15 this year. The refrigerator plant of 10,000-ton capacity now under construction in Wonsan, in particular, must be completed quickly. When it is finished, you can ensure a daily supply of 100 grammes of fresh fish to each of the Wonsan citizens as well as a regular supply of fish to restaurants and hotels. It seems unnecessary to build large cold-storage facilities apart from a 1,000-ton capacity plant each in Thongchon, Kosong and so on.

It is necessary to supply at least 10 grammes of cooking oil per head of the working population every day.

To this end, you will have to plant soya beans on a wide scale. Party organizations must organize a campaign for all cooperative farms to plant soya beans on the ridges between rice fields. You must also see that the riced corn flour mills separate the maize germs and extract oil from them. Maize oil is a good food item and it can prevent arteriosclerosis. It is also necessary to produce oil from rice bran on a wide scale. Well refined rice oil is not inferior to any other kinds of oil.

Red pepper, dried sliced radish, fish and so on must be mass-produced for the foreign market in exchange for cooking oil. We can export as many dried radish slices as we want. Radishes grow well in places like Sepho and Phyonggang. If we make dried slices of them and export them, we can buy a large amount of cooking oil. If it is impossible to import cooking oil, you can import other kinds of oil. At present, we are making soap from soya bean oil. If we can obtain a substitute for this, we can supply more soya bean oil to the working people.

Dolphin or whale oil will do for making soap. In future, we must catch a large number of dolphins and whales and extract oil from them for making soap and supply soya-bean oil to the people as a food item.

Riced corn flour mills must be improved. This task should be finished by April 15 this year so as to supply riced corn flour and noodles to the working people.

The Kangwon Provincial Party Committee must ensure that the construction of the pork processing plant is finished by the end of the first quarter of next year.

Confectioneries must also be equipped efficiently.

As it is a major port and a holiday resort in our country, Wonsan has a large number of visitors from different parts of our country and also from abroad. So its need for confectionery is very great. The provincial Party committee must ensure that confectioneries are modernized so as to mass-produce high-quality sweets.

There are many big machine factories in Kangwon Province.

Therefore, if the provincial and Wonsan city Party committees organize work well, they can carry out this task easily. They must implement this task as soon as possible by giving assignments to machine factories. The facilities which cannot be produced by the province must be manufactured by the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 2 for this province.

You have to build a well-appointed tobacco factory in Wonsan. You suggest building a tobacco factory in Phyonggang, but I do not think it advisable to build it there. There is neither a large source of labour, nor adequate living quarters, nor a required number of technicians there. An enterprise like a tobacco factory can be given technical aid when it is located near large factories, but this cannot be easily provided if it is built in a mountain town. You must build a well-equipped, modern tobacco factory which is even capable of producing exports.

In Phyonggang there are no technicians who can build it well or manage it efficiently after construction. If it is built there, officials from central and provincial authorities will be unable to visit it frequently for guidance.

It is preferable, therefore, to build a dried radish-slice mill, a tractor repair shop and others related to agriculture in Phyonggang but a tobacco factory in Wonsan.

You must also build sodium carbonate and glass factories.

We need a large amount of glass. New houses must be glazed and the broken windowpanes in schools will have to be replaced. A large amount of glass is also needed to reconstruct so many ramshackle huts in south Korea when the country is reunified in the future. You suggest building a glass factory with an annual production capacity of 300,000 square metres, but you must build one with a production capacity of 500,000 to 600,000 square metres instead.

The glass factory must mass-produce both sheet glass and bottles of different types. This will enable you to supply large quantities of cider and other beverages to the working people.

If bottles are mass-produced, the mineral water at Sambang and

Sogwangsa can be packed for the market. Refine and bottle the mineral water after keeping it in a tank for some time until its sediment settles, and then put it on sale in shops, and the inhabitants of Wonsan. holidaymakers there and those who have stomach troubles will buy and drink it. If you put attractive labels on the bottled mineral water, many foreign visitors will also buy it. Now mineral water is priced high on account of the cost of bottles, so the demand for it is low. If we decrease the cost of bottles in the future, everyone will want to drink mineral water, not ordinary cold water.

It is necessary to equip the building hardware factory well so as to produce a large quantity of taps, door handles and so on and to fit out the sanitary porcelain factory well.

Local industry factories must increase per-worker output value as well as the variety and quantity of their products radically.

As matters now stand, their per-worker output value is very low. They must endeavour to increase it. They must produce electric bulbs, fountain pens, ball-point pens, pencils, notebooks and other consumer goods for the population of the province.

On this visit, I have found that no diaries, good-quality writing paper, envelopes or postcards worth mentioning are available in Kangwon Province.

In future, local industry factories must mass-produce good-quality writing paper and a large variety of envelopes. At present, only one-sheet calendars are available. It is necessary to produce wall, desk and daily pad calendars as well.

In order to free women from the burden of kitchen chores it is necessary to manufacture a large quantity of kitchen utensils such as electric cooking pots, radish slicers, enamelled ironware and aluminium vessels. You must work hard to produce even one more kitchen utensil instead of paying lip service to the need to free women from the burden of household chores.

You must solve the problem of packing materials in addition to mass-producing consumer goods. The bad packaging of goods lowers their value and causes them to be damaged in transit. Carelessly

packed goods do not appeal to customers, either. It is advisable to build a plastic packing-material factory in Wonsan and a corrugated cardboard factory in Anbyon where plenty of rice straw is available.

If local industry factories increase the variety and quantity of their products, they can increase the national income and balance their own budgets.

Secondly, I should like to speak briefly about fishing.

The fishing industry must implement the Party's policy on developing large, medium and small-scale fishing and miscellaneous fishing to the letter.

At present, some officials neglect medium and small-scale fishing and miscellaneous fishing. You must not do so, but develop every kind of fishing at the same time. The annual per-worker catch of fish must reach at least 100 tons in large-scale fishing, 25 to 30 tons in medium and small-scale fishing and 12 to 15 tons in miscellaneous fishing. In this way, the province as a whole must catch 127,000 tons—fishing enterprises 95,000 tons, and fishermen's cooperatives 32,000 tons. In 1976 Kangwon Province must catch 180,000 tons of fish.

It is said that a work norm of 300 days of fishing a year is a little too high, so it is advisable to make it 270 days and institute a bonus system for extra work.

In addition to increasing the catch, it is necessary to process the landed fish well. A large number of refrigerators which make scale-shaped ice pieces must be produced and supplied to fishing enterprises and fishermen's cooperatives, and the fish caught by miscellaneous operations should be promptly collected by transport for freezing. For this purpose it is necessary to build at least one refrigerator plant with 50 to 100-ton capacity for several fishermen's cooperatives.

We must build many Taephyong-type dryers to dry rather stale fish to be ground. Now that we have many chicken plants, we have to produce a large quantity of fish meal for them.

We must organize fish processing well in this way, so that all the fish which cost so much labour are provided for the people before they rot.

If you are to develop the fishing industry, you must improve the ship repair centre. Enterprises near Wonsan Port must be merged into a big dockyard, and ship repair and maintenance shops have to be set up in Wonsan and Thongchon districts. These ship repair works must be supplied with machine tools, and other modern machinery.

Many fishing gear factories must be built to mass-produce nets, fishhooks, buoys and various other items of fishing tackle.

In order to improve fishing, senior officials in charge of this sector must personally take part in fishing operations. If they sit in their offices, ordering people about, they cannot clearly understand the fishing situation and the men's problems. If things come to this pass, they may become bureaucratic in spite of themselves. If they are to have Party spirit, working-class spirit and people-oriented spirit, they must take part in productive labour frequently.

As we always say, during the anti-Japanese armed struggle commanders used to stand in the front ranks during attacks at all times and brought up the rear during retreats at the risk of their lives. This is precisely the revolutionary style of work. You must learn the revolutionary method and popular style of work from the anti-Japanese guerrillas. Senior officials in charge of fishing must go to sea for at least 70 days a year.

At present, there seems to be a great deal of unreasonableness in the management structure of the fishing industry. It is necessary to examine it carefully and eliminate redundant staff from the structure so as to permit more people to participate in fishing operations.

Thirdly, I should like to discuss agriculture.

Since many of its counties border on the Military Demarcation Line, Kangwon Province ought to be more successful in farming than other provinces and demonstrate the advantages of the socialist cooperative economy and the socialist system to the south Korean people; but farming in this province is worse than elsewhere. Kangwon Province is not yet self-sufficient in food and the amount of grain distribution and the cash income per household here is smaller than in other provinces.

If Kangwon Province is to increase grain production, it must first be efficient in soil improvement and strictly observe the principle of the right crop on the right soil.

The rainfall in this province is heavier than in other provinces. The average annual rainfall in our country is approximately 1,000 millimetres, and that in Kosong County, Kangwon Province, for instance, is said to be as high as 2,000 millimetres. Therefore, crops in this province are vulnerable to damage from low temperatures and damp. Worse still, the province is subject to typhoons every year.

The Party organizations in this province, however, have not taken effective measures to prevent damage from the wind as well as from low temperatures and damp.

In future Party organizations in Kangwon Province must undertake soil improvement on a wide scale. Crop fields must be provided with deep ditches and good drainage so as to protect crops from flood damage. If percolation drainage is effective, it must be introduced. It is necessary to study how to improve rice paddies and prevent damage from low temperatures and damp.

You must strictly observe the principle of the right crop on the right soil, in addition to improving soil widely.

As I said at the Second Congress of the Union of Agricultural Working People, it is impossible to increase grain yields without observing the principle of the right crop on the right soil in our climatic and soil conditions.

Our country has fewer plains and more mountains than other countries and atmospheric temperature differs greatly from place to place. It differs from the valleys on one side of the mountain to those on the other side, and even between neighbouring valleys. And even in the same valley, it differs from the opening of the valley to its farthest corners.

In a country like Hungary which is a stretch of wide plains the wind sweeps the whole land once it rises. In a successful year, a rich crop is harvested in all parts of the country, and when there is damage, the crops throughout the country suffer equally from it. But in our country

the crop situation is good in one part when it is bad in another.

The research results of a particular agricultural institute in our country are not applicable to all the other regions, and foreign farming methods are still less applicable to our country. Officials in charge of agriculture must, therefore, work very carefully: they must have a clear idea of which crop grows well in which field in which ravine and make sure that right crops are cultivated on the right fields. At present, in some cooperative farms whose chairmen are women, farming is more successful than in those managed by male chairmen. This is because women work with the utmost care.

If officials in charge of agriculture instruct people to plant maize in all regions by rule of thumb without any study and calculation, or force them to finish rice transplanting without reserve by May 25 allegedly in accordance with the Party's directions, it is impossible to increase crop yields. When we gave instructions to finish rice transplanting by May 25, these instructions were meant for the warm regions like South Hwanghae and South Phyongan Provinces, but not for the cold regions. Cold regions ought to set the rice transplanting season to suit their weather conditions.

If you give orders in farming mechanically, you will never succeed. In agriculture, the principle of the right crop on the right soil is imperative.

Party organizations in Kangwon Province must see that crops which suit the local climatic and soil conditions are planted. In Thongchon and Kosong, for instance, the weather is warm but the wind is strong, so second cropping should be encouraged and steps taken to protect crops from wind damage. If double crops cannot be protected from wind damage, it will be better to cultivate sweet potatoes instead of maize.

Other counties should also cultivate low-stature plants which can withstand the wind, grow well in sandy soil and resist frost and moisture as far as possible.

The Wonsan University of Agriculture and the Kangwon Province Branch of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences must develop strains

and farming methods which suit the climatic and soil conditions of the province.

The Wonsan University of Agriculture is the first of its kind in our country but has not worked well to develop agriculture in Kangwon Province. We instructed the staff of this university to develop strains and farming methods suitable for the province a long time ago and told them to help the local farmers, but they have not carried out the task faithfully. We cannot say that they are discharging their mission with credit if these people, who eat the rice produced in Kangwon Province, do not study as they should to develop agriculture in this province.

In future, the Wonsan University of Agriculture and the Kangwon Province Branch of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences must study the strains and farming methods suitable for the weather and soil of the province, so as to give positive assistance to the local farmers.

Next, it is necessary to raise the level of mechanization in agriculture.

If this is not done, it is impossible to free farmers from arduous and heavy labour and increase agricultural production quickly. To do this, therefore, our Party intends to provide five to six tractors and one to 1.5 lorries per 100 hectares of cultivated land in the near future. On this principle we are going to increase the number of tractors per 100 hectares in Kangwon Province to 1.5 this year and 1.5 to two in the near future. One to 1.5 lorries are to work per 100 hectares of cultivated land, but we have to make it one lorry per 200 hectares in Kangwon Province for the time being because a large number of lorries are needed for industry, city management and capital construction.

For this purpose, the state will supply 150 *Phungnyon* tractors, 1,000 *Chollima* and *Jonjin* tractors and 80 lorries to Kangwon Province this year. Two hundred *Chollima* tractors and 50 *Jonjin* tractors will be supplied before the ploughing season this year.

The supply of tractors and lorries by the state is not all that is needed for the mechanization of the rural economy. No matter how many of them may be supplied by the state, they will not prove their worth if they are not used effectively. Now the operation rate of

tractors in the rural economy of Kangwon Province is said to be 63.8 per cent and that of lorries 48.6 per cent. This is a very low rate. The 48.6 per cent of lorry operation means that more than half the lorries in the province are standing idle.

The officials in charge of agriculture in this province must increase the rate of tractor and lorry operations to 85 per cent at least in order to raise the level of mechanization of agriculture.

For this purpose, it is necessary to build up their repair centre. Kangwon Province ought to build a tractor repair centre in Phyonggang. You have also suggested building a lorry repair centre in Phyonggang. You should make careful calculations, and if you find it suitable, you should establish it there. A large trailer-farm-machine factory must be built in Wonsan. Since Kangwon Province has not a large number of cooperative farms, it is good to build a single factory in Wonsan rather than in two or three places and produce farm machines for the cooperative farms. This factory must produce trailers, ploughs, sowers and so on.

In addition, you must improve the rivers. The riverbed profiles in Kosong, Thongchon and Anbyon areas have risen and there is a danger of many non-paddy fields being flooded. The workers in the machine industry must produce and supply large numbers of excavators, bulldozers, ditch-diggers and other modern facilities for river improvement in Kangwon Province. It seems advisable to begin with the supply of at least 20 excavators of 0.5-cubic-metre capacity to the province this year.

Next, you must carry out the ten major tasks for the direction of agricultural production and the ten major tasks for the management of cooperative farms defined at the National Congress of Agricultural Workers held in February 1967. Both of these tasks cover all questions related to the direction of agricultural production and to the management of cooperative farms including those of observing the Cooperative Farm Rules strictly, giving full scope to democracy, organizing work, assessing work-points accurately, conducting yearly accounts and income distribution correctly, and implementing the

sub-workteam system of management and the workteam bonus system properly.

At present, however, senior agricultural officials do not study these tasks nor do they work hard to carry them out. Many cooperative farms do not operate the sub-workteam management system efficiently nor do they assess work-points correctly. This dampens the farmers' enthusiasm for production.

In future, the Party organizations in Kangwon Province must ensure that senior agricultural officials and cooperative farmers carry out the major tasks. Party organizations, in particular, must pay close attention to stimulating the farmers' enthusiasm for production.

To this end, it is necessary to observe the socialist principle of distribution strictly and strengthen the ideological education of farmers. Party organizations must ensure that cooperative farms implement the sub-workteam management system correctly and assess work-points accurately so that those who have worked more receive more, and those who have worked less receive less. Moreover, those who have increased per-hectare yields must be duly appreciated and given bonuses.

In order to increase the farmers' enthusiasm for production, it is also necessary to improve the supply of commodities to the rural communities. Large quantities of high-quality goods must be made available to the farmers who earned large shares of grain and cash income by working hard. If they cannot buy goods in the shop with their money, they will not be encouraged to work harder.

At present, the farmers' demand for watches, sewing machines, nylon sweaters, woolen fabrics and other high-quality goods is great. If these needs are not met, they may not try to produce more grain than they can eat. Only when large amounts of high-quality goods are available to them will they endeavour to increase grain production with great enthusiasm.

As I have said more than once, the living standards of the farmers in Nyongbyon County were not high in the past. In order to raise their living standards we studied the farming situation there in detail for

some years, and then, we visited there and summoned the local officials to a meeting. We told them to plant young maize early—maize grown in cold beds—and then cultivate radishes as a second crop to be sliced and dried for market. We also had each workteam plant one hectare to red pepper for sale. As a result, last year each farm family there earned 3.3 tons of grain and 1,000 *won* in cash on average. So I told the senior officials of the Ministry of Commerce to make large quantities of nylon sweaters, watches and other quality goods available to them. Then the local farmers said that they all became rich last year and would produce more than three tons of maize per hectare this year. As you can see, the efficient distribution of goods can increase the farmers' enthusiasm for production.

In Kangwon Province, too, large numbers of sweaters, jackets, watches, shoes, woolen suits and other good-quality commodities should be made available to the farmers who have worked hard and earned a great deal of grain and cash income.

Next, I shall speak briefly about the long-term plan for the development of agriculture in Kangwon Province.

During the Six-Year Plan, Kangwon Province will have to produce at least 400,000 to 500,000 tons of grain. The total area of cultivated land in Kangwon Province is 134,000 hectares. At a conservative estimate of four tons of grain per hectare, the province can produce much more than 500,000 tons in all. If five or six tons of grain are produced per hectare by introducing double cropping successfully in some areas, the total output will be greater. Therefore, the 400,000 to 500,000 tons of grain production quota for Kangwon Province is not high.

The Party organizations in Kangwon Province must ensure that the general target of at least 400,000 to 500,000 tons of grain is reached during the Six-Year Plan by working for more than four tons per hectare. Thus, the province will meet its own needs for food, raw materials for light industry and feed for domestic animals.

You must also increase egg production. If you are to do this, you must develop a mass campaign to raise chickens as I said at the national meeting of poultry workers. Every farm family must produce

1,000 eggs a year by keeping more than five hens. The indigenous hens now raised in the rural areas do not lay many eggs, so chicken plants had better hatch chickens and supply them to farmers. Many chickens must be raised on threshing grounds and at rice mills.

The construction of the pig plant must be completed by the end of June this year. Thus, Kangwon Province should produce 225 million eggs and 25,000 tons of meat annually during the Six-Year Plan.

During the Six-Year Plan 400,000 to 450,000 tons of vegetables and at least 75,000 tons of fruit must be produced annually.

Thus, 60 to 70 grammes of meat, half an egg, one or two apples or their equivalents, and 800 grammes of vegetables will be supplied per head of the provincial population on average every day. The Party organizations in this province must make great efforts to attain these goals.

To proceed, you must endeavour to improve the farmers' living standards.

We intend to reduce the prices of light industry goods further in the future. We are going to build more textile mills and consumer goods factories this year and next year and reduce the prices of commodities by 30 to 50 per cent towards 1974. Particular stress will be laid on the reduction of the prices of fabrics and shoes.

We have already built the modern September Textile Mill and the Sariwon Textile Mill. We are planning to import more machines which spin yarn from chemical fibre in the future. When a mill spinning vinalon yarn for netting is built in Hamhung in the future, the cotton yarn which is now used for netting can be used to produce clothing. We also intend to import knitting machines. We shall then be able to produce a large quantity of cloth and knitted goods and reduce the prices of cloth a great deal in about 1974. A reduction of prices means a rise in the real wage of the working people.

In addition, we are planning to raise the wages of factory and office workers by some 50 per cent or to approximately 90 *won* per month on average during the Six-Year Plan so as to increase their purchasing power.

In order to raise the wages of factory and office workers and reduce prices, it is necessary to increase per-capita output value in heavy, light, local and all other industries and in agriculture as well.

The Party organizations in Kangwon Province must take steps for all the cooperative farms to cultivate crops well, plant large numbers of mulberry, persimmon and pear trees, and raise many sheep so that at least three tons of grain and 1,000 *won* of cash can be distributed to each farm family. In this way the living standards of the farmers in this province will be improved drastically as soon as possible.

Fourthly, I shall talk briefly about transport.

The most important task of the railway sector is to complete the laying of the railway between Ichon and Sepho as quickly as possible. On this visit, we have met the members of the national youth shock brigade who are participating in the project. We posed for photographs with them and talked to them. They were in high spirits.

Provincial Party organizations must make every effort to open the Ichon-Sepho railway to traffic by the September 9 holiday this year. It is also necessary to provide a train service between Anbyon and Thongchon. I think this will greatly ease the strain on transport in Kangwon Province.

Motor transport must also be developed.

I shall ensure that 30 five-ton lorries are supplied to this province for long-distance transport. In addition, 160 *Sungni-58* lorries must be supplied for transport in counties and 50 lorries of the same type for construction and supply service in Wonsan. You must make certain that lorries are repaired and maintained regularly, and their rate of operation and their life span are increased.

You must pay close attention to bus services.

Provincial Party organizations must make sure that the province produces many buses to serve the convenience of the working people. The June 4 Rolling Stock Factory ought to manufacture them because the motor vehicle repair works will not be able to make good buses. As Wonsan is a holiday resort which is visited by many domestic and foreign tourists, buses must be good. The June 4 Rolling Stock Factory

has cutters, power presses and paint blowers, so it can make buses well. The factory executives must organize their production well and make about 30 good buses. You must ensure that this task is implemented, so that women with children in Wonsan will not have to wait for buses a long time from next winter.

You must also develop sea transport.

If you develop it, you can transport large amounts of cargo at low cost. Kangwon Province has taken over the *Phyonghwa* but is not making good use of it. It is one week since the *Wisong* arrived here, but it still lies at anchor without being unloaded quickly. Ships must be promptly unloaded upon their arrival and reloaded to increase their rate of utilization.

In future, Kangwon Province must transport timber from Rajin and Unggi and coal from North Hamgyong Province by ship. This will be much better than transporting them by rail.

In order to develop sea transport a quay must also be built efficiently in Wonsan. Officials in the machine-building industry must supply cranes, bulldozers and other machines and equipment needed for the construction of the quay.

Another four 1,000-ton boats must be built for Kangwon Province in the future for the development of its sea transport. It is impossible to build them all this year, so one will have to be built a year, under a long-term plan. Whether to build them at the June 24 Shipyard or at the Wonsan Shipyard should be decided after considering their shipbuilding capacities.

Fifthly, I wish to speak about capital construction.

Kangwon Province must start a campaign to build dwellings for 20,000 families every year, of which there should be modern rural houses for 15,000 families, and housing for 5,000 families in urban and workers' districts. It is advisable for this housing project to include the construction of nurseries, kindergartens and schools other than universities and colleges. If Kangwon Province builds dwellings for 20,000 families a year, it will be able to solve its housing problem within a few years.

Party organizations must work hard to replace thatched houses in the rural areas with modern houses as soon as possible. Of course, it is impossible to rebuild all the thatched houses, which have been handed down through thousands of years, at once. Therefore, the counties bordering on the Military Demarcation Line must finish the modern housing project within this year and the coastal counties by the end of next year. Thatched houses near the railway and highways must all be replaced with modern houses. Since the counties bordering on the Military Demarcation Line are all small and have built a large number of modern houses in the past, they will be able to do the task within this year.

You must not build one-storeyed houses in Wonsan and in county towns. In county towns as many Songnim-style houses as possible should be built.

Adequate amounts of cement, timber and steel needed for housing construction must be supplied. The state will supply 80,000 tons of cement, 3,000 tons of steel and 30,000 cubic metres of timber for construction in Kangwon Province.

One hundred and fifty kilogrammes of steel are required for the construction of a Songnim-style flat and no steel for modern rural houses. Therefore, 3,000 tons of steel will be enough to build the dwellings, nurseries, kindergartens and two or three-storeyed school buildings.

Cement and earthen tiles should be produced for roofing.

Kangwon Province will have to create a capacity to produce 50 million bricks.

Wonsan must be developed well.

Wonsan is a beautiful holiday resort and a promising port. We must develop Wonsan Port as well as the Ports of Chongjin, Hungnam, Sinpho and Tanchon. A structural panel works, a motor factory and many other factories were built near the quay in Kangwon Province. This shows that the senior officials of the province and Wonsan City failed to play the part of master properly and worked in a slipshod manner without paying heed to the future needs of urban development.

In future they must work out a correct long-term plan for city construction with the attitude of masters, and develop Wonsan Port well.

Preparations must be made now to remove the factories from the quay area except the fishing station, shipyard and ship repair works.

The Kalma peninsula must be developed well. When north-south mutual visits are effected in the future, the peninsula may be opened for the purpose. Then, not only our working people but also south Korean bourgeois politicians and many foreigners may come to visit it. If the peninsula is to be opened in the future, a pleasure ground, many holiday homes, good hotels for foreign visitors and those for our people will have to be built there on a large scale. It is necessary to lay out a highway leading from the city to the peninsula and build many good houses on both sides of the road. If this is done, Wonsan will become known to the world as a beautiful city.

Kangwon Province must complete the erection of the TV relay tower by April 15 this year so that people in every ri of the province can watch TV.

Sixthly, I shall refer to the task of improving school education.

Kangwon Province must construct the buildings for the university of medicine as soon as possible and train a large number of competent medical workers. Our country is still short of medical workers and their qualifications are not very high. You must build a well-appointed medical university hospital which will provide both medical training for the students and medical care for the provincial people in general.

The university of fisheries must also be developed. There are not yet many fishery specialists in our country, so our fishing operations cannot keep abreast of the world fishing trend. In future it is necessary to develop the university of fisheries and provide the students with everything necessary for their practical training so as to produce a large number of fishing technicians.

We must also train a large number of competent agriculturists. Because of the shortage of competent agriculturists, our rural communities are still unsuccessful in the technical revolution, and the

management of cooperative farms is inefficient. Other countries are increasing per-hectare crop yields by improving strains but we are not doing this very well. We must on no account neglect the training of scientists and technicians. The Wonsan University of Agriculture must improve its education standards and produce a greater number of competent agriculturists.

We must raise the standards of the students of higher technical schools as well. As matters now stand, their qualifications are very low. The graduates of higher technical schools ought to be qualified as assistant engineers, but they are not. Party organizations must improve the guidance of higher technical schools so that they can provide better qualifications.

If you are to help them to do so, you must refrain from enlisting these students in public labour too much. It is now a common practice to mobilize students in public labour without any restriction. This is seriously wrong. The Party has instructed that students be encouraged to work moderately so as to combine education with productive labour, rather than compelled to work without any restraint. At present, however, some senior county officials are overworking them. This is a violation of the state law. County officials are not authorized to mobilize students at their own discretion. Since students are at the age of vigorous growth, overwork will interfere with their growth. Too frequent participation in public labour also interferes with their school work and with the improvement of their qualifications.

University students, too, must not be overworked. At present, their qualifications are low because they participate too much in public labour. Senior officials of provincial and city Party committees seem to regard students' labour as something which can be obtained for a mere song, so they mobilize them in work as they please. They must not do so. The basic duty of students is to study well. I have already said more than once that students must not be mobilized in labour without restraint. In future you must not repeat this practice.

Seventhly, some words about strengthening labour administration.

In recent years organizational structures have swollen to excess.

This has resulted in a decrease in the number of earners and an increase in the number of spenders. If things go on like this, the country will be unable to prosper. Party organizations must arrange work carefully so as to merge or abolish excessively sub-divided departments as far as circumstances permit, and slash unproductive labour and the management staffs of factories, enterprises and cooperative farms.

First of all, the staff structure of the county cooperative farm management committee must be reduced. The size of this staff must be defined in proportion to the amount of cereals produced in that county, as decided by the enlarged meeting of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee.

Cooperative farms, too, should be amalgamated wherever this is possible. Experience shows that 80 to 100 hectares can be managed by one workteam. It is desirable, therefore, to reorganize each cooperative farm of some 150 families into one or two workteams and merge them with the neighbouring cooperative farms.

Construction enterprises are also excessively sub-divided. In Wonsan, for instance, there are the local industry construction company, the public building construction company, the Songdowon construction company and the city construction company. Some of them have only 150 or 200 employees. Such an enterprise also has a staff consisting of the manager, his deputy, the primary Party committee secretary and the chairmen of working people's organizations. This means fewer men to work at the floor level. Wonsan, which is not a very big city, does not need so many building companies. It is desirable to reorganize all of them into two enterprises each with 1,000 to 1,500 men and one recreation ground construction company with some 1,000 men. They should be named the first, second and third construction companies and given construction assignment.

The management staffs of factories and enterprises must also be reduced. A factory with no more than 100 employees needs the manager, Party secretary and chief engineer, but the manager and the Party secretary must take part in physical labour and the chief engineer

must take charge of bookkeeping in addition to his basic duty.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about Party work.

The most serious shortcoming in the work of the Kangwon Provincial Party Committee in the past is that Party work lacks a correct system. In brief, the major weakness is that the intentions of the Party Central Committee are not conveyed thoroughly to the lowest echelons.

In future, the provincial Party organizations must establish a correct Party work system as well as the Party's monolithic ideological system amongst Party members and the rest of the working people and ensure that the intentions of the Party Central Committee are thoroughly conveyed to the lower echelons.

Another major shortcoming in the work of the Kangwon Provincial Party Committee is the lack of responsibility and Party spirit on the part of its officials. At present, some of them do not accept the instructions of their superiors willingly or ignore them and work in a slipshod manner.

Lack of responsibility is particularly in evidence among the senior officials of the county Party committees.

As we always say, the chief secretary of the county Party committee is the master who is in charge of one-two hundredth of our country. He assumes all responsibilities for the lives of the workers, farmers, office workers, and schoolchildren in his county and for all the county affairs. He must, therefore, have a high sense of responsibility and have all the county affairs at his fingertips. But many of these secretaries do not know the situations in their counties thoroughly, even though some of them have been in the same office for years. It is a different matter with those who have been on the job for a few months, but there can be no excuse for those who have worked for years. If they have a high sense of responsibility, they can become familiar with all their county affairs within a year.

Worse still, some chief secretaries of county Party committees think nothing of deceiving the Party. Some of them tell the Party a lie that they can do what they really cannot do or that they know what they

really do not know. This shows that they lack Party spirit and responsibility.

Provincial Party organizations must see that strict Party discipline is established amongst the officials and that they have a high sense of responsibility for their work.

Another major shortcoming in the work of the Kangwon Provincial Party Committee is that its officials lack a strong fighting spirit to carry out Party policy.

Party workers are not at liberty to implement Party policy or not, as they choose. They must organize the implementation of the Party's policy. When the policy is not implemented successfully, they must discover the cause and then take the necessary measures to ensure its implementation. If they do not inspect the implementation of the task they have given, the Party's policy will not be carried out successfully.

In future, Party organizations must always check on how the work they have organized is being done, and take further steps to carry it out.

Another defect in the work of the Kangwon Provincial Party Committee is inefficient personnel management.

The provincial Party organizations have dismissed many officials without good reason.

Take the manager of the Wonsan Ironware Works for example. He rendered distinguished service in enlisting private traders and manufacturers in producers' cooperatives in the past and then continued to acquit himself well. If he was inefficient in his work because he was a little old, a competent Party secretary could have been assigned to the works and a post of first deputy manager instituted to help him. Then, he would have been able to work as manager. Since the factory has a chief engineer, it was quite possible for him to help the manager. The provincial Party committee, however, dismissed him for no reason. This was seriously wrong.

The provincial Party committee also dismissed the manager of the Wonsan Motor Factory in the same manner. According to the investigation by the guidance commission on this occasion, there was no reason whatsoever to fire him. He had made painstaking efforts to

carry out Party policies. The Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee says that he works well, and the ministry concerned says that he is competent. When he was on his trip to the Party Central Committee for approval of the plan to manufacture motors he was dismissed allegedly for incompetence. It is advisable to reinstate him, and send the present manager back to his former work.

Cadres must not be dismissed without reason. People can commit errors in their work. If they do, they should be criticized and educated and incompetent officials should be given active assistance to acquit themselves well. Those who have erred may be penalized, and when they work well they should be rehabilitated. If those who have made mistakes are not criticized and disciplined immediately, they could end by committing grave errors. Party organizations must, therefore, make sure that cadres are given criticism regularly.

In the past the anti-Japanese guerrillas liked to be given criticism. When we gave them no criticism when inspecting their units they were unhappy. Our officials, too, should be ready to accept criticism and must be used to it. Then they will not commit errors. Criticism is meant to train people, and they need it in the same way as they wash their faces every day. If a man does not wash his face, it becomes dirty. So he must wash his face every day. Just as washing is needed to keep our faces clean, so is criticism to keep our minds clear.

If officials do not wash the stains off their minds before it is too late, they may commit serious errors.

Party organizations must see to it that officials improve their organizational life, frequently criticize each other and acquire the correct attitude towards criticism. Cadres should be given criticism and training so that they take an active part in the revolutionary struggle and construction: they must not be dismissed for their errors. If they are dismissed for minor errors, they will tell lies and be very afraid of criticism.

We have never dismissed any cadres, except those who acted against the Party. And even if we did so, we were compelled to remove some officials from office and send them to school.

In future, Party organizations must not dismiss or transfer cadres at random, particularly those in charge of administrative and economic establishments. Deputies can be promoted or transferred since many factories are being built. Heads of establishments, however, should be kept at their posts as long as possible.

Party officials, too, must not be dismissed or transferred at random. They do work amongst the people. Becoming familiar with people is a very difficult task. In the case of a machine, if we take it apart, we can see inside it, judge whether it is of good quality or not and discover what is wrong with it. But it is not easy to read people's minds. There is a saying that the depth of water can be fathomed, but not the thoughts of man. You can measure the depth of water in terms of feet, ten or a hundred, for instance, but not the minds of people. Doctors can find germs in human bodies, but not people's ideological diseases. If you want to know their minds, you have to study them for a long time and work with them well. Therefore, Party workers have to work on the same job as long as possible so that they can educate and study people. Only then can they do the work with people well, and immediately spot which of them is becoming corrupt and take the necessary steps.

If cadres are kept in the same position for a long time, some of them may be sorry that they are not promoted, but they must not think this. We cannot afford to replace old cadres frequently with new ones once the organization of their office is fixed. Therefore, cadres may stay in the same post all their lives. Party and administrative workers and all other cadres are engaged in the same revolutionary work. So, when appointed to a certain post by the Party, they ought to work at the post for a long time.

Party organizations in Kangwon Province must intensify the struggle against misappropriation and waste.

This struggle is an ideological revolution and the struggle to revolutionize and working-classize people.

In order to build socialism successfully, all the people must work willingly, take good care of common property and use it economically. It is very important in communist education, therefore, to encourage

people to take good care of common property and save it.

In the past our Party waged a powerful ideological struggle against misappropriation and waste. But this practice is still in evidence among some people. Some time ago the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee reviewed the first-month struggle against misappropriation and waste, and we learned of many serious cases. There have been many instances of misappropriation and waste in Kangwon Province, too. When the resolution of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee is circulated in the future, it is necessary to inform the Party members of it and carry out a decisive ideological struggle against misappropriation and waste. All establishments without exception must participate in this struggle.

In order to end these practices it is also necessary to draft appropriate regulations. The regulations relating to financing, management of materials and equipment and so on must be drawn up, and all the people must observe them strictly. In this way, we must not allow any opportunity for misappropriation and waste.

Party organizations must help public security work well.

At present, there are many spies in hiding. They do not show their identity on their foreheads. Party organizations must help the public security service to ferret out all the hidden spies.

An important factor in counter-intelligence is not to give them any place to hide. If Party and working people's organizations get down to the task and improve the work of the neighbourhood units and put all the people on the alert, there will be nowhere for the spies to hide.

The whole Party must help the public security service so as to give enemy spies no chance to act.

Party organizations must see to it that all the Party members and other working people are on the alert, without being indolent and lax.

You must not become slack on the assumption that the country will be reunified very soon because recently our Party has been stepping up the peace campaign for national reunification. The struggle to decide who triumphs over whom is still going on.

At present, the US imperialists and their lackeys are making frantic

efforts to overthrow our system, and we are endeavouring to drive the US imperialists out of south Korea and reunify the country.

The south Korean puppet clique is now afraid of opening the door because of the gulf between rich and poor in south Korea. At a glance the streets of Seoul may look showy, but the mansions are meant for rich capitalists, not for the common people. In Seoul there is a large number of unemployed people, and the streets are swarming with shoeshine boys. But the main street of Pyongyang is lined with modern apartment houses where factory and office workers live. In the northern half of Korea no one goes hungry and ragged or roams about the streets without a job, nor are there any children who cannot afford to go to school. As you see, there is a fundamental difference between the systems in the north and the south. That is the very reason why the south Korean rulers are doggedly opposed to visits between the north and the south. If these visits are allowed, and the people from the south can see things in the north, they will all support our system.

The US imperialists and their lackeys are resorting to every means to overthrow our system and restore the capitalist system. That is why the struggle for peaceful reunification involves the class struggle. Therefore, we must never become indolent and lax because the Party puts forward a policy for peaceful national reunification. We must always be vigilant against the enemy and keep ourselves alert. If we doze off, the enemy will try to overthrow our system and destroy our socialist achievements.

We must intensify the ideological education of the Party members and other working people so that they always keep revolutionary vigilance and firmly protect our socialist system.

We have to continue to prepare ourselves against war.

Our Party's policy of peaceful reunification means a way of struggle. We must be prepared for national reunification in two ways. If the country is reunified peacefully, it is good. If the enemy ignites war, we have to fight and defeat him at one stroke and reunify the country. Therefore, we must always be fully prepared to counter the enemy's invasion.

To this end, we must thoroughly implement the policy of placing all the people under arms, turning the whole country into a fortress and developing the whole army into an army of cadres and modernizing it.

Working for one week in Kangwon Province on this occasion, we have given you many tasks. Party organizations in Kangwon Province must bring about a great improvement in one or two years by carrying out these tasks.

As General Secretary of the Party Central Committee I have brought its department heads and we have held meetings and directed factories and enterprises in this province for one week. If you do not bring about any change, our guidance will be fruitless. I hope that you will make fresh changes in all sectors by making strenuous efforts to carry out the tasks given at this plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee.

## **REVOLUTIONARY UNITY IS A GUARANTEE FOR ALL VICTORIES**

*April 15, 1972*

Esteemed Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Princess Monique Sihanouk,

Esteemed Comrade Ieng Sary, special envoy from Cambodia,

Dear comrades and friends,

Today I have come unprepared to make a speech. In fact, I do not know how to speak at banquets of this kind nor have I ever written notes for such a speech. And so, today, I should like to say a few words to you, expressing what is in my heart.

First of all, I consider it a great honour that Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, our brother, comrade-in-arms and closest friend, Princess Monique Sihanouk, special envoy Ieng Sary and other Cambodian guests are present, and I should like to express my grateful thanks to them.

I have already told Samdech Norodom Sihanouk more than once that I had not celebrated my birthday and that, when I did, I marked it simply by drinking a cup of wine with some of my comrades. But the Samdech has come to our country like this, not to attend a grand banquet but as a friend and brother to share a glass of wine with us on my birthday.

Today I warmly welcome Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and his entourage once again.

Internationalist friendship and solidarity between the peoples of

Korea and Cambodia will be everlasting and indestructible.

The Cambodian people are fighting against US imperialism on the same front as we are.

Under the leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian people bravely repulsed the US imperialist aggressors and liberated 80 per cent of Cambodian territory in a short time. This is a great victory not only for the Cambodian people but also for the Korean people and all revolutionary people of the world who are fighting against US imperialism.

I am certain that the Cambodian people, under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union which he leads, will, without fail, achieve a great victory in the fight to crush the US imperialist aggressors, liberate all the Cambodian territory and build a peaceful, anti-imperialist, revolutionary new Cambodia in the near future.

Standing firmly on the side of the Cambodian people led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the Korean people will resolutely support and encourage them and fight beside them for ever until they achieve complete victory.

Comrades,

You have gathered to congratulate me on my birthday. This is an honour as well as a cause of some embarrassment for me.

Until the age of 14 years old I grew up under the care of my parents. From then onwards, I have lived amongst my comrades. At all times—when engaged in underground or armed struggle, or in the building of a new Korea after liberation—I have lived enjoying the love of my comrades, and today I have reached the age of 60 with their affection.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to all the comrades who have assisted and reared me and have fought by my side.

It is entirely thanks to these comrades that I have so far been able to engage in state affairs and Party and revolutionary work in good health. When I was engaged in underground struggle, many comrades

sheltered me from the enemy's surveillance and pursuit and protected me from danger. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle there were many perilous situations. On every occasion, my comrades helped and protected me. In particular, when we were short of provisions, they spared nothing to safeguard my health in every possible way.

This revolutionary comradeship and these noble traits can only originate in the Marxist-Leninist spirit and communist morals. In the course of my revolutionary struggle I have keenly perceived that revolutionary comradeship and revolutionary unity are the basis of all our victories.

Of course, the love of parents is invaluable. However, it is an affection devoted mainly to providing for the children's physical welfare.

Comradeship is the most valuable affection which helps steel one's thinking, encourage and inspire each other and achieve revolutionary unity through mutual struggle, and thus it enables one to carry the revolutionary struggle through to the end. I take this opportunity today, therefore, to call upon you comrades once again to defend to the end the revolutionary comradeship and revolutionary unity which we have achieved on the basis of communist morals in the course of our revolutionary struggle covering more than 40 years.

Revolutionary unity does not just happen by itself. It is only achieved on the basis of unity in ideology and purpose.

For a firm unity of ideology and purpose amongst the revolutionary ranks it is essential for us to go through all kinds of vicissitudes as well as wage the ideological struggle. Idlers should be admonished and called to account, and those who have made mistakes must be criticized and punished. Advice, admonition, criticism and punishment are necessary to ensure unity of ideology and purpose in the revolutionary ranks. Unless we secure this unity through efforts of this kind, we cannot succeed in any undertaking.

The history of our country shows that the rulers of the feudal Ri dynasty were embroiled in factional strife, adopting flunkeyism to the large powers. At that time there were pro-Chinese, pro-Russian,

pro-Japanese and many other factions in our country. The country was eventually ruined because the feudal rulers became corrupt and degenerate and involved in factional feuds.

Later, during the nationalist movement, a number of factions also appeared. The champions of the nationalist movement behaved as they pleased, after forming organizations such as the “Restoration Group”, the “Great Undertaking Group” and the “Justice Group”. That was why the nationalist movement in this period was not successful, although the Korean people rose in a struggle immediately after the country was annexed by the Japanese imperialists.

The early stage of the communist movement in our country was similar to that situation. Then the self-styled Marxists appeared and, each having its own seal engraved in potato, visited the Communist International in Moscow to gain its endorsement as the “orthodox group”. The Communist International dismissed the Communist Party of Korea from its membership, saying that it did not know whom to believe, because so many people presented themselves in turn, claiming to be the “orthodox group”. This really is a great disgrace to the Korean nation.

History bears out the fact that adopting flunkeyism as well as factional strife leads to the ruin of the country.

The rising generation of Korea, real communists, did not want to repeat the errors committed by the feudal rulers, the nationalists, the champions of the early communist movement, and the self-styled Marxists.

We fought under the programme of crushing the Japanese imperialists and building a new society through our own efforts, believing in the strength of the people and relying on them. We were able to achieve the great victory we see today because we had set such correct fighting goals and rallied all the people in the fight.

Right at the beginning of the anti-Japanese armed struggle we put forward the policy of forming a nationwide anti-Japanese united front.

During the early period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle our situation was very difficult. At that time our enemy was not only the

Japanese imperialists; the Chinese nationalist anti-Japanese units and different nationalist factions in the homeland also opposed us. However, we strove to unite all the anti-Japanese forces in keeping with the policy of forming a nationwide anti-Japanese united front and an international anti-Japanese united front.

We launched the anti-Japanese national united front movement dynamically, under the slogan of bringing the whole nation to shatter Japanese imperialism by united efforts, men of strength contributing their strength, intellectuals contributing their intelligence and propertied people donating their property. All the people of our country united in the great tide of this movement and we accomplished the historic goal of national liberation by their concerted efforts.

Even after national liberation following the defeat of Japanese imperialism the situation facing our country was very complicated.

Self-styled heroes and careerists who had done nothing but idle about in the days of the anti-Japanese struggle put themselves forward as soon as the country was liberated, claiming to be in control and people of every persuasion flocked together from everywhere. Of course, it was good that immediately after liberation many people gathered from different places. Therefore, we adopted the policy of uniting them, despite differences in opinions and understanding between us and them. As a result, we soon reorganized the Communist Party of Korea into the Workers' Party of Korea and rallied to our Party the progressive workers, peasants, working intellectuals and other broad sections of the working people.

In addition, we formed a united front with Chondoist, Christian and other religious organizations and religious people as well as various nationalist organizations. This united front still exists.

It is because we developed the Party into a mass political party in this way and rallied all the people closely around it by forming a united front that we could carry out agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries and other democratic reforms creditably in a very short space of time, and establish the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and build up the People's Army.

If we had not fulfilled these tasks immediately after liberation, our country might already have become a colony of the US imperialists.

On the basis of a scientific analysis of the situation prevailing in the country after liberation, we promptly developed the Party into a mass political party and formed a united front so as to rally all the people closely behind the Party and the Government. As a result, we repulsed the aggression of the US imperialists by the concerted efforts of the whole nation, humbled them and achieved great victory in the revolution and construction.

Comrades,

Today I do not intend to make a lengthy speech. If I had prepared notes for a speech in advance, I might have made a shorter speech, but I did not do that.

I take this opportunity today to address a few more words to you.

The path of our revolution is still long and rugged. We cannot rest on our laurels.

Today we are faced with the important revolutionary tasks of reunifying our divided country and of further consolidating the socialist system in the northern half of Korea.

If we are to effect a breakthrough relentlessly along the rough and thorny path of national reunification and build socialism in the northern half of Korea successfully, we must continue to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the whole Party and all the people on the basis of the Party's monolithic ideology. Let us unite, unite and unite on the basis of the Party's monolithic ideology—this is what I wanted to tell you today.

We are Marxist-Leninists. In his *Communist Manifesto* Marx proclaimed "Workers of all countries, unite!" Unity is a guarantee for all our victories. We can win the final victory in revolution only by forging the firm unity of all the revolutionary forces.

For the ultimate victory of our revolution the entire Party, the whole army and the entire nation must unite and the officials in Party and government bodies and in all other sectors must be closely bonded together.

We must unite with all our friends throughout the world on an international scale. Today I call upon you comrades to strive to reinforce internationalist unity with the working class, the exploited and oppressed nations and all progressive people the world over.

Comrades,

With this I should like to conclude my speech.

Now let us drink a toast.

First of all, I propose a toast to the health of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, our people's close friend, brother and comrade-in-arms, Princess Monique Sihanouk, special envoy Ieng Sary, and all the other Cambodian guests.

Now, I propose a toast to the health of our revolutionary comrades in the southern half of the country who see the northern half of Korea as a beacon of hope and are bravely fighting underground, in the mountains and behind bars, without yielding to the enemy's suppression and persecution of all kinds.

In addition, I propose a toast to the health of the workers of Chongryon and all the Korean compatriots in Japan who are fighting resolutely to defend their homeland and protect their national rights, despite the oppression, subversion and intrigues on the part of the US and Japanese reactionaries.

The soldiers of our People's Army and People's Security Forces are now occupying their posts in the frontline areas and along the coast. They are guarding these posts vigilantly day and night, overcoming all difficulties, for the sake of our Party, country and people. It is because the soldiers and officers of the People's Army and the People's Security Forces and public security personnel are dependably protecting the outposts of the country that our people can accelerate socialist construction creditably. I propose a toast to the health of the men and officers of our People's Army and People's Security Forces, the public security personnel, the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and the Young Red Guards.

The mining, forestry and fishing industries are those sectors of our national economy in which laborious operations are most

concentrated. I propose a toast to the health of our heroic workers who are running these sectors and of the entire working class of our country who are working, day and night, for economic construction and the buildup of our defences in all spheres of the national economy, including the engineering, metallurgical, chemical and light industries.

Our rural communities have made a great deal of progress, but backbreaking work prevails in country areas to a great extent. Although our Party is striving to free the farmers from backbreaking labour and to enable them to work for eight hours a day as the working class does, I think that a considerable period will still have to pass before they are relieved completely of arduous work. Our farmers are now working hard to increase grain production, despite all manner of difficulties. I propose a toast to the health of our socialist working farmers who are toiling to provide all the people with plenty of food.

I propose a toast to the health of the nursery school, kindergarten and other school teachers who are raising the younger generation to be real communists by applying the principles of socialist educational science advanced by our Party, and to the health of scientific workers engaged in scientific research and of cultural workers and artists striving to create revolutionary literature and art.

I have lived with the affection of my comrades to be 60 years old today. Vowing to devote the remainder of my life to the revolutionary struggle to achieve the victory of the Korean revolution, to liberate oppressed peoples throughout the world and to smash imperialism, in your company, and expecting that I will, in the future also, receive a great deal of your love, I propose a toast to your health.

# **KOREAN RESIDENTS IN JAPAN MUST CHERISH THE HONOUR OF BEING CITIZENS OF THEIR SOCIALIST MOTHERLAND**

**Talk to Members of the Sixth Group of Korean Residents  
in Japan Visiting the Homeland**

*April 29, 1972*

I should have met you sooner during your visit to the homeland after a long absence, but I was unable to find time to do so because I was attending a number of functions during this period and meeting many foreign delegations who were staying in our country, so, I can only see you today. I hope that you will understand.

I think your hearts are full of deep emotion because you are visiting home after an absence of very many years. During this time the appearance of the country has changed considerably. Those who lived herein the past may be able to find scarcely any traces of former days when they visit their native places.

The war damage in our country has been completely repaired. If you travel by train, you will see some bomb craters beside the railway line. They have been deliberately left as they were for the education of the rising generation. No other war wounds can be seen in the towns and country areas.

Our country suffered tremendous damage through the war. During the war the US imperialists reduced towns and villages in our country to rubble and boasted that Korea would not be able to rise again in a hundred years. But we carried out the difficult task of postwar

reconstruction successfully in a short time—in three or four years after the ceasefire—and have now, 20 years after the war, built the motherland several times better than it was in the prewar years.

As I think that you will have understood during your visit to the motherland, the socialist system in our country is an excellent one.

Of course, it cannot yet be said that all our people are living an affluent life. However, no one in the homeland goes hungry or without clothes or shoes. All the people here live happily without worrying about food and clothing.

In the motherland there are no children who cannot attend school, because they are unable to pay tuition fees. All our rising generation are given free schooling.

In addition, the people here have no worries about medical treatment. In the past they had to pay for medical examinations or for a tablet for malaria, but now they are given medical treatment without paying a penny. We introduced a free medical care system long ago, during the war when the economic foundations of the country were not so sound. Today in the motherland, efforts are being made to increase the number of hospitals and expand all rural clinics into hospitals.

In our country everyone is ensured employment and everyone works. No one eats the bread of idleness or roams about unemployed.

The shortage of manpower is a problem in the northern half of Korea, whereas in south Korea millions of unemployed are roaming the streets. The south Korean puppet clique is selling tens of thousands of our compatriots as serfs to Brazil and other Latin-American countries and a large number of people as miners and nurses to West Germany, under the pretext of “emigration”. Moreover, this clique is selling south Korean women to Japan as professional entertainers. This is treachery to the nation which will never be pardoned throughout all eternity.

In the homeland there are no gamblers or drunken brawlers or decadent youths dancing in the nude, as seen in a capitalist society. All the young people here are leading a healthy life and are working and studying harder, using all their energies for socialist construction.

Since they work and live in a revolutionary way, everything is progressing rapidly at home.

Today our people take great pride and honour in having built a socialist society by their own efforts, a society which the people of the world envy.

Foreign visitors to our country all speak about the advantages of the socialist system established in this land and about the might of our country.

Delegations from many countries, including military ones from 30 countries, attended the functions held in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army. Watching the military parade on that occasion, they all expressed their admiration for the might of our defence and economic capabilities.

People from many revolutionary countries are now coming to learn from the experience we have gained in socialist construction. All the provincial and county governors from a certain African country visited our country to learn from our experience in socialist construction. Many politicians, too, visit our country to learn our experience in Party building and social-organization building.

A large number of people visit our country from newly independent countries because the situation prevailing now in those countries is similar to our state immediately after liberation and because our experience in building a new society attracts their interest.

Since immediately after liberation we have always carried out the revolution and construction from an independent standpoint to suit the actual conditions of our country.

A performance at the national art festival of university students, held some time ago, represented a scene in which I delivered a speech to students in Sinuiju immediately after liberation. At the time I stressed the need to build a new society in a Korean fashion. In those days bogus communists and "Left" adventurists insisted on building socialism in a Russian way and went to the extent of suggesting such nonsense as that Korea should be made a member republic of the

Soviet Union. This produced misunderstandings about communism amongst the people to a large degree. The students in Sinuiju created a disturbance, wondering whether our country would become a member republic of a foreign country. I told them: “We shall not build Russian Soviet-style socialism nor shall we construct American-style capitalism; we intend to build a new society in a Korean way in the interests of the Korean people and in accordance with the situation of our country; Korea will never become a member republic or a colony of a foreign country.”

The independent and creative stand we maintain in the revolution and construction is generating interest amongst many newly independent countries. When they have seen our country, many people from these countries say that they will build socialism as Korea did.

It is a very good thing that on your present visit to the motherland you can see and learn its situation for yourselves. You should carry deeper within your hearts the honour and pride of being citizens of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, the glorious motherland which people of many countries call the “model socialist country”.

Because of the justness of their revolutionary cause and confidence in the future, our people today have a great revolutionary pride and are devoting all their talents and energies to socialist construction. The socialist motherland is good today but will be far better tomorrow.

Although our country is not large, our people will be perfectly able to improve their living standards. Our country has a wide area of tidelands suitable for reclamation. We are still unable to reclaim these tidelands extensively but we shall be able to do so on a large scale at some time in the future. By reclaiming the tidelands along the west coast in the northern half of Korea alone, we shall obtain hundreds of thousands of hectares of new land.

We shall only become more prosperous than we are now by increasing per-hectare grain yield through intensive farming. At present grain yield per hectare is not so high in the mountainous areas, although it is high in the plains. If farming is intensified through the development of agricultural science and techniques and through larger

investments in this sector, grain output can be increased considerably in all areas.

Furthermore, the people's standard of living can only be greatly improved if the mountains are turned to good account so as to produce raw materials for fibre and oil, wild fruit and vegetables, and so on, in larger quantities.

We have already converted a large number of once abandoned mountains into golden ones by launching a campaign to make effective use of them.

When you go to see Pukchong, you will find that people there have cultivated mountains and have planted many orchards. In April 1961 we held an enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee in Pukchong and decided to publicize throughout the country the experience gained in fruit growing by Pukchong County. From that time onwards, numerous orchards have been created everywhere in the country through a mass movement. Before liberation the area of orchards in the northern half of Korea was less than 10,000 hectares but now it is almost 200,000 hectares.

Fruit is coming on in the orchards planted after the Pukchong meeting, and it is expected that large quantities of fruit will be harvested from this year. Our country will produce 800,000-1,000,000 tons of fruit annually towards the end of the Six-Year Plan. If this happens, we shall be able to supply our people with some 500,000 tons of fruit and even sell 300,000-500,000 tons to other countries. One ton of apples can be exchanged for two tons of wheat. Therefore, we can export 500,000 tons of apples in exchange for one million tons of wheat so as to develop livestock farming, which will enable us to supply the people with enough meat also.

Our country is very rich in underground resources and abounds with fish in the sea. If we work hard to exploit underground resources extensively and catch a great many fish, we shall be able to raise the people's living standards much higher than they are now.

When the country is reunified in the future, it will be a large country with a population of 50 million and the united strength of the north and

the south will make our people as prosperous as others.

The Korean residents in Japan must cherish the honour and pride of being citizens of the Republic and be active in the defence of their socialist homeland. Your visit to the motherland itself means defending the socialist motherland. Even after your return to Japan, you must continue to make every possible effort to protect it.

In addition, you must bring up your sons and daughters to be ardent defenders of the socialist motherland. Korean residents in Japan must send all their children to the Korean schools and thus make them learn the mother tongue and become Koreans. This is what we want to tell you.

At present Chongryon has established many Korean schools which are giving national education to the Korean children born in Japan lest they become Japanese. This is very advisable.

You should take an active part in the Chongryon campaign for finding Koreans. I am told that some of our compatriots now resident in Japan conceal the fact that they are Koreans because of the Japanese government's policy of national discrimination. It is understandable that they should have done so in the past when no one cared for them even though they were subjected to all kinds of national insult and humiliation, but why do they continue such a life today when they have their full-fledged socialist homeland?

We expect that our overseas compatriots, even though living in other countries, will keep the spirit of the Korean people and will not be assimilated as foreigners.

Next, the Korean residents in Japan must carry out a more vigorous campaign to bring about free travel to their motherland.

Acquiring the right to travel to and from their homeland is one of the important tasks facing the Chongryon organization. All Koreans in Japan, young and old, must be allowed to visit their motherland freely. This alone will enable them to understand clearly the advantages of the socialist system and cherish the honour and national pride of being citizens of their socialist country. Only when the rising generation in particular know a great deal about their motherland will they make

vigorous efforts to acquire the advanced science and technology badly needed for socialist construction.

As a result of the strenuous struggle waged by the Koreans in Japan to win the freedom of travel to their homeland, the congratulatory group of the Korean residents in Japan headed by the deputy chairman of Chongryon was recently able to visit the motherland for the first time. However, the Japanese reactionaries are still obstructing Korean citizens' travel to the motherland from Japan as far as possible and, even on the rare occasions when this is allowed, they only send elderly people like you. Our compatriots in Japan must continue to fight stubbornly in the future, too, rallied closely around the Chongryon organization, and obtain the right to free travel to the motherland.

The Japanese people, too, are now rendering active support to the campaign for free travel by Korean citizens in Japan to their homeland. If they make more energetic efforts with the active support of the Japanese people, free travel will unflinchingly come about.

To proceed. Our compatriots in Japan must strengthen the Chongryon organization and rally around it closely so as to carry on the work for national reunification efficiently.

Irrespective of whether they run a factory, are engaged in commerce or other undertakings, they must rally closely in the Chongryon organization and endeavour for the good of the socialist motherland and for national reunification. We must reunify the country in our generation at all costs and hand over a reunified country to posterity.

We hold that the country should be reunified in a peaceful way, not by means of war. We do not want a bloody battle between compatriots of the same blood, nor do we want to see what our people have built with great pains being destroyed by war.

In order to reunify the country peacefully, we insist, first of all, that the US troops be withdrawn from south Korea and that the north and the south each reduce their armed forces. And we have proposed to the south Korean authorities that mutual visits and exchanges be allowed with the door open between the north and the south and that the

country be reunified overcoming the differences between the north and the south in social systems.

The south Korean authorities, however, are rejecting the opening of the door for fear of the south Korean people being “communized” in the event of mutual visits. We do not try to force socialism upon south Korea. It is a matter of the decision of the people themselves which system they will adopt after national reunification. If the south Korean people come and see north Korea and take to socialism, they will suggest the establishment of the socialist system. If they dislike socialism, they will take another road. Socialism cannot be enforced at the will of any one person.

The south Korean reactionaries are now carrying on demagogic propaganda that communists expropriate the property of the rich at random and hang all the wealthy people. There seem to be some people in south Korea who are taken in by such nonsensical arguments.

After national reunification we shall not prevent the activities of the traders and industrialists in the southern half of the country nor shall we ignore them. As you know, the deputies to the Supreme People’s Assembly of our country include former entrepreneurs and sons of rich people. We join hands with anyone who supports socialism, regardless of his class origin.

The south Korean authorities are opposed to the peaceful reunification of the country, but in the future, as in the past, we shall make every sincere effort for it.

While working hard for the peaceful reunification of the country, we must further increase our defence capabilities to cope with the enemy’s moves to unleash another war.

Recently the south Korean puppet clique are reported to have been talking about “self-defence”. It is a foolish trick devised to deceive people. Self-defence means to defend oneself on one’s own. Why, then, do they beg for the continued presence of the US troops in south Korea and draw the Japanese militarists into it in spite of the talk about their maintaining of “self-defence”? At present the US imperialist aggressors occupying south Korea are increasing their moves to invade

the northern half of Korea, and the Japanese militarists have drawn up operations plans such as “Operation Three Arrows”, “Operation Flying Dragon” and “Operation Bull Run” in order to reinvade our country.

In this situation we cannot remain idle, with our arms folded. When Japan took the road to capitalism and waited for an opportunity to invade our country, the corrupt and incompetent feudal rulers, engrossed in travelling on donkey-back and reciting poems, did not take any defence measures and were robbed of the country by the Japanese imperialists. As a result, untold numbers of Koreans were taken away as drafted workers to Japan and Manchuria and many of them were murdered for no reason.

As you know from your own experience, stateless people are more miserable than a dog in a house of death. Our people must build up the country’s defence capabilities to the utmost so as not to be reduced to slavery again.

The enemy are hell-bent on preventing national reunification, but the day will surely come when all the Korean people will live happily in the reunified country.

Now the functions are over, so you had better go and meet your families and relatives.

I hope that you will spend happy days in good health during your stay in the homeland.

# **ON THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL REUNIFICATION**

**Conversations with the South Korean Delegates  
to the High-Level Political Talks  
between North and South Korea  
*May 3 and November 3, 1972***

## **1. ON THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL REUNIFICATION**

I am glad to meet you today.

I am highly delighted and also deeply moved that we, fellow countrymen, have met after a long separation because of the division of the nation.

You say that you have come to discuss the question of national reunification in spite of everything. Your action is very courageous and daring. It is very gratifying that the south Korean authorities have decided to participate in north-south political talks and have sent you to represent them. We warmly welcome this step.

In my speech of August 6 last year, I made it clear that we are ready to make contact with all political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individuals of south Korea at any time. A few days after my speech, the south Korean side responded, agreeing to hold north-south Red Cross talks. Thus began the preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north

and the south, which led to the high-level north-south political discussion.

The doors for contacts and dialogues have now been opened between the north and the south, which have stood alienated from each other for a long time and it has become possible for high-level representatives to meet and exchange views with an open mind. This is a tremendous step towards the solution of the reunification question.

At present the whole nation desires the reunification of the country. Today nothing is more urgent for the Korean people than national reunification. If we fail to reunify the country as soon as possible and allow national division to continue, our nation may become a plaything of the great powers and be divided into two for ever.

The most important factor which characterizes a nation is the community of language and culture. Even people of the same descent cannot be regarded as belonging to the same nation if they use different spoken and written languages and their cultures and customs differ. Now, because our country has been divided for a long time, the language, as well as the culture and way of life, is already changing in the north and the south. The longer the division of the nation, the greater the difference in the language and way of life will be.

After liberation some people in the northern half of the country insisted that the Korean alphabet should be reformed. But I opposed it. If we carry out an alphabet reform when the country is not reunified, the Korean people will be divided in two for ever. So I told the linguists at the time that if ever an alphabet reform was to be introduced it should be after the reunification of the country, but never before reunification. If either side were to carry out an alphabet reform while the country is divided, the north and the south would come to use different letters. In that case, our nation would be divided into two nations once and for all.

We cannot tolerate that the Korean nation should be split into two for ever. We should reunify the country as soon as possible and hand over a unified country to posterity. If we end national division and achieve reunification, our country can become a powerful state with a

population of 50 million, a brilliant national culture, and a powerful national economy, which no one will dare provoke.

In order to reunify the country, it is necessary to establish the fundamental principles correctly, which can provide the basis for the solution of the reunification question. This is most important. Only when there are fundamental principles agreed upon by the north and the south, can the two sides make joint efforts for reunification and successfully solve all problems concerning it.

I believe that our reunification question should on all accounts be settled independently without foreign interference and peacefully on the principle of promoting great national unity.

**First, national reunification should be achieved independently without reliance on outside forces and free from their interference.**

Solving the reunification question independently on the principle of self-determination of the people is the principled stand which has always been maintained by the Government of our Republic.

If we depend on outside forces we cannot solve this problem. The question of Korean reunification is entirely an internal affair of our country. If we try to solve this internal affair by relying on outside forces instead of settling it on our own, it is shameful for our nation.

Some people are now trying to solve the reunification problem with guarantees afforded by big powers. This is a great mistake. The imperialist powers do not want to see our country reunified. By nature, they like division and attempt to divide other countries and peoples by all possible means, because it is difficult to rule them when they are united. Therefore, we should on no account rely on the great powers in settling the reunification question. If contacts are established and talks are held within our nation, we can remove distrust and misunderstanding and achieve national unity and reunification. Why then should we ask for the help of great powers?

We should not tolerate foreign interference in the internal affairs of

Korea under any circumstances. No foreign force has the right to meddle in Korean affairs, and while there is foreign interference the question of national reunification cannot be solved in keeping with the desire and interests of our nation. The reunification of the country should be achieved by the Korean people themselves free from any foreign interference.

You say that the south Korean authorities are also opposed to foreign interference and intend to settle the question of national reunification independently without US and Japanese involvement, and pledge that you will never become a stooge of the United States or Japan. If this is true, it is excellent.

If we are to reject foreign intervention and reunify the country independently, we must categorically oppose flunkeyism towards great powers.

I always tell our officials that, if a man takes to flunkeyism, he will become a fool; if a nation falls into flunkeyism, the country will be ruined; and if a party adopts flunkeyism, it will make a mess of the revolution and construction. If a man wants to be an independent being, he must never adopt flunkeyism which means worshipping others blindly.

As our country is geographically located in the midst of big countries, flunkeyism has played a great part in the history of our people. It hampered the advance of our people in building a new society after liberation. So we have fought tirelessly against it.

Let me take an example from the days after liberation. Immediately after liberation there were quite a few people who had been affected with flunkeyism even amongst those who called themselves communists. In Seoul at that time, a fellow, Pak Hon Yong by name, claimed that he would make our country a member republic of another country. This had a very bad influence on the south Korean people and greatly hindered the settlement of the reunification question. On hearing his words, some people were afraid that our country was going to be subjugated again to a foreign country. In my speech before the people, therefore, I said that we would build a democratic society of a

Korean type, not a Soviet or American type, in the interests of the Korean nation.

When we advanced the policy of agricultural cooperativization in the postwar years, a number of people tried to discredit it. Some asked how we could cooperativize agriculture when our industry had been devastated, claiming that European countries with developed industries had not yet undertaken full-scale agricultural cooperativization. Since flunkeyists used to accept willingly what people from large countries said, I refuted their argument with the words of Lenin. Lenin had said that a communal economy established by a simple merger of peasants' lands and farm implements would be superior to a private economy. So I said that our Party's policy of agricultural cooperativization was in accord with Leninism and was to meet the requirement of our particular situation. I asked them how it could be that agricultural cooperativization after industrialization was the only correct way. In the end, they admitted that our view was correct.

At that time, the circumstances of our peasants, in fact, were such that they were unable to survive unless they united their efforts through cooperativization. The war had devastated agriculture, and the peasants were short of draught cattle and farm implements. This was also true of rich farmers. In this context, we ensured that peasants organized cooperatives on the principle of voluntary membership and ran them by their united efforts. Basically, we Koreans like to pool our efforts and help one another. Traditionally, our people have good customs. For instance, if a neighbour has a wedding, the whole village offers the family contributions and various other kinds of aid, calling on them to congratulate them and pass a pleasant time with them. In the postwar years, there were not many modern farm machines in our country. But we were able to cooperativize agriculture rather smoothly in a short time because life itself urgently demanded it and the peasants supported the cooperative policy actively.

In establishing economic relations with other countries, we have thoroughly rejected flunkeyist tendencies and held fast to an independent stand.

We have not tolerated any relations which could result in our economic dependence on other countries. We have established and developed economic relations with them on the principle of defending the national economy thoroughly, on the principle of complete equality. In our trade with developed socialist countries, we have made sure that we give them raw materials they need only when they give us those which we need, and that we buy their machines only on condition that they buy ours. If this principle was not maintained in our economic relations with developed countries when our technology is not yet very highly developed, we would have to keep supplying raw materials to them and buying manufactured goods. This would end in leaving only empty mountains riddled with holes in our country. We cannot hand down such mountains to our posterity, can we?

We worked hard not to be economically subordinated to another country, that is, to be self-supporting in the economy. If a people do not achieve economic independence through the building of an independent national economy, they cannot hope to raise the external authority of their country and to have a say in the international arena. Since we have pursued an independent policy in the sphere of economic construction and built an independent national economy, nobody dare apply pressure on us.

In the past the worship of great powers was most obvious in the field of literature and the arts, and we waged a resolute fight against this.

Some of the writers and artists worshipped European literature and art and produced works which were neither to the liking of the Koreans nor understandable to them. Once there were poets who worshipped Pushkin and musicians who adored Tchaikovsky. In creating an opera, these people patterned it on Italian ones. Flunkeyism was so rampant that some artists drew foreign landscapes instead of our beautiful mountains and rivers. During the Fatherland Liberation War I visited a hospital where I found a picture of a Siberian landscape. It showed a bear crawling about the snow-covered ground under a large tree. So, I severely criticized the people concerned. I told them: "There are many

renowned mountains such as Mts. Kungang and Myohyang. Why did you hang that kind of picture instead of a beautiful Korean landscape? What is the good of hanging such a picture in educating our people?"

The Korean people have a brilliant culture and have lived in the beautiful land of three thousand *ri* for a long time. They will live in our beautiful homeland in the future, too. They cannot live in Siberia or in Europe. Therefore, our literature and art should, on all accounts, serve the education of our people in patriotic spirit. Internationalism cannot exist apart from patriotism. He who does not love his own country cannot be true to internationalism. Koreans do not like European artistic works. They do not want to see artistic works which are not to their liking. We do not need works which Koreans do not like and which are not congenial with their national feeling. That is why I defined literature and art of socialist realism as being national in form and socialist in content.

We conducted the struggle against flunkeyism by means of ideological struggle, theoretical struggle to root out flunkeyist ideas which remained in the minds of people. Through many years of struggle against flunkeyism, we were able to eradicate it completely and hold fast to independence in all spheres of the revolution and construction.

In our attempts to solve the question of national reunification, we must strongly oppose the tendency of flunkeyism to rely on foreigners, rather than believing in the strength of our own nation. We must reunify the country independently by the united efforts of the Korean nation.

**Secondly, great national unity should be promoted by transcending the differences in ideas, ideals and systems.**

The question of our country's reunification is not one of who prevails over whom. It is one of attaining the unity of a nation which has been divided by an outside force and achieving national sovereignty. In order to reunify the country, therefore, it is essential to proceed from endeavours to achieve unity between the north and the

south and promote great national unity.

In order to promote this, the north and the south must transcend their ideas and systems and refrain from pursuing hostile policies towards each other.

At present different ideas and systems exist in the two parts of our country. In this situation, the north and the south should not try to impose their ideas and systems upon each other. We do not intend to impose the socialist system and communist ideology on south Korea. Neither should the south Korean authorities insist on “reunification by prevailing over communism” nor demand that we desist from communism. In other words, they should discard their “anti-communist” slogans.

The north and the south should discard hostile policies which obstruct unity, and combine their efforts to find common ground. If each side does not endeavour to find common ground but opposes the other side and argues about things of the past in an attempt to justify itself, the gap between the two sides will grow wider and wider and the reunification of the country will be delayed still further. This would be a grave crime against the country and the nation.

In our opinion, it is quite possible to find a common ground if the north and the south work together, basing themselves on a sincere desire for unity. We have worked hard to discover this common ground in order to hasten the country’s reunification.

Recently, the south Korean authorities have been talking about “self-help”, “self-reliance” and “self-defence”. We consider that it is possible to find some common factors here. We think that their “self-help”, “self-reliance” and “self-defence” may have some points in common with the independent policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic. The country’s reunification will be hastened if the north and the south discover, one by one, what common grounds exist between them and achieve their unity on this basis.

In achieving the great unity of the nation it is important to remove misunderstanding and mistrust between north and south.

Our country has been divided for so long that there are a number of

points on which the north and the south differ from each other and misunderstand and mistrust each other. As long as the two sides misunderstand and distrust each other, there cannot be genuine national unity. A family cannot be formed without deep trust between husband and wife. Even in the case of husband and wife, if they do not trust each other, they cannot live together and, in the long run, they will have to divorce. The north and the south should strive to eliminate mutual misunderstanding and mistrust.

To this end, the authorities and many personages of the two parts of the country should make frequent contact with each other and hold dialogues in good faith. If they get together and discuss any matters frankly and seriously, misunderstanding will be removed and mutual trust will be deepened.

Through our dialogue with you on this occasion, the misunderstanding between the north and the south has already been alleviated to a considerable extent. The dialogue between the north and the south should have been held earlier.

We thought that the south Korean authorities were going to be lackeys of US imperialism and Japanese militarism and sell out the country. But you say that this will never be the case. You also say that the south Korean authorities will neither bring Japanese militarists into south Korea again nor sell out the country as the lackeys of the United States and Japan, and request us over and over again to believe it. So we can believe you and eliminate our past distrust.

The south Korean authorities say that they have had the misconception that we are going to “invade the south” and “communize” south Korea. But we have no intention of doing these things. We have declared on many occasions that we have no intention of “invading the south”. We reaffirm this to you today. As for “communization”, we do not intend to “communize” south Korea nor could it be “communized” even if we tried to. Therefore, I think that you can now dispel the misunderstanding you have had because of the alleged “invasion of the south” and “communization”. If we remove our misunderstanding and deepen trust through contacts and

dialogues in this way, we shall be able to achieve great national unity regardless of the differences in ideas and ideals, systems and religious beliefs.

Another important factor in achieving great national unity is that the north and the south should refrain from abusing and slandering each other.

To achieve unity and cooperation, both sides should respect each other rather than resort to abuse and slander. If they continue abusing and slandering each other as they do now, the north and the south will not get on close terms but, instead, the gap will widen. That is why they should first stop abusing and slandering each other.

Achieving economic cooperation between the north and the south is also very important in attaining great national unity.

The northern half of Korea is rich in natural resources and has a developed heavy industry. South Korea has some foundations of light industry from the past. If the north and the south effect economic cooperation and meet each other's needs, they will be better able to solve immediate economic problems, and develop the national economy rapidly by their own efforts without introducing foreign capital. If the national economy is developed through north-south cooperation, our nation will be better off than Japan or any other countries that are said to be developed.

The north and the south should advance jointly in external relations, too. Only then will we be able to demonstrate the unity of our nation.

We consider that the north and the south will be able to promote great national unity in spite of the differences in their ideas and systems, political views and religious beliefs, if they all take a patriotic attitude and stand for national reunification. At present, even those countries and nations which have different ideas and systems, are on friendly terms and get along well together. And there is no reason why the differences in ideas and systems should prevent our nation, which is of the same blood, from uniting and cooperating.

Whether one believes in communism, nationalism or capitalism must not be an obstacle to great national unity. We are not opposed to

the nationalists and capitalists in south Korea. The majority of the south Korean capitalists are national capitalists. We have been pursuing a policy of protecting national capitalists. For the sake of national reunification, we will unite and cooperate with the people of all backgrounds in south Korea including nationalists and national capitalists.

**Thirdly, national reunification should be achieved by peaceful means without resorting to arms.**

The north and the south, one and the same nation, must not fight against each other. We must reunify the divided country peacefully without fail. If peaceful reunification fails and another war breaks out in Korea, our nation will suffer catastrophes.

At present the great powers of the world want to get on well with one another, refraining from quarrelling. Some time ago US President Nixon visited China and said that it would be desirable to abstain from quarrelling with each other and maintain peace for the space of one generation. After inspecting the Great Wall of China, he even said that no barrier should divide the people of the world. In the joint statement of China and the United States published as a result of Nixon's visit to China, the United States approved the five principles of peace which it had so far refused to recognize. It is good that the United States approved these principles. Needless to say, we shall have to wait and see how the Americans will put their words into action. More often than not the imperialists go back on their word. So there is no knowing clearly if Nixon spoke sincerely or not in China.

Commenting on Nixon's trip to China, our *Rodong Sinmun* wrote: "If Nixon's words uttered after inspecting the Great Wall are serious, why does he not make efforts to remove the Military Demarcation Line which runs across the central part of our country and to withdraw the US soldiers who are swaggering about, wearing steel-helmets with the inscribed 'MP'?" I think this comment is valid.

Nowadays, the big powers of the world are trying to abstain from

quarrelling and get on harmoniously with one another. Then why should one and the same nation fall out with itself? As the same nation, we must not quarrel among ourselves. We must reunify the country by peaceful means.

If the country is to be reunified peacefully without conflict between the north and the south, it is imperative, first of all, to reduce the armies of both sides. On several occasions, I have said in my open speeches that the armies of the north and the south ought to be reduced considerably.

Reduction of the armies is the way to ease tension between the two sides and to lessen the military burdens. The present military burdens of the two sides are very heavy.

We must work together to remove the Military Demarcation Line which divides our country into north and south.

The danger of war cannot be removed in the present situation when large armed forces of both sides confront each other across the Military Demarcation Line. In such a situation, if the commander of a regiment or a division stationed in the area along this demarcation line opens fire by mistake at a place, both sides will begin to exchange fire, and this could lead to war. This is very dangerous.

If in the future the north and the south give guarantees against the use of armed forces between them through sincere consultation, and put this into practice, their military equipment and personnel deployed in the areas on the Military Demarcation Line will become unnecessary and the line itself can be eliminated.

At present, the north and the south say their armies are for self-defence. However, they should not undertake “self-defence” against each other. They must work together to defend themselves against foreign invasion.

The defence of our Republic is always meant to oppose foreign aggression against our nation. We will never tolerate the aggression of outside forces against our country and people.

When the US imperialists sent their armed spy ship *Pueblo* into the territorial waters of our Republic, the naval forces of our People’s

Army captured it. This was a legitimate self-defence measure of our People's Army whose mission is to defend their country. But instead of apologizing to us, the Americans threatened us by bringing large forces including the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* to the East Sea. It was a flagrant infringement of and a grave challenge to our nation's sovereignty. We did not yield to the Americans' threat and pressure. They attempted to start a war by mobilizing large forces, so we made a firm determination to fight against them. Seeing that we did not succumb to their threat and pressure, they desisted from starting a war and fled. Had they unleashed war at that time our nation would have gone through another war and the authorities of the north and the south could not have met and had a peaceful talk like this one today.

If any foreigners invade our land in the future, the north and the south must unite and repulse the invaders. When all the Korean people unite their strength, they will certainly smash any aggressor.

We must eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and the south by our joint efforts, so that we can prevent another war in Korea and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

Through the recent talks we have found important common grounds between the north and the south and reached an agreement regarding the most important problems.

The three principles of realizing independent reunification without outside interference, achieving great national unity by transcending differences in ideas, ideals and systems, and reunifying the divided land by peaceful means without recourse to armed force, are the starting point of and the basis for the solution of our reunification question.

You have agreed to solve the reunification question on the three principles, and you say the highest authorities of south Korea will also agree. So we can say we have reached complete agreement on the three principles of national reunification.

I am very pleased that the three principles of national reunification have been agreed upon between the north and the south in our talks today.

The three principles of national reunification upon which the north and the south agreed through joint consultation are absolutely fair principles which will enable our nation to solve the reunification question in conformity with its aspirations and demand. We must reunify our country on these three principles. You have pledged that you will take them as the basis for your future actions. If you do so, other problems concerning the solution of the reunification question can also be settled successfully and our nation's reunification will be achieved at an early date.

Now that the basic principles of reunification have been agreed upon, we must find concrete ways of putting them into effect to unite the whole nation and reunify our country. We must always proceed from the three principles in seeking concrete ways for national reunification. When the north and the south consider the matter carefully and sincerely consult each other on the basis of the three principles of independence, great national unity and peaceful reunification, they will be able to find the successful path towards reunification.

To find the reasonable way towards the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, we have to develop further political consultations between the north and the south and carry on contacts and dialogues more actively.

I think that political consultations have already begun through the meetings and talks held on this occasion between the high-ranking representatives of the north and the south. North-south political consultations having been started, we must develop them so as to bear good fruit.

You have come to Pyongyang first, so I should like to send our representatives to Seoul in return. I think that if mutual trust increases and various conditions mature in the process of frequent visits of representatives from the north and the south, summit talks will also become possible.

In the future representatives of the north and the south must exchange frequent visits and hold a great many talks.

The misunderstanding and distrust created between the north and the south during the nearly 30 year-long division after liberation cannot be eliminated through one or two contacts and dialogues. One or two meetings and consultations will not be enough to discover all the concrete ways for the solution of the reunification question. Through these talks we have solved fundamental problems upon which the north and the south misunderstood each other and have found important common grounds, but many problems are yet to be solved to reunify the country. These problems can be solved only through frequent contacts and sincere consultations between representatives of both sides.

In the north-south negotiations and consultations, the points of mutual misunderstanding and all other problems concerning national reunification must be discussed. Any dissenting opinions must be aired frankly for discussion. If they are kept to oneself, the differences cannot be solved. Any misunderstanding, however insignificant, must be discussed openly and settled promptly.

North-south negotiations must proceed from the principle of deepening mutual understanding, finding common points and increasing their unity. Our representatives and yours may advance different views in seeking the path to national reunification. So they may argue for the justness of their own views. But the arguments should always be intended for finding common grounds and achieving unity and reunification, not for division.

I think it reasonable to organize and run a north-south joint commission or the like in order to coordinate north-south relations correctly and successfully solve various problems regarding the reunification of the country.

Coordinating work should be conducted in practice by organizing a joint commission. If only general talks are held, great progress cannot be made in bringing about national unity and reunification.

The joint commission can be co-chaired by persons in high authority appointed respectively by the authorities of the north and the south and be composed of the necessary members. It takes only a little

time to fly between Pyongyang and Seoul. So, the commission can be run by you coming over to Pyongyang and our people going to Seoul.

Once the joint commission is formed, there will be many problems to be settled by it. It should quickly discuss and settle various problems arising from the relations between north and south, including the problem of one side refraining from slandering the other side and the problem of preventing military conflicts. At the joint commission one side should not force its will upon the other; problems raised should be discussed seriously until mutual understanding is reached to conform with the purpose of unity.

A direct telephone line may be installed between Pyongyang and Seoul, by which to discuss problems at any time. If even a minor problem which may hamper national reunification or cause misunderstanding between both sides arises, it is necessary to deal with it at once by telephone, talk it over and settle it promptly.

The three principles of national reunification agreed upon this time between north and south serve as a reunification programme to be put into effect jointly by the entire Korean nation. I think it a good idea to make these three principles public, so that the entire Korean people and the world's people will know them.

The publication of the three principles of national reunification is good both for the education of our people and for demonstrating the unity of the Korean nation to the world. If we publish the reunification programme agreed upon between north and south, all compatriots at home and abroad will have a consensus of opinion, being aware that we are going to reunify the divided country independently and peacefully on the principle of great national unity, and all sections of the people will derive great encouragement from it. When we publish the joint reunification programme of the nation, the world's people will know that the Korean people are a great united people and the foreign forces opposed to our country's reunification will clearly understand that they will never be able to divide the Korean nation permanently, however hard they may try.

As for when and how we should publish the three principles of

national reunification, it had better be discussed in the course of the forthcoming dialogue. I think it will do to publish it when an agreement is reached at another meeting of the delegates of both sides after the matter is taken up by the south Korean authorities upon your return to Seoul.

Since you took the trouble to come to Pyongyang, you should stay another day and have talks with our officials.

Your visiting us is a patriotic deed. Man should be a patriot, not a quisling. Man should do things which are beneficial to his country and people even if he lives for only a day. Only such a life is glorious and worthwhile.

We can say that the current north-south talks were a success. I hope that you will come to Pyongyang frequently from now on.

## **2. ON ACHIEVING NORTH-SOUTH COOPERATION**

It gives me pleasure to meet you south Korean delegates again. Last time one delegate came alone from the south Korean side. But this time you have come together. If the north and the south have frequent contacts of this kind, it will greatly assist towards the settlement of the question of national reunification, I think.

There was some progress in the work for national reunification after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement. In the past our people, torn apart in the north and the south, were even unable to meet each other. But, today delegates visit each other to hold discussions. This is already progress. If delegates of the north and the south visit and meet each other frequently, get acquainted and exchange views with each other, they can settle many problems for national reunification.

We must reunify the country as soon as possible at all costs. If we fail to reunify the country and keep it divided, our nation will remain partitioned for ever.

Our nation must not be divided in two. Koreans have lived as a single nation on one and the same territory from remote times. Our people are of one and the same blood and have one culture and history. The Korean people have a strong national spirit and a high national pride. Having occupied our country for 36 years, the Japanese imperialists even forced the Koreans to change their surnames in Japanese style, claiming that “Japan and Korea are one”. But they could not succeed in making Japanese of the Koreans. How can such a nation be divided in two today? We must not allow our nation to be split but must reunify the country without fail within our generation.

Brothers in both the north and the south must have the same desire for national reunification. I believe that you are visiting us because you, too, wish national reunification.

But, in spite of the North-South Joint Statement, “confrontation accompanied with dialogue” and “competition accompanied with dialogue” are being voiced as always by the press in south Korea. Confrontation or competition literally means contending with each other for victory. In that case, there will be a winner and a loser. Contending with another country or another nation might be a different matter. But one and the same nation should not engage in confrontation and competition. If this is done, it will be impossible to achieve national union and reunification.

The north and the south must cooperate, instead of engaging in confrontation and competition. Cooperation implies united efforts and joint work. Since the north-south dialogue has begun, I think it is time for cooperation now. The north and the south must not confine themselves to dialogue, but must go one step forward to cooperation.

When the north and the south cooperate with each other, the strength of the nation will grow as a result, and solid foundations for national reunification will be laid. Only when they work together, can they overcome all their difficulties successfully and achieve the cause of reunification, the greatest national desire, sooner.

The north and the south should cooperate, to begin with, in the economic field.

If they begin with economic cooperation and work together step by step, they will be able to remove misunderstandings and understand each other better. If they merely say they trust each other, it will be impossible to know who has what in his mind. When working together, they will resolve misunderstood problems, trust each other better and achieve national unity.

Our country has a large population and rich natural resources. North-south cooperation will enable us to develop our national economy rapidly and make our country rich and strong. Economic cooperation between the two parts of the country will resolve the problem of the people's living conditions better, and our people will lead as happy a life as any others.

There is every potential for this economic cooperation. The north and the south can exploit mineral resources jointly, develop the division of labour and interchange and jointly use the results of scientific and technological researches.

The northern half of Korea is very rich in mineral resources; deposits of iron ore, in particular, are immeasurable.

The Japanese imperialists are said to have plundered a great deal of our resources in the past. But they just licked the rind of a watermelon, so to speak. Our prospecting workers have discovered large iron ore deposits in the places where the Japanese imperialists said there was nothing. An iron ore deposit with an estimated amount of hundreds of millions of tons was recently discovered in Kaechon district and another with thousands of millions of tons was also found in South Hwanghae Province. There are colossal iron ore deposits in Phungshan and other northern inland areas. This is more than ten billion tons even according to the preliminary estimate made by our prospectors.

The quality of our iron ore is very high. All of it contains over 35 per cent of iron. This indicates that it is of good quality by world standards. At present the Japanese envy us our iron ore.

The northern half of the country abounds, not only in iron ore, but also in other mineral resources such as lead, zinc and copper. In former days the Japanese imperialists claimed that there was no nickel in our

country. However, we found it for ourselves later and are producing a great deal of alloys.

It is said that south Korea is building industry, but I presume that there are problems in supplying the raw materials it needs. You may import them, but why buy them from far-off foreign countries, when our country has inexhaustible resources? If the north and the south join hands and develop the abundant mineral resources, it will be possible to develop the metal and engineering industries and many other branches, without going to the trouble of importing raw materials.

We can increase the economic power of the nation only when we rely on our own raw materials in developing the engineering industry. Since immediately after liberation we have exerted great efforts to develop the engineering industry. The result is that it is on a very high level of development now. We can only maintain economic relations with other countries on an equal footing and improve the people's living standards when we develop the engineering industry and make machines for export. At present we export lorries, tractors and many other machines, and there is a large demand for them.

There are also abundant aquatic resources in the northern half of Korea.

Every year 5-6 million tons of pollack swarm into our East Sea. This is the figure estimated by scientists and the exact amount still remains unknown. It is said that when their swarming is at its height, the shoal is 3,000 metres wide and 5,000 metres long and the depth is incalculable. Although such a tremendous number of pollack rush in, shoal after shoal, we are in a position to catch only 600,000 tons at most. This means that we catch only 10 per cent of the fish that surge in. According to scientists, the resources of pollack do not shrink even if up to 50 per cent are caught. Therefore, we may catch 2.5 million tons of pollack in our East Sea every year. If the fishermen in the north and the south pool their resources, it is possible to catch a great number of them. This will enable them all to prosper.

We deem it necessary that the north and the south divide work in

the economic sphere. If the economy is developed through division of production between the north and the south, one producing this and the other producing that, this will markedly lighten the burdens of both sides and give them much benefit economically.

We should bring about north-south cooperation in the cultural sphere, too.

This alone will enable the Korean people to preserve their peculiar national traits as a homogeneous people and will ensure the uniform development of our national culture.

The north and the south should cooperate in the sphere of linguistics and develop our national language in a unified way. When people from both parts of the country meet and speak to each other, they find many words incomprehensible, and this sometimes causes misunderstandings between them. If the north-south language gap is enlarged, national division cannot be avoided. We should wholeheartedly prevent the language differences from causing our nation to be split into two different nations. Linguists in the north and the south should cooperate with each other in their research and development work for ensuring the unity of the spoken and written language. When they get together and discuss, they will be able to keep the virtues of our language alive and to develop them further.

In the sphere of science, too, the north and the south should carry out exchanges and cooperation. In the two zones there are many talented scientists. In one scientific branch the scientists in the north may be better informed than those in the south; and in another scientific branch the latter may be better informed. Therefore, if the scientists in the two zones combine their strength and wisdom, they can achieve great success in scientific research and rapidly develop our country into a modern industrial state.

We should also bring about cooperation in the field of sports. If the north and the south cooperate in this sphere, they can achieve fine results in international contests. Our sportsmen register excellent results in international events even when taking part in them separately. If the north and the south form a single team and enter

international games jointly, they will be able to attain supremacy. Basically, the Korean people have a strong fighting spirit. This is well known to the people of the world. In international events our sportsmen win games more often through their fighting spirit than through their technique. In future, we must see to it that a single team is formed with excellent players selected from the two zones to participate in Olympic and other international games.

The north and the south should cooperate with each other not only in the economic and cultural fields but also in the political domain.

Economic and cultural cooperation should naturally develop into political cooperation. Only when we cooperate with each other politically, can we effectively cooperate in both the economic and cultural fields.

You and we differ from each other in the methods of viewing things. So there will be difference in views in realizing cooperation. You look into each of the problems separately as if they were isolated. But we study things from the viewpoint that they are all interrelated, acting upon one another. All fields of society including politics, the economy, culture and military matters are related to one another and develop through interaction. This is a law of social movement. No social problem can be solved properly unless it is viewed in its relation to other problems. If political questions are to be settled, economic and cultural problems should be resolved and vice versa.

If the north and the south do not cooperate politically, their economic and cultural cooperation cannot be realized effectively, even though both sides wish this.

For instance, the problem of finding families and relatives separated in the north and the south now under discussion at the talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and the south appears to be a simple question at first, but it cannot be settled easily so long as political distrust exists between both sides.

It is said that among the representatives from south Korea at the time of the north-south Red Cross talks there was one person who had a relative in the north. I was told that, when our officials asked him to

meet his relative over here, he had declined to do so, saying that he would meet him later. I think this was because he was hesitant to see his relative in the northern half. I presume that at present there are people in south Korea who are reluctant to meet their relatives in the north and also those who make a secret of their relatives living in the north. This being so, the efforts of the north-south Red Cross organizations alone will not be enough to find the families and relatives scattered over the north and the south properly and help them meet each other freely. So we consider that if this matter is to be settled satisfactorily, political cooperation must be realized between the north and the south.

The question of easing the tension between the north and the south and reducing armaments, too, can only be resolved when political cooperation is achieved.

As a matter of course, the problem of peacefully reunifying Korea without recourse to force of arms between the north and the south is clarified in the North-South Joint Statement. Although the joint statement declared that the north and the south would not resort to arms, both sides are continuing war preparations, for fear of possible war in the future. You continue to import guns with aid from the United States and we continue to manufacture them on our own. As long as this situation continues, tensions in our country cannot be eased. There are many soldiers in our country today, and the military burdens on our people are heavy. A total of 200,000 troops for north and south will be enough to defend the country from foreign invasion. If they cooperate politically, the north and the south can deepen their trust, ease tensions, reduce their military strength to some 100,000 men each and thus lighten the military burdens on the people.

Only when political cooperation is realized can all problems arising in the economic, cultural and military fields be settled. Therefore, we should not confine ourselves to economic and cultural cooperation, but go further to political cooperation.

Political cooperation is not a difficult problem at all. There is no reason why we should not cooperate politically. The existence of

different systems in north and south is by no means an insurmountable barrier to political collaboration.

It seems that at present some people in south Korea consider socialism to be something to fear. But there is nothing to be afraid of.

We set off to build socialism after the war. I proposed a task of building socialism in the theses published in April 1955.

The building of socialism was urgently required in view of the situation in our country after the war. The three-year war reduced towns and villages to ashes and utterly destroyed industry and agriculture. During the war, most middle and rich peasants in the countryside had become bankrupt, to say nothing of the poor peasants and handicraftsmen. Traders and manufacturers, too, had been reduced to the same plight that handicraftsmen or small traders were in. In a word, they could scarcely earn a living without pooling their efforts, and they urgently demanded cooperativization. Hence, we advanced the policy of cooperativizing the individual economy in town and country and carried it out strictly according to the principle of free choice. We did not expropriate rich peasants in the countryside and private traders and industrialists in towns, but drew them into socialist cooperatives and made them builders of socialism.

We were short of draught cattle, farm implements and manpower after the war. Even under this difficult situation we effected agricultural cooperativization and pooled the peasants' efforts, with the result that we were able to carry out irrigation projects on a large scale and develop the rural economy quickly.

I will not go into details of the advantages of the socialist system set up in the northern half of Korea. When south Koreans witness the situation here in the north in the future, they will know that the socialist system is not something to fear but is a good system. So, there is no reason why the north and the south cannot realize political collaboration and unity.

I consider it reasonable to effect the north-south Federation in carrying out political collaboration between north and south.

The north-south Federation we propose is to set up a unified state

leaving the present political systems both in north and south as they are for the time being. Representatives of all political parties and social organizations, delegates of all sections and prominent figures will get together to organize a Supreme National Council, in which they will jointly discuss and decide on important problems for the development of the nation and carry out activities in the international arena in the name of a single state. This is precisely what the Federation will be. It would be a good idea to call the federal state the Federal Republic of Koryo, after Koryo which is well known to the world. This Federation will make it possible to fully realize contact and collaboration between the north and the south throughout all spheres and increase the international prestige of our nation.

Why should we, a homogeneous nation, enter the international arena as two states? I will not agree to the separate entry of north and south into the UN as long as our country remains divided.

I think we shall reach better agreement if we discuss specific matters concerning the Federation further in future.

You say that you also have no objection to bringing about political, economic and cultural collaboration between the north and the south. This being so, you must strive to put it into practice quickly.

In achieving collaboration between north and south it is important to discard each other's misunderstandings and mistrust. Smiling outwardly whilst inwardly misunderstanding and distrusting each other will not solve the matter. Both sides should remove each other's misunderstandings and distrust; this is the only way to achieve the north-south collaboration quickly, I believe.

We will believe you since the south Korean authorities say that they will push US troops out and will not bring in the Japanese. The question is that the south Korean side misunderstands and distrusts us. We are fellow countrymen gathered here; so, if there is anything about which you are doubtful, you should tell us frankly. If you conceal your disagreement and just read out the prepared statement before returning south, it is impossible to remove misunderstanding. In order to dispel misunderstanding we must speak honestly.

If they are to achieve unity and cooperation, the north and the south must refrain from abusing and slandering each other. We are being patient with regard to the slanders of the south Korean authorities against us. If you really want collaboration with us, you must stop your anti-communist propaganda. Since we are desirous of collaborating with the south Korean side, we will not slander you.

When I met the south Korean representative last time, I said it would be better to form and run a kind of north-south joint commission so as to coordinate north-south relations properly and solve problems arising in reunifying the country successfully. We should form a north-south coordination commission on this occasion. I do not think there will be any great problems in doing this. We should form it quickly and operate it properly.

The coordination commission must not indulge in empty talk but coordinate north-south relations properly and steadily solve various problems arising in national reunification one by one. It would be a good idea if, upon the formation of the commission, both sides, in token of mutual trust, were to take measures to cut down their respective armed forces, set political prisoners free and guarantee freedom of activity to political parties.

The door between the north and the south, which has now been opened, must not be closed again. If it is closed again, we shall be blamed by the people of the world as well as by our nation.

Once we have opened the door and begun to tackle the task, we should acquit ourselves well of it and raise the honour of the Korean nation before the whole world.

The sooner the country's reunification is achieved, the better. If we delay the solution of the reunification question indefinitely, there will be nothing to our advantage. We should, all of us, work together and reunify the country as early as possible.

**TALK TO THE DELEGATION  
OF THE JAPAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
OF SOCIALIST MAYORS**

*May 14, 1972*

First of all, in the name of the Government of the Republic and all the Korean people, I warmly welcome your visit to our country.

We are well aware that you and the Japanese people are making great efforts to develop friendly relations between Korea and Japan and, especially, that you are actively supporting, defending and helping the Korean citizens in Japan in their struggle for democratic, national rights and the independent, peaceful reunification of our motherland. We are very happy to welcome you today as close friends.

I express my deep thanks to the head of the delegation and to you all for your valuable gifts. The deputy head of the delegation has even sent us some oxen. Thank you very much.

I thank the head of the delegation and all of you for your generous words of praise for me and our people. We shall not rest on our laurels in the least, but will work harder in the future to live up to your expectations.

You spoke a great deal about our past successes in socialist construction. Of course, we have made some achievements, but I think that when compared with the needs of our people this is no more than an initial success, and we have more work to do in the future.

We have basically overcome our difficulties in socialist construction. Of course, there may still be difficulties on the road

ahead, but because we have laid a firm independent economic base we are convinced that we can now develop our economy faster.

As you know, our industry before liberation was very backward and, moreover, it was almost totally destroyed in the three-year war. This virtually means that we started building the economy from scratch after the war. Indeed, we built new towns, villages and factories on the debris where there was nothing left at all.

It is true that we have not yet raised the people's living standards very high. But we have solved the problem of providing the working people with food, clothing and housing and provided everyone with conditions for studying free of charge and receiving free medical care. This is a very great success in our building of a new society. By drawing on the successes we have already scored in our socialist construction, we shall be even more successful in the future.

Since the Six-Year Plan for the development of our economy has been reported many times in the press, I think you are already well acquainted with it. Therefore, I shall not give you a long explanation.

Because we strengthened the foundations of heavy industry, with the machine-building industry as its core, to a certain degree in the past, we are now in a position to develop our productive forces to a greater degree and gradually free the working people from difficult and backbreaking labour. Hence, at the historic Fifth Congress of the Party we put forth three major tasks of the technical revolution for freeing the working people from difficult and arduous work. When the Six-Year Plan is fulfilled, the differences between town and country, between heavy and light labour and industrial and agricultural labour will be sharply reduced, even though the three major tasks of the technical revolution will not have been fully completed during this plan. In our country this work is now proceeding very successfully.

I received your questions from the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. I shall answer them briefly.

I want to speak first about the international situation.

I will not speak long because I have spoken about it on many other occasions.

Today the international situation is developing in favour of the peoples fighting for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism and to the disadvantage of the imperialists and reactionaries. The day has gone when a few powers could dominate and control the world as they chose. This is an era when the peoples fighting for justice and progress hold the initiative.

The US imperialists have just blockaded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and intensified their bombing raids. But this does not mean that they are going from victory to victory. This, in every respect, is nothing but the US imperialist aggressors' last-ditch struggle as they face their doom. No matter how desperately they try, the Viet Nam question will finally be solved in accordance with the will of the Vietnamese people. It will never be solved as the US imperialists want.

Today conflict between the imperialist powers is being aggravated and the contradictions within imperialism itself are growing extremely acute.

The Japanese people are waging a staunch struggle against the Sato government's reactionary policy of trailing after US imperialism. I think their fighting spirit against US imperialism is mounting. It is natural that the Japanese people should fight against US imperialism and the reactionary Sato government; it is the inevitable outcome of the process of historical development.

In the United States, too, the struggle of the people against the reactionary rulers and their policy of war is intensifying.

The ranks of the newly independent countries which have overthrown the colonial rule of imperialism and won national freedom have expanded greatly and the militant anti-imperialist spirit of the peoples of these countries is running ever higher. They are now vigorously forging ahead towards peace and socialism and are fighting hard against ever becoming colonial slaves of the imperialists again.

The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries still oppressed by the imperialists are also fighting valiantly against imperialism.

In addition, the might of the socialist countries is growing.

In short, the day has gone when the imperialist powers could divide

and dominate Asia, Africa and Latin America at will, and the day is coming when the people will dominate the world. With every day that passes the general situation is developing in favour of the peoples making revolution and against imperialism and the forces of reaction. In general, I think it is correct to assess the present international situation in this way.

Next, I shall speak about the organization of administrative units in our country, the province, county and ri, and the functions and role of local government bodies.

Our administrative units are the centre, province, county and ri. Before and immediately after liberation, there were five administrative units—the centre, province, county, sub-county and ri. When there is an intermediary unit, the decisions or orders of the upper unit do not go down quickly enough to the lower units, and the opinions of the people do not reach the upper unit quickly. So we abolished the sub-county.

Among our local administrative units, the county plays a major role. The province plays an intermediary role between the centre and the county. We are directing a great deal of effort to strengthening the county unit so that we shall be in closer touch with the people.

Among the local power organs are the people's assemblies and people's committees. The people's assembly is an organ of power consisting of deputies who represent workers, peasants, working intellectuals and people of other levels. The ri people's assembly consists of deputies from the ri, the county people's assembly of deputies from the county and the provincial people's assembly of deputies from the province. The people's committee is an executive body which carries out the decisions of the people's assembly. It reports the results of its work to the people's assembly which holds regular sessions.

Our people's organs of power consider it their basic mission to serve the interests of the people. This is their main characteristic. We put forth the slogan: "The organs of power are the servants of the people." In other words, they serve the people.

Once the people set up a government, it should become the government of the people in the true sense of the word. It cannot be otherwise; it must not become the government of any individual ruler. To make it genuine people's power, the representatives elected from among the people must work in the interests of the people. If they fail to work in accordance with the will of the people, this power cannot be called genuine people's power.

Our experience and that of other socialist countries show that officials of the power organs elected by the people quite often become bureaucratic. If it does not combat bureaucracy, the people's power organ cannot play its proper role as the servant of the people.

Bureaucracy manifests itself amongst officials in various ways. If people infected with the remnants of outmoded ideas are promoted to the chairmanship, they work in a bureaucratic way, as if they were old-style government officials. Bureaucracy also stems from subjectivism. Now and then, although they try to do their work well, some officials work against the interests of the people because they are not familiar with the real conditions at the lower levels. We strictly forbid officials to do this. We always emphasize the dangerous tendency of a ruling party to operate in a bureaucratic way, and put the main stress on combatting bureaucracy in all power organs, whether local or central.

The main task of our local power organs is to look after the living conditions of the people with a high sense of responsibility.

The main economic bodies are guided directly by the relevant ministries. So the local power organs are responsible for guiding the sectors chiefly associated with the living conditions of the people.

The local power organs take charge of and guide the commercial bodies above all.

They are important bodies which are directly responsible for providing the people with food, clothing and other daily necessities.

Our commercial bodies are fundamentally different from capitalist commercial bodies. They seek profit, whereas ours are entirely supply bodies for the population, which assume responsibility for supplying

the population with commodities and take it as their basic task to distribute supplies equally.

Commodities are sold at uniform prices in our country. This keeps the commercial bodies from raising or lowering commodity prices as they please. The prices of industrial goods are uniform in both the urban and mountain areas.

For instance, if the price of a box of matches is set at one *jon* in Pyongyang, it is also priced at one *jon* in a village at the foot of Mt. Paektu. In the past private traders sold a box of matches at one *jon* in Pyongyang, but two or three *jon* in mountain villages. Such practices have long since disappeared from our country.

It seems to me that no other country has nationwide uniform prices as we do. In other countries, commodity prices in mountain areas are higher than in urban areas. Therefore, there is a big difference between living conditions in urban and mountain areas. Since we make prices uniform, there is no great disparity between living conditions in the urban and the mountain areas of our country.

Commodities are also distributed equally in our country. The central commercial bodies work out the national commodity supply plans. Commodities are sent to the provinces, provinces send them to the counties and counties distribute them to the shops. Moreover, when localities need more commodities, additional supplies are given to them.

Our commerce has also introduced the system of ordering commodities. Thus, when a citizen orders goods, the commercial body fulfils the order in a responsible manner.

The local power organs guide the commercial bodies so that they do their work satisfactorily in conformity with the requirements of the country's commercial system.

The local power organs are also in charge of city management.

It is an important part of the work of the people's committees to repair promptly and maintain buildings and facilities, the common property of the state and all the people. The proper management of the city is the only way we can make life comfortable for the working people.

City management in our country is supported by the central and

local budgets. Large-scale city management is part of the central budget and small-scale management comes under the local budget.

The same can be said of construction. Large construction projects such as factories and other enterprises, railways, roads and harbours are financed by the central budget, and smaller-scale construction by the local budget. A greater part of housing construction is carried on under local budgets.

The local power organs also guide education.

In our country there are both schools of nationwide consequence and of local importance.

With regard to institutes of higher learning, there are universities and polytechnics, chemical, engineering, agricultural and medical institutes training people needed on a nationwide scale, and there are universities training people needed locally.

Provinces have universities of education, teachers training colleges and colleges for kindergarten teachers, which supply their own needs. The universities of education train middle school teachers, the teachers training colleges train primary school teachers and the kindergarten teachers training colleges train teachers for kindergartens. All the provinces also have agricultural universities training cadres for agriculture and medical universities training cadres for public health work. The universities and colleges training officials needed by the provinces are responsibly guided and managed chiefly by provinces.

The county people's committees directly guide and manage middle schools, primary schools, kindergartens and nursery schools.

The people's committees mainly undertake school construction, the recommendation of students for further study, and the selection and appointment of teachers.

Schools conduct education in accordance with the uniform programme pursued by the relevant ministries. But some subjects may be added according to local conditions and needs. The people's committees guide schools at all levels so that they can conduct education correctly in accordance with the uniform programme.

The local power organs are also in charge of public health affairs.

Our public health system is one of free medical treatment. We follow a policy of preventive medicine and have established the section doctor system to implement it successfully. Under this system each doctor takes charge of a residential quarter and carries out preventive measures. Doctors always go into their districts to carry out prophylactic measures and look after the health of the population.

In our country today every ri has a clinic and every county a hospital. During the Six-Year Plan, we will convert the county hospitals into general hospitals and the ri clinics into hospitals. We are also going to set up hospitals at the factories.

The local power organs directly carry out all the public health policies of the Party and the Government.

They also give guidance to the local industry factories.

These factories mainly process local raw materials.

For instance, they process their localities' fruit, vegetables, fish and specialities. Ingredients such as soya sauce, bean paste and cooking oil are produced at these factories for the local population.

Local factories also process raw materials from other localities.

These factories supply their products mainly to their own locality, but some of them are sent to urban areas and other localities.

As you can see, our local government bodies assume full responsibility for the lives of the people. Therefore, it is not too much to say that they are servants of the people.

Whether the people's power organs work well or not is shown in the life of the people, and it is the people who are the judge of the work of the officials of the people's power organs.

Now let me tell you about the system and content of education in our country.

To build socialism successfully, it is necessary to develop the work of education and train able workers in large numbers. However excellent the social system may be, it cannot be consolidated, developed or defended without able workers.

So we are working under the motto of getting all the Party, all the

people and the whole army to study. It may safely be said that everyone in our country studies now.

In study, our cadres set a living example.

We have set every Saturday as a day of study for the cadres so that all of them can study regularly. In addition, they are required to study at schools of various levels for one or six months a year, during which time they receive their regular salaries. We now have the Higher Party School and the University of National Economy in the centre, communist universities in the provinces and Party schools in the counties. Provincial cadres and leading county officials go to the Higher Party School or the University of National Economy. County cadres go to provincial communist universities and ri cadres to county Party schools.

In addition, senior provincial and county officials who are not sufficiently capable attend one- or three-year courses at the Higher Party School or the University of National Economy.

The content of cadre study courses is varied. Cadres take political, technical or management courses according to their needs. All conditions for study are provided by the state.

In our country there are also schools for heads of workshops and workteams to raise their technical and business qualifications, and factories have schools for training skilled workers.

There are factory colleges, factory higher technical schools and correspondence and evening courses at universities and colleges. They form an education system under which the students study without leaving their jobs.

In addition, we have working people's middle schools.

If a backward country which has not gone through the stage of capitalism wants to make rapid progress it must raise the level of knowledge of its working people. Thanks to the state, all of our younger generation have completed a middle school education or above. But most people aged between 45 and 50 and over were at a very low level because they had been unable to go to school before liberation. Unless their level was raised rapidly, it would have been

impossible to carry on revolution and construction successfully or raise the younger generation well. However good an education the school gives the students, they will naturally fall behind if their parents have a bad influence on them at home.

Therefore, in the first stage we began by wiping out illiteracy and then gave all the people general knowledge at the primary school level. Now, a working people's middle school has been set up in every ri, and work is under way to raise the level of general knowledge of the working people who did not get middle school education before to middle school level. This work is progressing successfully.

Thus, by making all the people study, we have had great success in this field.

We pay particular attention to the education of the new generation.

I believe that through your inspection of our schools you are well acquainted with the school education system for children and young people. So I shall not dwell on this.

Schools are found everywhere in our country and all the new generation are being educated free of charge. Appropriations for school education occupy a large proportion of our state budget. It is a very good thing, I believe, that expenditure for school education should take such a large proportion of the state budget.

Our schools teach the children and young people modern science and technology.

Without scientific and technical knowledge, it is impossible to run the state, economic and cultural organs well or make the country rich and powerful. So, we put forth a slogan calling on all pupils, students and other young people to acquire at least one skill, and we are conducting an extensive drive for them to learn skills.

As a result of this drive, signal success has been achieved in this field, too. In the past the middle school graduates had to serve an apprenticeship of one or one and a half years at factories to become skilled workers. But now they become skilled workers soon after they enter factories. This enables us to keep up satisfactorily with the needs of our developing industry for skilled workers.

We attach the greatest importance to establishing Juche in school education thoroughly. This means conducting education with things Korean as the main content, not mechanically imitating other countries.

Because our people were prey to dogmatism in the past, they committed many deviations.

In music, for example, the workers in the field of art leaned heavily towards Western music and paid little attention to developing our own national music. Music should always serve the people and be music that everybody can understand and sing. It is absolutely meaningless to develop art for art's sake.

We put a strong emphasis on developing art which serves the people, art that the people like. We make it a rule to write songs everyone can sing with lyrics that everyone can understand. I do not know whether you have seen the revolutionary opera *The Sea of Blood*. That opera is in a style the people like.

Literature, too, must not be literature for literature's sake but literature for educating the people. To this end, works that are popular in style, easily understandable and instructive must be written.

In the past, in order to boast of their knowledge, some people wrote things which were difficult for others to understand. They thought that writing things incomprehensible to others demonstrated their wisdom and superiority. But such people are actually ignorant and such writings are not superior. A piece of writing can only be considered good when it is understood by everyone. So we always stress writing as many works as possible which are easy for the people to understand.

Juche must be established in science and technology, too, so that we can solve the problem of using our domestic resources effectively.

Today our scientists and technicians are directing their research efforts into such scientific and technical problems as making better use of smokeless coal which is abundant in our country, turning limestone to good account and breeding seeds suitable to our climate and other natural conditions. We regard scientists and technicians who know how to make good use of all our resources as true scientists and technicians guided by Juche.

The establishment of Juche in our scientific research has made our industry independent, relying essentially on domestic raw materials. So we can say that it is very stable.

We encourage our students to set their hearts on scientific research to promote the utilization of our natural resources, and educate them to think and act on their own initiative at all times.

As we are friends, let me tell you an amusing story. When, in the past, our people were not receiving education based on Juche they lacked confidence in volleyball and football games with Europeans, saying they stood no chance against those tall people. But, after receiving Juche-based education, our people became confident that they could outmatch tall people and began to work out tactics for defeating them. Victory in sports depends largely on who works out better tactics. Even those of low stature can win games if they do this.

Because we have educated our students to use their brains and hold fast to their stand, great miracles are being wrought in many sectors now.

In school we also attach great importance to combining classroom teaching with productive work.

We can only train large numbers of able personnel familiar with advanced science and technology when this is done. If students are made to confine themselves to books, staying aloof from productive work, they will become mere “bookworms” divorced from reality. We combine education closely with productive work so that the students will not follow such a course.

Today, by taking an active part in productive work, our students not only consolidate what they have learned but successfully engage in research on the production of machinery and equipment suited to our own conditions. Students of mining and metallurgy go out to the mines, actually work in them and strive to invent machinery suitable to the conditions there. Students of agriculture go to the rural districts, work with the farmers and participate in designing machinery suited to the farming conditions of our country. Foreign farm machinery does

not suit our conditions. We bought rice-transplanters from Japan, Italy and France and tried them, but none of them suited our conditions. Now, students at our agricultural universities are using their initiative to design and manufacture efficient farm machinery suitable to the conditions of our country.

Combining education with productive work is very important in opposing dogmatism and establishing Juche.

In the past we sent many students to study in other countries. When they returned, they wanted to copy those countries mechanically. But the students who studied at home and directly participated in productive work found out at first hand that what was written in foreign books did not fit the conditions of our country. So they would not mechanically copy foreign ideas.

Students who studied at home and took a direct part in productive work are far more useful than those who studied abroad. Thus, combining education with productive work is of great importance in establishing Juche among the children and young people and bringing them up to render better service to the people.

While combining education with productive work, our schools take a deep interest in educating and encouraging the students to love work.

All the wealth of society is created by work. Therefore, it is important to educate everyone to love it. When we carry out mechanization and automation by accelerating the technical revolution, the working people will be freed from difficult and backbreaking work and the problem of eliminating distinctions between mental and physical labour will be solved. But work itself will never disappear. If dislike for work is fostered among people, the wealth of society cannot be increased and the country will finally fall into ruin.

This is why we have led the schools to apply themselves tirelessly to educating the students to love work. As a result, our schoolchildren and young people now hate those who shirk work and feel it the greatest honour to work harder for the country and the people. This is very good, I believe.

We are also concerned about educating schoolchildren and young

people to value and look after the common property of the state and society.

It is a very important matter in a socialist society to educate people to take loving care of communal property. However vast the scale of our production and construction may be, this is of no use if we treat things roughly and spoil and waste them.

We have seen to it that the schools organize “Hygiene Guards”, “Greenery Guards” and the like widely so that our younger generation will become accustomed from their childhood to value and look after the common property of the state and society. They have launched an extensive “good conduct movement” to benefit the state and society.

Our students now have a very strong sense of responsibility towards state and social property. When desks and chairs are broken, they immediately repair them themselves and are active in keeping the classrooms tidy.

This is what is said to have happened at a middle school. A correspondent going around the classrooms began nonchalantly sharpening his pencil to jot down something. At once a student ran to him and cupped his hands under the pencil to catch the shavings. The correspondent was deeply moved by this.

In order to educate and train students properly, the teachers themselves must possess advanced science and technology and be revolutionized and working-classized.

Teachers are not simply wage earners who teach students, but revolutionaries bringing up the future builders of socialism. For this reason, we are working hard to help teachers acquire advanced science and technology and to revolutionize and working-classize them.

Next, you asked me if I had anything to say to the Korean citizens in Japan and the Japanese people. I shall say a few words on this.

The Korean citizens in Japan are now successfully waging joint struggles with the Japanese people. Of course, there are exclusive fields of action for the Korean citizens in Japan. But, because they live on Japanese soil, they cannot be successful in struggle unless they wage it jointly with the Japanese people. We are very glad to note that the

Korean citizens in Japan are successfully waging joint struggles with the Japanese people, and wish them greater successes in the future.

The struggle of the people and progressive democrats against the reactionaries who follow US imperialism and against the revival of Japanese militarism is mounting ever higher in Japan. This struggle supports the Korean people and the Korean citizens in Japan.

In Japan today progressive democrats who are friendly to the Korean people and the people sympathizing with and supporting us are constantly increasing in number. We are greatly pleased by this. In particular, the “Dietmen’s League for Promotion of Japan-Korea Friendship” intended for better relations with the Korean people was recently formed in Japan, and there is an extensive movement to develop friendly relations with our country. This is a great support and encouragement to the struggle of the Korean citizens in Japan.

Since the Japanese people and the broad democratic forces in Japan are growing and strengthening daily, the Korean citizens in Japan are by no means alone in their battle. It is linked to the just struggle of the Japanese people against imperialism and the forces of reaction. Hence our conviction of the certain victory of their struggle, in spite of the many obstacles which the Japanese reactionary forces throw in their way.

The Korean citizens in Japan will continue their successful joint struggle with the Japanese people in order to win greater victories in defending their democratic, national rights, in developing national education and in promoting the independent, peaceful reunification of our motherland.

I think that if the Korean citizens in Japan and the broad democratic forces of Japan prove good in united struggle, state relations between the DPRK and Japan can be improved in the not too distant future and good-neighbour relations between the two countries will be attained earlier. If, to begin with, at least visits of individuals take place between the two countries, friendly relations between our people and the Japanese people will develop.

I consider the present visit to our country of the delegation of the Japan Association of Socialist Mayors headed by Mr. Asukata Ichio to

be a preliminary and a good sign pointing to the further development of friendly relations between our two peoples in the future.

According to reports, the Japanese Foreign Ministry has said that it would receive an art troupe if Korea was willing to send one. In my view, this is also a good sign in the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

The fact that the congratulatory group of Koreans in Japan headed by Ri Kye Baek, Vice-Chairman of the Central Standing Committee of Chongryon, won the right to return to Japan after visiting their homeland also marks a big advance in the furtherance of relations between Korea and Japan.

A Korean saying goes, "Well begun is half done." Now that visits of individuals between Korea and Japan have begun, mutual visits and contacts will become more frequent. This will increase the understanding between the two peoples. Therefore, prospects for the development of relations between our two countries are quite bright and there are no grounds for pessimism.

We hope that on your return home you will convey our greetings to Chairman Han Tok Su and other leading cadres of Chongryon and all the Korean citizens in Japan.

On behalf of the Korean people I also ask you to give my regards to Chairman Narita, Vice-Chairman Akamatsu and other leaders of the Japan Socialist Party, Mr. Kuno Chuji, Mr. Minobe and all the scholars and progressives who are sympathetic to Korea, and to all the Japanese people.

I also ask you to remember me to Mr. Goto, Managing Editor of the *Asahi Shimbun*, who visited our country last year, and to the progressive men of the Japanese press who have shown a great deal of sympathy for our country in their writing.

Now, I will deal with some matters concerning strengthening friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Japanese peoples.

I think it is a very good thing that you have proposed establishing fraternal relations between cities of our country and Japan, especially cities with socialist mayors. This will help the Korean and Japanese

peoples understand each other better and produce good results in strengthening their friendship and solidarity.

We fully approve of your proposal. It is advisable to have detailed consultations with the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries to decide which cities should be selected.

It is also good that you have proposed opening economic, cultural and technical exchanges between the regions of our country and Japan.

We hear that Japan now buys iron ore from Australia and even from South America because she does not possess any. Our country has tremendous deposits of iron ore. Our geological prospectors recently discovered new deposits estimated at thousands of millions of tons in our western area and northern inland districts. Abundant deposits of iron ore are found everywhere in our country, which means that we can sell Japan as much as she wants.

At the same time, there are many things we want to buy from Japan. As cotton does not grow well in our country, we produce fibres from reeds, wood and limestone. We plan to produce synthetic fibre from petroleum in the future. But we ourselves cannot yet produce the equipment for chemical fibre factories. It would be better if we import this equipment from Japan. But as we have no trade relations with Japan as yet, we have to import it from such faraway countries as France and Britain.

You have asked me if exchange in the sphere of fishing is possible. My answer to that question is also in the affirmative. Our country now obtains more than one million tons of seafood annually—no small quantity in view of the size of our population. But we are not efficient at processing seafood. Therefore, we consider that it would be advantageous to conduct technical exchange with Japan in the field of processing aquatic products.

You suggested that the two countries might exchange experience in agriculture, and I find that very interesting. Our two countries have many things to learn from each other in this field, too. It is not a bad thing to exchange experience in agriculture and learn from each other.

Interchange may be conducted between our schools and Japanese

schools, too. It is a good thing, not a bad thing, to establish friendly relations between schools so that pupils can make contact with each other and exchange letters and classwork.

You said that you would invite the Chairman of the Pyongyang Municipal People's Committee to Japan. We are not against this. I think it is good that you invite him so as to promote friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Japanese peoples.

As he is not here now, I cannot speak for him, but I think he will not be against it either.

Finally, let me say a few words about the reversion of Okinawa.

We have not studied this matter deeply. You are better informed about it than we are.

We doubt whether Okinawa will in fact be returned to the Japanese people. While the US imperialists keep their military bases there and use them for a war of aggression, it does not mean that Okinawa has really been returned to the Japanese people and the reversion is of no importance.

We are inclined to think that the return of Okinawa to Japan by the US imperialists is nothing more than a fraudulent move thought up by Sato and Nixon in their secret talks to deceive the Japanese and other Asian peoples. As you know, Nixon is now using a whole box of tricks to deceive the people of the world. In our view, Nixon and Sato seem to be engaging in some kind of trickery on the reversion of Okinawa, too. It remains to be seen what exactly they are up to.

We consider that there should be a genuine restoration of Okinawa to the Japanese people in whose interests it should be used. On no account must it be used as a military base for aggression by the US imperialists in their policy of making Asians fight Asians.

We unwaveringly support the stand and struggle of the Japanese people, because it is they who are most familiar with the problems of Japan. With regard to the question of Okinawa, too, we actively support your struggle against the reversion hoax of the US imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries.

This outlines what I wanted to say in answer to your questions.

## **TALK TO JOURNALISTS OF THE US NEWSPAPER *NEW YORK TIMES***

*May 26, 1972*

I am sure that you have seen for yourselves and sensed how the Korean people feel towards the United States here in our country.

They do not have good feelings towards the United States. Our people have very strong anti-US sentiments. Perhaps this feeling has offended you Americans.

It is natural that the Korean people should feel badly towards the United States. US imperialism is the aggressor which has invaded our country. No people can have warm feelings towards an aggressor who invades their country, can they?

The Korean people's anti-US sentiments have grown very strong, particularly since they suffered so much damage at the hands of the US imperialists during the Fatherland Liberation War.

During this war, they suffered tremendous harm because of the US imperialists' barbarous acts of aggression. I do not think there is any Korean who did not sustain a loss in the war. Every Korean suffered a loss in some way or other. If he did not suffer personally, at least his family, relatives or friends did.

In Pyongyang, for example, the indiscriminate bombing of the US imperialists left few houses intact. The entire city was reduced to ashes and tens of thousands of people were killed in cold blood. This also happened in Wonsan, Hamhung and other cities. Even our villages were all burned to ashes in the last days of the war.

Having suffered such severe damage at the hands of the US imperialists, the Korean people cannot have good feelings for the United States.

Even after the armistice the United States continued its unfriendly attitude towards our country.

The Armistice Agreement stipulated that a political conference between the two sides would be held immediately after the war to settle the Korean question by peaceful means. However, the United States did not abide by this stipulation. As a result, our country is still in a state of ceasefire today. No peace agreement has been concluded and there has been no progress in the work of solving the Korean question peacefully. Therefore, I always tell our people that the generations are changing, but the target of our struggle remains the same.

The US authorities have persisted in their aggressive acts against our country in violation of the Armistice Agreement. Even after the *Pueblo* incident, the United States continued its aerial reconnaissance of our country. This places our country in a perpetual de facto state of war.

As this state of war has continued since the ceasefire, we have been forced to increase the development of our defences and invest heavily in them. To be honest, this enormous expenditure on defence has, to a certain extent, slowed down the rise in the living standards of the people. Our people also blame the United States for this.

Therefore, they have strong anti-US feelings because they suffered great damage at the hands of the US imperialists during the Fatherland Liberation War. In addition, they have bad sentiments towards the United States because the US imperialists have been hostile towards our country and have even continued aggressive actions in violation of the Armistice Agreement during the period since the war.

The tense situation forces us to continue to increase our preparations against war. We make no secret of this. Who can guarantee that the US imperialists will not attack our country again? Neither you nor I, nor anyone else. So we are openly making war preparations in order to defend the country from enemy aggression.

The most important thing in our war preparations is to teach all our people to hate US imperialism. If we do not do this, we shall not be able to defeat the US imperialists who boast of their technological superiority.

Therefore, we are intensifying ideological education, to fill the people with hatred for US imperialism. I think this is quite a natural and correct thing for us to do. We do not have to stop the anti-US education we have been giving to our people or conceal the fact that we are educating them in anti-US ideas just because you come to our country, do we?

You must understand our people's ill feeling towards the United States.

You have just said that you hope this abnormal situation between our country and the United States will improve. So do we. We do not want to have many enemies.

Now, let me answer the questions you have raised.

To begin with, I should like to refer to the question of relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

You asked me what positive measures should be taken to end the abnormal state of affairs between Korea and the United States. In our opinion this is a very simple matter.

Relations between our country and the United States depend entirely on the attitude of the US government. If the US government changes its policy towards us, we shall do the same towards the United States.

If the US government wants to improve its relations with our country, it must, first of all, stop interfering in our internal affairs so that the Koreans can settle the question of Korean reunification independently. It is nearly 20 years now since the Armistice Agreement was signed, so why should US troops continue to occupy south Korea under the guise of "United Nations forces"? Some people say that the US troops are staying on in south Korea to protect it because we might "invade the south". This is a lie. We have declared

time and again that we have no intention of invading the south. It is high time to put an end to the situation where US troops play policemen in south Korea under the cloak of “United Nations forces”.

The US government disturbs us not only because it has stationed its armed forces in south Korea but also because it is helping to revive Japanese militarism. We are not happy about the US assistance to the revival of Japanese militarism. We can see from the joint communique of Nixon and Sato of 1969 that the United States is bringing Japanese militarism into south Korea as its agent for aggression against Korea and is encouraging it to interfere in our country’s internal affairs. Following the publication of the communique, Sato openly declared that he would interfere in Korea’s internal affairs. This is another aspect of the unfriendly attitude of the US government towards our country.

On the Korean question in the United Nations, the US government is also taking an unjustifiable attitude towards our country. It advocates inviting south Korea to the United Nations unconditionally while attaching conditions to inviting us. It alleges that we do not respect the United Nations Charter, although we have never violated or ignored it. The United States insists that it will only allow us to attend the UN General Assembly if we recognize the unlawful resolutions on the Korean question which were adopted at the United Nations. How can we go to the UN General Assembly under this condition? Furthermore, the United States has been inciting the “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea” to give annual reports full of lies and fabrications about our country, thus continuing hostile propaganda against us.

Because the US government has unswervingly pursued this unfriendly policy towards our country, there has been no improvement in Korea-US relations and the reunification of our country has been greatly hindered.

If the United States wants to improve its relations with our country, it must stop interfering in our internal affairs so that the Koreans can reunify their country by themselves, withdraw its troops disguised as

“UN forces” and dissolve the “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea”. It must not continue the partition of the Korean nation but support its reunification. As long as the United States keeps our country divided, our attitude towards the United States will not change. The Korean peninsula is now cut into two parts. If the US troops withdraw from south Korea and foreign interference stops, the Koreans will be able to find common ground which will enable them to reunify their country by themselves. Furthermore, if the US troops get out of south Korea, I think the Koreans will come to terms easily and our people’s anti-US feeling will gradually decrease.

When US President Nixon looked at the Great Wall during his visit to China he said that the barriers dividing nations should be pulled down. If the US government wants to put these words into practice, it must begin with Korea. Nowadays Nixon says that he is going to improve relations with China as well as with the Soviet Union. Why, then, should the United States keep its military bases in south Korea? The United States has argued that it keeps them there to prevent communist expansion. Now that it is going to have good relations with the large socialist countries, we consider that there is no excuse for keeping military bases in south Korea. So the United States must quit south Korea at once, dismantling all its military bases and withdrawing its army of aggression.

If the United States wants to improve its relations with our country, it must also stop assisting the revival of Japanese militarism and stop introducing it into south Korea. The United States is trying to substitute Japanese militarism for its own in its invasion of south Korea and to reduce south Korea to a commodity market and appendage of Japan. This is an unfriendly, hostile act against our people. The US government must discontinue such antagonistic acts against our country.

If the US government discontinues its hostile acts against our country and stops obstructing our reunification, then there will be no reason why we should be antagonistic to the United States. So we say that relations between the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and

the United States depend not on us, but entirely on the attitude of the US government. We shall keep a close watch on the policy the United States adopts towards our country in the future.

The US government should not only improve relations with large countries, but with small countries as well. We do not think improved US relations with large countries will greatly influence its relations with small countries. In fact, the US government has not yet changed its attitude in its relations with small countries.

In the joint communique of the People's Republic of China and the United States, the latter declared that it supports the relaxation of tension on the Korean peninsula and contact between north and south Korea. With regard to the influence the United States will exert on south Korea in this respect, we must wait and see. If the United States does not support the relaxation of tension in Korea and north-south contact in the future, it will mean that it gave empty promises under pressure.

Our people remember what Nixon said in China. What interests me most is that he said that no barriers should divide the people of the world. We are watching how he is going to put his words into practice.

You asked me if moves such as an exchange of journalists and cultural interchange to promote mutual understanding and reduce tension were possible between the two countries even before the US troops are withdrawn from south Korea. I will answer this briefly.

Frankly, we cannot understand why Americans are interested in coming to our country. We do not think our people would bring back anything interesting if they visited the United States in the present circumstances.

We do not mean that we want to shut the door to relations with the United States. But we consider that as long as the fundamental problem between the two countries remains unsolved, an exchange of journalists or cultural interchange would be of little value.

I am told that you feel uncomfortable in our country. If other Americans come here they will return with the same uncomfortable feeling.

We are now intensifying anti-US education among our younger

generation so that they will not forget their enemy. As long as the US government's hostile policy towards our country remains unchanged, our policy towards the United States will not change either. Therefore, Americans will not get good impressions here until the fundamental problem between the two countries is solved. If many Americans come to our country in the future, and go back with unpleasant feelings, we think such visits will not be beneficial.

If the US government discards its hostile policy towards our country, our anti-US feelings may decrease. Only then will visits and interchange between the two countries be fruitful and beneficial to both sides.

Since the US government is not changing its hostile policy towards our country, mutual visits had better be limited in scope, as at present. We do not think that there is no need at all for our journalists to visit the United States. In our opinion, it is necessary for them to go there in order to let the American people hear our true voice, because at present you only hear the voice of the south Korean rulers. We welcome visits by American journalists and democratic figures on a limited scale. Such visits and interchange will help promote understanding between the two peoples.

In the light of our experience in receiving you now, I think it would be a good idea for us to explain to future American visitors how we are conducting anti-US education among our people before they start going on visits.

Next I want to refer to a few points concerning Korea's reunification.

You asked me whether it would be possible to deal with the Korean question in the same way as the Viet Nam question was dealt with at the Geneva Conference in 1954. We think we need not deal with the Korean question in such a way.

The Korean question must be solved by the Koreans themselves on the principle of national self-determination without any foreign interference. Only then can the reunification of our country be achieved peacefully.

The Soviet Union and China completely support this programme for national reunification. The Soviet and Chinese governments have issued statements on many occasions supporting our country's programme for peaceful reunification.

A prerequisite for the independent settlement of the question of Korean reunification without foreign interference is that the US troops must be withdrawn from south Korea. No war will break out in Korea after they are withdrawn.

When the US troops pull out of south Korea and the people of north and south Korea are united, we can reunify Korea quickly and frustrate the Japanese militarists' plans to invade Korea again. The Korean people can achieve national unity by their own efforts.

As you know, we are now having contacts with south Korea through the preliminary talks between the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations. Of course, as for the prospects and the results of the talks, we will have to wait and see. But we think that if we Koreans sit down at a conference table, we can find ways to remove the distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south and attain national unity.

The north and south Koreans are cold to each other, and distrust and misunderstand each other in many respects because they have had no opportunity to sit down together in the same place.

We think distrust and misunderstanding exist between the north and south Koreans on a number of matters.

We believe that the south Korean rulers may invade the northern half of Korea with the support of the United States and Japanese militarist forces. The south Korean rulers labour under the misapprehension that we might attack south Korea. They are also making an "anti-communist" fuss, asserting that we are trying to "communize" south Korea. Because of such distrust and misunderstanding, no progress has yet been made on the matter of Korean reunification.

We believe that if we Koreans sit down together, we shall be able to remove distrust and misunderstanding and find common ground

and, on this basis, achieve national unity.

Nowadays the south Korean rulers are calling for the independent reunification of the country, advocating, although only in words, “self-help”, “self-reliance” and “self-defence”. If we interpret this favourably, we can see some similarity with the idea of independence, self-reliance and self-defence which we advocate. If we find and develop these common denominators one by one, it will be possible to reach an agreement on achieving national unity.

The difference in social systems in the north and the south must not be made an obstacle to the promotion of national unity and the attainment of reunification.

At present, some foreign journalists say that there are two opposite poles in Korea—north Korea’s communist system and south Korea’s capitalist system—and these two poles cannot be integrated. Once these two poles touch, they say, war will break out again in Korea.

We do not regard south Korea as a capitalist society in the true sense of the word. There are no big monopoly capitalists in south Korea, only a few comprador capitalists. Of course, we are against comprador capitalists. We oppose them because they obstruct the development of the national economy. But we are not against national capitalists and small and medium entrepreneurs. We can say that south Korean society is no more than a society which is just starting to take the road of capitalism, or is inclined towards capitalism, or is being influenced by capitalism, or believes in capitalism, or something like that. This does not mean that there is no difference between the social systems in the north and the south.

It is true that there are now differences in ideas and creeds between the north and the south. But we think we must rise above these differences for the sake of national unity. We have no intention of imposing our socialist system on south Korea. Unless its present rulers try to force us to replace our socialist system with another, there is no reason why we cannot achieve national unity.

If the north and the south establish the principle of each not imposing its social system on the other, then there is no need for armed

conflict between us. If neither side is forced to give up its political beliefs, is there any reason for the people of one and the same nation to fight?

It is possible for a country to have different political systems and for people with different creeds to live together in one country. What political system should be established in south Korea is a matter for the south Korean people themselves to decide. So we consider that even after the country is reunified the present social systems in the north and the south can continue as they are, and people who have different creeds can live together in Korea. What is needed here is mutual trust and respect.

We always maintain that our homeland should be reunified independently and peacefully without foreign interference. Furthermore, we hold that the unity of the whole nation should be achieved under conditions in which both sides trust and respect each other, despite the different social systems in the north and the south.

In a speech on August 6 last year, we pointed out that we were even ready to have contacts with the Democratic Republican Party, the ruling party of south Korea. This stems from our desire to create mutual respect.

If the north and the south join hands and work tirelessly, we shall be able to eliminate mutual misunderstanding and distrust gradually and achieve the reunification of the country independently on a democratic basis. Our country cannot be reunified if outside forces meddle in the Korean question. Foreigners cannot rid our nation of distrust and misunderstanding. That is why we oppose interference of any outside force in the Korean question.

We believe that if there is no outside interference in the Korean question and foreign countries give up their obstructionist tactics, the reunification of Korea will definitely be attained the way we are advocating, although it may take time.

You said you want to know what practical measures we are taking to bring about the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. I shall outline them briefly.

We are calling for the exchange of mail and mutual visits and also trade and economic cooperation between the north and the south.

As for mutual visits of individuals, we think it also desirable for our deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly and the "national assemblymen" of south Korea to visit each other. If "national assemblymen" of south Korea come to the northern half of Korea and our deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly go to south Korea and if they sit down at one table and exchange views openheartedly through such mutual visits, it will be a good thing for the reunification of our homeland. It is by no means a bad thing. We want contacts not only with south Korean "national assemblymen" but also with a broad spectrum of political and public figures in south Korea. In other words, we hold that all the political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea should get together in a political consultative conference and exchange wide-ranging views on the question of national reunification.

Furthermore, we have proposed that, if it is impossible to reunify the country at once, a Confederation be set up. This means forming a Supreme National Council with representatives of the north and south Korean governments, mainly for consulting and coordinating on matters concerning the national interests of Korea, while maintaining the present different political systems in north and south Korea as they are for the time being.

We have also more than once proposed economic dealings between the north and the south, based on the immediate interests of the nation. If economic cooperation materializes and we give south Korea what we have in abundance and receive what it has in plenty, the economy of both parts will develop more rapidly.

We have also proposed cultural and scientific exchanges between the north and the south.

In addition, we maintain that a peace agreement should be concluded between the north and the south, stipulating that each side will refrain from the use of arms against the other and that the numerical strength of the armed forces of the two sides be reduced

after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea. The present arms race between the north and the south is having a considerable effect on the living standards of the people.

We are doing all we can to remove tension and bring about contact and exchange between the north and the south. It is true that, if mutual visits are made, capitalist influence may be brought into the northern half of Korea. But we are not in the least afraid of this. We keep our door open so that south Koreans can visit the northern half of Korea at any time. It is not we but the south Korean rulers who are keeping the door closed. Everything will be settled easily once the south Korean authorities open their door.

But the south Korean rulers are very much afraid of doing this. Having declared a “state of emergency” under the pretext of a fictitious “threat of aggression from the north”, they are playing all sorts of tricks while the preliminary talks are going on between the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations. They are ruthlessly suppressing those south Koreans who desire reunification. They are even prohibiting “national assemblymen” of the Democratic Republican Party from talking with their New Democratic Party colleagues in the puppet national assembly. The south Korean rulers are now raising an “anti-communist” fuss, holding “anti-communist rallies” and “meetings for the annihilation of communism and against espionage activities” in all parts of south Korea.

We have no intention of invading south Korea, nor do we want to impose our socialist system on south Korea. Nevertheless, the south Korean rulers have declared a “state of emergency” under the pretext of a “threat of aggression from the north” and are intensifying their fascist repression of the south Korean people and demanding “reunification by prevailing over communism”. This is not a helpful attitude to national reunification. Their hullabaloo is not designed to bring about a close relationship between the north and the south but to estrange them further. It is intended to prevent the country from being reunified. By “reunification by prevailing over communism”, the south Korean rulers mean to achieve reunification after wiping out the

communists in Korea. In the final analysis, this means that they oppose reunification and want to perpetuate the partition. We do not know who is the author of this outcry in south Korea. But we think it betrays their weakness.

We shall continue our patient efforts to bring about contacts and dialogue between the north and the south.

We are at present seriously concerned about south Korea's economic subjection to Japan. If the south Korean rulers keep the door between the north and the south closed, Japanese capital will penetrate south Korea, which will become completely subjected to Japan economically.

We do not forget the history of the Japanese imperialists' invasion of our country. They began worming their way into Korea in 1894 under the pretext of "protecting" Japanese residents in Korea. From then on our country began falling into the status of a Japanese colony.

Japanese militarism, which has revived under the patronage of US imperialism, is now planning to invade Korea again. We read an article in the Japanese magazine *World Weekly* which quoted Japanese militarist leaders as saying that Korea should not be reunified for at least a quarter of a century. This shows that the Japanese militarists are watching for a chance to invade Korea again.

We have to increase our vigilance against the Japanese militarists. We are fully informing all our people, and particularly the younger generation, on the history of Japanese militarist aggression in our country so that they will not forget it but keep a close watch on Japanese militarism.

Our country has not yet been reunified, but remains divided into north and south because of the reactionary manoeuvres of the south Korean rulers and the obstructionist activities of outside forces.

Therefore, we think that all the north and south Korean people must unite firmly and struggle actively against the outside forces which hamper the reunification of our country.

You asked me about the relations between our country and Japan. I shall deal with this briefly now.

The improvement of relations between our country and Japan depends on the attitude taken by the Japanese government.

Good-neighbour relations have not been established to date solely because the Japanese government has followed a hostile policy towards our country. The successive cabinets of the Japanese government, from Yoshida to Sato, including those of Kishi and Ikeda, have adopted an unfriendly attitude and a hostile policy towards our country.

If the Japanese government gives up its hostile policy towards our country and wants to establish friendly relations with us, we are fully prepared to respond.

However, as long as the Japanese government pursues a hostile policy and takes an unfriendly attitude towards our country, we do not want to improve relations between the two countries by resorting to sycophant diplomacy. The smaller a country is, the greater self-respect its people must have. If the peoples of small countries do not even have self-respect, they cannot survive. We do not want to go to Heaven by turning our right cheek after we have been hit on the left. We have no thought of throwing our self-respect away.

You asked me what is the best gift I could give to our people. It is the reunification of the country.

The Korean people are one people of the same blood. But they are divided because their country is not yet reunified. This is our greatest grief.

At present, because of an artificial barrier in our country many people have lived separated from their families and relatives for a long time, unable to meet each other, write letters or hear about each other's fate, alive or dead. The artificial barrier which causes this tragic state of affairs must be pulled down as soon as possible and our homeland reunified at all costs.

Once our country is reunified, our people will lead as good a life as others and will live peacefully with the different peoples of the world according to the principles of equality and mutual respect.

From ancient times, the Korean people have been industrious and

resourceful. Our people went through suffering and were long subjected to national humiliation, oppression and exploitation and to aggression by foreign invaders. So, if our people in north and south Korea combine their efforts and strive to build a new society, we shall be able to live as well as others and our country will become a rich, powerful independent and sovereign state.

Our country has a fairly large population and abundant natural resources. We have trained a large number of competent cadres of our own. Immediately after liberation we had few able technicians. The Japanese imperialists would not pass technology on to the Koreans and even prevented them from learning it. They were so adamant about preventing us Koreans from acquiring technical knowledge that before liberation there were only four Korean engine drivers. They only allowed Japanese to be engine drivers and at best, let Koreans be stokers. In order not to repeat this bitter experience, we devoted a great deal of effort after liberation to training our own cadres. As a result, we have half a million technicians and specialists today. On the basis of the successes already achieved in training cadres, we are planning to increase their number to one million during the Six-Year Plan.

As you can see, we have a large population, rich natural resources and a huge army of technicians. So when the country is reunified, we can build a rich and strong country and guarantee our people prosperity in a short time.

I shall give a brief answer to your question on what was the most difficult of our struggles.

We have had so many difficult struggles that I cannot tell you about them all here and now.

To my mind, one of the most difficult was the struggle to rise from the debris after the war.

In the three-year war, every town and village was razed to the ground and every industrial enterprise reduced to ashes. When the war ended, we had to build towns, villages and factories on the ruins where nothing was left and stabilize the people's living conditions rapidly. But we were able to overcome these difficulties and trials and win a

great victory in economic construction because we were firmly united with the masses of the people.

We have basically overcome the difficulties in socialist construction. Now the lives of our people are stable. It is true that their living standards are not yet very high. But no one in our country is hungry or in rags or wandering about without work. Our people all work, and receive free education and free medical care. This is a great victory won by our people in socialist construction.

We have laid the basis for rapidly developing the national economy and raising the people's living standards in the future.

As I have already mentioned, we have a huge army of competent cadres, we have built the foundations of a powerful heavy industry centred around the engineering industry and constructed a large number of modern light industrial factories. In particular, we have developed a strong, independent industry which is supplied with our own raw materials. We have laid the basis for the further development of stockbreeding.

All this firmly guarantees the more rapid development of our economy and a bigger rise in the people's standard of living.

Thank you for your attention. Now let me conclude my answers to your questions.

We oppose the reactionary policies of the US government but we do not oppose the American people. We want to have many good friends in the United States.

## **TALK TO A DELEGATION OF THE JAPAN CLEAN GOVERNMENT PARTY**

*June 1, 1972*

On behalf of the Government of the Republic and all the Korean people, I should like to warmly welcome you, a delegation of the Japan Clean Government Party led by Chairman Takeiri, to our country.

Your visit to our country contributes greatly to strengthening the friendship and solidarity between the peoples of Korea and Japan. It is also a great encouragement to the Korean people in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country and the building of socialism.

I imagine that through the conversations you have had, you will have learned about the situation in our country. We have also received information from you.

Today I should like to talk to you about some particular questions.

To begin with, I am going to talk about the question of Korea's reunification.

You said that you want to see the question of Korea's reunification solved peacefully by the Korean people themselves free from foreign interference. Independent, peaceful reunification is the unanimous desire of all the people of north and south Korea. Our country is close to Japan, so I think that the question of Korea's reunification will concern you greatly. Our country's reunification question has caught the attention of the people of the world as well as the Asian peoples. We are firmly convinced that we will definitely achieve independent, peaceful reunification with the support and encouragement of the

people of the world and many friends in our immediate vicinity.

For a long time there was no contact between the north and south Korean people. Then, as a great change took place in the international situation, contacts began between the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations a short time ago in accordance with the earnest desire of our people to end the separation between the north and the south as soon as possible. It is true that the contacts have not yet produced any important result, but they have brightened the prospects for the peaceful settlement of the reunification question. Therefore, we do not think that the contacts have been fruitless.

Because the northern half of Korea and south Korea have been separated for a long time, there are many matters on which they distrust and misunderstand each other. This distrust and misunderstanding must be removed in the interests of peaceful reunification.

Both the north and the south harbour distrust and misunderstanding on various matters. We believe that the south Korean rulers may invade the northern half of Korea with the backing of the US imperialist and Japanese militarist forces, while the south Korean rulers are under the misapprehension that we will “invade the south”. This is the most fundamental aspect of the distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south. We have declared time and time again that we have no intention of invading the south. Nevertheless, the south Korean rulers continue to talk loudly about “invasion from the north”.

The distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south are a result of the separation which has lasted for over 25 years. Therefore, we do not think that they will be removed in a day. It is our belief, however, that because contacts have already been made between the two zones, we shall be able to remove the distrust and misunderstanding through these contacts and come to an agreement to bring about the desire for independent, peaceful reunification.

In addition to the distrust and misunderstanding, the north and the south have different social systems and religious beliefs. However, we think that because we are of the same nation, we can overcome these

differences and achieve national unity.

We advocate removing the distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south and achieving great national unity, irrespective of the difference in social systems and religious beliefs.

The most important thing in this connection is the complete rejection of interference from outside. At present the south Korean rulers are trying to keep US imperialist troops in south Korea, and this is beyond our comprehension.

There are no reasons why the US imperialist troops should remain in south Korea. The US imperialists say that the “United Nations forces” should fulfil their police duty in south Korea to prevent the Koreans from fighting between themselves. They also say that the US troops are staying in south Korea in order to “protect” the people there. These are just absurd pretexts.

It is nearly 20 years since the Armistice Agreement was signed in our country. The Armistice Agreement stipulates the convocation of a political conference of representatives of both sides within three months of the conclusion of the agreement so as to settle the Korean question by peaceful means. But even now the US imperialists are occupying south Korea by force of arms.

We have declared time and time again that we have no intention of invading the south, and the north and the south have got along peacefully without war over the past 20 years. Then why should the US imperialist troops still remain in south Korea in the name of “UN forces” and why should the south Korean rulers keep the US army in south Korea? There are no grounds whatsoever for the US troops to stay in south Korea.

When touring the Great Wall during his China visit, US President Nixon said that no barriers should separate the people of the world. If Nixon was being honest when he said this, US troops in “MP” helmets should not stay in south Korea, should they? If he wants to put his words into practice, he should withdraw the US troops from south Korea and remove the Military Demarcation Line which divides our country into the north and the south.

In the past the US imperialists argued that they needed to retain their military bases in south Korea for the purpose of preventing communist expansion in Asia. But nowadays they claim that they are improving relations with the Soviet Union as well as with China. Why, then, do they need a half of Korea as their military base? They do not need it.

The truth of the matter is that the US imperialists have not yet given up their aggressive ambitions. If they have done so, they ought to withdraw their troops from south Korea.

The US imperialist occupation of south Korea is the main obstacle to the peaceful reunification of Korea. Were it not for their occupation of south Korea, it would be helpful for the Koreans to have contacts with each other and it would also be much easier for them to negotiate.

Just like the US imperialists, the Japanese militarists are also proving an obstacle to the peaceful reunification of our country. I am sorry to criticize your government. After he and Nixon had issued the joint communique in 1969, Sato made a hostile statement that if a war should break out in Korea, he could not look on it impartially. This is indeed a flagrant interference in the affairs of our country.

Now the US imperialists and Japanese militarists are encouraging the south Korean rulers and reactionaries to aggravate the division of our nation. This act of theirs also constitutes an obstacle to our country's peaceful reunification. If another country wants to take a correct position on the Korean question, it should proceed from the desire to expedite the reunification instead of furthering the division of our nation. It is true that we cannot expect this from the imperialists and militarists. You and we are a force fighting against the reactionaries, and so must fight against foreign interference in Korea's reunification.

The Korean question has to be solved by the Koreans themselves. External forces cannot remove the distrust and misunderstanding within our nation and help the Koreans to understand each other. Therefore, we consider that the north and south Korean people should discuss matters with perseverance to remove distrust and misunderstanding and find

common grounds for understanding and, on this basis, strive for unity.

We believe that if we have straightforward talks with the south Korean rulers and personalities of all levels, we shall be able to find a community of views to achieve the unity of the whole nation.

It is a long time since we put forward the principles of political independence, economic self-sufficiency and national self-defence, which we are putting into effect in all fields of state activity. Nowadays the south Korean rulers remain silent about independence, while talking about “self-help”, “self-reliance” and “self-defence”. This is very gratifying. We suppose that we can find some common ground here. If we help each other within the framework of our nation and stand on our own feet, free from outside interference, if the south Korean rulers do not “defend themselves” against communism and we also do not take defensive measures against invasion by the south Korean reactionary forces, but all of us defend ourselves against foreign aggression, we can find something in common here and achieve national unity.

The most important thing in achieving great national unity is that we should not try to impose our socialist system on the south Korean side and they should also refrain from trying to force the capitalist system upon us, and that we should conclude a peace agreement binding the north and the south to refrain from military action against each other. If both sides achieve a great national unity despite the differences in political views, religious beliefs and social systems while keeping the present political systems in the north and the south as they are, no arms race nor war will be necessary and we shall be able to reunify the country peacefully by the united efforts of the whole nation.

We have a high opinion of the preliminary talks between the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations now going on at Panmunjom. The two sides have not yet reached an understanding at the talks, but I believe that they will soon find common ground for understanding and make progress in their discussions. If, thanks to the north-south Red Cross talks, the travel of families, relatives and friends is brought about and its scope is broadened in the future, the

understanding between the north and the south will be deepened and more common bases for great national unity will be found.

History contains examples of a country, a nation, being unified by transcending differences in social systems and religious beliefs. Therefore, I believe that if both sides, out of a desire for unity, refrain from imposing their intentions on each other and strive to remove the distrust and misunderstanding between them, we can achieve national unity.

You asked if we were ready to talk to the present south Korean rulers. This matter was dealt with in our speech of August 6 last year. In order to achieve great national unity, we should refrain from enquiring into each other's past and hold to the principle of trusting and respecting each other. Otherwise, we cannot solve the problem. So, in our speech of August 6 last year, we pointed out that we were even ready to make contact with the Democratic Republican Party, the ruling party of south Korea. This stemmed from our belief that if we sit together and discuss the matter frankly without asking about the past, we shall be able to remove the distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south.

You asked if the "south Korea-US mutual defence pact" and the "south Korea-Japan treaty" are an obstacle to our great national unity and if their abrogation is a prerequisite to political negotiations between the north and the south. In my opinion, at present they are no obstacle to our national unity. As for the future, let that take care of itself.

The "south Korea-US mutual defence pact" is a military pact. And the "south Korea-Japan treaty" was not signed as a military pact, but it has assumed a military character since the joint communique of Sato and Nixon was published in 1969. But in solving the problem of our country's reunification greater importance is attached to what we should do to attain the unity of the whole nation than to whether or not these treaties will be abrogated. I think that if it is agreed to achieve national unity and reunify the country by the Koreans themselves free from outside interference, the cancellation of military pacts will not offer any serious problem. If military pacts become an obstacle to the

unity of the Korean people, north and south Korea will voluntarily raise the question of doing away with them. We also have military alliances with the Soviet Union and China. If they stand in the way of our great national unity and our country's peaceful reunification, we shall repeal them. Therefore, the abolition of military treaties is not yet a big problem, but the achievement of great national unity is the prime objective. Once national unity is achieved, the military pacts will possibly become unnecessary.

Now, I shall refer briefly to the question of the United Nations.

In our talk with the newsmen of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, we said that the United Nations should revoke its illegal "resolutions" on the Korean question or it could, on the other hand, adopt a correct policy towards Korea and thus make the existing illegal "resolutions" null and void. You asked what the correct policy specifically meant. We are still studying it. This question is related to our tactics towards the United Nations.

We are going to adopt appropriate tactics depending on how the Korean question is handled in the United Nations. The most important thing is to clear the UN of everything that is detrimental to the attainment of national unity by the Koreans themselves. We maintain in particular that the United Nations should not discriminate against either side in dealing with the Korean question.

You said that it would be possible to consider the illegal UN "resolutions" on Korea nullified if the UN unconditionally invites delegates of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to attend the UN debate on the Korean question, just as the illegal "resolutions" of the UN on the People's Republic of China were nullified in practice when that Republic regained its position in the United Nations. But we do not think so.

The Chinese problem in the UN is a little different from that of our country.

From the first, the People's Republic of China should have held its legal position in the United Nations. But owing to the stratagems of US imperialism, the Jiang Jieshi clique usurped the position in the UN which belonged to the People's Republic of China. Therefore, the

admission of the People's Republic of China to the UN means the restoration of its position. In other words, the People's Republic of China regained its position in the UN which had been usurped by another. So we could say the problem of China in the UN was a comparatively easy matter to deal with.

Following the announcement of Nixon's plan to visit China last year, many countries recognized the People's Republic of China. This expedited the restoration to China of her position in the United Nations.

But the case of our country differs somewhat from that of China.

In the first place, our country is not a member state of the United Nations. South Korea is not a member either; it has an observer there. Needless to say, this is entirely due to the US imperialists' trickery and their policy of discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Even if, in the future, we are invited unconditionally to attend a session of the UN General Assembly, this will not mean our admission to the UN. We shall only attend it to make speeches in the capacity of an observer. So, even if we are unconditionally invited and attend a UN General Assembly session, the illegal UN "resolutions" on Korea cannot be repealed.

The south Korean authorities are now campaigning to have the UN debate on the Korean question postponed. They have carried on this campaign over the past year and they are still conducting it. They are trying to have the UN debate on the Korean question put off on the pretext that now when the Koreans are holding Red Cross talks it is unnecessary to debate the matter in the United Nations. Let us wait and see whether the UN debate on the Korean question will be postponed or not. The handling of the Korean question in the UN will be accompanied by many complex problems.

We are watching whether or not the UN will take up the Korean question.

If the UN invites delegates of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with no strings attached, we shall send our delegates to the UN General Assembly.

We are grateful to you for the campaign you are conducting to

persuade the Japanese government to demand that the UN General Assembly unconditionally invite our delegates to its session.

In addition, you asked about the influence the Soviet-US agreement on the restriction of strategic weapons will have on the Asian countries and about our views on the Soviet-US summit conference. I shall refer to these matters briefly.

As we have already said in our speech on August 6 last year, the United States is now going downhill and is in deep political and economic distress. To be honest, it now has no money to carry on an arms race against other countries. Nixon's visits to China and the Soviet Union were directly connected with this situation.

When Japanese journalists visited our country last year they asked us about the object of Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union. I told them that I thought Nixon was visiting the Soviet Union to give his promise to discontinue the arms race because of the lack of money. We still think so, and consider that Nixon went to the Soviet Union on this occasion to accomplish his purpose. In the last analysis, Nixon is going around carrying out diplomacy like a beggar, because the US imperialists are financially hard hit and find the arms race to their disadvantage in many respects.

Without money, how can the US imperialists carry on the arms race against other countries? So we suppose that Nixon might have concluded an agreement on the restriction of strategic weapons with the Soviet Union under the plausible excuse of armament reduction.

What kind of influence this agreement will have on the Asian countries needs further study. We have not yet made a close study of the joint communique issued by the Soviet Union and the United States. I am going to study it further in the near future.

You asked if the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has no intention of having nuclear weapons no matter how the international situation may change. This is a clear question.

We have no intention of producing nuclear weapons. To be candid, our country is so small that we have nowhere to test a nuclear weapon even if we made one.

We do not need nuclear weapons nor do we think that we are in need of them. Why should we have them? Even those countries which now have nuclear weapons seem to be worried because they find it difficult to use them. Nuclear weapons are something people cannot eat.

We call for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. We believe your stand is probably the same as ours.

You also asked about the influence the visit of Salisbury, a journalist of *The New York Times*, to our country may have on future relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States. I shall answer this briefly.

Salisbury's visit to our country took almost ten years to achieve. Every year he wrote to us expressing his desire to visit our country, but each time we refused his request. This year, for the first time, we permitted him to enter our country.

The most important question raised recently by Salisbury in our country concerned the future of relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

As we fully explained in our talk with Salisbury, relations between our country and the United States depend entirely on the attitude of the US government. We shall decide on our policy towards the United States according as whether or not the US government follows a hostile policy towards our country. If it does not interfere in our country's reunification, withdraws its troops stationed in south Korea under the cloak of "UN forces", does not help revive Japanese militarism and does not take an unwarranted attitude towards our country in the UN, that is to say, if the United States renounces its hostile policy towards our country and does not interfere with our people's independent solution of the country's reunification, relations between our country and the United States can be improved. As long as the US government pursues a hostile policy towards our country as at present, our people will never look on the United States with good will.

I think that our talk with Salisbury must have been published in *The New York Times*. Before long it will also appear in our newspapers. A

study of it will give you a better idea of our position on relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

Now let me touch on relations between Korea and Japan.

Japanese journalists wrote that Japan and Korea are close yet distant neighbours. I think they are right. The fact that Korea and Japan are close yet distant neighbours is connected with the question of Korea's peaceful reunification and with the question of normalizing relations between Korea and Japan.

You asked about the prospects of the question of normalizing relations between Korea and Japan. But at present it is difficult to appraise them. The future of Korea-Japan relations depends, above all, on the campaign of the Japanese people against the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese government towards our country.

The struggle to strengthen friendship between the Korean and Japanese peoples is now gradually growing amongst the Japanese people. The Japan Clean Government Party, the Socialist Party and other political parties, progressive personalities and broad sections of people in Japan are fighting against the Japanese government's unfriendly attitude towards our country and in favour of better relations with it. Since last autumn, in particular, many distinguished persons and delegations of political parties from Japan have visited our country to promote friendship. I consider this is very gratifying.

No one can deny the influence which all movements of the Japanese people to normalize Korea-Japan relations and promote friendship between the two peoples will have on the Japanese government's attitude towards our country. Even if the Japanese government does not change its successive hostile policy towards our country completely, it will find it impossible to ignore the Japanese people's demand for improvement in relations between the two countries completely and will be obliged to meet their demand little by little even if only for form's sake.

As you know, until recently the Japanese government did not permit home-visiting delegations of Chongryon (the General

Association of Korean Residents in Japan) to return to Japan. But on this occasion, for the first time, it has allowed the re-entry of a congratulatory group of Koreans in Japan. This is a valuable success won through the determined efforts of yourselves and progressive personalities, men of the press and different sections of people in Japan.

If in the future the Japanese people put pressure upon the Japanese government through the continued strengthening of the movement to promote friendship between the peoples of Korea and Japan, relations between the two countries will improve step by step.

We want to normalize relations between Korea and Japan, but have no intention to go begging to the Japanese government for that purpose. Even without our doing this, if the struggle and pressure of the Japanese people grow stronger, the Japanese government will find it unavoidable to change its attitude somewhat towards our country.

We consider that the Japanese government's attitude towards our country is also related to whether it will continue in future, as at present, to pursue its policy of toeing the US line. We should wait and see what will become of the Japanese government's policy of following behind the US imperialists after the Sato Cabinet. This raises many questions.

It seems to us now that some people among the Japanese ruling circles also think that if they blindly hang on to the coat tails of the US, they will get nothing from it but, rather, may suffer heavily from doing so. They will also think that if the Japanese government, despite the mighty struggle of the people, follows the US imperialists and persists in the policy of keeping Korea divided, it may lead to uniting all the people of north and south Korea in a fight against Japan.

The question of normalizing future relations between Korea and Japan depends also on the Korean people themselves. If the north and south Korean people work well and reunify the country in a peaceful way, the Japanese government will be unable to persist in its unfriendly attitude towards our reunified country, whoever may come into power in Japan in the future.

I think it is right to analyse the future for normalizing relations between Korea and Japan from this angle in general.

You have proposed establishing extensive cultural interchange and exchange of journalists and the like for the present to normalize relations between Korea and Japan. We are ready to do so at any time. If only the Japanese government opens the door, we can agree either to cultural interchange, exchange of journalists or to any other form of interchange. The question depends on the attitude of the Japanese government.

You said that you were fighting to abolish all the military bases of US imperialism in Okinawa. Your struggle is justified. Even if Okinawa is returned to Japan, this will be meaningless as long as the US imperialists maintain and use the military bases in Okinawa.

It is an urgent necessity for peace in Japan and Asia that the Japanese people fight for the abrogation of the “Japan-US security pact” and the abolition of all the military bases of US imperialism in Japan. We support this struggle of the Japanese people.

## **ON FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE CHONGRYON ORGANIZATION**

**Talk to a Congratulatory Group of Korean Residents in Japan**

*June 14, 1972*

This congratulatory group of Korean residents in Japan is now visiting the homeland after their right to return to Japan from their visits to their homeland has been won. This is another signal victory attained by the 600,000 Korean residents in Japan in their fight for democratic national rights.

Today I warmly welcome home every member of the congratulatory group of Koreans in Japan who have won another brilliant victory in their fight for democratic national rights.

You have fought tirelessly to defend your democratic national rights and have finally emerged victorious. I am sure that if you fight, you will succeed. The effect of fighting is very strong. You have fought stubbornly for your rights to travel to the homeland and back and have succeeded in spite of all the obstacles created by the Japanese and south Korean reactionaries.

Because they were afraid of the spread of communist ideology in Japan, the reactionary Sato government had refused to accept our delegations into Japan and also opposed the return to Japan of the Koreans after they had visited their homeland. How much communism can a delegation of our Republic disseminate in Japan, even if it were possible to do so, and how far can Korean residents in Japan be initiated into communism in the homeland, if they can be?

Communism cannot be prevented from spreading amongst the Japanese people by refusing to permit the return to Japan of the Koreans who have visited their motherland and by refusing to accept our delegations into Japan.

The Japanese reactionary authorities once tried to annul the charter of Korea University. But they failed because the Korean nationals in Japan and the Japanese people continued to fight against them together. That is why I say that it is good to fight.

Man must fight. If he lives without any struggle, his life is not worthwhile. The history of the development of human society is the history of struggle. Human society has developed through struggle. A revolutionary must not stop fighting for even one moment. He must keep fighting. This is the way to succeed.

Our people have fought tirelessly with united efforts, and, as a result, they have achieved a certain degree of success in the talks for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country and in countering Japanese militarism. The die-hard south Korean reactionaries who refused to have discussions with us for nearly 30 years since liberation have recently agreed to negotiate. Previously many countries paid no attention to the revival of Japanese militarism and its threat, but today they are increasing their vigilance against it and fighting against its aggressive policy.

If we continue to fight successfully, we shall be able to drive the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea, prevent the Japanese militarists' reinvasion of south Korea and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. The Japanese imperialists perished 36 years after their occupation of the country, and 27 years have passed since the US imperialists occupied south Korea. The US imperialists will be expelled from south Korea before long. Imperialists who have occupied other countries cannot hold out for a long time. This is proved by history.

On the occasion of meeting you today, I should like, first of all, to speak briefly about the situation in the homeland.

In recent years we have been carrying on the revolution and

construction in a very complicated and difficult situation at home and abroad. Our situation has particularly grown extremely tense since the incidents of the armed spy ship *Pueblo* and the spy plane *EC-121*.

After the US imperialists provoked the Caribbean crisis against the Republic of Cuba in 1962, we adopted the policy of promoting economic and defence construction side by side and began to make great efforts to increase the nation's defence capabilities. We made every effort to strengthen our defence power to protect the security of the country from enemy aggression under conditions where the US imperialists were intensifying their aggressive moves and where the international environment in relation to our revolution was very complicated.

The subsequent developments clearly showed the absolute correctness of our Party's policy of making every effort to strengthen the nation's defence power. Because we increased our defence capabilities so as to deal with the prevailing situation, we were able to counter the US imperialists resolutely, without yielding to their threats and blackmail and to frustrate their aggressive moves at the time of the *Pueblo* incident in 1968 and the *EC-121* incident in 1969.

When we captured the *Pueblo*, the US imperialists tried to intimidate us with a threat to bomb Wonsan or "retaliate" against us if the ship was not released. At that time we called a meeting of the corps commanders of the People's Army to hear their opinions. The corps commanders said that they would prefer to take up the US imperialists' challenge before they grew any older. Our corps commanders who had fought the imperialists all their lives were determined to fight once more for a showdown with the US imperialists.

In my speech at the banquet given in honour of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army, I declared to the world that we would retaliate against the enemy for his "retaliation" and fight an all-out war against an all-out war. The US imperialists dared not attack us because they knew that we were fully prepared.

The tension caused by the *Pueblo* incident in 1968 lasted throughout the year, and it was followed by another—the *EC-121* incident in the

following year. So there was great tension during 1969 as well.

As you can see, the US imperialists attempted to intimidate us twice in recent years. At the time of the *Pueblo* incident Johnson threatened us and at the time of *EC-121* incident Nixon did so. But we defied their threats resolutely and brought both Johnson and Nixon to their knees.

We are fully prepared to defeat any imperialist aggressors.

We have not only strengthened the nation's defence power but fulfilled the Seven-Year National Economic Plan with success.

Today socialist construction in the homeland is progressing very well, and its future prospects are brighter. Of course, we are not perfect, but we have laid firm foundations on which to make rapid progress. Indeed, we are encouraged and inspired with confidence when we visit the factories we have built.

Today we have also trained a large force of cadres who are capable of developing the country for themselves.

Few of our national cadres are old-line intellectuals. During the 36 years of their colonial rule in our country, the Japanese imperialists did not teach the Koreans science and technology at all. They even employed only Japanese as engine drivers and Koreans as stokers. An investigation immediately after liberation showed that only a few Koreans knew how to drive a railway engine. So we had great difficulty in operating locomotives at that time. Not many Koreans were given education in Japanese universities of technology, either. When the country was liberated, many of the intellectuals in south Korea came over to us, and most of them had studied law or medicine.

Today, most of our cadres are young people who have been trained in our universities. Some of the scientists and technicians we have trained are already 40 to 50 years old, and the levels of their scientific knowledge and technical qualifications are high, and they also have a great deal of experience.

Our intellectuals have made many painstaking efforts and endured many hardships in order to carry out the Party's line and policy. Our young scientists and technicians have worked diligently with workers, making technical innovations and carrying on their research work.

Sometimes they brought their bedding to their laboratories and work sites and worked throughout the night, eating meals brought from their homes. In this way, they have developed science and technology in our country by their own efforts, and in the process they have raised the levels of their scientific knowledge and technical qualifications and acquired a great deal of experience.

Our scientists and technicians are now capable of building iron works and similar factories themselves. We are now building a large modern iron works in Chongjin.

We are going to concentrate our efforts on developing light industry for some years by depending on the foundation of heavy industry which has already been laid.

Not much good cloth is available at present. Therefore, we intend to concentrate on the chemical and textile industries for approximately three years so as to increase the production of high-quality fabrics.

Our experience shows that it is not very difficult to construct light industry factories. Only a little effort is needed to build all the light industry factories we need and to raise the people's standard of living much higher.

The most difficult undertaking is the construction of the defence industry. It costs us a very large sum of money to make even a round of small ammunition. It is by no means easy for a small country like ours to develop the defence industry by itself. To be candid, we have had to bear heavy burdens to develop the defence industry over the past few years, and our working class, scientists and technicians have worked painstakingly.

We are going to continue to give priority to the development of heavy industry in the future, as we have done until now. If we have a powerful foundation of heavy industry, it will not be very difficult for us to develop light industry.

Automation engineering and electronics are underdeveloped in relation to other branches of technology in our country. We are planning to develop them quickly from now onwards. This will facilitate the modernization of all sectors of the national economy.

Now, I will talk about the north-south Red Cross talks.

In my speech on August 6 last year, I stated that we were ready to make contact with any political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, public organizations and individuals in south Korea at any time. After that speech, the south Korean authorities, under pressure from the people, made a proposal for north-south Red Cross talks and for a “campaign for finding families”. This was the beginning of the contacts between the Red Cross organizations of north and south.

After they had agreed to have contact between these organizations, the south Korean authorities declared what they called a state of emergency, intensified fascist repression, and delayed the Red Cross talks deliberately.

They are using delaying tactics because they are afraid of south Koreans visiting the north of Korea and seeing the brilliant situation in the north. When the Red Cross talks are held in Pyongyang and Seoul, the south Korean side will, of course, send to Pyongyang the most rabid espionage agents who are imbued with anti-communist ideas. But even a dyed-in-the-wool anti-communist will understand that our system is good if he visits Pyongyang a few times and sees the vibrant conditions in the north. He will have no reason to blame the people in the northern half of Korea who are all opposed to the US imperialist aggressors and the Japanese militarists and are working enthusiastically for the development of our nation.

The south Korean authorities are also using delaying tactics with regard to the north-south Red Cross talks because their position in south Korea is very insecure. Immediately after their agreement to the Red Cross talks, the south Korean reactionaries declared the “state of emergency” and are resorting to repression of the south Korean people and the opposition. This alone is enough to show how unstable their reactionary rule is and how many people are opposed to them. They have declared the “state of emergency” simply because they are afraid of the south Korean people rising in a fight for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

In short, these puppets are using delaying tactics at the north-south Red Cross talks because they know that the balance of power is against them at the moment, and so they want to have mutual visits and talks when they become stronger than we are by “fostering strength”. They are very foolish. How can they “foster strength” and become stronger than we are? We shall not be sleeping while they are “fostering strength” in south Korea. The speed of our economic progress will increase with the passing of time, and our strength will be still greater.

When they say that they will “foster strength”, the south Korean reactionaries mean, in the final analysis, that they are not interested in reunifying the divided country. We must, therefore, expose the ulterior motive for their professed attempt to “foster strength”. Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) must also expose their hidden motives.

Because of the delaying tactics employed by the south Korean authorities, the north-south Red Cross talks have made no progress over the past six months since they began. At the preliminary talks which discussed the items on the agenda for the north-south Red Cross talks, the south Korean side refused to accept the reasonable proposal of our side to adopt the subject of free visits between the families and relations who have been scattered across both parts of the country as an item to be discussed at the full-dress talks, by insisting on discussing the matter of “reunions” between the separated families. Their idea of “reunions” means that the families should be given an opportunity to go and meet each other at a building to be constructed at some place like Panmunjom. We said: “Why should they have ‘reunions’? ‘Reunions’ alone are not enough to remove all the misfortunes and sufferings of the families and relations who are scattered over the north and south. They must be allowed free visits and free meetings.” After a long disagreement on items on the agenda for the full-dress talks, an agreement was reached recently on the items of the agenda for the full-dress talks, including the “question of bringing about free visits and free meetings between the families and relations who are scattered over the north and the south”.

Now that this agreement has been reached, the full-dress talks will be held soon. Then, our delegates will go to Seoul, and the south Korean delegates come to Pyongyang, for the talks to be held alternately in these cities.

After delaying the talks for a long time, the south Korean authorities only want to have them now, and this is related to their UN tactics by which they intend to have discussion of the Korean question postponed at this year's UN General Assembly session. They intend to prevent the UN General Assembly from discussing the Korean question by asking why there is any need to consider it at the UN General Assembly when we are negotiating ourselves at the north-south Red Cross talks.

The south Korean puppet clique has tried to have secret contacts with our side at a high level, distinct from the north-south Red Cross talks. When we stated that we were even ready to negotiate with the Democratic Republican Party, they tried to confirm through the medium of their trusted agents whether we were really ready to do so. In the New Year address this year, therefore, we stated that, if the south Korean authorities would stop depending on foreign forces and betraying the nation and return, even now, to the standpoint of Koreans, we would not take issue with their past and forgive them for their past crimes. After that, people who came to the north-south Red Cross talks from the south Korean side continued to approach our officials, saying that at the time of the north-south joint conference after liberation we had let Kim Ku start with a clean slate. This shows that the south Korean authorities are wondering whether we are really going to forgive them as we did Kim Ku.

Probably you know that we negotiated with Kim Ku after liberation by allowing him to start with a clean slate.

Originally he had been an anti-communist who murdered a large number of communists when he worked for the "provisional government in Shanghai" in China before liberation. So he was very hesitant when he was coming to the north to attend the north-south joint conference after liberation. Before he came to the north, he had

sent his secretary to us on a mission to ask for pardon for his past crimes. We answered that we would forgive him in spite of his past if he would cooperate with us for the reunification of the country. Only then did he come to Pyongyang.

He met us in Pyongyang and in his conversation with us he said: "I am fully ready to cooperate with a communist like you General and follow your policy, but not with people like Pak Hon Yong and Kim Tu Bong." I told him that I wanted him to cooperate with us on the understanding that he was cooperating just with a communist, not with a specific person. This was how he came to cooperate with us.

When he was returning to south Korea, Kim Ku said that, although he wanted to be in north Korea, he had to go back to south Korea because, if he remained in the north, the enemy would say that he was detained in north Korea. He also said that he would never work for the Americans, that he would tell the people that government in north Korea was good and that the people there were happy. He added that, if he should find it too difficult to go on fighting in south Korea, he would come again and that he hoped he would be given an orchard if that happened.

Back in south Korea Kim Ku told the truth as he had promised us that he would do. Seeing that he was opposed to the US imperialists and gave publicity to the correctness of our Party's policy among the young people in south Korea, the US imperialists and their stooges assassinated him.

If we fight efficiently, the south Korean authorities who are floundering through difficulties may be obliged to come to negotiate with us. Their coming to negotiation does not necessarily mean that they have accepted the idea of peaceful reunification. We shall have to wait and see whether the south Korean puppet clique will accept the idea of peaceful reunification.

If they are to accept our proposal for peaceful reunification, the south Korean puppets need to discard their greed for power. Only then can they subordinate everything to the settlement of the question of national reunification. But they are deeply obsessed with the fear

that in the course of mutual visits between north and south the balance of forces may turn against them by 2 to 1 and that then they will be conquered by the communists, rather than thinking of devoting everything to the reunification of the country. If they have an ambition for power, they will weigh the balance of forces; and if they weigh the balance of forces, they cannot accept the idea of peaceful reunification.

Under the socialist system in the northern half of Korea, the development of the national economy results in a steady, equal improvement in the living standards for everyone, and, therefore, the people become more closely united. But in south Korea the gap between the rich and the poor cannot be bridged because of the reactionary nature of the social system itself; the gulf grows wider with the passage of time. Since there are rich and poor people, the poor must oppose the rich. The Park Chung Hee puppet clique is not in a position to overcome the difference in the relationship of forces, a difference which emanates from the difference between the systems in the north and the south.

There can also be no comparison between the Government of our Republic and the puppet government of south Korea. The former is led by the patriots who waged the armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists during the darkest years of the enemy's colonial rule, whereas the latter is in the hands of the traitors who collaborated with the Japanese imperialists and served them faithfully by betraying the country and nation even before liberation. As you know, Park Chung Hee was a first lieutenant in the Japanese imperialist army before liberation. At present, the Japanese militarists regard him as their foster son. He is said to be resorting now to every trick to hide his identity as a traitor to the nation.

The puppet Park Chung Hee is extremely afraid of the opposition among the puppet rulers. We communists are closely united in ideology and will on the basis of one revolutionary thought; but there can be no solidarity between the south Korean reactionaries; there can only be a scramble for power amongst them. The south Korean puppet

ruling circle comprises pro-American and pro-Japanese elements and anti-communists who are ultranationalistic. They agree with one another in their opposition to communism and national reunification, but they are scrambling covertly for power.

At present, the south Korean puppets are in a dilemma; they are not in a position to accept or reject our proposal for peaceful reunification. The US imperialists, Japanese militarists and south Korean reactionaries are now working to keep our country divided into “two Koreas” forever. In this situation it will take some time to reunify the country peacefully. But we shall continue to fight for peaceful national reunification whether the south Korean puppets accept our proposal for peaceful reunification or not.

The south Korean puppets will be unable to maintain their fascist ruling system for a long time, no matter what their lies or repression. Where there is oppression, there will be resistance; and where there is resistance, there will be a revolutionary struggle. This is a revolutionary fact. If the south Korean puppets refuse to accept our proposal for peaceful reunification, they will be overthrown by the struggle of the south Korean people, and then our country will be reunified quickly.

Next, I shall talk about Japanese militarism.

We consider that Japanese militarism has already revived under the protection of US imperialism. We are fighting to frustrate its policy of aggression. Expanded monopoly capital requires overseas markets, and this inevitably leads to aggression on other countries. This is the law of the development of monopoly capital.

Revived Japanese militarism is implementing its aggressive policy, but it seems to me that Japanese militarists themselves are thinking a great deal about whether to ignite an aggressive war against our country immediately or not. Japan has now a developed industry, but she lacks raw materials. Japan is an island, so, if war breaks out, she will find it very difficult to obtain raw materials. In addition, today’s Japanese people are not what they were in the 1890s or 1910s when the Japanese imperialists invaded our country. The Japanese militarists

have also to take into account the fact that the US imperialists have become too weak to open two fronts in Viet Nam and Korea.

I do not mean to say that the Japanese militarists want to see our country being reunified. They want our country to remain divided forever. We can say that their basic Korea policy is to keep our country divided into “two Koreas” and maintain south Korea as a permanent commodity market for themselves.

South Korea has now become a complete commodity market for the Japanese militarists. Japanese goods worth hundreds of millions of dollars are flooding south Korea every year. Since the small land of south Korea is flooded with such a large amount of Japanese commodities, it is as good as a complete commodity market for Japan. Because of the traitorous policy pursued by the south Korean reactionaries against the people, south Korea has accumulated a heavy debt to Japanese militarists, and a great deal of her monopoly capital has made inroads into south Korea. If it goes on like this, south Korea will become a complete colony of the Japanese militarists before long.

The Japanese militarists’ plan for “two Koreas” has been revealed by their deeds. Recently they have been trying to learn whether we want UN membership or not. They are doing this when the UN General Assembly session is near at hand, and this is for the purpose of creating “two Koreas” by working for the simultaneous admission of our Republic and south Korea to the UN. If the north and south of our country which is in a state of division, have separate seats in the UN, it will mean, after all, recognizing “two Koreas”. We are resolutely opposed to this.

To proceed, I am going to speak about some tasks in strengthening the Chongryon organization.

The most important task in this respect is to cement the unity and solidarity of its ranks in ideology and will, on the basis of the Juche idea of our Party.

Chongryon must establish unity which is based on our Party’s revolutionary thought, the Juche idea. Only when it is solidly united in

ideology and purpose based on our Party's monolithic ideology, the Juche idea, can it successfully carry out its honourable task as a dignified and powerful organization of the overseas citizens of the Republic. If it is to operate satisfactorily, any organization must establish the unity of idea and purpose and act as one. This is a Marxist-Leninist principle and a truth which has been verified in the practice of the international communist movement.

In the days immediately after liberation we thought that the movement of the Koreans in Japan should be developed on the principle of Juche. In those days, Koreans in Japan used to fight for the Japanese revolution in the front rank of demonstrators and strikers, wearing red bands around their heads, and cheering, only to be arrested by the reactionary Japanese police. We analysed this from different angles. Of course, communists ought to be faithful to internationalism. But Koreans have to fight, first of all, to win back the territory of their country, one half of which is still occupied by the US imperialist aggressors, and to achieve the complete reunification and independence of their own country. It is not of great importance for them to fight for the revolution of another country when they have not finished the revolution in their own country. Japan, with a population of one hundred million, will not be prevented from carrying out her revolution simply because some hundred thousands of Koreans in Japan do not take part in her struggle, nor will the revolution in Japan immediately emerge victorious simply because these Koreans fight, wearing head bands.

It may be a different matter when the world revolution has emerged victorious and when national boundaries have been abolished. But, under the present circumstances where national boundaries exist and where revolutionary struggles are taking place within the units of nation-states, it is natural that the Koreans fight first for the Korean revolution. This does not contradict internationalism; it means, instead, being faithful to internationalism.

Even after the victory of the world revolution, Koreans will have to live in Korea and build communism in Korea. They cannot live in

Siberia or in any other country simply because the world revolution has been carried out. That is why the Koreans in Japan must fight first for the Korean revolution.

Although we already had a new plan for the movement of the Koreans in Japan in the days immediately after liberation, we were unable to take practical measures to implement it until the end of the war because we were fully occupied with the difficult revolutionary tasks, for instance, the tasks of establishing the Party and people's government and raising the People's Army in the complicated situation after liberation.

Immediately after the war, we put forward the policy of changing the line of the movement of Koreans in Japan and worked hard to implement the policy. Our Party's policy of leading the Koreans in Japan to fight for the Korean revolution has won active support from fraternal parties. The Koreans in Japan organized the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, a dignified organization of the overseas citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and started fighting for their nation and for the revolution in their homeland under the correct leadership of our Party and the Government of the Republic.

In order to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the Chongryon ranks, it is important to maintain unswerving fidelity to the revolution and observe the principles of revolutionary organization to the letter. Everyone must, without exception, obey the decisions and directives of the organization. Unity can only be achieved when every member of the organization observes its principles strictly. Otherwise, there can be no unity. I say this from our experience of more than 40 years of revolutionary struggle. It is all the more necessary for every official of Chongryon to remain loyal to the revolution and keep the revolutionary organizational principles to the letter because it is working in a situation where every kind of intrigue to weaken its organizational unity is being hatched by the US imperialists and Japanese and south Korean reactionaries. This is the way Chongryon can thwart all reactionary plots to drive a wedge between its officials

and start a feud amongst them, and can guarantee the unity and solidarity of its organization.

If Chongryon is to strengthen the unity and solidarity of its ranks, it must also eliminate any practice of factionalism.

We can say that the emergence of factions amongst the ranks and the fight against them in the course of the revolutionary struggle are unavoidable. It is a law of the social movement that the old obstructs the growth of the new. It is inevitable that an opposition group appears and obstructs the advance of a new thing in a progressive social movement.

Revolutionaries who fight to achieve the objective which they have set are bound to come across people who oppose them. Even though there is no faction today, it may appear tomorrow; and even though it exists today, it may disappear tomorrow and reappear the day after tomorrow. It is unavoidable that innovation and conservatism occur in a forward movement and that differences should exist between active and passive elements. When something new is overwhelmingly stronger as a result of an effective ideological struggle, the opposition cannot raise its head; but whenever it has the smallest chance, the opposition, the outdated, will raise its head. Therefore, revolutionaries are obliged to fight against the opposition.

Marx and Lenin also fought against opposition all their lives. We, too, have fought against factionalists ceaselessly over the past 40 years of our revolutionary struggle.

A faction appears when a revolution is at its zenith, when it is at its nadir, and when it is undergoing difficulties. In our Party, the factionalists challenged the Party when we were fighting a decisive battle during the grim Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialists, and when we were in the most difficult period of postwar reconstruction.

Immediately after the armistice, the factionalists came out against our Party's line and policy. At that time we put forward the basic line of economic construction, the line of giving priority to the development of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. The anti-Party factionalists who were

steeped in flunkeyism and dogmatism objected to this basic line by arguing about giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture at a time when everything had been reduced to ashes, and by arguing that there had been no precedent in the history of other countries, that there was no such proposition either in Marx's writings or in Lenin's books, and that, if we developed heavy industry on a preferential basis, the people would suffer hardship, and by asking why we were not paying attention to the people's living conditions. They contended that we should spend even the small amount of foreign aid on consumer goods.

Although the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements were opposed to the line and policy of our Party, the heroic working class and the rest of the people actively supported them. Our working class refuted the factionalists' lie that the people's living standards should be improved first and asserted that machines should be imported so as to build heavy industry first.

Factions may also appear in Chongryon. The danger of factions is all the greater for Chongryon especially because it is working in circumstances where Japanese and south Korean reactionaries are plotting continuously to split and undermine it. If you think that there will be no faction or factional practice in Chongryon, you are mistaken.

You must never be afraid of the possible emergence of factions in its ranks. If Chongryon has a hard core, there will be no problem even if factions do appear and no matter how viciously they may work.

As you know, every thing has a nucleus. A being can only form itself when it has a nucleus. Without the nucleus it cannot form itself. Likewise, a party or any other organization must have its core.

Chongryon must develop the core of its organization solidly. So long as its core is strong, factionalists and reactionaries will be unable to disrupt its organization whatever plot they may hatch. The experience of the international communist movement also shows that parties with a solid core remained firm in spite of the wild actions of factionalists and reactionaries and that parties without a hard core have suffered tortuous developments.

In an attempt to undermine the Chongryon organization, the enemies are working insidiously to play off one person against another so as to sow the seeds of distrust and discord amongst the comrades. It must, therefore, pay particular attention to building up its core.

Another important thing in strengthening the Chongryon organization is to work well amongst the compatriots and rally all sections of them closely around it.

We always tell officials in the homeland that the main thing in Party work, revolutionary work, is work with people. All Party organizations and other revolutionary organizations must work with the people. If they do not do this work well, they will be unable to carry out their revolutionary tasks successfully.

People decide everything. Communism can only be built successfully when the broad masses take part in this undertaking. You can never build communism single-handed. We are building a communist society where everyone is provided with a happy life, free from exploitation and oppression. So it is only when everyone works hard that the communist society can be built with success.

We have achieved brilliant successes in the revolutionary struggle and construction by working efficiently amongst the people in the past. Our experience shows that, when the work amongst the people is efficient, everything goes successfully and vice versa.

At present, the workers of the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory are participating enthusiastically in an innovation campaign. This campaign did not come about automatically; it was started as a result of efficient work with the people.

Until only last year our country produced a total of no more than a few thousand machine tools in a year. In this context, at the Political Committee of the Central Committee of our Party, we gave all our machine-tool factories the task of producing a total of 10,000 machine tools every year.

When my speech at the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee was conveyed to them, the workers of the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory resolved that they themselves would produce

10,000 machine tools every year. We visited the factory, gave support to their initiative and guided them so that they worked with a high degree of enthusiasm and creativity. Amongst the workers of this factory there are many people whose family backgrounds and socio-political records are involved. We trusted them sincerely and expressed our great political confidence in them. A comrade with a somewhat checkered family background was working enthusiastically, resolved to devote his life to the Party and the country, so we personally guaranteed his admission to the Workers' Party of Korea and settled the problem he had had on his mind throughout his life. He is now working better than he did before and has made many technical innovations. His family are all working with enthusiasm.

The workers of Huichon participated as one man in the struggle to produce 10,000 machine tools. Everyone got down to the task and rearranged the machines by studying the reorganization day and night, and improved the casting and other production processes. As a result, they increased the factory's production capacity to twice or three times as much. Thus, the workers of Huichon had reached the goal of 10,000 machine tools by last April 15. The factory which could produce only a few thousand machine tools a year has produced 10,000 machine tools in a year by improving its production processes. This is a wonderful success and a great revolution in the machine industry, which is unprecedented in the history of the engineering industry of any other country.

Chongryon must also work efficiently with people. It needs to be all the more efficient in this work than we are in the homeland because it has to deal with different sections of people in a capitalist society. It must effect a complete changeover of its work to work among the people, deal with our compatriots efficiently so as to educate and reform them all and rally them closely behind our Party and the Government of the Republic.

To all intents and purposes, work amongst the people must be done mainly by means of explanation and persuasion. Explanation and persuasion are the basic method of educating the masses. This method is particularly urgent for Chongryon.

In the homeland people can be moved even by an administrative method because we have the state power, but Chongryon is not in a position to do so. Influencing people by means of explanation and persuasion is the only way it can educate and move people.

Work with people must not be done narrow-mindedly. If you approach people narrow-mindedly, you will not only be unable to reeducate and rally the broad sections of the masses behind our Party and the Government of the Republic, but also lose the people who are willing to follow us.

The Chongryon organizations must work amongst the people broad-mindedly and magnanimously. This is the way to rally different sections of our compatriots closely behind our Party and the Government of the Republic and achieve national unity. The Chongryon officials must not suspect people on any account; they must trust them first and cooperate with all our compatriots except a very small number of wicked elements.

You must also deal with people very carefully on the principle of solidarity. If a question arises in dealing with people, you must weigh the pros and cons of the case correctly. Figuratively speaking, a man who buys a suit in a shop examines the inside and outside of it, the front and the back of it, by spreading it on the counter and by trying it on, from various angles. Likewise, you must deal with the problems of people prudently by looking at both the negative and the positive aspect, then weighing up the proportions of these aspects correctly.

Actions against factions and spies must also be taken prudently and skilfully. Otherwise, you are apt to harm innocent people and make serious mistakes. This is a valuable experience we have gained over the past 40 years of our revolutionary struggle.

Let me give you an account of what happened at the time of combatting the “Minsaengdan” in the years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

The “Minsaengdan” was a reactionary organization which had been formed by the Japanese imperialists with their special agents and stooges, with an aim of destroying the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army

from within. The anti-Japanese guerrillas fought against this reactionary organization and executed almost all its members promptly. But national chauvinists, flunkeyists and factionalists who were blinded by greed for their own promotion and fame tried to misuse the struggle against the “Minsaengdan” for their dishonest purpose. They murdered innocent people on false charges of being involved in the “Minsaengdan” case.

Once when we were with a detachment away from the base, a company commander who had fought well with us was arrested and held in detention on a charge of involvement in the “Minsaengdan” case. We knew him well and could not believe that he could belong to the “Minsaengdan”. So we told him that we could not understand how he could be a member of the counter-revolutionary organization of the Japanese imperialists, how he who had volunteered for the revolution and fought against the enemy, enduring immeasurable hardships, could join the “Minsaengdan”, and asked if he really had joined it. He answered with tears in his eyes that he had been compelled by the wicked elements during our absence to make a false statement that he was involved in the “Minsaengdan” case. On that day we held a meeting and took measures to release all the people who had been in custody on a charge of involvement in the “Minsaengdan” case. And then, we tested them in the practical struggle and they all fought bravely against the Japanese imperialists.

One day in the early summer of 1933, while in command of a unit, we were billeted on a Korean village on the Tuman River. The villagers gave a feast to the guerrillas by slaughtering an ox, and the men ate to their fill, feeling gratitude for the hospitality of the people. But more than ten of the guerrillas suddenly complained of a stomachache and were unable to get up. Then, the villagers made a commotion, saying that a boy had put a poisonous drug into the well at the instigation of the “Minsaengdan” and that the ailing guerrillas had drunk the water from the well. On receiving this report, we personally talked to the boy who was said to have poisoned the well. I asked him who had persuaded him to poison the well, and he answered that he had done it of his own

accord. I could scarcely believe him, so I questioned him again in a roundabout way. I asked why he should poison the well, and reminded him that his father had died because of the Japanese imperialists, that his elder brother was fighting in the guerrilla army, that he could not possibly try to kill his brother and us, that we could not believe his admission that he had poisoned the well, and that it was not true that he had done it. Then, the boy buried his face in my lap and said between sobs that he had not poisoned the well and that he had been compelled to make a false confession because the villagers had forced him to admit it by beating him and insisting that no one but he had been to the well. The real cause of the stomachache at that time was the men's sudden overeating after many days of scanty meals. When leaving the village, the unit admitted the boy to the guerrilla army, and the boy grew up and fought valiantly against the Japanese imperialists.

These incidents led us to the conclusion that the anti-“Minsaengdan” campaign was being carried on wrongly, and we fought to correct the mistake. We held meetings of cadres of the Party and of the Young Communist League and fought against the people who had misled the struggle against the “Minsaengdan”. We succeeded in correcting the mistake and burnt the personal files of the comrades who had been charged with having been involved in the “Minsaengdan” case.

Because of our experience of the campaign against the “Minsaengdan” during the anti-Japanese armed struggle we were able to fight the factionalists effectively without any deviation after liberation. We saw to it that there was no case of suspecting people simply by listening to another person or without any convincing evidence, and that only the confirmed ringleaders were punished and their followers were all forgiven and reformed through criticism.

When admitting their espionage and factional acts, the Pak Hon Yongites involved a large number of people in the case. Some officials became wide-eyed, and exclaimed that it was a crisis. But we did not believe all the words of Pak Hon Yong. The people who had been accused by him were good workers. So we advised the officials

concerned not to suspect good workers without reason and ensured that they were tested through work.

South Korean reactionaries even send letters to some of our officials in an attempt to mislead us to suspect them. Once a letter came from south Korea to a comrade who was working well. We could not believe it and we had the messenger interrogated. We found that the letter had been forged by the US imperialists and their stooges for the purpose of making us distrust the comrade.

In an attempt to sow the seeds of discord and distrust amongst us, the south Korean reactionaries are now plotting in every possible way by resorting to the tricks used by the US imperialists, Japanese militarists and the Jiang Jieshi clique. Chongryon must increase its vigilance so as never to be fooled by these tricks of the south Korean reactionaries.

The Chongryon officials must never suspect people rashly by believing unsubstantiated information or by listening to the words of individual persons. If you begin to suspect people indiscriminately, your suspicion will grow gradually, and it will develop into distrust and finally end in creating divisions. This will hamper unity seriously.

The Chongryon officials must always distinguish clearly between their comrades who have made mistakes and factionalists or enemy spies. In this way they will isolate a handful of wicked factionalists and enemy spies thoroughly and rally the other people closely behind our Party and the Government of the Republic by winning them over and re-educating them.

Chongryon must work hard to carry out its honourable task, in addition to strengthening its organization so that it is unbreakable.

It has to fight to protect the democratic national rights of the Koreans in Japan and strive to develop national education.

It has made great efforts to protect these rights and to develop national education in particular in previous years. This is a very good thing. If it does not give national education to the Koreans in Japan, their children may all become Japanese. It must, therefore, develop national education efficiently.

As you know, the use of a single language is the most important

factor which characterizes a nation. People who speak different languages are not a nation. Even if a man has Korean blood in his veins, he cannot claim to be a Korean unless he knows the Korean language. If Koreans in Japan do not know the Korean language, they can become assimilated into the Japanese nation. That is why Chongryon must teach our compatriots the Korean language by developing national education. In this way, the Koreans in Japan, and the younger generation in particular, will be prevented from being assimilated by the Japanese.

Chongryon has to educate the Korean compatriots in a capitalist society, so education in this environment cannot be given in exactly the same way as it is given in the homeland. It has to be undertaken so as to suit the situation in Japan. The content of education given by Chongryon will also be unable to cover all that is taught in the homeland. It will have to concentrate on the education of Koreans in socialist patriotism. In other words, a great deal of effort should be devoted to teaching the Korean compatriots the language, history and geography of Korea as well as other subjects on Korea. Koreans should thus be kept from becoming Japanese and inspired with an ardent love for their homeland.

It is also a good idea for the Chongryon officials to send their children to the homeland for education, if they find it difficult to educate their children. The education of these children will not be a heavy burden on the homeland. But they would be mistaken if they think that their children while in the homeland will live in luxury like those of rich men. We do not train pupils and students like that.

In the homeland, students are not only taught knowledge, but are trained through organizational life and work; they are sent to transplant seedlings in the rural communities and to practise in factories. This is the way for them to have opportunities to be amongst the people, to listen to their voice, and to know their problems, so as to become true workers who serve the people and know how to work well amongst the masses. There is a saying that one's experience in hardship in one's youth cannot be bartered for gold, and it is not a bad idea to train the

younger generation through a little hardship.

Since it is an organization of the overseas citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Chongryon ought to continue to work well for the patriotic cause of national reunification. We take a great national pride in having a powerful organization of overseas citizens like Chongryon in Japan. It is playing an important part in the struggle for the reunification of the country, the greatest, most cherished desire of our nation.

In order to hasten the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, Chongryon must strengthen national unity and give active support and encouragement to the south Korean people in their struggle for national reunification and for democracy in south Korean society. It must also achieve national solidarity with Mindan (the Federation of South Korean Residents in Japan) under the slogan of great national unity, instead of being antagonistic towards it, since the people who belong to this organization are all Koreans.

Chongryon must develop relations with political, social and financial figures and journalists in Japan and strengthen solidarity with the Japanese people.

If it is to strengthen its organization and carry out its honourable task successfully, Chongryon must oppose flunkeyism and establish Juche thoroughly in all its work and activities.

As we always say, if a man practises flunkeyism, he will become a fool; if a nation follows flunkeyism, the country will perish; and if a party adopts flunkeyism, it will fail in the revolution and construction. Therefore, flunkeyism is taboo for a man, a nation and a party.

Because, in the past, our Party established Juche thoroughly in the revolution and construction, in opposition to flunkeyism, our country is now independent in politics, self-supporting in the economy and self-reliant in defence; it stands firm on its own feet, whatever wind may blow.

Chongryon has also established Juche thoroughly and maintained independence firmly until now. This is very gratifying. Because it has established Juche thoroughly in all its work and activities under the

wise leadership of our Party and the Government of our Republic, Chongryon has been able to develop into the dignified, authoritative and powerful organization of overseas citizens that it is today, in spite of the enemy's unbridled attempts to divide and undermine it. If the movement of the Koreans in Japan had practised flunkeyism without changing its line before it was too late, these Koreans would have lost their identity; they would all have become Japanese or "nationals of the Republic of Korea".

The south Korean puppets who are steeped to the bone in the idea of traitorously worshipping large powers are now floundering through great difficulties as a result of their practice of flunkeyism towards the United States and Japan. Those who adopt flunkeyism are doomed to failure just as the Park Chung Hee puppet clique is.

Chongryon must not adopt flunkeyism but establish Juche in the future, too, just as it has done in the past.

The Chongryon officials must take good care of their health.

Although the system of paid leave is in force in the homeland, cadres under the pressure of work are not willing to go on vacation. So we took the step of making it a strict rule for every cadre to take a vacation at a holiday home once every year without exception. When free visits to their homeland are allowed at some time in the future, the Chongryon officials will also be able to take vacations in the holiday homes over here. If they take a vacation for a month at a place of scenic beauty, they will find it easy to work for a year.

If officials are to work efficiently in good health, they will have to take exercise regularly. We show a film, *The Prime of Youth at the Age of Sixty*, to the officials in the homeland. I wonder if you have seen it; if you take exercise regularly, you will live in good health, without becoming old. There is no medicine but exercise that keeps you from getting old. The Chongryon officials must also take exercise regularly so as to keep themselves in good health.

I firmly believe that you will make new progress in your work of strengthening the Chongryon organization.

## **ON SOME ECONOMIC TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTH HAMGYONG PROVINCE**

**Speech Delivered to the Officials of the Party,  
Government and Administrative Bodies and Economic  
Establishments in North Hamgyong Province**

*June 16, 1972*

We have been holding a consultative meeting for the past few days, and are now going to conclude it. It would be better if I could continue to attend the meeting, but I am unable to do so because many external affairs are awaiting my attention and because I have been here in North Hamgyong Province for more than a week. So I should like to give this province a summary of its economic tasks. The First Deputy Premier and the ministers concerned and some department heads of the Party Central Committee will remain to continue the meeting and finalize matters.

Now I should like to speak about some economic tasks facing North Hamgyong Province based on these consultations.

In recent years I have visited this province once every two years. I was here in 1968 and 1970, and again this year. Although I have visited here so frequently, there has been no great change in the economic work of the province.

The major shortcoming in the work of the province is that the people's standard of living is not being improved. Of course, the province has constructed a great deal and achieved some success in the

economic work, but it has failed to improve the people's standard of living.

I have already stressed the need for its improvement on innumerable occasions, and many times at the plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee alone. But the province has done little worth mentioning to improve the people's standard of living.

Supplying its population with fish regularly is well within the capability of the province, but it has not solved this problem. It supplies a large amount of fish at a time in their season, but the supply is not regular when the season is over.

North Hamgyong Province has many machine factories. There are five or six large ones alone, such as the Kim Chaek Tool Factory, the Kim Chaek Pneumatic Machine Factory, the Chongjin Machine-Tool Factory, the Ranam Coal-Mining Machine Factory and the Chongjin Shipyard. In addition to these, there are many small machine factories and a number of enterprises which have large repair and maintenance shops. It is utterly absurd that a province with so many machine factories cannot build a good refrigerator plant for the regular supply of fish to its inhabitants.

The problem of vegetables has not been solved satisfactorily, either. Nor are soya sauce and bean paste supplied regularly. Not many eggs are supplied nor is cooking oil supplied satisfactorily. It is well within the capability of the province to meet its own needs for fish, vegetables and cooking oil, but it has supplied none of them satisfactorily.

Whenever I have spoken at a meeting, I have emphasized the need to solve the problem of non-staple food adequately, even though we cannot solve other problems satisfactorily, but the province has not yet done so. There has been no noticeable solution of the problem of articles for daily use.

So far, the province has built the Sungni Chemical Works and the Sodusu Power Station and tackled many other major construction projects. But it has spread itself over too many projects. It has undertaken the construction of the citric acid factory, a flour mill and many other projects in different areas. But few of these projects have

been completed. It has been undertaking capital construction for more than ten years, but the inhabitants have received no tangible benefits from it.

If the province had not overextended its building efforts on different projects, but concentrated on finishing them one by one, it would have been able to solve many problems in improving the people's living conditions by now.

If the province had concentrated on either the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill or the Chongjin Shipyard, it could have produced 30,000 tons of chemical fibre on a regular basis or built many boats to increase the catch of fish by now.

Not many dwelling houses have been built well. The province should have concentrated its building forces in such a way as to provide the people with an assured supply of houses, even if there were not many of them, but it has not done so. This shows that you are not working in line with Party policy.

Officials cannot improve the people's living conditions and overcome the practice of overextending construction projects because they lack Party spirit, working-class spirit and people-oriented spirit and have no clear understanding of the decisive factor in their work. The provincial Party committee ought to have recognized the decisive factor, improved the people's standard of living and developed the economy. But it has not done so. Ministers have visited this province, but they, too, did not give it much assistance in its work, each being affected by departmentalism. If they had felt themselves responsible for having failed to supply non-staple foodstuffs to workers regularly and combined their efforts to build a good refrigerator plant, it might have been constructed by now.

Recently the Party gave each province the task of solving the problem of some items of non-staple foodstuffs completely within one year or two.

Today, at this meeting, I again stress that North Hamgyong Province must solve the people's non-staple food problem as soon as possible.

To begin with, it must ensure a daily supply of 800 grammes to one kilogramme of vegetables per head of its population.

The agricultural sector will have to produce enough vegetables to put this into practice. The Party organizations in the province must tackle the task this year.

To this end, solid vegetable production bases must be built around the cities. Vegetable fields must be equipped with sprinkler irrigation facilities, and vegetables must not be cultivated in low-lying areas where they are liable to rot in the rainy season but on high ground. Dependable vegetable production bases must be developed, in particular, around the cities of Chongjin, Kim Chaek, Rajin and Musan. This is necessary because these districts have a large industrial population. Kilju has many cooperative farms in its vicinity, so vegetables can be available if this work is organized well.

If steel tubes for the sprinkler irrigation system on vegetable fields are in short supply, you will have to supplement them with cast-iron tubes. You must work hard to produce 120 to 150 tons of vegetables per hectare of the fields equipped with sprinkler irrigation facilities.

The question of spring vegetables must be solved.

In North Hamgyong Province, spring vegetables ripen late, so large amounts of autumn cabbages and radishes must be produced, and some of them must be dried or stored underground to be supplied during the following spring until fresh vegetables are available.

In addition, the commercial and distribution sector must make contracts for spring vegetables with Pyongyang, Kaesong or North and South Hwanghae Provinces, where spring vegetables ripen early, and supply them to the districts where vegetables are available late in spring. If they do this, they can be called true commercial workers for the people.

Kaesong produces a large amount of vegetables in May and June, and Pyongyang gets a supply of 400 tons every day in May. If the commercial sector concludes a contract with a county in Kaesong, it will be able to supply vegetables throughout May to a city like Chongjin, Kim Chaek or Rajin. If vegetables are to be transported from

the western region, it is necessary to prepare boxes or baskets.

Ryongyang, North Hamgyong and Jagang Provinces can obtain vegetable supplies from North and South Hwanghae Provinces, South Phyongan Province and Pyongyang. We are now exporting vegetables, so why should we not supply them to our own people? If spring vegetables are grown on a wide scale in the region where they ripen early and are supplied to the places where they ripen late, it will benefit both areas; the producers can increase their cash income, and the people in the late-ripening region can eat spring vegetables earlier.

But commercial workers still do not pay attention to this matter. Party organizations also have not directed the commercial sector properly. This is why the workers in this field frequently reveal a lack of responsibility and enthusiasm in their work. They have not the slightest regret for their failure to supply people with spring vegetables.

The railway sector must treat the spring vegetables consigned to North Hamgyong Province carefully, and transport them by means of refrigerator vans or cold-storage wagons just as it does with fish.

One hundred grammes of fish must be supplied per head of the population daily.

Since we are not yet in a position to supply enough pork and chicken to the people, we have to supply 200 grammes of fish to every heavy worker every day. One hundred grammes of pollack is equivalent to an egg in nutritional value.

It is not very difficult to supply 100 to 200 grammes of fish per capita every day. North Hamgyong Province has many fishing enterprises, fishermen's cooperatives and deep-sea fishing fleets. Yesterday I read a daily work report submitted by this fleet, which stated that 970 tons had been caught on the previous day.

If the construction of the refrigerator plant is completed, the fish caught by North Hamgyong Province alone will be enough to ensure the daily supply of 100 grammes to each member of its population. If the province supplies 50 tons of frozen fish to Chongjin, and 12 tons to the city of Kim Chaek every day, 100 grammes of fish can be provided

per head of the population of these cities. If the fish is to be supplied to large cities alone, 100 tons a day will suffice on a provincial basis.

The railway transport sector has to increase the manufacture of cold-storage wagons. At present, it has five trains composed of these wagons, and it must organize six more trains of this kind. Then, we shall be able to provide a regular supply of fish to the inhabitants of Ryanggang and Jagang Provinces and North Phyongan Province as well as North Hamgyong Province.

If the construction of the refrigerator plant is completed and the trains with cold-storage facilities start operation, the officials of the fishing industry will be unable to make false reports of their catch. When we had no refrigerator plant, much of the catch used to rot and was wasted so that it was impossible to know the exact amount of the catch. But when the refrigerator plant is constructed, the landed fish will be frozen in the plant and then supplied to people by cold-storage wagons, so the amount of the catch will be calculated accurately. The fishing industry must freeze, salt or dry the fish in future.

The fishing industry must catch fish on the high seas and inshore, on both a large scale and a small scale, so as to supply 100 grammes daily per head of the population at the first stage and then 200 grammes at the second stage.

Workteams engaging in small-scale fishing must not be formed on too large a scale. It is preferable to undertake small-scale fishing by forming fishing workteams of 50 to 70 men each. Three men—the workteam leader, the Party secretary and the bookkeeper—will be sufficient for the management of the workteam. The workteam leader and the Party secretary must go to sea aboard ship and fish with their team members. If the Party secretary remains in the office, the workteam leader must go to sea, and vice versa. In this way, a system must be set up to make everyone work.

North Hamgyong Province must complete the construction of the refrigerator plant by August 15 and supply, from the 1st of November, 200 grammes of fish to each heavy worker, and 100 grammes to each light worker and each ordinary citizen every day.

Ten grammes of cooking oil must be supplied to everyone every day.

North Hamgyong Province can meet its own requirements of cooking oil without difficulty. Both wild sesame and soya beans thrive in this province. The province must supply 10 grammes of cooking oil per head every day from October 10 this year.

One egg must be supplied to each person every day.

We set out the slogan of supplying an egg a day to everyone a long time ago, but North Hamgyong Province has not yet implemented this. It seems difficult for the province to put it into practice at once because of the feed problem. For the time being, therefore, five eggs have to be supplied to each household every two days.

If you are to solve the egg problem, you must, first of all, work hard to make full use of the existing chicken plants. At present, the utilization rate is low. You must provide the plants with many more coops and improve other facilities so as to ensure their maximum use. At the same time, you must build new chicken plants.

In order to solve this problem, rural communities will have to start a campaign for each farm family to produce 1,000 eggs every year.

This campaign will help you to supply the eggs produced in chicken plants to cities without difficulty. The eggs produced by this powerful campaign should be supplied to county towns and villages, and the eggs produced by the chicken plants should be supplied to large cities.

If a hen lays 200 eggs in a year, one farm family raising five hens can produce 1,000 eggs a year. All the rural inhabitants including workers and office employees should be encouraged to participate in this campaign.

Hens which are not wanted by chicken plants must not be killed but sold to rural households. If hens are transferred from chicken plants into rural environments where they can breathe fresh air and feed on different kinds of microelements, they will continue to lay eggs for some years. Of course, these hens may lay fewer eggs than in their early days, but it will be more profitable to keep them than to breed indigenous ones. Many rural communities still raise indigenous hens

which do not lay many eggs. North Hamgyong Province has many chicken plants, so rural households will be able to raise five chickens if the plants sell them the unwanted hens.

You must set a goal to supply 50 grammes of meat per capita a day and strive to reach it. You must also organize a campaign to supply an apple or an equivalent of other kinds of fruit to everybody daily. It will be reasonable if everyone gets a daily supply of 50 grammes of meat.

To solve the meat problem, every farm household will have to work hard and produce 100 kilogrammes of meat a year.

In North Hamgyong Province, mountains are grassy and wooded with acacias, and there is a wide area of vacant land. So you will be perfectly able to organize a campaign for each farm family to produce 100 kilogrammes of meat. They can choose what kind of domestic animal they breed, pigs or rabbits or cattle. In any event, they have to produce at least 100 kilogrammes of meat a year. In addition, all crop-farm workteams must start a campaign to produce two tons of meat each every year.

Large cities must build meat producing plants such as chicken plants, duck plants and pig farms.

A meat production centre must be developed first in Chongjin. A chicken plant with a 2,000-ton annual production capacity has to be built in this city, and the capacity of the existing Ryongje Duck Plant must be increased to 3,000 tons. You must also establish a piggery with an annual production capacity of 5,000 tons.

Pig and chicken plants have to be built in the city of Kim Chaek, too. Rajin will have to get its meat supplies mainly from Unggi County. Rajin need not build piggeries. It will only have to develop its supply centre in the Unggi County General Farm while utilizing the existing chicken plant. It is necessary to establish a meat production centre in Musan. There are a large number of miners there who are engaged in heavy labour, so the district must have a meat production centre of its own so as to supply meat to the workers.

If you are to increase meat production, you must solve the feed problem.

As I mentioned at the consultation yesterday, we shall have to import some wheat in order to solve this problem. A preliminary estimate shows that we have to import 40,000 to 50,000 tons next year, 70,000 tons each in 1974 and 1975, and 100,000 tons in 1976.

In this connection, the milling capacity must be increased. You must investigate whether to construct a milling centre in Chongjin or build flour mills in different places, for instance, in Rajin, Kim Chaek or other towns. To begin with, the flour mill which was built in Chongjin must double its present 20,000-ton capacity. When increasing its capacity, the mill must not begin by building the silo, but must first construct the building which will house the milling equipment so as to process the wheat which is to be imported next year.

Officials of the General Bureau of Poultry say that wheat yields 70 per cent of flour and 30 percent of bran and that one ton of bran is equivalent to one ton of maize in terms of feed value. The imported wheat must be milled into 70 per cent of flour and 30 per cent of bran. The flour should be used as food, and the bran as animal feed. Now that flour is to be used for food, the maize which has been used for food must be used as grain feed instead. Then, the food ration for the three cities, Chongjin, Kim Chaek and Rajin, will consist of rice and flour from next year, and the people's diet will be much better than now.

You must earn a large sum of foreign currency.

If you do this, you will be able to solve the problems of feed and daily necessities more easily and import the necessary machines.

Big factories, enterprises and local industry factories in North Hamgyong Province must begin a campaign to increase production by two per cent over and above their quotas so as to earn foreign currency. The money earned by this campaign should be spent on importing wheat so as to solve the feed problem. Almost half of this year has passed, so you will not be able to earn much foreign currency to buy wheat this year. But next year you must import wheat with the foreign currency you will have earned in the second half of this year and the first half of next year.

This campaign in factories and enterprises must be undertaken

mainly under the sponsorship of the League of Socialist Working Youth and the trade union organizations. Party secretaries and managers of factories and enterprises and chief secretaries of county Party committees must direct this campaign with a sense of responsibility. Ministers must also supervise and direct this campaign in the factories under their jurisdiction.

Not only factories and enterprises but the people in all other sectors must participate in the campaign to earn foreign currency.

There has been a suggestion that North Hamgyong Province will earn 1,620,000 pounds of foreign currency to solve the clothing and footwear problems. This is a good idea. If the province earns that amount and uses it for the people, their standard of living will improve very much. I was told that about 500,000 pounds of the total will be spent on importing suiting and women's dress materials. This is enough to make two suits for each adult a year, in addition to those from the fabrics produced for them by the state.

The state will not touch a penny of the foreign currency earned by North Hamgyong Province. The people's committee of the province will have the right to use the foreign currency earned by the province. The Ministry of Foreign Trade must unconditionally import what the province requests. You say that the province will have to set up a trade corporation of its own in the future. This is a good idea. The province must improve the living standards of its population by earning foreign currency by whatever means and using it for imports.

I fear that the provincial plan of earning foreign currency will end in empty talk. The province must obtain 1,620,000 pounds, come what may, so as to use it for the improvement of the people's living standards. Although it is not easy to earn that amount of foreign currency, you will be perfectly able to do so if you mobilize all the people.

Everyone, without exception, must participate in the campaign to earn foreign currency. Farmers must increase the production of cocoons, tobacco and so on, and the people in urban communities and workers' districts must also work hard to increase the sources of foreign currency.

The fishing industry must also earn foreign currency.

On this occasion I have instructed that two 10,000-ton fishing boats must be ordered from a foreign country. These boats will cost us a large sum of foreign currency. The state will only make the initial payment for the two boats, and the remainder should be paid by the fishing industry by earning foreign currency.

Fishing enterprises and fishermen's cooperatives must earn a great deal of foreign currency by organizing different fishing operations widely including those on a small scale so as to catch squids and sea cucumber and also produce shellfish meat and salted urchins. Pounds must be earned wherever possible, and rubles as well. The fishing industry must implement the provincial task of earning foreign currency and also earn the money needed for purchasing the boats.

Party organizations must guide and assist the campaign to earn foreign currency well. They must acquit themselves well in the work of establishing model units in the campaign and of spreading them throughout. In North Hamgyong Province, the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Songjin Steel Plant and the Musan Mine have the lion's share in earning foreign currency. So these three enterprises must take the lead in the campaign by working hard to increase production by two per cent.

As far as counties are concerned, it will be a good idea to develop Kyongsong County into a model in earning foreign currency. This time the county was the first to receive the supply of motor vehicles needed for silk-farming, and so it must set an example in the production of cocoons and other projects in the campaign to earn foreign currency.

In this way North Hamgyong Province will bring about a great change in the people's standard of living within one year or two.

Next, I should like to mention agriculture briefly.

The agricultural sector will have to make an addition to the tobacco production quota for the Six-Year Plan.

The increase in the area of tobacco cultivation for the Six-Year Plan in this province will require a corresponding adjustment in its grain production quota. But there will be no change in the production quotas for other crops set under the plan.

If tobacco production is to be increased, it is important to solve the manpower problem and ensure the smooth supply of equipment and materials from the state. Mass production of tobacco requires drying facilities, packing materials and means of transport including lorries and tractors. If you organize tobacco cultivation widely out of a simple desire to increase its production, without providing these facilities, you may not be able to dispose of the product before it rots. The province has planted 10,000 hectares of tobacco on a trial basis this year, and the Cabinet must help the province well.

Many drying facilities must first be built. They can dry not only tobacco but also cocoons. All counties must, therefore, build drying facilities. In counties where tobacco is cultivated widely, drying facilities must not only be built in county towns but also in ri and other places wherever they are needed.

The tobacco transport problem must be solved by increasing the supply of tractors or lorries, for instance, to the rural communities which cultivate tobacco widely this year.

It is desirable that North Hamgyong Province should increase the area of tobacco cultivation gradually, taking into account whether tobacco sells well and whether drying equipment, packing materials, tractors and lorries are provided as they should be. It is advisable for the province to increase the tobacco area by some 3,000 hectares next year compared with the area this year, and cultivate it on an experimental basis for another year. The area should be increased to 15,000 hectares in 1974 and to 20,000 hectares in 1975.

Grain production must be increased.

A shortcoming in agriculture in North Hamgyong Province is that the grain yield per hectare is low. The present maize yield here is said to be no more than two tons per hectare. This is the lowest yield in our country. Normally, the maize yield should be at least four tons. The per-hectare yield of soya beans is also very low, and this must also be increased to two to three tons at least.

To raise the per-hectare yields of cereals, it is necessary to improve the layout of fields and mechanization of farm work.

The low yield of cereals in this province is due mainly to the fact that ploughing is done too late and that fields are not manured properly, because of the shortage of tractors and other farm machines. Upon our recent visit to Kilju we talked to cooperative farmers there, and they said that the grain yield was low because they were short of farm machines and consequently sowed too late and could not use sufficient manure. I had heard cooperative farmers say the same thing on my visit to Hyangsan County.

The Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 has to improve the *Jonjin* tractor as soon as possible.

Small tractors can haul manure and plough fields in mountainous areas. But the *Jonjin* tractors have a bad reputation everywhere. North Phyongan Province wants them replaced by *Chollima* tractors because they do not work efficiently. The *Jonjin* tractor factory must take steps to improve the efficiency of the tractors they produce.

North Hamgyong Province must improve the layout of fields and the mechanization of agriculture and work hard to increase the per-hectare yield of cereals.

Now, I shall talk about industry.

North Hamgyong Province must work particularly hard to develop the shipbuilding industry.

Steel plates will be mass-produced when the hot-rolling shop of the Kim Chaek Iron Works, now under construction, is completed. In future half the steel plates produced in the iron works must be used locally, and, for this purpose, the shipbuilding industry will have to be developed on a preferential basis. The shipbuilding industry needs more steel plates than other industries. It is also necessary to develop the shipbuilding industry so as to build many large ships capable of fishing on the high seas.

Shipyards and shipbuilding works must be extended on a large scale for the development of the shipbuilding industry.

North Hamgyong Province has to study which shipyards and shipbuilding works should be extended.

It does not seem desirable to extend the shipyard at Rajin. Rajin is a

very cold place where telegraph posts are said to be blown down by the wind. I once heard that there was a vacant building in Rajin, so I obtained it to house a school for the children of revolutionary martyrs. But we had to move the school to Wonsan because the climate was too cold for them.

The province may intend to expand the Odaejin Ship Repair Plant. But I think it is better to expand the Chongjin Shipyard. Then, the shipyard will be able to build many ships by using steel plates straight from the Kim Chaek Iron Works. This is why I inspected the shipyard first upon my visit to Chongjin. There is not a great deal of space for the extension of the shipyard, and this is a drawback. But it still seems possible to more than double the present size.

Even if it is doubled, the shipyard will not use much of the steel plates. In the future, the Kim Chaek Iron Works will produce 850,000 tons of rolled steel annually. At the rate of 4,000 tons of steel needed in building a 10,000-ton ship, only 40,000 tons of steel plates are required to build 10 ships and 400,000 tons to build 100.

You must draw up a plan to increase the size of the Chongjin Shipyard by more than 100 per cent and start the project quickly. The project must be completed by next year.

The shipyard must be developed tidily and on modern lines so as to be perfect. A dock must also be constructed for the shipyard.

As I said at the consultation yesterday, the shipyard must build four 5,000-ton ships this year, a 5,000-ton ship, a 10,000-ton ship, and two 3,750-ton ships in 1973, four 3,750-ton ships and two and a half 10,000-ton ships in 1974, two and a half 10,000-ton ships, five 3,750-ton ships and a 30,000-ton ship in 1975, a 30,000-ton ship, two 10,000-ton ships and six 3,750 ton ships in 1976. This is, perhaps, an enormous task. But if you carry it out, you will be able to eat fish.

The Kim Chaek Shipbuilding Works must also be expanded a little so as to build larger ships than it does at present.

The works which is building 1,000-ton boats now should change over to the building of 3,000-ton ships in the future. The 1,000-ton ships are not suitable for catching fish on the high seas. Some

3,000-ton ships can serve the purpose.

Whether the factory builds 3,000-ton boats or not depends on whether the Pukjung Machine Factory supplies it with 1,000-hp and 2,500-hp engines. The Pukjung Machine Factory has to take measures to manufacture these engines quickly.

The problem of building a rolling stock factory in Chongjin must be studied.

A rolling stock factory must be built to manufacture rolling stock for the foreign market. It is better to sell rolling stock than sell steel.

If 8,000 wagons are produced annually by the rolling stock factory to be built in the future, it will need only 150,000 tons of steel every year at the rate of 19 tons needed to make each wagon.

Even if North Hamgyong Province uses a great deal of steel by expanding the Chongjin Shipyard and the Kim Chaek Shipbuilding Works and by building a rolling stock factory in the future, the amount it will use will be far below the annual production of steel from the Kim Chaek Iron Works. Even if a great deal of steel goes to the western region for manufacturing lorries and tractors, not all the 850,000 tons of rolled steel will be used.

While developing the shipbuilding industry, the province must also pay attention to developing other engineering industries.

The province is now building many machine-tool factories. It must complete these projects quickly. In the future, it must produce three times as many machine tools as it does at present.

At present, machine factories have their own foundries. On this occasion you should make a detailed study of whether it is necessary to do so. They are in the same province. Then, why should they each have a foundry of their own? This is an expression of departmentalism.

We intend to build communism. But how can we build it if everyone, affected with departmentalism, wants to have everything for himself? Departmentalism has nothing in common with the communist idea. We are for the world revolution, and this is aimed at making the people throughout the world live in harmony, helping and leading each other forward like members of a family. Then, is it right that you,

people who fight for communism under the guidance of the same Party and state, take to parochialism and departmentalism?

I have often said that it is better to concentrate casting and plating and specialize in them than do them separately in different places.

When I visited a foreign country once, I saw a small local plating factory which, they said, worked on orders from the capital city as well as those from neighbouring cities. The quality of plating there was very good.

Casting or plating things in one factory may, of course, involve some complexity in that the goods will have to be transported to and from the factory. But if a precise contract is concluded between the parties concerned, there will be no complications.

If casting or plating operations are concentrated in one factory, production will be specialized, and consequently the technical equipment of the factory and the workers' skill will improve rapidly, as well as the quality of the products. In addition, other factories can dispense with their own foundries, use the space which is saved for other purposes and save manpower.

If casting and plating are not specialized and if work items are changed from one day to another, the level of the workers' technical skill will not rise. The present low quality of ironware is due partly to the inferior quality of raw materials, but the main reason is that plating is done by different factories.

Casting and plating must be specialized in future.

North Hamgyong Province has to build a large foundry in the Ranam Coal-Mining Machine Factory or any other machine factory, and let the foundry make all the castings needed in the province.

The Ranam Coal-Mining Machine Factory must be enlarged. Since the province has many coal and ore mines, the factory must be expanded so as to manufacture equipment and spare parts needed in mechanizing these mines. This factory should be expanded to the capacity of producing 10,000 tons of one-off equipment every year.

Since it has the steel production centre, the province must develop the machine industry extensively, and also mass-produce

miscellaneous items of ironware. It should build a watch factory, by importing equipment for it, and an ironware factory in the future.

A new electric machine factory must be built.

The province has many large cities, but workers there have to walk a long distance to go to work. Therefore, trolley-bus services must be available in the large cities. I think it is advisable to provide facilities for electric trains or a trolley-bus service between Rajin and Unggi. Trolleybuses must operate in the city of Kim Chaek, and between Ranam and Chongjin as well. Railways must be electrified. For the electrification of the railways and for the provision of the facilities for trolley-bus services, the province will need many copper wires and electric machines. But the Taeon Electrical Machinery Plant is now overtaxed. So it is necessary to build another electric machinery plant in the east coast region.

The Ministry of Machine Industry No. 3 has to build an electric machinery factory in Chongjin or Hungnam for the common use of the east coast region.

Nonferrous rolled products such as silicon steel plates and copper wire must be produced in different places rather than at one place. Therefore, you had better draw up a long-term plan for building shops to manufacture these products.

You must build a trolleybus assembly plant. The province must not expect to receive trolleybuses from Pyongyang. With its population ever growing, the traffic network of the city is developing daily, so the city does not seem to be capable of supplying trolleybuses to North Hamgyong Province.

The engineering industry in this province needs an all-round survey in the future. Since the Cabinet is meeting in Chongjin on this occasion, you should discuss this problem on a long-term basis.

The province must reinforce the equipment of the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Chongjin Steel Plant and the Songjin Steel Plant and reach the steel goal of the Six-Year Plan without fail.

The project for the extension of the Kim Chaek Iron Works must be accelerated.

The construction of the steel shop and the hot-rolling shop of the Kim Chaek Iron Works must be expedited so as to finish it by 1973 and start operations in 1974.

In the construction of the hot-rolling shop of the iron works you must not only count on imported steel. If foreigners supply us with steel on schedule, it will be good. But if they do not, we should take measures to produce it for ourselves.

In step with the construction of the steel shop and the hot-rolling shop of the iron works, you have to build blast and sintering furnaces.

You must press ahead with the project for the expansion of the Musan Mine.

This project must be examined in detail by the First Vice-Premier who will visit the mine in company with the technicians concerned. The Minister of Metal Industry says that if the existing dressing plant is equipped on a modern basis, 6 million tons of concentrate will be produced without building another dressing plant. If this can be done, it will prove a great success. This will save a great deal of money and time. If we start producing concentrate after building a new dressing plant, we shall not produce 6 million tons until the final year of the Six-Year Plan. But if the existing dressing plant is re-equipped with modern facilities, we shall be able to produce 6 million tons from 1974 without building another dressing plant.

If we produce 6 million tons of concentrate every year from 1974 to 1976, it will be tantamount to earning a large sum of foreign currency without making investments. If we use 4 million tons out of 6 million tons and export 2 million tons, we can earn 6 million pounds or 13 million rubles. At the annual rate of 13 million rubles we can earn nearly 40 million rubles in three years from 1974 to 1976. So it is desirable to press ahead with the project for the expansion of the Musan Mine as decided on this occasion.

The problem of the transport of concentrate must be solved. In order to do this, the drying furnace must be built. If moisture is removed from the concentrate by means of the furnace, it will solve a large problem in the transport of concentrate.

To ease the strain on concentrate transport, the electrification of the railway between Chongjin and Musan will have to be undertaken on a priority basis.

We have to import heavy-duty lorries for the Musan Mine. We also did this in the past. But the lorries are said to be inefficient. You had better talk to competent drivers and import scores of highly efficient lorries. If it receives 40-ton heavy-duty lorries, the mine must transfer the existing smaller ones to other enterprises. In this way 25-ton and 10-ton lorries will be grouped separately.

The Musan Mine must solve its water problem and other problems related to the proposed construction projects according to a decision to be adopted by the Cabinet.

The construction of the Sungni Chemical Works must be completed quickly.

Your resolve to finish the construction of the Sungni Chemical Works and the Unggi Thermal Power Station by the first half of 1973 is very good. It will mean a signal success, if you live up to your resolution.

The construction of the chemical works is going to be finished by the first half of next year, so the Department of Heavy Industry of the Party Central Committee, the Cabinet and the Ministry of Railways must promptly take steps to manufacture tank wagons and tankers.

Tank wagons and tankers should be built, keeping pace with the construction of the Sungni Chemical Works. But this is not being done. It is very harmful to delay the production of tank wagons and tankers. Once the chemical works begins to operate, the oil produced by it must be transported promptly so as to permit a steady production flow. Otherwise, the works will have to stop operating.

The June 4 Rolling Stock Factory must build at least 200 tank wagons every year. The assignment to build them which I gave on my visit to Kangwon Province must be thoroughly implemented. The factory should start being supplied with materials now so that it will implement the assignment without fail.

You must re-examine the capacity of the Rahung Railway Factory and take steps to produce tank wagons there.

The Kim Chaek Shipbuilding Works must also build tankers.

This works must build 3,000-ton tankers or 5,000-ton tankers by using the design of a 5,000-ton ship which was produced at the Chongjin Shipyard. It will be worth building a 5,000-ton tanker which can transport at least 2,000 tons of oil. But it will not suit our purpose to build a tanker which carries only 1,000 tons or 500 tons.

The men now building the Sungni Chemical Works must not be diverted to other work. In future many chemical factories have to be built. The Sungni Chemical Works now under construction alone will not be able to meet our oil needs. When its construction is finished, another chemical plant will have to be built in Namhung and also an oil refinery in the western region. At that time the work force now mobilized in the construction of the Sungni Chemical Works will be moved there.

The construction of the Sodusu Power Station must be finished by 1974. Since this project is delayed, its work force must be divided into two and one half must be sent to build the dam of the Taedonggang Power Station. The dam of the Taedonggang Power Station must be built quickly to solve the water problem of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant and protect Pyongyang from floods. The other contingent must press ahead with the construction of the Sodusu Power Station so as to finish it quickly, and then move to Huichon. Although the construction of the Huichon Power Station is not included in the Six-Year Plan, its construction is to start in 1975.

You must carry out the expansion project and the consolidation of the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill efficiently.

Chemical fibre is imported at the cost of foreign currency; it is not desirable to do this. Why should we import chemical fibre when we have a good chemical fibre mill in our country? We must increase the production capacity of the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill so as to meet our own needs of chemical fibre.

The equipment needed for the extension and consolidation of the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill should be manufactured at home and part of it imported.

In parallel with its extension project, the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill must tackle the task of eliminating noxious gases. When we visited the factory previously, I gave it an assignment to eliminate noxious gases. But its executives have not yet implemented the assignment. Despite my wish to visit the factory, I cannot do so because I am ashamed to see the workers without having got rid of harmful gases. The chemical fibre mill must improve its equipment so as to remove harmful gases and keep the factory tidy.

It is important to keep the Kilju Pulp Mill in good condition.

This mill must be in good condition and work to capacity. This is the way to enable the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill to produce fibre satisfactorily.

You cannot regard the Kilju Pulp Mill as being well maintained at present. The workers say that the Minister of Chemical Industry has never visited the mill and that he even ignores the men's inventions, instead of introducing them into production. He is wrong. The minister must support and help the men who make inventions. He must acquire the popular work style.

You must help the Kilju Pulp Mill to solve the problem of water. Otherwise, the mill cannot produce good-quality paper and pulp.

There is an opinion that the problem must be solved by constructing a reservoir. I do not agree with this. The reservoir in question is so small that it will be flooded with muddy water in the rainy season. Reservoirs are to be filled in the rainy season, and if they are filled with muddy water it cannot be used for industrial purposes.

A good solution to this problem is to pump up and use subterranean water. A long time ago we gave the task of pumping up subterranean water for the mill, but this task has not yet been fulfilled. You can solve the mill's water problem quite easily by digging many wells. The General Bureau of Geology ought to help the mill to solve its problem.

You must make good use of the local industry factories.

Many local industry factories were built in North Hamgyong Province on the eve of the Fifth Party Congress, but few of them work properly.

The province must not try to build many more local industry factories but must use the existing ones efficiently. Some of the existing ones should be changed into clothing factories and others into knitted goods factories, as the circumstances require.

You must build factories well.

North Hamgyong Province has an enormous task of industrial construction. It has to build the hot-rolling shop and blast furnace of the Kim Chaek Iron Works, modernize the dressing plant of the Musan Mine, construct the Sungni Chemical Works, extend the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill and undertake many other construction projects. The province must complete the projects now under way quickly and carry out the task of further industrial construction without fail.

You must tackle the problem of transport once and for all.

It is in North Hamgyong Province that railway transport is under the greatest strain today. Because the railways are overstrained, coal is piled up in mountains at the coal mines; and quite a few factories, failing to get supplies of coal, cannot work normally, and this even hampers production in the coal mines. The Northern Coal Industry Management Bureau has requested permission to suspend coal cutting for some time and transfer their efforts to tunnelling because the mined coal is not being taken away.

In order to ease the strain on transport, it is necessary to electrify the railways as a matter of priority.

There is no other effective way to relieve the railways of the strain than electrification. The railways must be electrified, the heavy-duty tracks laid and provided with concrete sleepers so as to increase hauling capacity, and the turnaround of goods wagons reduced.

The Chongjin-Tumangang, the Chongjin-Musan and the Kilju-Hyesan lines must be electrified. About 1,000 goods wagons must be supplied to North Hamgyong Province. If it is difficult to provide so many immediately, at least 500 have to be supplied.

You must also develop sea transport.

The province must send its coal to Wonsan by sea by developing sea transport. A wharf must be built at Wonsan for unloading coal

which will be forwarded by rail to destinations from there. The railway between Ichon and Sepho will be completed before long. Then, we shall be able to overcome the difficulty in production in the February 8 Cement Factory and other factories on the west coast—a difficulty caused by the shortage of lignite.

You must examine the capacity of the Kim Chaek Shipbuilding Works and take measures to build ships needed for the transport of coal and other goods. People at this works say it will build ten 1,000-ton ships a year. But I think it would be better for it to build seven or eight 3,000-ton ships. A 1,000-ton ship has no great capacity for carrying coal. If you are set on building cargo ships you ought to build large ones which can carry a load of several thousand tons each. It is unnecessary to build 1,000-ton ships which have small capacities.

This, however, does not mean that no 1,000-ton ships should ever be built. These ships are also needed for towing rafts. They can unload quickly, hence their turnaround time is shorter. There is no need to neglect the building of such ships totally.

The Kim Chaek Shipbuilding Works must build both 1,000-ton and 3,000-ton ships. It had better build ten ships in all every year. It can decide on the ratio of both kinds at its discretion: half and half, or 4:6 or 3:7. In other words, it can build five ships of each kind, or four of 1,000-ton class and six of 3,000-ton class, or three of 1,000-ton class and seven of 3,000-ton class.

The shipbuilding works has to be supplied with many more machine tools and must increase its cradling capacity. The works is said to be handicapped by its cradling capacity for building 3,000-ton ships. It must use the existing supporting blocks to build 1,000-ton ships and create a greater cradling capacity so as to build 3,000-ton ships in the future.

You must also take steps to transport oil by tanker. If tankers take on oil at Unggi Port and supply it by making a round of the ports on the east coast, most of the oil used in the fishing industry can be transported by ships.

Next, I wish to speak about the construction of dwelling houses.

Many dwelling houses must be built in Chongjin.

At present, there is an acute housing shortage there. In this situation, it would be ideal for North Hamgyong Province to build houses for 12,000 families every year, but it is impossible to do so because the province has many construction projects which have to be undertaken. The province still has work to do to complete the Chongjin Shipyard, the Ranam Coal-Mining Machine Factory, the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill and the Komusan Cement Factory; it must build new chicken plants, piggeries and flour mills and must also finish the construction of a mixed feed factory. Therefore, Chongjin will have to plan the construction of dwelling houses for 10,000 families annually. In fact, however, it will have to build houses for 7,000 families and the funds for 3,000 households will have to be used to build schools, nurseries, kindergartens, hospitals and clinics.

Many large factories have to be constructed in Chongjin, so the state cannot afford to supply the city liberally with materials for housing construction. So 80 per cent of the dwellings will have to be built in the Songnim style and 20 per cent as multi-storeyed buildings.

Urban construction requires solid building-materials centres.

As matters now stand North Hamgyong Province has no well-organized building-materials centres. It is impossible to carry on city construction properly using only the materials supplied by the state, instead of building up its own building-materials centres.

Chongjin has to build many underground structures because the city centre is moving towards Ranam. Pipes for running water, sewerage, cables, and many other underground structures are necessary.

Immediately after the armistice I personally directed the reconstruction of Pyongyang which had been reduced to ashes, and I know that city construction requires a host of underground structures.

Developing building-materials centres means developing quarries, Hume concrete pipe factories, cast-iron tube factories, welded-tube factories, sanitary earthenware factories, building hardware factories, furniture factories, brickyards, tile works and so on so as to meet one's own needs for different kinds of building materials.

North Hamgyong Province must organize the development of building-materials centres methodically. You cannot solve any problem if you beg for building materials complaining of one thing and another, instead of developing your own building-materials centres.

In developing a building-materials centre, it is important to establish a quarry for granite first.

In Pyongyang, we still use stone from the quarry which we developed at Mayong after the war. Originally Pyongyang had no quarry, but after the war I had a railway laid to Mayong and started quarrying. In Pyongyang the embankment of the Taedong and Pothong Rivers was carried out excellently and many modern streets were built, with stone from the quarry.

Cement and steel bars are not all that is required for city construction. Of course, lots of cement, steel bars, and bricks are needed for construction. But these alone are not enough. A quarry is indispensable for ditching and for river and coastal embankments.

North Hamgyong Province must also develop good quarries.

This province has large sources of granite. There is good granite in the Onpho valley near Juul and in many other places. If there is granite in the Puyun valley, you should open a quarry there and build a railway to transport the stone.

You must develop a cast-iron tube factory. There was only one factory of this kind in the whole country, but last year many were built in various places for the introduction of non-paddy field irrigation. Since there is one in this province, it must be made good use of.

You also need a welded-tube production centre. There is no welded-tube factory in Pyongyang. Pyongyang has been able to dispense with it since it gets its supply of welded tubes from the Kangson Steel Plant.

It is desirable for the province to have a small welded-tube factory of its own. But if ordered to construct it, the province will give the assignment to the Songjin Steel Plant. If this should happen it would be no better than getting the Songjin Steel Plant itself to produce welded tubes for the province.

If it is given an assignment, the province usually orders the Songjin Steel Plant to perform it. This was the case with the steel works which was built near the Songjin Steel Plant. The steel works is said to have a 10,000-ton production capacity. I think it necessary to examine how it is utilized. If its utilization rate is low, it must produce other things in addition.

When I visited Kangwon Province some time ago, I saw a very large steel works which, however, could produce only 5,000 tons of steel a year. So I ensured that it was transferred to the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1, and that the ministry supplied 6,000 to 7,000 tons of steel to Kangwon Province every year. And I made sure that the ministry supplemented the steel works by constructing casting steel furnaces so as to produce and process cast steel.

North Hamgyong Province must also build brickyards and tile works. In this way, it will develop its own building-materials centres.

Factories and enterprises must assist the construction of Chongjin.

There are many large factories and enterprises in Chongjin. In the past they tried to divide the city between themselves. Now they must not think of doing so but must help the city in its housing and other construction. In the past, Chongjin was divided into some sections by the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Chongjin Steel Plant and the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill.

This was also the case with Hamhung in the past. The city was divided by factories and enterprises such as the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, the Ryongsong Machine Factory and the Pongung Chemical Factory, each of which turned its quarter into a “small kingdom” and did not even obey the directives of the city people’s committee and built theatres, clubs, hospitals and water service facilities in its own way.

At present, however, there is no such trend in Hamhung. In the city, dwelling houses have been concentrated in Hamhung where the air is fresh and from where people go to work by bus or train. This has many advantages. If the city is divided among factories and enterprises, they build houses with no care for the men who will have to live in polluted air.

This did not happen in Pyongyang because division was not allowed from the outset.

As matters now stand, there are many instances of parochialism and departmentalism in the provinces. Large factories and enterprises are much affected by departmentalism, and this is due to ministers who encourage it. Ministers often encourage factories and enterprises in this, instead of correcting it promptly by means of criticism.

In Chongjin factories and enterprises must not, on any account, be allowed to divide the city.

To this end, the city people's committee must improve its role.

The city people's committee is the authority which is responsible for the lives of its citizens; it is the government organ elected by the people. Therefore, factories and enterprises, however large, must obey the directives of the city people's committee.

If the city people's committee orders factories and enterprises to make cranes, supply labour for the construction of public buildings or build dwelling houses, these orders must be obeyed. If factories and enterprises do not obey the orders of the city people's committee, city construction will not proceed successfully.

Chongjin must quickly move its centre towards Ranam. The original master plan for the construction of Chongjin had put the residential quarters within the city. This meant that the city dwellers would live in the smoke from the factories. So, on my visit here in 1970, I gave instructions that the city centre should be moved towards Ranam and that Songphyong and Sunam should be developed as a factory district.

Moving the central part of the city towards Ranam is good because in that case the residential quarters will be clean. If the residential quarters are developed near Ranam, workers will have a problem in getting to work. But this problem will be solved by providing a trolley-bus service. If many trolley buses ply between East Chongjin and West Chongjin, there will be no serious inconvenience to the people going to work.

If traffic becomes heavier and if it is necessary to build a subway at

some time in the future, you will have to build it. But I do not think that the city traffic will become complicated to that extent.

In Pyongyang metros are now under construction, and, in addition, a plan is being made to ensure that the trolley-bus service is available on existing routes at two minutes' intervals. If the city produces 200 trolley buses this year, this plan will be nearly implemented.

Chongjin has many machine factories, so it must produce its own trolley buses. This task is well within the capability of the city.

Housing has to be built in Rajin, too.

The city has built a large chemical factory. The factory will work properly when the workers are provided with housing. But housing construction in this city will have to be undertaken on a small scale for the present since it will take over a fairly large number of houses which have been used by the factory constructors. And then, the scale of housing construction should be increased gradually.

I was told that there are 900 workers engaged in housing construction in Rajin. They should build Songnim-style houses for the time being. It is advisable for them to start building multi-storeyed apartment houses in about a year's time.

Rajin must be developed as an attractive and clean city. We intend to make it a trade port at some time in the future, so it is necessary to construct it well. At that time the state will make a large investment in the construction of the city.

The city of Kim Chaek must solve the housing problem by constructing dwelling houses for 2,000 families every year.

Housing construction enterprises must be reorganized well.

At present, there are some 2,000 building workers in Chongjin. They should be reinforced with 4,000 discharged soldiers and 2,000 housewives as auxiliary labour. The housewives will be able to sift gravel and sand, although they cannot do heavy work. The number of building workers in Chongjin including the housewives will amount to 8,000, and this is almost half as many as those for Pyongyang.

The Rajin City Construction Enterprise also needs some reinforcement. Even though we want to appoint housewives to this

enterprise, we cannot do so because women workers already account for almost 50 per cent of its existing work force. So 100 of the 1,000 discharged soldiers who are to be assigned to the Musan Mine and to the geological prospecting corps will have to go to work in the Rajin City Construction Enterprise. The 100 discharged soldiers will become the backbone of this enterprise. They will be able to play the part of 200 to 300 ordinary people.

The Puyun Mine is also said to require more labour. The Cabinet should examine the situation further and report to me.

The rural communities must work hard to replace the straw-thatched houses with tile-roofed ones.

North Hamgyong Province has been inefficient not only in urban housing construction but also in the campaign to replace the straw-thatched houses in the rural communities. On my way here on this occasion, I have seen quite a few straw-thatched houses still standing.

It seems to me that Hwadae County is most backward in this campaign in North Hamgyong Province. Needless to say, there must be many straw-thatched houses in out-of-the-way villages in other counties, too.

In North Hamgyong Province all the straw-thatched houses should be eliminated within three years, that is, by 1975. This requires that the province should build modern rural houses for 8,000 families every year. This number is broken down to approximately 500 for each county. This is a simple task for a county.

There is no reason why North Hamgyong Province should be unable to undertake modern rural housing construction. A great deal of timber is available in this province. If timber is available, you can build as many modern rural houses as you need. Why should you live in old straw-thatched houses when you have favourable conditions for housing construction?

An estimate should be made of the additional amount of timber required to finish modern rural housing construction in the province within three years, and the matter should be brought up at a plenary

meeting of the Party Central Committee for a decision on the amount of timber production. This province must build a large number of modern rural houses and eliminate the straw-thatched houses quickly even though the project requires increased timber production.

The province can obtain roofing by producing tiles for itself. Both cement and earthen tiles should be manufactured. As a large amount of coal is produced in this province, you can bake as many tiles as you need and also make cement tiles. Every county must build tile works and produce tiles.

If you are to speed up the construction of modern rural houses, you must strengthen the county rural construction corps. The work hands which are being saved in rural communities now must be assigned to the rural construction corps rather than to factories. The construction corps must build houses for two families per head of its work force every year.

The houses in the crop fields must be moved to other places.

The removing and regrouping of these houses into villages will facilitate the construction of water works, the supply of electricity, the education of cooperative farmers, children's schooling and the management of nurseries and kindergartens. In spite of this, North and South Hamgyong Provinces are neglecting the Party's policy on removing and reconstructing the houses which are located in crop fields. North Hamgyong Province must work hard to remove and reconstruct these houses and finish the project by 1975 at the latest.

You must construct water works properly.

On my recent visit to Ryanggang Province, I found that the running water service in Hyesan was not good. In that city the hotel was well-built, but the water works was not constructed with care, so that the water did not reach the required height and people were fetching water in buckets. If running water is not available to multi-storeyed houses, the people will suffer.

You must take prompt steps to perfect the running water system. The State Planning Commission will have to plan the equipment and materials needed for the construction of the water works. Rajin should

also be supplied with pipes and other materials needed to complete the running water system. The building workers who are in charge of the construction of the chemical works will have to undertake and complete the water works in Rajin before they leave the place. Kyongsong County also needs the construction of water works.

In conclusion, I should like to speak about some other problems.

Ports must make charges for the water supplied to foreign ships. In some countries the water is said to be dearer than petrol. Until now we have supplied water to foreign ships free of charge, but from now onwards we must receive payment. Why should we supply water free when other countries receive payment from us?

The Rajin city authorities must assess the price of water accurately and collect it from the foreign ships which call at the port. Rajin Port must be well equipped with facilities for supplying water to foreign ships.

Our water is very good, so we can ask a higher price than the price of foreign water. A French visitor to our country said that our water is better than the water which his country exports to Africa.

In future, the fishing industry must supply water to the fishing boats operating on the high seas. There is no need to spend a large sum of foreign currency on expensive water supplies from foreigners, when we can supply our own water.

Each county must be supplied with two lorries needed for silkworm breeding. Farmers do not particularly require lorries for silkworm raising, but these vehicles are indispensable for the purpose in county towns and workers' districts. That is why one small lorry and one *Sungni-58* lorry will have to be supplied to each county.

These lorries should be at the disposal of the county Party committees, and when silkworm raising is out of season they should be used for other work.

North Hamgyong Province must make innovations both in construction and in improving the people's standard of living in the direction which we have given on this occasion. It must also work hard to extend reproduction and press ahead with the campaign to earn

foreign currency. In this way a great change will take place in the people's standard of living within a few years. Then, the people will think that, as a result of our meeting here, they are provided with a large number of dwelling houses thanks to construction being pressed ahead, that food and clothing problems are solved smoothly, and that their future and everything else will be bright.

At present, we are working hard to build socialism. If the people suffer from a shortage of vegetables, fish and cooking oil, our efforts to build socialism will not be worthwhile. The important task of the provincial Party organizations is to bring about a great improvement in the people's standard of living in the near future.

In North Hamgyong Province you must hold an enlarged plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee to be attended also by the active Party members of the province and mobilize the people ideologically so that the chief secretaries of the county Party committees, the secretaries of the factory Party committees, factory managers and all other senior officials will carry out the tasks which we have given the province on this occasion.

## **TALK TO A JOURNALIST OF THE US NEWSPAPER WASHINGTON POST**

*June 21, 1972*

I am sorry to have kept you waiting for a long time. If I had received you before leaving for a locality on my official trip, I would have met you a little earlier. But I had to leave suddenly, and having arrived at my destination, I found it impossible to come back early; my stay there was prolonged and this forced me to keep you waiting. I hope that you will understand this.

I have received your questionnaire.

Apparently you want me to avoid repeating what was discussed at the previous press interviews. I agree with this. Therefore, I can only outline in advance what we are going to do in the future. In the final analysis, this means that you American journalists visit our country and learn all the policies that we are going to adopt in the future.

You asked about the conclusion of a peace agreement between the north and south of our country, the reduction of the armed forces of each side and relations between the two parts of Korea. I shall answer these questions.

As you know, the north and south of our country, which have been divided for a long time, did not make any contact with each other. The first contact was made last year through the preliminary talks between the representatives of their respective Red Cross organizations.

But afterwards the south Korean authorities declared a “state of emergency”, thus aggravating tension in our country. If they want to

behave properly, the south Korean authorities must try to ease tension, now that the north and the south have made contact with each other after many years of separation. However, they have actually increased tension by declaring the “state of emergency”.

The urgent matter facing our country today is how to lessen this tension.

We are making great efforts to relax the tension in our country. We consider that the tension between the north and south must be eased so that the south Korean authorities will clear up misunderstanding towards us and cease to threaten, blackmail and repress the south Korean people, fabricating a lie about our “invasion of the south”.

If the south Korean authorities are willing to talk to us, we shall put forward a number of new proposals.

In our opinion, in order to ease the tension, both sides, by mutual agreement, can first withdraw their armed personnel and military installations from the Demilitarized Zone. At present, both sides are keeping large numbers of armed personnel and military installations in the Demilitarized Zone. Once these are withdrawn, the situation will be improved.

We also consider it necessary to reduce the armed forces of north and south in order to ease the tension. At present, our country is in a situation where war will break out if either side pulls the trigger. I think that to ease this warlike atmosphere, each side should reduce its armed forces by 150,000 by agreement. It would be even better to cut them by 200,000. This would help avoid the danger of war.

These are new proposals. You are hearing something which has not yet been made public.

Next, to remove the tension from our country, the north and south must conclude a peace agreement guaranteeing that the country will be reunified in a peaceful way and that each side will refrain from force of arms against the other. Although we have proposed the conclusion of a peace agreement between the north and south more than once, it has not yet been concluded because the south Korean authorities do not agree.

When a peace agreement is concluded, US troops must get out of south Korea. After its conclusion the danger of war will be removed from our country, and, consequently, there will be no more excuse for them to remain in south Korea.

We maintain that after the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea the armed forces of the north and south should be reduced to 100,000 or less on either side. When this is done as a result of the conclusion of the peace agreement, our country's peaceful reunification will be more firmly guaranteed.

In our opinion, if necessary, civilian armed forces can be reduced in the future, under an agreement between the two sides.

These are steps we are going to take for the country's peaceful reunification.

These problems cannot be solved through talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south. They should be settled through meetings between the north and south Korean authorities or between our deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly and the "national assemblymen" of south Korea.

In addition, to remove distrust and misunderstanding between the north and south, it is necessary to bring about mutual visits and contacts between the representatives of the political parties, social organizations and political figures and to hold bilateral or multilateral negotiations. By doing this, we can narrow the differences of opinion and solve specific problems for the country's peaceful reunification.

Our country must be reunified by the Korean people themselves on the principles of national self-determination and democracy, without foreign interference. The country can be reunified peacefully by means of establishing a unified government through Korea-wide elections or by instituting a Confederation as a transitional step.

The election we are advocating is a free election without any foreign interference. The unified government should be set up through a democratic election to be held on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage. But if it is impossible to establish the unified government immediately, it will be acceptable to achieve reunification

through a Confederation, keeping the present social systems of the north and south as they are. We think that in this way we can achieve the country's reunification step by step.

In order to solve all the problems in the country's peaceful reunification, it is essential to bring about the great unity of the nation, transcending the differences in social systems, political views and religious beliefs. Therefore, an atmosphere of mutual understanding, respect and trust must be created, through the elimination of misunderstanding and distrust between the north and south.

This is our position.

You asked me whether we are willing to meet the south Korean rulers in order to discuss these proposals for the country's reunification. If they wish, we are ready to meet them at any time.

You also asked what would be the advantage if the north and south each reduced their armed forces to 100,000. If we cut our armed forces to 100,000 or less when US imperialism, Japanese militarism and the south Korean reactionaries no longer menace our country's security, it is obvious that our people will gain a great advantage.

Last year our nation's defence spending accounted for 31.1 percent of the state budget expenditure. This year we cut the defence spending to 17 per cent although the south Korean authorities declared the "state of emergency". Because we have nothing to do with the "state of emergency" declared in south Korea. Once the north and south each reduce their armed forces to 100,000 or less, our defence expenditure will comprise only a small percentage of the state budget.

Since ours is an industrial country, the total state revenue is very high. Therefore, if we cut the defence expenditure in the state budget to five to seven per cent and allocate the rest of the money to raising the people's living standards they will enjoy a greater benefit than at present.

The reduction of the armed forces will enable us not only to appropriate more state funds for raising the people's living standards but also produce great advantages in many other aspects. It will make it possible to discharge large numbers of young and middle-aged people

from the army and engage them in the labour front so that more factories and dwellings will be built and more natural resources exploited. This benefit will be much greater than the benefit to be gained from the cut in defence spending for the improvement of the people's living conditions.

We still have a great deal of work to do. We hope that you will help us by discouraging the US government from threatening us.

As for the economic interchange between the north and south which you asked about, my answer will be very brief, for I have referred to it on many other occasions.

I believe that bringing about economic interchange between the north and south will be very beneficial to the lives of people in both regions. It is particularly essential for the improvement of south Korea's economic situation.

The northern half of Korea has a more developed heavy industry than south Korea and we have a vast amount of natural resources. Therefore, if north and south Korea work together and conduct adequate interchange in the economic spheres and make proper use of our developed heavy industry and abundant natural resources, it will be possible to solve many problems. When this economic interchange is carried out, it will be particularly advantageous to south Korea's small and medium entrepreneurs, because we shall supply them with raw materials, thus helping them overcome the shortage of raw materials and the marketing difficulties which they are now experiencing.

Economic interchange and collaboration between the north and south will make our country rich and strong.

Now, as to your question about the north-south Red Cross talks. For the present the preliminary talks between the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations are going on satisfactorily. After their debate on the agenda items for the full-dress talks, they have recently reached complete agreement. Both sides treasure this door, narrow as it is, which has opened between the north and south after a long period of separation. We believe that the full-dress talks between the representatives of the Red Cross organizations of the north and south

will be held very soon. All the Korean people, in both north and south, are waiting for this. The prospects for the talks are very bright though they are progressing slowly.

Concerning our declared readiness to abrogate our military pacts with foreign countries if the south Korean authorities do the same, you asked me whether this is possible at the stage of negotiations between the north and south or after the signing of the peace agreement or at the stage of the Confederation. This question must be discussed by both sides. It cannot be solved at present; it will be settled through future consultations between both sides.

As regards what military pacts we should have or should not have after the country's peaceful reunification, this will be discussed then. However, we think that all the treaties which obstruct peaceful reunification can be abrogated even now, if the two sides agree.

Your next question is on how to improve relations between Korea and the United States. Let me say a few words about this.

In order to improve Korea-US relations, the US government must stop meddling in Korea's internal affairs. It must not encourage our country's division but must help its reunification. In order not to hamper our country's reunification, the United States must first withdraw its troops from south Korea and refrain from threatening our security. Then, we think the relations between our country and the United States will be improved soon.

Because I have no time, I will not refer to the long history of US aggression against Korea.

During World War II when the American people joined in the common front against fascism and fought fascist Germany and Japanese imperialism, they were praised and supported by the Korean people. Afterwards, Korea-US relations worsened because the United States interfered in Korea's internal affairs and pursued hostile, aggressive policies towards the DPRK.

If the United States gives up its hostile, aggressive policies towards our country and does not obstruct Korea's reunification, we are ready to change our US policy even now.

We Korean people distinguish the American people from the US imperialists. The Korean people are still promoting friendship with the American people and they will do so in the future.

You asked about a visit by our journalists to the United States. We are not against this. If the situation is right, we shall not object to sending our journalists to the United States and to their meeting its officials.

You asked whether our country will establish trade and economic relations with the United States if US troops withdraw from south Korea and tension is removed from the Korean peninsula. In that event, we shall not object to establishing trade and economic relations with the United States; we would welcome this.

The prospects of trade between our country and Japan also depend on the Japanese side. If they want to conduct trade with us, we shall do so.

Next, you asked me how we rate relations between Japan and the United States and their contradictions and which of them is a greater menace to Korea.

In the Political Programme of the DPRK Government we set it as a principle to promote friendly relations with all countries which want to establish relations with us on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and which harbour good intentions to us. However, we cannot have good intentions towards countries which are antagonistic to us, treat us on an unequal footing and pursue aggressive policies towards us.

We have an old saying that you must show goodwill to a man of goodwill and treat the enemy as an enemy. It means that you must receive a visitor with a knife in his hand with a knife and entertain a visitor who brings you rice cake with rice cake.

We will show goodwill to anybody who does the same. But we cannot show kindness to those who are going to invade us, can we?

Our relations with the United States and Japan depend on what policies the US and Japanese governments pursue towards our country. If they adopt a hostile policy, we will do the same. If they abandon this attitude, we shall establish good relations with them in good faith. At

present, they are carrying on a hostile policy towards our country. Therefore, we consider that both US imperialism and revived Japanese militarism are dangerous to us.

As for the contradictions between the United States and Japan, we think the Americans and Japanese themselves know about them better than we do.

As regards your question about our attitude towards the United Nations, we consider that this organization must endeavour to assist the Korean people in their struggle to achieve the country's peaceful reunification. Today when the north and south Korean people unanimously want the country's reunification and their desire for peaceful reunification is increasing more rapidly than ever, the UN should take measures which will assist Korea's reunification.

The UN must first cancel all its resolutions which obstruct Korea's peaceful reunification, that is, all the resolutions which encourage Korea's partition. The UN must dissolve the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" which stands in the way of Korea's peaceful reunification and take the cap of "UN forces" off the US army stationed in south Korea under the UN flag. The Korean people want peaceful reunification and the north and south are getting in touch with each other and striving to effect free travel; and they are assuring that they will not fight each other. Why should the "UNCURK" exist and why should US troops perform police duty in south Korea under the disguise of "UN forces"? All these obstacles must be removed.

Korea must be reunified on the principle of national self-determination and no one must interfere in Korea's internal affairs.

You asked what the UN can do besides the dissolution of the "UNCURK", to help Korea's reunification. In our opinion, it must first stop taking any action that obstructs this reunification. For example, it must refrain from its policy of discrimination towards the two parts of Korea and its interference in Korea's domestic affairs.

You asked about our views on Nixon's visits to Beijing and

Moscow. We will only watch how he will put into effect his statements and the joint communiques issued during his visits to Beijing and Moscow.

Next, you asked me whether it is necessary to form a new community of Asian socialist countries. We think it is unnecessary to form such a community because they are fully united. The Asian socialist countries of Viet Nam, China and Korea are welded closely together. So are the Cambodian and Laotian peoples with the Vietnamese, Chinese and Korean peoples. Now these countries are firmly united, supporting and encouraging each other; they are forming a common front in their anti-imperialist struggle. Therefore, they do not need a new community.

You inquired about the significance of the Juche idea in the context of the changing international situation.

The Juche idea is related to the Korean revolution. This idea means that the Koreans should solve all problems arising in their revolutionary struggle and work of construction by using their own brains and basically by their own efforts in conformity with their country's specific conditions and that the Koreans should hold themselves responsible for the Korean revolution. We are not going to force the Juche idea on any other people or export it or obtain the approval of other people for this idea.

Lastly, you asked if I have anything to say to the American people. Please tell them that we hope the American people will unite with the Korean people and the peace-loving people of the world and join in the common struggle against aggressive war so that all the peoples of the world can live in peace. Any people, whether they are Koreans or Americans, always want to promote friendship. Our people have an antagonism towards the US imperialists and reactionary US government but we do not feel this towards the American people.

I am glad that you came to visit our country, and I am grateful to you for waiting patiently for a long time to have an interview with me.

## **LET US INTRODUCE INNOVATIONS IN HEATING**

**Speech Delivered at the National Meeting of Heating Workers**

*June 30, 1972*

In the name of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Republic and all the Korean people, I should like first to offer warm congratulations to the first meeting of heating workers ever held in our country, and express thanks to you comrades and all your colleagues across the nation for achieving great successes in this work.

In the past, individual heating workers have made speeches on heating problems at meetings of other branches of industry. But this is the first time that heating workers are having a meeting of their own. It seems somewhat belated to hold this meeting today when more than 20 years have passed since the founding of the Republic. However, I think it is very good for the boilermen from all parts of the country to have gathered here for serious discussion on how to improve heating.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I should like to mention some problems concerning the improvement of the supply of heat.

At present, we can hardly say that our work in this sphere as a whole is up to the mark. Some factories are not able to normalize their production because of the shortage of steam power and the fact that they cannot attain the desired temperatures. Some time ago I visited Hyesan, where I found that the kraft paper mill could not operate normally because of the shortage of coal and the flax textile mill was

running below capacity because it was not supplied with enough steam power.

In recent years, the number of boilers and other heating equipment has greatly increased in our country as a result of the construction of large thermal power stations and the rapid development of industry. This has caused a sharp increase in the demand for coal. At the same time, our coal production has also increased very rapidly. Compared with the increase of heating equipment, coal production is by no means small. However, the nation's coal situation is still strained, and complaints are heard everywhere about the shortage of coal. The main reason is that heat is not regulated properly and coal is wasted. According to the data submitted by the Department of Heavy Industry of the Party Central Committee, some three million tons of coal are wasted every year, but in my opinion, the real figure may be much higher.

Who, then, is to blame for this shortcoming which wastes so much coal and hinders production?

The greatest responsibility rests with the leading officials of Party, state and economic bodies and the managerial staff of factories and enterprises, who do not pay particular attention to this problem and neglect their work with the boilermen.

Although they emphasize the importance of heating, the economic departments of the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet have not given it due consideration. They have never held a consultative meeting to discuss problems concerning proper political and ideological work amongst the heating workers, or the technological problems of improving their work.

Because the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet have failed to give proper guidance in this matter, ministries, administrative bureaus and other economic bodies, local Party and government bodies and factories and enterprises are also quite indifferent to this problem. While complaining that production does not go well because of the shortage of heat, ministers, the heads of administrative bureaus, the managers and Party secretaries of factories do not visit the boiler

rooms and try to find out why the supply of heat is insufficient, whether sufficient coal is supplied, whether the boilermen are proficient enough, how the boilers are functioning and whether the boilers and other heating equipment are repaired in good time.

Let me give you an example.

Last winter the temperature in the lecture-rooms of Kim Il Sung University, our major cadre-training centre, dropped so low that the students found it very hard to study. But none of the administrative staff of the university or the Party secretary paid any attention to this or took steps to remedy the situation. The Cabinet investigated the case and discovered that though there was a mountain of coal, the students were shivering with cold in their lecture-rooms because the boilers were not heated properly. Since the senior officials of Kim Il Sung University which trains state administrators, educators, and scientists are utterly indifferent to the problem of heating, we can hardly expect the students to pay attention to this when they graduate from the university.

The Party Central Committee discussed the question of improving heating at its plenary meeting and even adopted a decision on the question which it sent to the lower units. Following this, the senior officials of Party, state and economic bodies and enterprises made a fuss over removing fur from the boiler tubes and devising methods to prevent furring, but a few months later all this was utterly neglected.

The boilermen should also feel guilty about the poor supply of heat. There are hard workers amongst them, but quite a few of them have no sense of responsibility, working in a slipshod manner. The workers in other branches of industry are all making technical innovations, but those who are engaged in the supply of heating are not enthusiastic enough to mechanize and automate their work and increase combustion rates through technical innovations and they do not care about the loss of precious heat caused by incorrect lagging. Moreover, they store and burn coal carelessly, thus wasting a great deal of it. Consequently, though a great deal of coal is consumed, heat is still insufficient and this hinders production.

At present the boilermen have no pride in their responsibilities and work in a slipshod manner. This is largely because the public regard their work as a menial job.

This is in no way a menial job. With electricity, heat is a major source of power which keeps modern industry going. We could say that production begins with heating. Heating is most important in production. So the senior personnel should pay primary attention to this work. In the past, however, the senior officials of Party, state and economic bodies at all levels and the management of enterprises have made light of the supply of heat and neglected work with boilermen. As a result, this is socially regarded as the meanest job, and girls are said to be reluctant to marry heating workers. So they have fallen into a habit of muddling along from day to day, with no pride or sense of honour. In a certain factory no one wants to work as a boilerman, so the workers have to take turns at firing the boilers. As long as things stand like this, it is impossible to raise the boilermen's technical and skill level or ensure the proper supply of heat.

Following this meeting, we must determinedly correct the incorrect view which slights such work. From now on, meetings of heating workers must be held annually at the capital and in the provinces to exchange valuable experience. During warm periods when boilermen have little or no work at all, political and technical studies should be widely organized so as to raise their level of ideological consciousness and technical skills.

At the same time, it is important for the boilermen themselves to take pride in their work and increase their sense of responsibility.

As we always say, everything is decided by men, by the working class. It is the working class that transforms nature and creates material wealth; it is also the working class that destroys the old social system and creates a new one and a new life. The working class is the creator, the master of a new world.

Once the section of the working class engaged in heating works hard with a strong consciousness that they are the masters of society and with a high sense of responsibility based on the understanding that

the success of production depends on them, a radical change will take place in this sphere of work. If they tackle technical innovations, they will put them into practice in their work, and if they take good care of boilers and raise their combustion rate, production will not be hindered because of a lack of heat, and more coal will be saved. It all depends on the ideological preparedness of the working class. Once the working class is resolved, nothing is impossible.

With that strong consciousness that they are the masters of the country, heating workers should devote all their wisdom and energy to the noble struggle to further consolidate our socialist system, strengthen the material and technological foundations of socialism and improve the living conditions of the people. And they must take care that following this meeting, production is no longer affected by a shortage of heat or steam. This is the first point I want to stress today.

Next, I should like to speak about a number of measures for improving our heating service.

First, boilers must be standardized and modernized to suit our country's specific conditions.

We have various types of boilers because we could not produce many boilers ourselves and had to import them. Our country still has quite a few old-fashioned boilers which have been in service from the days of Japanese imperialist rule. Foreign boilers have a low combustion rate and waste a lot of fuel because they are unsuitable for our fuel. Moreover, the variety of boilers presents us with a number of disadvantages. We have problems in producing spare parts for them and cannot repair them properly.

In order to eliminate these disadvantages, we must standardize and modernize boilers in conformity with our country's present conditions. However, we cannot replace all the existing boilers immediately. We must develop our own boiler-making industry and gradually replace foreign-made boilers with our own, domestic standardized boilers.

While standardizing and modernizing boilers to fit in with our specific conditions, they should be designed to consume the fuel produced in the localities where they will be used.

For example, in the areas north of Kaegogae Pass, boilers should be made to use the coal produced in Jonchon. This coal, although somewhat low in calorific value, is found in large deposits. The existing boilers are unsuitable for this kind of coal; so the factories in those areas have to transport coal from distant places although they have their own coal close at hand. As a result, production is very often affected by the inadequate supply of coal.

Ryanggang Province should also use the locally available fuel. There are inexhaustible peat deposits in the Paegam area and technicians say that the peat generates a very high temperature if it is compressed well, but not when it is used loose. If we step up research work and feed peat to the boilers, Ryanggang Province will not be hindered in production by the shortage of coal as is the case today, and its industry will develop more rapidly. It is extremely irrational, indeed, that coal should be brought from other regions to such an inconveniently situated locality as Ryanggang Province.

It is particularly important to use lignite, which is abundant in our northeastern region, as boiler fuel. The chemical industry and other industrial branches which use anthracite are developing quickly, and their rapidly growing demand is making the nation's anthracite situation acute. In spite of the shortage of anthracite, a great amount of mined lignite is just left to burn away, because it is not promptly transported and consumed.

In these circumstances we must take active steps to utilize lignite in larger quantities and regulate the consumption of anthracite and lignite rationally. Wasting precious anthracite with a high calorific value for boilers instead of using lignite, which is good enough, must be branded as a crime. Thermal power stations should be built near mines which produce large quantities of lignite and, as far as possible, this fuel should be used especially for boilers. At the same time, more anthracite must be sent to the chemical, iron and building-materials industries and some must be exported to obtain foreign currency.

Boilers should use lignite not only in the eastern but also in the western regions. It is not so difficult to transport lignite mined in the

eastern region to the western region. When we can freely sail to the South Sea in the future, we can ship it through there. For the present it can be shipped to Wonsan by boat and then transported to the western region via the Ichon-Sepho railway line.

The point is to build many boilers which can use lignite. Officials in the machine-building industry make a great mystery of the production of boilers, saying that they are high-pressure vessels, but there is nothing difficult to understand about this. If boiler-producing centres are developed and the required materials are supplied, we can manufacture boilers. It is absurd that our country, which is an industrial state, does not have its own boiler-producing centres yet. The economic departments of the Party Central Committee, the Cabinet, the Academy of Engineering Science and the Machine Industry Commission must have consultations promptly and take measures to produce boilers.

Only by creating boiler-producing centres of our own, can we standardize and modernize boilers to fit the characteristics of our fuel and base heating on Juche. In other words, only by building boiler-producing centres can we develop heating relying completely on our own fuel and products.

In addition to the establishment of the boiler-producing centres, it is important to set up repair centres, ensure an ample supply of spare parts for boilers, and prepare coal yards and other auxiliary facilities.

At present many factories and enterprises have no coal yards, and in the rainy season coal is washed away or mixed with dirt and sand. It is evident that this mixture cannot produce the desired heat and causes a great waste of coal. All this should be prevented by building coal yards quickly and installing proper conveyer equipment.

Water should be softened to prevent fur from forming in boiler tubes, and measures must be adopted to remove it.

In addition, it is essential for the state to take steps to produce materials for lagging. At present pipes are so poorly lagged that a large amount of heat is lost and the neat appearance of factories is spoiled. The pipes are bound up in places by straw rope and plastered with mud

and cement, with great gaps without lagging here and there. This is a terrible sight to see. The responsibility rests on the state rather than on the enterprises or boilermen. The state failed to establish a system to produce and supply materials for lagging and boilermen were left to their own devices. What are they to use for lagging? In our opinion, it would be better to produce lagging materials and eliminate the waste of heat rather than to allot manpower and equipment for developing a new colliery to mine a few-more million tons of coal. It will save coal, improve the appearance of factories, and set the boilermen at ease.

Next, technical control of heating equipment should be carried out properly and technical innovations must be made in regulating heat.

Improving the technical control of heating equipment and waging an energetic campaign for technical innovations is an important means of eliminating the waste of heat and saving coal.

Clear-cut instructions should first be made for the technical supervision of boilers and other heating equipment. Although we do have operational instructions, they have quite a few defects. It is necessary, therefore, to prepare well-defined instructions on the supervision, repair and maintenance of heating equipment as well as on technical inspections.

At the same time, strict discipline and order should be established in the technical supervision of heating equipment. There must be a rigid system under which boilers and heating equipment are inspected and repaired in good time and the operation of boilers prohibited if they are not maintained as required by the technical instructions or if pipes are not lagged; the installation of boilers should be considered as incomplete unless they are provided with auxiliary equipment. In this way we shall completely eliminate the disorganized practices we see today; as soon as the boiler is installed and the pipes are laid, it is fired whether the pipes are lagged or not, whether the auxiliary equipment is provided or not, wasting a great deal of heat and causing accidents in the process.

In order to improve heating radically, we should initiate a widespread technical innovation movement in this branch. From now

onwards, senior officials of Party and economic bodies and enterprises must assist the heating workers to apply themselves to making innovations in this field.

In the past many senior economic officials did not try to introduce technical innovations in this sphere in order to normalize production and economize on coal; they only sat at their desks, deploring the fact that the insufficient amount of heat was affecting production. I suppose none of the ministers, heads of administrative bureaus and managers of factories have ever put on working clothes and lived with boilermen for at least a week, firing boilers and checking the combustion rate and weak points, and studying how to make technical innovations. Apparently, our officials have become bureaucratic and work in a bureaucratic manner. They do not know how matters stand at the grass-roots level and do not go into the boiler room, regarding it as a place where menial work is done. This is a bureaucratic style of work alien to our Party's mass style of work. Despising the working class in a society where the working class is in power is absolutely impermissible. I was told that the senior officials of a certain factory did not even provide the boilermen with a rest room. What is worse, they went to the length of having one demolished. This is intolerable. This is more than just an ordinary bureaucracy. How can we call a minister, a manager and a Party secretary of the factory senior officials of the working class when they feel no remorse at depriving the boilermen of facilities for a proper rest?

Under our socialist system there are neither superiors nor inferiors. There is no reason why a minister should not visit a boiler room, share the life of boilermen and fire the boilers. In the past when we first organized the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, we were the first to put on shoes and padded coats and stand on guard. We ourselves ascertained whether the shoes and coats kept out the cold during the two-hour guard duty. Only then were similar shoes and coats made and supplied to the rank and file. Our ministers have come from the working class. They experienced hardships in the past. However, since they are now well-dressed and have cars to go about in, they consider

themselves to be assigned to some important government posts as in the old days and do not visit boiler rooms.

The senior officials must rectify this wrong attitude, visit boiler rooms, and work hard to help the boilermen to bring about technical innovations.

The teaching staff of universities and colleges as well as the scientists should also help them.

Thus, ministers, other senior officials and scientists will lend a helping hand to the boilermen, who, in cooperation with them, will bring about a radical change in their sphere of work.

Next, the heating workers must adopt the attitude of being masters of the nation's economy; they must do their work assiduously and meticulously and save as much coal as possible.

Today, in our country large thermal power stations are being built and heating capacities are increasing greatly, and the demand for coal is continuing to grow. When the construction of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant is completed, a great deal of coal will be needed to operate just the Pyongyang and Pukchang Thermal Power Plants.

In order to meet this rapidly increasing demand for coal, we have to save as much coal as possible while increasing its production. Just as diligent housewives take good care of kitchen utensils and run their households with minute care, so the heating workers should take equally good care of heating equipment and carefully regulate the supply of heat. There are great possibilities for saving coal; we can save a lot of coal, if it is burned completely in boilers. The personnel concerned should try to raise the combustion rate of boilers, and take measures to collect half-burnt coal from inefficient boilers for household use or other purposes. In addition, all poorly-laid pipes must be repaired and lagged well to prevent the loss of heat as far as possible.

Measures should also be taken to harness heat which is now wasted. For instance, we can build small thermal power units or make use of it to heat even a few houses. In any case, we should make use of the heat which is now wasted in most cases. I was told that although it was a simple matter to install a heating system to harness wasted heat, a

certain steel plant has taken no such steps but, instead, installed a lot of coal heaters in the offices.

Through our hard-fought struggle, we have produced and constructed a great deal but we have been unable to improve the living conditions of our people quickly enough because the nation's economy is run inefficiently, resulting in a great deal of waste. If only the waste was eliminated now, we could be far better off. They say that as much as three million tons of coal is wasted in the field of heating alone. If this amount is saved and exported, we can earn 12 million pounds. With this sum we can buy 400,000 tons of wheat which can produce 100,000 tons of pork; and we can import good-quality fabric for 12 million suits.

A great deal of manpower is also being wasted in the heating sector. If we introduce mechanization and automation effectively in this field and release some 10,000 hands for the mining industry, this will also bring us in a huge sum of foreign currency. The Hyesan Mine, for example, could extract an unlimited amount of nonferrous metal ore if only it could have more manpower; but the mine cannot accelerate its development because of a shortage of manpower. When we visited Ryanggang Province recently, the officials of that mine asked for additional manpower, but we could only allocate several hundred men because of the strain on the nation's manpower. If manpower is saved in the heating sector and sent to this mine, it will produce much more ore which will not only meet the needs of the national economy for non-ferrous metals more fully but also earn a greater amount of foreign currency.

If we were to earn some 30 million pounds more every year, the people's living standards would be significantly improved within a few years. So the Party has set the task of intensifying the struggle to obtain foreign currency. The workers in the heating sector must play their part in this. Of course, in order to obtain foreign currency, the work of planting loofahs and raising silkworms should be continued through a mass campaign. This alone, however, cannot bring us in a sizable amount of foreign currency. While carrying on this mass drive, we

should make every effort to find other means of obtaining a great deal of foreign currency. One of these is to increase our endeavours to make savings in the heating sector.

An important way of raising the people's living standards in our country is to eliminate waste. We must strongly combat practices which result in waste. Everyone must work hard to uproot obsolete ideologies which remain in their minds and wage an uncompromising fight against waste on the part of others as well, thus tapping and using all potential to the maximum.

I should like to propose today that a dynamic technical innovation campaign should be launched and that the nation's property be run efficiently in the heating sector, so that two economization tasks will be fulfilled.

First, coal must be used sparingly. At the first stage we have to save 2-3 million tons of coal a year and at the second stage, 4-5 million tons.

Second, manpower must be used economically.

At present our country is suffering from an acute shortage of manpower. We have built factories but are unable to operate them properly, because we lack manpower. This shortage of manpower is largely due to the fact that industry is developing at an amazing rate and that great importance is still being attached to developing our national defences. This is true. But another reason is that manpower is wasted to a great extent.

It seems too much labour is being used in the heating sector at present. You must re-examine the situation and find a way to release surplus manpower voluntarily. By improving the organization of manpower and waging an energetic drive for technical innovations, you will have to release 10,000 men from the work force at the first stage and, in the future, cut your present work force by half.

I am convinced that the people in the heating branch will live up to the Party's expectations by unflinching carrying out these two tasks—economization in coal and manpower.

Now let me say a few words on the question of training cadres in this field.

Since heating is very important, the training of cadres for this work should have been carried out in a proper and systematic way. This was not the case, however. There are schools for motor vehicle and tractor drivers, but there is none for heating workers.

In order to regulate heat properly, it is necessary to raise the technical and skill levels of the workers concerned. Measures should be adopted to increase their technical and skill levels and, at the same time, an adequate system should be established to train skilled hands in this field. Steps should also be taken to train more engineers and assistant engineers.

Lastly, the Party has to show greater concern for people working in heating.

As I have said, Party concern for them has been seriously lacking. They are assigned to a very tough and important task. Therefore, Party organizations and government and economic bodies, from top to bottom, should be deeply concerned about them. From now onwards, the heating workers, who are steeled in this backbreaking work, should be enrolled in the Party in large numbers and trained to be its hard core. The Party and the public should pay more attention to them.

I hope that on your return to your work places, you will inform all your colleagues and the technicians in your field of work of the intentions of the Party Central Committee and of this meeting.

It is my firm belief that you comrades present here and everyone involved with heating will bring about new innovations in this work, thereby contributing in no small way to the successful completion of the Six-Year Plan and the acceleration of the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

# **TASKS IN INTRODUCING UNIVERSAL TEN-YEAR COMPULSORY EDUCATION WHICH INCLUDES SENIOR MIDDLE-SCHOOL TRAINING**

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

*July 6, 1972*

I should like to talk about some tasks in the introduction of universal ten-year compulsory education up to and including senior middle-school training.

We must ensure that all the younger generation is given senior middle-school training by introducing universal ten-year compulsory education in the future.

There is a great difference in progress between those who have received senior middle-school training and those who have not. We trained many cadres in the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and also a large number with worker and peasant backgrounds in different ways in the post-liberation years. There is a tremendous difference in progress between those who have acquired the knowledge of a middle school graduate and those who have not.

After liberation we sent many workers and peasants to the Central Party School and the University of National Economy for training as cadres. Many of them, however, failed to acquire a deep theoretical understanding of social science because of their lack of basic knowledge. They used to take it in whole, but forget it quickly. This

was because they had not had access to education in the past. If they ever did have schooling under the rule of Japanese imperialism, it was no more than common schooling. In those days, common education was given in the Japanese language, and the history and geography of Korea were never taught. The Japanese imperialist common school taught how to count on an abacus, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division and rudimentary fractions and no more. So they do not know the history and geography of our country nor do they have a knowledge of mathematics or the rudiments of physics and biology. These people were enrolled in the Central Party School and the University of National Economy and given lectures on philosophy, political economy and other social science subjects. How could they understand them? Philosophy and political economy are theoretical subjects and are difficult to understand for people who have no basic knowledge—the people who had only finished the common school under Japanese imperialism. However, those who had completed middle-school education in the period of Japanese imperialism understood social science and made rapid progress if they were given a little more school education.

We introduced a two-year industrial cadres course at Kim Chaek University of Technology and trained cadres. The students who had only received common-school education under Japanese imperialism were unable to obtain very high qualifications through the course, although those who had had a little more schooling became better qualified.

The same can be said of those who studied abroad. People who studied abroad after completing their secondary education obtained fairly good knowledge, but the qualifications of the people who studied abroad without having previously received secondary training are very low. Those who had not completed their senior middle-school education learned little while abroad because they lacked basic knowledge and did not have a good command of the language of that country. Those who had little basic knowledge know little, even though they graduated from the three-year course of a higher party

school or a communist university abroad. Their *curricula vitae* state that they graduated from a higher party school abroad, but this was in name only. Such people know nothing of either philosophy or political economy, and some of them do not even clearly understand what we say.

There is also a great difference in development between the people who graduated from the correspondence course of a university after completing senior middle-school education and those who went through the course without receiving senior middle-school training. The former can assimilate almost all the contents of a university correspondence course, but the latter find it difficult to do so. Therefore, you can judge their qualifications simply by referring to their *curricula vitae*. You can say that a graduate of a university correspondence course who took the course after having undergone senior middle-school education or higher technical school training has assimilated almost all the contents of the university course. But your judgement will not be mistaken if you decide that a man who has taken a university correspondence course without having completed senior middle school has digested 60 to 70 per cent of the contents of the extension course.

As you can see, there is a gulf in the degree of understanding and progress between the two. That is why we must give all the younger generation senior middle-school training.

The senior middle school teaches the essentials of the natural and social sciences and even the revolutionary traditions. Therefore, it gives its pupils a complete secondary education.

Senior middle-school graduates can assimilate their specialized subjects when they are promoted to university. They will have no problems in any field of work, and can master their special subjects, even if these are taught to them when they are thirty or forty years old. A senior middle-school education will also be good for people who are enlisted in the military service after graduation. Because they learn mathematics, physics and other basic subjects when they are young, they will have no problem if they take a full university course after

three to five years of military service. Since the first and second years of the university course are spent on teaching basic subjects, which are followed by the specialized subjects from the third year, senior middle-school graduates can catch up with other students without difficulty, even if they only go to university after some years of military service.

Senior middle-school graduates can read any book easily and teach themselves the subjects in which they specialize. They can take the correspondence course of a university and digest the contents of the subjects by self-study.

As you can see, acquiring a perfect secondary education is very important. That is why we must introduce universal ten-year compulsory education which includes senior middle-school training so that all the younger generation can receive a complete secondary education.

In introducing this education, however, we have to take account of the manpower situation in our country. If the school age for this compulsory education covers seven-year-olds to seventeen-year-olds, the nation's manpower situation will become very severe. If seventeen-year-olds are included in this school age, it means that hundreds of thousands of them will be provided with food without participating in productive labour. In that case, the acute labour situation will not be eased, but might, instead, interfere with socialist construction.

So we intend to lower the school age by one year and enrol six-year-old children so as to give them secondary education before they reach working age. If children begin schooling at the age of six, they will complete it at sixteen, and then start working.

Our experience shows that six-year-old children are perfectly able to go to school and learn. When I was six years old, I used to follow my father to his school to play there. I still clearly remember what my father was teaching in those days. This means that six-year-old children are fully qualified for schooling.

During the past two or three years, six-year-old children have been

given schooling on an experimental basis at the Pyongyang Namsan High School and at some specially selected schools in each province. The result of the experiment is good. I was told that as many as 92 per cent of the six-year-olds in the first year of the Pyongyang Namsan High School passed the examinations with excellent marks.

Last spring I talked to teachers, and they said that they could teach six-year-old children at school. According to them, the children who had been indulged by their grandmothers at home, instead of being sent to kindergarten, had a little difficulty in getting along with the class for the first three to four months at school. These children, who had been used to a great deal of indulgence, found it difficult to remain quiet in class and listen to the teachers. They were a little difficult to manage because they wanted to go outside and often looked about them.

If all the five-year-olds are sent to kindergarten and taught how to hold a pencil, how to count, how to read and write the Korean alphabet to such an extent as to be able to write their names before they are enrolled in schools, they will be quite ready for schooling. So we must see that all the five-year-old children are trained in kindergartens for a year and sent to school when they are six years old.

In order to give universal ten-year compulsory education successfully, we must first build a large number of school buildings.

The population of our country is growing by hundreds of thousands every year. If we are to introduce ten-year compulsory education, we need classrooms for one million additional pupils. We cannot allow ourselves to have too many children in a classroom because we are short of school accommodation.

At present, 70 to 80 and even 100 pupils are crammed into a classroom in south Korean schools, I was told. They have to sit on the floor in class because they cannot afford to have desks and chairs. Even south Korean newspapers censure the school situation there, by describing their classrooms as being packed to the limit as if the pupils were bean sprouts.

We must not, on any account, do as they do. If a class has too many pupils, the teacher will find it difficult to take care of them and

impossible to guide them properly. Approximately 30 pupils will be suitable for a class, but we have to make it about 40 for the present in view of the shortage of classrooms and teachers.

All Party organizations and the officials concerned will have to plan school construction correctly by this standard and undertake the construction project on a large scale.

To this end, provinces must develop solid building-materials centres.

Some Party organizations are still neglecting the Party's policy on developing local building-materials centres. In future, they must develop these centres so as to meet the local demands for building materials needed in school construction. The state cannot afford to supply all the materials needed for school construction. Weathered stone, natural slate and other locally available materials should be used as widely as possible for construction in local areas.

Building workers are now using steel bars and cement from Pyongyang even for housing construction at the foot of Mt. Paektu. The Samjiyon Hotel, for instance, has been built with materials from the central source. If they had been instructed to cut trees in Mt. Paektu for the construction of the hotel, they could have built a good hotel using these trees alone, without obtaining material supplies from the central source. The supervision and control of the building industry is still weak.

There are brickfields and sources of weathered stone in local districts, and steel sheets are produced in some of these districts. So it is well within their capability to build schools with materials which are available locally. Some officials say that there are no roofing materials in local districts, but these materials can also be obtained where necessary. There are many sources of good-quality slate in different parts of the country, so it can be used for roofing or else tiles can be manufactured for the purpose. Wooden tiles can also be used for roofing. When I was visiting Ryanggang Province, I saw houses which were roofed with wooden tiles and I found them excellent.

If steel bars for floor panels are not available, you will have to lay

strong foundations and build one-storeyed school buildings for the present and then add a few storeys to them when steel bars are available. We have stressed the need to do this on many occasions, but some officials are still reluctant to build schools, complaining of the shortage of steel bars.

If we are to build schools on a large scale, we must increase the production of timber.

We have very large sources of timber in Ryanggang Province and other parts of the northern inland region of our country. According to the report of the Party secretary of the Rimyongsu Forestry Enterprise, tens of thousands of cubic metres of trees are blown down by the wind in the area of his enterprise alone every year.

Officials who are in charge of forestry, however, do not organize more forestry enterprises nor do they work hard to increase timber production, claiming that they are short of labour, materials and machines. This is why timber is rotting in one sector while construction is impeded by the shortage of timber in another sector. Forestry officials must correct this fault as soon as possible and work hard to increase timber production.

If they are to increase timber production, they will have to organize more forestry enterprises. When we were visiting Ryanggang Province, local officials said that they would organize more of these enterprises by saving labour if they were supplied with more tractors. We must comply with their request for more tractors so that they can save labour for additional forestry enterprises.

In addition, a large amount of timber must be produced in winter by mobilizing farmers. Farmers in the mountainous districts like Ryanggang Province have nothing in particular to do in winter. If they participate in this work, they will not only be able to contribute to increasing timber production, but earn larger incomes. Some forest areas should be designated for the mountain farmers to produce timber for the market from the fallen trees. It would be a good idea for the state to give timber production quotas to the cooperative farms in the mountainous districts.

If our officials organize work well, they will be able to obtain all the timber needed for the construction of schools and dwelling houses and for the manufacture of desks, chairs and furniture. The officials in charge of forestry must organize work well and increase timber production. Ryanggang Province in particular must produce a large amount of timber for Pyongyang, South Phyongan Province and North and South Hwanghae Provinces. Kangwon Province and North and South Hamgyong Provinces must produce timber to meet their own needs.

In order to undertake universal ten-year compulsory education satisfactorily, it is important to provide the children in the mountainous districts with good education conditions. According to information I obtained last spring from my discussions with teachers in the mountainous districts who had taught six-year olds, it was difficult for children in these districts to travel a long way to and from school.

Urban children have no problem since they live near their schools, but those in mountain districts have a problem. It will be difficult for six-year-old children to walk more than four kilometres to go to school. They will be able to walk approximately two kilometres in the company of their elders to go to school except on days when it is snowing or raining, but more than four kilometres would be more than they could walk without difficulty. But we cannot afford to set up branch schools in all these places.

Isolated farmhouses in mountainous districts will, therefore, have to be grouped into villages as far as possible so as to facilitate the children's schooling. This will also make the farmers' organizational life easier.

It is also necessary to take steps to teach pupils in the first year of the primary course at kindergartens. There are now kindergartens in each workteam and village in our rural areas. So competent teachers must be appointed to the kindergartens in the mountainous districts so that they can teach both the kindergarten children and the pupils in the first year of the primary course who are living too far from school to walk. In this way the children in the mountainous districts will be

taught at kindergartens until they finish the first year of the primary course and then sent to begin the second year at the parent schools which are far from their homes.

Mothers' schools in mountainous and some other districts can also be used for the same purpose. As mothers use these schools only at night, pupils can be taught there during the day.

Another task for the successful introduction of ten-year compulsory education is to solve the problem of teachers.

We must increase the number of universities of education and teachers training colleges in order to produce a larger number of competent teachers. At present, there are a university of education and a teachers training college in each province, and their number must be doubled as soon as possible so as to train the teachers needed by the province for the introduction of ten-year compulsory education. Since each province will have two universities of education and two teachers training colleges, every college for kindergarten teachers should be reorganized into a department of the teachers training colleges rather than existing as a separate college.

In order to make up for the shortage of teachers as soon as possible, it is necessary to organize short teacher training courses. Of course, the trainees in these short courses may not be able to acquire as high qualifications as those trained at the university of education or at the teachers training colleges. But we must not just wait for the teachers to be produced by these universities and colleges. Provincial Party organizations must organize short teacher training centres, enrol graduates from middle schools and higher technical schools and train a large number of teachers for primary schools and the secondary course of senior middle schools in a short time. The training centres must raise the quality of education and teach the trainees socialist educational science, child psychology and other subjects which are needed in teaching pupils.

Another way of solving the problem of teachers is to seek out the graduates from the universities of education and teachers training colleges who are working in other sectors as well as other people who

are capable of teaching, and reappoint them as teachers.

In addition, the teachers must be kept at their present posts. At present, some officials transfer many of the teachers to other institutions on the excuse that they are being promoted. This must not be done. All Party organizations must tighten the control of personnel administration so that the teachers are kept at their present posts for approximately five years.

Women teachers must also be encouraged to continue teaching after they are married. Women teachers who are married to officers of the People's Army should be appointed to schools in the areas where their husbands' units are stationed, so as to replace those teachers who are not members of servicemen's families. The replaced teachers should be reappointed to other schools. This will help to make up the shortage of teachers.

In order to ensure success in universal ten-year compulsory education, it is also necessary to provide adequate amounts of school requisites.

Pupils will be unable to study well unless they are provided with sufficient textbooks and other school supplies. All Party organizations and senior officials must pay particular attention to the production of school requisites and see that adequate amounts of good-quality school supplies are provided for ten-year compulsory education.

Paper production will first have to be increased radically.

If this is not done, we shall be unable to solve the problem of textbooks and notebooks, and therefore, unable to carry out universal ten-year compulsory education. Since it is inappropriate to collect secondhand textbooks and use them again, we shall have to print new textbooks every year. It is not a simple task to supply new textbooks to every pupil every year. Seven different textbooks are said to be needed for a pupil in the first year of the primary course. If we are to supply some 500,000 new pupils with all the necessary textbooks, we shall have to print 3.5 million copies. In order to supply picture books, counting books, and books with which to teach the alphabet and simple words to the children of the senior classes of the kindergartens, we

shall have to print 1.5 million copies of teaching materials. Teaching materials are not only necessary for the pupils in the first year of the primary course and the children of the senior classes of the kindergartens but also for all other pupils and students in our country. So the number of teaching materials we have to print every year will be enormous.

This is also the case with the problem of notebooks. Responsible officials say that 70 to 80 notebooks are needed for each pupil every year.

In addition, we have to increase the circulation of newspapers and print a large number of Party documents and magazines. We have to produce larger amounts of flooring paper and window paper and so on which are needed in the daily lives of the people.

If we are to solve all these problems satisfactorily, we must ensure that 20 kilogrammes of paper are supplied per head of the population of our country. To this end, the existing paper mills must produce on a regular basis, and new paper mills must be constructed on a large scale in different parts of the country in a mass campaign.

The paper mills run by the central authorities alone will not be able to produce such a large amount of paper in a short time, nor will they be able to obtain an adequate amount of raw materials. At present, timber is the major source of the raw materials which can be fed to these mills. If these mills were to produce the enormous amount of paper, the availability of timber would pose a problem. A large number of paper mills will, therefore, have to be built in local districts so that as much locally available raw material as possible will be provided for them. In this way, local industry will produce ten kilogrammes of paper per head of the population, and the rest will be produced by centrally-run industry.

Large amounts of rice straw, maize stalks, wheat straw, barley straw and other raw materials for paper are available in our country. Therefore, if we build a paper mill in each county, we shall be able to produce a large amount of paper. If the senior officials of the provincial and county Party committees are concerned about school education,

they will be perfectly able to build paper mills. You comrades must take courage and press ahead with this work in a revolutionary manner.

Local paper mills need not be very large. They should be large enough to meet the needs of their own counties. I was told that recently the design of a small paper mill with a daily capacity of five tons had been imported. Paper mills of that size will be suitable. The officials concerned must make more copies of the design and send them to lower units quickly.

Whether to build a paper mill for each county or one for two counties should be widely discussed at the executive committee meetings of the provincial Party committees before making a decision.

We must continue to reclaim waste paper. But this does not mean that you should collect all the outdated newspapers as you do now. It should be left to the choice of the owners whether they sell them or use them for themselves.

If local districts are to produce paper, they must produce bleaching powder and caustic soda to meet their own needs rather than depend on the state for these items. It is desirable for each province to build a bleaching powder factory and a caustic soda factory.

In addition to building many paper mills in local districts, we must increase the production capacity of the paper mills which are run by the central authorities. In any event, good-quality paper will have to be produced by the centrally-run mills. In the future we must import a new paper mill with an annual capacity of 20,000 tons.

In future, notebook paper, flooring paper, window paper and packing paper should mainly be produced by local industry, and the paper for textbooks and newspapers by centrally-run industry. We shall have to import textbook paper for some time until the problem of paper is solved in our country.

We must also increase the production of pencils.

I was told that pencils are occasionally unavailable in shops. I cannot understand why. In the past we had only one pencil factory, the Kanggye Pencil Factory, and it was able to meet the needs of the whole country. At present, however, there is a pencil factory in each province,

and I cannot understand why pencils are out of stock. This is not because we have no raw materials for pencils in our country. We have inexhaustible deposits of graphite and large sources of timber. If graphite and timber are available, we can produce as many pencils as we need. If the wood available in our country is not suitable for pencils, we shall have to import it from another country for the production of pencils. China, Viet Nam, Indonesia, Burma and other countries are said to be rich in good pencil wood. Pencil production does not require a large amount of timber; several shiploads of it from one of these countries will be enough to meet the purpose.

The unsatisfactory pencil production situation is due to the fact that the senior officials of provincial Party committees and those concerned with this work have paid little attention to education. These comrades should have inspected schools and shops regularly and taken necessary steps when pencils were in short supply. They have not done so, and it is natural that pencil stocks run out.

This situation must not recur. The shortage of pencils not only hampers pupils' study, but injures the dignity of our country as an industrial nation.

In order to increase pencil production, it is necessary to put production at the existing pencil factories on a steady basis and, at the same time, organize new pencil factories in the provinces.

We must improve the quality of pencils as well as increasing their production. If pencils are hard to sharpen and their lead breaks easily, pupils do not like them. As you know from your own school experience when young, the breaking of pencil-leads in class gets on one's nerves. Schoolchildren must be provided with good pencils which are easy to sharpen and whose leads do not break.

As we always say, we must produce good-quality pencils for our schoolchildren. The pencils which are supplied to cadres and important institutions now are better than foreign ones. This shows that it is well within the capability of our country to produce good-quality pencils.

Adequate amounts of juniper and other kinds of good wood must be supplied to the Kanggye Pencil Factory so that it can produce

good-quality pencils. The factory says that it needs 500 cubic metres of timber every year for the production of high-quality pencils. The Ministry of Foreign Trade must import it without sparing money.

It is desirable for the provincially-run pencil factories to study the problem of making pencils with the kinds of wood which are produced in our country.

We must also increase the production of ball-point pens and fountain pens as well as pencils. Local districts, too, will have to build factories to mass-produce ball-point pens.

We must produce large numbers of good-quality pencils and ball-point pens so that middle-school pupils use ball-point pens and primary schoolchildren use pencils. Pencils are suitable for primary schoolchildren because they often have to erase pencil marks and rewrite.

School bags must also be mass-produced.

New schoolchildren must all be provided with new good-quality school bags. Supplying all of them with these bags is not an easy task. But we must tackle it at all costs.

There is no need to make their bags large. Small bags with shoulder straps will be suitable for them. It is very good to see little children in Pyongyang going to school with schoolbags on their shoulders every morning.

If we are to produce a large number of schoolbags, we have to make an effort to produce plastic rexine. At present, we have sufficient vinyl chloride, but because of the shortage of plasticizer we are not able to mass-produce plastic rexine. You say that plasticizer is to be imported this year; it has to be imported quickly. As our foreign-currency situation is strained, we had better earn foreign currency by exporting vinyl chloride to buy plasticizer or, if possible, exchange it for vinyl chloride rather than try to pay for it in foreign currency. In this way we shall be able to supply plasticizer for the production of plastic rexine, without running short of it.

It is by no means easy to provide all these conditions for ten-year compulsory education.

There is no big problem in providing the children with food because

food for the children of the factory and office workers is rationed by the state and because the cooperative farms keep food for all their own children. There will be no problem of schoolchildren's uniforms, either. When the project now under way to extend the vinalon factory to increase its capacity by 50,000 tons is finished, and if blends are produced with this vinalon or if the problem of weaving cloth from vinalon yarn alone is solved, the clothing question will be resolved and, therefore, the problem of schoolchildren's uniforms will also be solved satisfactorily. We also consider that there will be no big problem of schoolchildren's shoes.

The state will, however, have to spend a large sum of money if it is to build schools, supply all the schoolchildren with textbooks and other school items and provide all the schools with teachers.

In order to introduce ten-year compulsory education, it is necessary to increase the number of teachers, for instance, including those for kindergartens, by 16,000 every year. Teachers are not producers of material wealth; they belong to the non-productive sector. So the state has to pay their salaries. At present, the average monthly pay for teachers in the general education sector is 75 *won*. When we have another 16,000 teachers, the state will have to pay an additional 1.2 million *won* in monthly salaries or 14.4 million *won* every year to the teachers in this sector. If the money for the clothing supplied to the teachers is added, the state will have to pay an enormous sum.

An enormous amount of state money is required to build more schools, to supply textbooks, uniforms and other school items to the pupils and to provide teaching equipment and facilities for the schools.

A large amount of money will also have to be spent on kindergartens. At present, it is mainly the children of working mothers who go to kindergarten, and not those of the mothers who do not go to work. When ten-year compulsory education is in effect, however, all children will have to go to kindergarten. This means that the number of kindergarteners who will receive compulsory preschool education will amount to 500,000. This also requires a great deal of money.

Side dishes at a noon meal and snacks for the additional number of

kindergarteners, let alone other expenses, will cost the state heavily. The state pays 15 *jon* for these side dishes and snacks for a kindergartener everyday. If it is to take care of all the 500,000 children at kindergartens in the future, it will have to spend 75,000 *won* on these items every day or more than 20 million *won* annually.

As you can see, the state will have to bear an enormous financial burden for ten-year compulsory education. A rough estimate shows that this education will cost the state at least an additional 50 million *won* every year, and this excludes the cost for the running of kindergartens. This cannot but be a heavy burden on the state.

When we were visiting Viet Nam, Comrade Ho Chi Minh said that, because his state could not afford to pay 60 million *dong*, schoolchildren in his country had to pay for their education. He asked how we were able to give children free education and supply them with school uniforms at a low cost in Korea, a similar socialist country as his. I answered that we were directing great efforts to the development of school education, even though we had to sacrifice a little in other sectors, and that it was not because we were rich that we were spending a great deal of money on education.

To be candid, educational expenditure is a very large proportion of the budget of our country. Few countries probably give so much importance to education in their state budget as our country does.

Because we have developed education at great cost in this way, the people of the world call our country a “land of education” and they envy us very much. There is no doubt that, when ten-year compulsory education is introduced, our country will become the most civilized in the world.

We must introduce ten-year compulsory education, even though the state will have to bear a rather heavy burden. If we only worry about the difficult circumstances of the country, we shall never achieve anything. Experience shows that, no matter how difficult the nation’s situation, we are perfectly able to carry out the revolutionary task put forward by the Party, if we come to grips and press ahead with it.

When we proposed the idea of setting up the University for the

purpose of training national cadres quickly in the days immediately after liberation, quite a few people objected to the idea on the pretext that we had no teachers and for various other reasons. But we pushed this scheme determinedly, without hesitation. As a result, we were able to establish the University in a very short time and produce a large number of competent cadres. The people who have been educated at this University since liberation are now playing important parts in Party and state bodies, economic establishments, and scientific, educational and other cultural institutions.

The situation in our country now is fundamentally different from what it was in the days immediately after liberation when we were setting up Kim Il Sung University. At present, we have funds, and the people's enthusiasm is very high. We can obtain the funds needed for ten-year compulsory education simply by eliminating wasteful practices in the use of coal, timber, cement and other items in different sectors of the national economy. Everything depends on how our officials work to implement the Party's policy of ten-year compulsory education.

Even if we introduce this education right now, we shall not be able to see the first fruit of it until 1982. No matter what burden the state has to bear, therefore, we cannot postpone the introduction of ten-year compulsory education.

Compulsory education is in force in some countries at present. But mostly seven or eight-year compulsory education is being given in these countries, not ten-year compulsory education. When ten-year compulsory education is introduced in our country, all the children will be obliged to undergo kindergarten education for one year before they go to primary school. So the term of compulsory education in our country will, in fact, be 11 years rather than 10 years. In other words, this compulsory education system presupposes one year of preschool training in addition to four years of the primary course, four years of the secondary course and two years of the senior secondary course of the senior middle school, which add up to 11 years. So we can say that our country will be the first in the world to introduce 11-year compulsory education.

The introduction of ten-year compulsory education is a colossal and difficult work, so we shall not be able to effect it all at once. We have to develop it gradually, as the circumstances permit.

We have to introduce this education first in urban and workers' districts, and then extend it to rural communities and mountainous districts gradually. Since schools are located near residential quarters and dwelling houses are densely grouped in urban communities and workers' districts, children will find it convenient to go to school. That is why we must introduce ten-year compulsory education in cities and workers' districts first and then extend it to the rural communities and mountainous districts step by step so as to put it into operation in all parts of the country in the next few years.

Five per cent of the six-year-olds were enrolled in primary schools last year, and 15 per cent this year. It is desirable to increase the rate of enrolment by 20 per cent every year, starting from next year. If we do this, ten-year compulsory education will be in effect throughout the country by 1976.

All Party organizations must clearly understand the importance of ten-year compulsory education and press ahead with this work. The chief secretaries of the provincial and county Party committees, in particular, must directly supervise and push forward the preparations for this work. The Party Central Committee will be unable to take care of kindergartens and primary schools itself, because it has to direct major universities and academies of sciences. Naturally, such schools in the general education sector as kindergartens, primary schools and middle schools ought to be directed by local Party organizations. The work of ten-year compulsory education must, therefore, be supervised by provincial or county Party committees. In future, the chief secretaries of county Party committees must organize and conduct the preparations for ten-year compulsory education carefully and submit regular reports of the results to the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees.

If we work successfully for approximately ten years from now, the people who have undergone ten-year compulsory education will comprise a large proportion of the population in the 1980s. We shall

then be the most civilized of all countries, even of the socialist countries, not to mention the capitalist countries.

As circumstances now stand, the revolutionary cause is not being carried forward on a sound basis in some countries because the education of young people and children is not successful. But we are solving this problem successfully. If we give good training to the younger generation through ten-year compulsory education, our revolutionary cause will be carried on by the better qualified heirs. There is a saying that rivers and mountains change in a decade, and if we give good collective education to the younger generation for ten years, they will all become heirs to the revolution, people who have acquired the communist outlook on the world.

When our country is a little more prosperous at some time in the future, we may even be able to accommodate all the primary and middle-school pupils in boarding schools. Then, our children will grow up to be excellent communists who, free from the influence of egoism and selfishness, know only their collective. No man is born clever or dull. A man's development depends on his education unless he is a born cripple. If we house all the children in hostels and give them good collective education and nutritious food, they will all grow up to be strong and intelligent people.

Under the present circumstances, we cannot, of course, afford to raise all the children in boarding schools. If we are to accommodate even the primary and middle-school children in hostels, the total number will account for nearly half the population of our country. Under the present circumstances, it is almost impossible to train so many children by accommodating them in hostels. This task can be implemented at some time in the future when our country is wealthier and stronger and when all the necessary conditions exist.

For the present, we must concentrate all our efforts on introducing ten-year compulsory education which includes senior middle-school training. All Party organizations and senior officials must work hard to carry out the Party's policy for ten-year compulsory education so that our country will be the most civilized in the world as soon as possible.

## **KOREAN YOUNG PEOPLE AND CHILDREN WHO LIVE IN JAPAN MUST LOVE THEIR SOCIALIST HOMETLAND ARDENTLY**

**Talk to the Members of a Football Team from the Tokyo  
Korean Junior and Senior High School and to the Members  
of a Music and Dance Group from the Yokohama Korean  
Primary School, on a Visit to Their Homeland**

*August 18, 1972*

I am very glad to see you and welcome you warmly, our children and young people who live in Japan, on your group visit to the homeland. It is a great pleasure to see you growing up healthy and strong even in a foreign land and to hear your songs and poems which are well performed in our own language.

You can study in the Korean language in Japan and can now travel to and from the homeland, and this is because you have the socialist motherland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

There is an old saying that people without their own country are more miserable than a dog in a house of mourning. When our country was a colony of the Japanese imperialists in the past, the Korean people were treated, in fact, as being something subhuman. Today, however, they have their socialist motherland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and exercise their legitimate rights as dignified citizens of a sovereign state. Thanks to your socialist homeland, you can study and sing in the Korean language and learn the history of Korea even though you are living in Japan.

You can also study in the Korean language in Japan and travel to and from the homeland as you are doing now because the Korean compatriots in Japan under the leadership of Chongryon (the General Association of the Korean Residents in Japan) have fought successfully, as befitting citizens of the Republic, to defend their homeland and their democratic national rights.

Chongryon has courageously fought for the free travel of the Koreans in Japan to and from their homeland, overcoming every obstruction on the part of the Japanese reactionaries.

This just struggle has won active support not only from the people in the homeland but also from the people of Japan and the rest of the world. The stubborn struggle of the Korean compatriots in Japan and the pressure of broad sections of the Japanese people and people throughout the world made it impossible for the Japanese government to block the travel of the Koreans in Japan to and from their homeland. In this context, a delegation led by the vice-chairman of Chongryon paid a visit to the homeland some time ago, and now you are on this visit. This is very gratifying and encouraging.

In future, many more Koreans from Japan will visit their homeland. It is a great victory of our people that their compatriots in Japan can visit their homeland. We must consolidate this victory and develop it further.

Our country has sprung up magnificently from the ashes as we can see today.

It has been ravaged twice by imperialist invaders. Once the fleeing Japanese imperialists destroyed our economy. Our people reconstructed the ravaged economy for five years after liberation, and the US imperialist aggressors reduced our country to ashes again. If you see the film *Tell It to the Whole World*, you will know that the three years of war destroyed all our cities and farm villages. Pyongyang was levelled except a few damaged houses left with only their walls standing, and Wonsan and Hamhung and all the other cities and towns were reduced to ashes. The US imperialists also destroyed farm villages and even burned wooded mountains.

After the war, our people began reconstruction, clearing the debris. All the people participated in postwar reconstruction.

When reconstruction was at its highest, the students in the homeland studied only half a day every day and worked at construction sites for the rest of the day. The Moranbong Stadium where you played football was constructed by the students of Kim Il Sung University, and the road to Mangyongdae was paved by those of the Songdo University of Political Science and Economics. The Taedonggang Promenade was built by the students of Kim Chaek University of Technology, and the Youth Park by those of the University of Construction. Youth Street which you have visited is so named because it was built by young people. People's Army Street was built by the soldiers of the People's Army. All the streets in Pyongyang were built by the efforts of the Pyongyang citizens.

In those days, organizing all the people for postwar reconstruction and pressing ahead with the project, we used to visit young people's construction sites at night and also at dawn and encouraged them. Young people in the homeland have grown up, studying and participating in construction in this manner.

The workers and office workers of institutions and enterprises built a large number of dwelling houses by their own efforts in the years immediately after the armistice. Each of them worked to build dwelling houses for ten or fifteen days while performing his or her own duties. Factories and schools were also built by means of a mass campaign.

Postwar reconstruction was very difficult. We had neither materials nor funds, and we also lacked technology. When we were rebuilding Pyongyang, we did not know how to build multi-storeyed houses, so we had to build two-storeyed houses at first. Learning from this experience, we built four-storeyed houses, and then higher buildings. At first, we had few architects, but their number increased in the course of reconstruction. Today we have a considerable number of architects who have been trained by the University of Construction and many other competent building workers. All the construction projects in our

country are carried on under the guidance of our own technicians.

After the war we had to construct the economy and strengthen defence power at the same time. In order to counter the ever-intensifying aggressive stratagems of the US imperialists, our Party put forward the policy of arming all the people and pressed ahead with the work of putting the young men and women and the rest of the people under arms. As a result, all our working people including young men and women today know how to shoot.

They have reconstructed Pyongyang more magnificently than it was in the past in less than 20 years since the armistice by braving every difficulty and hardship. Your present visit to Pyongyang, the revolutionary capital, which has been magnificently reconstructed, will be a memorable event for you. What you have seen and heard in the homeland will remain in your memory for ever. Some of you who are on this visit are nine years old, and nine-year-old children can remember everything that they have seen and heard. I also remember my experience at nine clearly.

Today, I should like to talk to you briefly about your future tasks.

The Korean youth and children in Japan must first love their socialist homeland ardently.

Our country is divided at present. Half the territory of the country, that is, south Korea, has become a colony of the United States and is on the road to capitalism; and the other half constitutes the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which has won national independence and is advancing on the road of independent socialism. Your motherland is the DPRK. You must have burning love for the socialist homeland, the DPRK.

The socialist system which has been established in the northern half of Korea is a really good social system.

In the socialist homeland all the people are equally prosperous. Foreign visitors to our country say that this is the greatest advantage. In our country there is no one who is particularly luxuriously dressed and no one who wears ragged clothes. There are no child shoeblacks.

In south Korea a large number of people are ill-dressed and starved.

Children of school age are compelled to work as shoeblacks, cigarette sellers and newsboys in the street.

It is true that there are showy streets and good houses in Seoul in south Korea and in large cities in Japan. But these houses are for a small number of exploiters, and not for the working people. A capitalist society is an anti-people society where a small number of landlords and capitalists can live well, but the working people who are the vast majority become poorer and poorer. In a capitalist society rich men's children can have access to education, but not the children of poor people. South Korean newspapers report tragic events almost every day; cases of poor people's children being denied education because of their inability to make "regular school payments", and incidents of families committing suicide collectively because they have no way of obtaining school fees.

You must clearly understand how precious is the country which has been built by the arduous struggle of our people, the socialist homeland where there are no rich or poor people, but where all the working people lead equally happy lives.

You must also prepare yourselves well so as to make an active contribution to socialist construction in the homeland.

In the homeland, a powerful battle to build socialism and communism is now going on. Our country is now in the stage of socialism on its road to communism. Our working people no longer worry about the problems of food, clothing and housing. But we cannot rest content with this. We must carry on the revolution so as to achieve the complete victory of socialism and reach the high stage of communism where people work according to their ability and receive distribution according to their need.

Amongst the Koreans in Japan there are many patriots who are making a large contribution to socialist construction in the homeland. Many patriotic merchants and industrialists have returned to live in the homeland. Some of them are working as chief engineers at factories, and some of them are working as managers, and many of them are working well. Seeing Korean merchants and industrialists in Japan

returning to live in the socialist homeland, people in capitalist countries are said to be wondering why these rich people are going to a socialist country. But there is nothing strange about this. Our Party has not rejected people who were well-to-do in the past; it has followed the policy of educating and reforming medium and small merchants and manufacturers and taking them along with us. This is also our policy towards the Korean merchants and industrialists in Japan. We do not keep them away from us; we warmly welcome their return to the homeland. It is natural, therefore, that patriotic Korean merchants and industrialists in Japan should return to their motherland and contribute in every way to the building of socialism in the homeland.

The Korean youth and children must study well and work hard to acquire science and technology with an ardent spirit of socialist patriotism and become excellent workers who can contribute to construction in the socialist motherland.

In particular they must know how to love their Party, their fellow people and their leader.

To this end, they must first of all study our Party's idea deeply and equip themselves firmly with it.

Our Party's idea is the Juche idea. This idea advocates living independently, not dependently. We do not act on anyone's orders; we judge all problems with our own intelligence, solve them in the interests of our people, and build socialism to the Koreans' liking and in accordance with the Korean way of life.

The essence of the Juche idea implies solving all problems by regarding man as the basic factor. In a capitalist society, everything serves money, not man; capitalists know nothing but money. But in our society man is most highly valued, and everything serves man. Man is the master of everything and decides everything. Man conquers nature, and man transforms society. The Juche idea requires that everything should be made to serve man, to serve the people.

The Korean youth and children in Japan must equip themselves firmly with the Juche idea, our Party's revolutionary thought, and must be loyal to our Party and our people.

Next, they must become revolutionaries who fight for the reunification of our country.

We have not yet driven out the US imperialist aggressors completely from south Korea, but the people who waged the guerrilla struggle against the Japanese imperialists and fought against the US imperialists are beginning to grow old. The target of the revolution has not changed, but the change of generations is taking place.

Imperialism still remains on the earth, and the enemies who scheme for the permanent division of our country still exist. The US imperialists are still occupying half the territory of our country and the Japanese militarists are making re-incursions into south Korea. Japanese reactionaries are obstructing the reunification of our country in order to turn south Korea into an eternal commodity market for them. In the past, the Japanese imperialists made a colony and commodity market of Korea, and then plundered her of rice, iron ore, gold, silver, copper and other mineral resources. They brought commodities produced in Japan and sold them at high prices in our country. South Korea is now becoming a commodity market and a money-making ground for the Japanese militarists as it was in the past. We can never tolerate their schemes to reinvade south Korea.

We must continue with the revolution, drive out the US imperialists from south Korea and reunify the country. We must prevent the imperialists from invading our country again and provide all the Korean people equally with a happy life.

We must not only build socialism successfully in our country, but also wipe out imperialism from the earth once and for all and win the cause of socialism and communism throughout the world by giving active assistance to the people who are fighting against imperialism, to the countries which are making the revolution.

Our young men and women and children in Japan must also continue to press ahead with their struggle for democratic national rights. In particular, they must learn the Korean language hard and develop a vigorous campaign to recover Korean nationals.

A language is a major criterion of a nation. People who speak

different languages cannot form a nation. From olden times our people have lived as one nation. So Koreans wherever they may live ought to speak the Korean language and write the Korean alphabet.

At present, Chongryon is encouraging our compatriots in Japan to learn the Korean alphabet and speak the Korean language. This is very good. Koreans who have their own language and the beautiful land of three thousand *ri* must not be assimilated as Japanese on any account. The musical tale *Our Pride* which you have performed today shows a pupil who was going to a Japanese school now coming to a Korean school. It is very impressive.

Our young men and women and children in Japan must develop the campaign to recover Korean nationals by the method of one attracting ten, ten attracting a hundred, and a hundred attracting a thousand. This campaign will not be effective if it is only undertaken by a few Chongryon officials and your fathers and mothers. The young people and children must join efforts and draw the Korean pupils who are going to Japanese schools, to Korean schools.

Our young men and women and children in Japan must help their fathers and mothers to strengthen the organization of Chongryon, rally closely behind it and make an active contribution to the reunification of the country in support of the line and policies of our Party. They must all become revolutionaries who love their socialist homeland ardently and work hard to make our country prosperous.

It is advisable for you to have many meetings to share experiences with the young people and children in the homeland during your stay here. You should learn from their work experience and tell them your own experience in the formation of your organizations and in the struggle to defend the homeland. The young people and children in the homeland must learn from the experience of their counterparts in Japan who are fighting in the difficult conditions which are infested with reactionaries.

I hope that on your return you will convey my greetings to all the members of the Korean Children's Union and to the young Koreans in Japan.

## **ON DEVELOPING PHYSICAL CULTURE**

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

*September 6, 1972*

Today I shall talk briefly about developing physical culture.

At present, the state of physical culture is not satisfactory. When a mass campaign was undertaken to develop it in the past, physical culture was at a fairly high level in our country for some time. Nowadays, however, it is lifeless, and enthusiasm is cooling. This being the case, no sport, not even football, is making good progress. Almost all sports have dropped to a lower level than in the past, and players' records in international contests are not good.

In the recent Olympic Games which were held in Munich, our marksmen were good at shooting. One of them won 599 points in the 60 round small-calibre rifle event at a distance of 50 metres. He was awarded a gold medal. This was a great success. In other events, however, the results were not good. The result of the women's volleyball game was not very good. In the marathon race, our country ought to have won the first prize, but it could not. When they had no country of their own in the past, Koreans won the first prize in the marathon race in the Olympic Games. Why should they not win the first prize when they have a good country of their own?

Physical culture has not progressed in recent years mainly because the Party has not paid attention to this work. The Party ought to hold physical culture under its control and give it a powerful stimulus, but it

does not do so. Party organizations do not even supervise a sports equipment factory as they should. The Youth-Work Department is entrusted with the work of physical culture, but this department is not doing this work well.

If we are to develop physical culture in our country, we must first intensify physical training amongst young students and schoolchildren. At present, however, schools are neglecting physical culture. This is the most serious shortcoming. Recently, I have inspected schools, paying particular attention to their physical training, and I found that many of them had not even set out a basketball court. School playgrounds should always be alive with sports events, but they are not.

Some exercises which are aimed at increasing stature are conducted at school, but no ball games. Football, volleyball, basketball, tennis and table-tennis are not played. Neither field and track events nor swimming is widely encouraged. That is why our physical culture cannot develop, and it is only natural that, when the schoolchildren join the army after graduation, they find themselves physically inadequate.

In March this year, I visited a People's Army unit and talked to the soldiers. Commanding officers said that recruits from middle schools found it difficult to climb a pass on the march and did not run well because they were short of breath, and that they were not good on the horizontal bar and parallel bars. This was because schools had not trained pupils in mountaineering, had done nothing to give them good physical training.

Schools must see that pupils always play football, volleyball, basketball, tennis and table-tennis, work out on the horizontal bar and take part in various other sports. Table-tennis, volleyball and football, for instance, can be played from primary school days and the horizontal bar can also be used. Schools must organize sports events for the pupils frequently so that playgrounds will always be busy.

In our middle-school days, we had only one volleyball court in our school, and the game was played there every day. Nowadays, however, school playgrounds are quiet, without any games being played. This is an undesirable situation.

Today, our young students and schoolchildren are provided with food and clothing and with free education by the state, so they can study and have physical training without any worries. In particular, the universal ten-year compulsory education system which includes senior middle-school training is now in force in our country, and everyone receives compulsory schooling and leads a collective life until he or she reaches the minimum working age. Physical culture can, therefore, be popularized amongst the masses, and mass physical culture can be developed without difficulty. In spite of this good system and these good conditions, school physical training is not satisfactory, and this is because the League of Socialist Working Youth does not take it in hand and direct it efficiently. At present, the league organizes and directs no sports activities well.

The league must regard it as one of its basic duties to develop physical culture among the young students and schoolchildren and must give it a strong impetus.

A long time ago we raised the slogan that all the young students and schoolchildren must acquire knowledge, morality and strong physiques. It is not enough for young people and children to acquire knowledge alone. Every one of them must know how to play at least one sport and at least one musical instrument. Only then will they become all-round communist men and women rather than a “locked chest of knowledge”.

Youth work must not be limited to mere education. Youth work can only be lively and successful when it is integrated with stimulating physical training and literary and artistic activities. These activities are also important in revolutionizing young students and schoolchildren.

In future, the league must regard the physical training of young students and schoolchildren as an important revolutionary task and organize and develop it in a responsible manner. Young students and schoolchildren must be encouraged to play football, volleyball, basketball, tennis, table-tennis, to work out on horizontal and parallel bars, and to take part in calisthenics, skating, skiing and various other kinds of sport.

Physical culture cannot be developed successfully just through the efforts of a few league officials. It can only be successful when all the league organizations and all its officials do this work.

If we are to develop physical culture, we must develop it on a mass basis, on a national basis. If we go on training a few professional players as we are doing at present, we shall be unable to improve physical culture in our country. It is only when we develop it on a mass basis, on a national basis, that we can train a large number of reserve players, demonstrate excellent skill even in international events, and raise the general level of physical culture in our country much higher.

In our conditions, we can develop physical culture on a mass basis without difficulty. In a capitalist society or in the south Korean society, only rich people can go in for sports for amusement, but under the socialist system in our country everyone is provided with conditions for taking part in physical culture.

At present, some comrades say that physical culture cannot be undertaken widely nor developed because adequate facilities are not provided for the purpose. They are mistaken. If we make a little effort, we can produce all the necessary sports equipment and facilities. Ball games and athletics do not require a great deal of equipment.

We must develop physical culture on a mass basis in all parts of the country, so that workers, farmers, office workers, students and everyone else can enjoy sport and harden themselves physically.

The league must take charge of the work of developing physical culture on a mass basis. It must make the effort to popularize physical culture, especially amongst young students and schoolchildren. If all the schools develop physical culture forcefully on a mass basis, the young students and schoolchildren will quickly grow in stature and become physically hardened. This will also produce a large number of excellent sportsmen and raise the level of physical culture in our country a great deal. If the league has a sports equipment factory at its disposal and organizes work well, it will be able to supply schools with an adequate amount of sports equipment.

The league must take charge of physical culture in schools, the

People's Army, the People's Security Forces and in all other sectors and direct this work amongst young people and children.

If we are to develop physical culture on a mass basis, on a national basis, we have to train good teachers and instructors for this purpose.

We must extend the University of Physical Education and the physical education departments of the universities of education and of the teachers training colleges and operate the college of physical education well so as to produce a large number of competent physical education teachers and instructors. We have already given the task of setting up a college of physical education in each province.

It would also be a good idea to organize a short course or a special course in the University of Physical Education and enrol old sportsmen and give them a few months of training to make them teachers and instructors. This will also solve the problem of the future of old sportsmen.

Professional sports organizations must naturally replace old players with young ones in due course just as the army discharges old soldiers and recruits young ones. This continuous process of change is inevitable in sports organizations for the development of physical culture.

If we are to develop physical culture, we must also organize sports widely. In future, we have to organize different sports events in a variety of ways, and hold students' athletic meetings frequently on a regional or a national basis. The league can organize Young Guards athletic meetings, for instance. Winners should be awarded prizes.

Players and other workers in the field of physical culture will have to be sent abroad frequently so as to participate in international events and learn a great deal of sports techniques and gain wide experience of contests. It would also be a good idea to have joint training with foreign players. We can also send inspection teams and practical trainees to foreign countries for the purpose of assimilating the science and technology of physical culture and sharing experience in this field.

In addition, our sportsmen must participate in international sports

organizations on a wide scale and gain more admission as international referees and work hard at this.

We must increase the circulation of sports journals and translate foreign sports magazines and books for reference. All this is indispensable for the development of physical culture and its science and technology in our country.

If we tackle the task of developing physical culture on a mass basis and of raising the level of sports techniques, we shall be perfectly able to achieve good results in international events and succeed in sports diplomacy. At present, we are good at diplomacy by means of the arts, but not at sports diplomacy. We must not lag behind other countries in any sporting event.

In order to develop physical culture, it is necessary for the state to develop sports equipment factories and provide the necessary sports equipment and facilities. Balls, nets, backboards and baskets and their supports and all other equipment and facilities must be produced. The manufacture of balls will require leather, but the amount will not be great.

For the purpose of improving all aspects of physical culture, the Party will have to consider the matter seriously at some time in the future.

The Party Central Committee must summon the chief secretaries, the secretaries in charge of ideology, the heads of educational departments and youth-work departments of the provincial, city and county Party committees, let them hear the report of our delegation which has been to the Olympic Games and also give them criticism so that on their return they will press ahead with physical culture.

It is desirable that in the name of the General Secretary of the Party Central Committee a directive should be issued on the subject of reviving physical culture.

The directive must strictly censure the neglect of physical culture and raise the task of developing this work on a mass basis in schools, factories and other enterprises. It is advisable for the factories and enterprises to be encouraged to organize sports widely after work

hours. If anybody thinks that sports interfere with production, he is mistaken. The directive must sharply criticize schools at all levels and LSWY organizations in particular for their neglect of physical culture and emphasize the great importance of revitalizing physical culture at schools.

The Central Committee of the LSWY and its local organizations must discuss the matter of developing physical culture and adopt decisive measures.

The People's Army must also strengthen physical culture work. It must consider it important to revitalize sports organizations.

The Science and Education Department and the Youth-Work Department of the Party Central Committee must concentrate their efforts on this matter and improve physical culture radically within the next three years or so. In this way, a great change will take place in the development of physical culture in our country.

**ON SOME PROBLEMS OF OUR PARTY'S  
JUCHE IDEA AND THE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE REPUBLIC'S INTERNAL  
AND EXTERNAL POLICIES**

**Answers to Questions Raised by Journalists of the Japanese**

**Newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun***

*September 17, 1972*

I warmly welcome your visit to our country.

I have received your questionnaire through the Central Committee of the Journalists Union of Korea.

Now, I should like to give brief answers to your questions.

**1. SOME PROBLEMS INVOLVED  
IN THE IDEA OF JUCHE**

You have asked me to tell you how the Juche idea originated.

In a nutshell, the idea of Juche means that the masters of the revolution and the work of construction are the masses of the people and that they are also the motive force of the revolution and construction. In other words, one is responsible for one's own destiny and one has also the capacity for hewing out one's own destiny.

We are not the author of this idea. Every Marxist-Leninist has this

idea. I have just laid special emphasis on it.

How keenly the necessity of establishing Juche is felt and how much emphasis is laid on it depends on people and on a country's social and historical background.

In the course of my struggle for the freedom and independence of our country I became firmly convinced that we must and could work out our own destiny through our own efforts. Our struggle was hard and complex. We had to solve everything by ourselves and use our own initiative to formulate the lines and methods of struggle as well.

Naturally, therefore, we met indescribable difficulties and had to pass through harsh trials. Through this, however, we gained absolutely unique experience and learned lessons. We realized that the simple and ordinary working masses, provided they were brought to revolutionary awareness, could display a really great strength and carry out the revolution through their own efforts in any adverse and arduous conditions.

Our situation was also extremely difficult immediately after liberation. We had had no experience of running the state or managing the economy. Our country was very backward, and it was divided into north and south. We could look nowhere for a ready-made solution to the problem of building a new country in this complex situation.

The first question which confronted us was whether to take the road to capitalism or the road to socialism, so that we could quickly free ourselves from our wretched situation.

The road to capitalism meant preserving exploitation and oppression. This would not only prevent us from rousing the broad masses of the proletariat for the building of a new country, but would also involve the great danger of our country being subordinated again by another imperialist power. It was evident, therefore, that we could not follow the road to capitalism.

However, we could not take the road to socialism immediately. Socialism was what we needed. Subjective desire alone could not obtain it. We were faced with the immediate tasks of the democratic revolution which had to be solved before going over to socialism. So

we could not simply imitate the socialist system.

From the outset we had to use our own initiative to determine a political system that would serve the interests of the working class and other sectors of the working masses and that would be able to rally the broad masses of the people. We also had to determine the way to effect democratic social reforms that would suit the specific conditions of our country. Accordingly, for agrarian reform, we went to farm villages and stayed many days with the peasants, exploring ways and means that would suit our rural situation.

Our experience showed that trying to solve our problems in this way to suit our actual conditions was much better than mechanically copying foreign ways. Our post-liberation struggle for the building of a new country showed that our Juche idea was veritable and increased our faith in it.

Then, we waged the bitter three-year war against the US imperialists, and our country was reduced to ashes. This rendered our task of building socialism even more difficult.

The US imperialists destroyed not only the dwelling houses and property of our workers and peasants but also the economy of the small and medium entrepreneurs and the rich peasants as well. During their socialist revolutions, other nations eliminated the capitalist and rich peasant classes by expropriating them, but we had no need to do so. Immediately after liberation we consistently pursued a policy of encouraging the economy of the small and medium entrepreneurs, who could fight side by side with the workers and the peasants against imperialism. Moreover, it was necessary for us to protect national capital as at that stage our industry was not fully developed. However, since the economy of the small and medium capitalists and the rich peasants was utterly destroyed by the war, our Government had no need to take the trouble of reviving it.

Now that everything had been ravaged by the war, there was little difference between the small and medium entrepreneurs and the urban craftsmen. Everyone became a proletarian, so to speak. They had to pool their efforts and follow the road to socialism; this was the only

way for them to exist. In order to shore up their completely devastated agricultural base, the peasants also had to do the same.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist proposition that cooperation, even when it is based on primitive techniques, is far superior to private farming and considering the actual fact that our peasants badly needed to work together to free themselves from their plight, we adopted an original method—boldly pushing ahead with the socialist transformation of agriculture before industrialization. As regards the small and medium entrepreneurs and rich peasants, we also chose a unique way—drawing them into the cooperatives and reforming them on socialist lines because there was no necessity to expropriate them.

Again experience justified our Party's line of solving all problems in the interests of our people and in conformity with the specific conditions of our country without recourse to any ready-made formula or proposition.

In the course of this, we have become more deeply convinced that the correct stand and attitude to maintain in revolution and construction is to settle all problems in the interests of our people and in conformity with the specific conditions of our country, believing in and relying on our own strength with the consciousness of being the masters of the revolution.

Our revolution has traversed, and is traversing, a very complicated and difficult road. Whenever we were faced with trials and tribulations we maintained the attitude of a master towards the revolution and thereby were able to achieve glorious victories. This process made our conviction still more unshakable—a conviction that only by relying firmly on the Juche idea can one thoroughly adhere to the revolutionary stand of the working class and creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to conditions in one's country.

You asked me whether you can take it that the Juche idea comprises independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-defence in national defence. Your understanding is quite correct.

Establishing Juche means adopting the attitude of a master towards the revolution and construction. Since the masters of the revolution and

construction are the masses, they should take the responsible attitude of a master towards the revolution and construction. The attitude of a master is expressed in an independent and creative stand.

Revolution and construction are work for the masses of the people, work which has to be carried out by them alone. Therefore, the transformation of nature and society demands their independent position and creative activity.

Based on the interests of our people and on the interests of our revolution, our Party has always maintained a firm, independent stand in mapping out all policies and lines through its own efforts and carrying out the revolution and construction responsibly on the principle of self-reliance. Our Party has always been able to win victories because it believed in the strength of the people and gave full play to their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative activity, thus encouraging them to bring about all potentials and reserves themselves and solve all problems arising in the revolution and construction to suit our actual needs.

Adhering to the stand of master in the revolution and construction and enhancing the role as master are integrated concepts with different aspects. You could say that the independent stand is concerned with defence of the rights of the master and discharging the master's responsibility, whereas the creative stand concerns the development of the role of the people, the masters, in remaking nature and reconstructing society. In other words, the independent stand is the fundamental stand which we must maintain in the revolution and construction, and the creative stand is the fundamental method which we must use in transforming nature and society.

To adhere to the independent stand it is most important that we fully guarantee independence in politics.

Independence is what keeps man alive. If he loses independence in society, he cannot be called a man; he differs little from an animal. We might say that socio-political life is more valuable to a man than physical life. He is a social being. If he is forsaken by society and deprived of political independence although he seems alive, he is

virtually dead as a social human being. That is why the revolutionaries deem it far more honourable to die in the fight for freedom than to remain alive in slavery.

Ignoring independence is tantamount to ignoring man himself. Who likes to live shackled to others? Why did people fight to overthrow the feudal system in former days and why are the working class fighting against the capitalist system today? Needless to say, the working people wanted to extricate themselves from feudal slavery just as they want to free themselves from capitalist exploitation and oppression. We are fighting against imperialism in order to liberate our nation completely from its yoke and enable it to enjoy freedom as a sovereign nation. In a word, all revolutionary struggles aim to attain freedom from either class or national subjugation; they are struggles of the people in defence of their independence. Our struggle for the building of socialism and communism is, also, in the long run, to enable the people to extricate themselves from many forms of subjugation and lead independent and creative lives as masters of nature and society.

In order to become the master of its own destiny, a nation must have an independent government and firmly guarantee political independence. This is why the Juche idea should first be embodied as the principle of independence in politics.

To guarantee solid independence in politics, there must be a special guiding idea and a capacity for formulating all policies and lines solely in the interests of one's people and in conformity with the specific conditions of one's country, according to one's own judgement. The government that acts under pressure from or instructions of others cannot be called a genuine people's government responsible for the destiny of the people. A country with this sort of government cannot be regarded as an independent, sovereign state.

The principle of independence in politics demands complete equality and mutual respect between all nations. It opposes both subjugating others and being subjugated by others. A nation which subjugates others can never be free itself.

In strengthening the independence of the country, it is essential to

strengthen self-sufficiency in the economy as well as political independence. Without self-sufficiency in the economy, it is impossible to meet the people's growing material needs and materially guarantee them a real role as the master of the state and society. Economic dependence on others cannot guarantee political independence and without independent economic power, it is impossible to carry through the line of self-defence in national defence.

Self-defence and self-protection are basic to man's nature. A country must also have the means to defend itself. The line of self-defence in national defence is an essential requirement of an independent and sovereign state. While there are still imperialist aggressors, the state which has no defence power of its own to protect its sovereignty against internal and external enemies is, in fact, not a fully independent and sovereign state.

Our Party's consistent line of independence in politics, self-sufficiency in the economy and self-defence in national defence has long since been proved correct and vital by our people through their revolutionary practices.

Next, I am going to say a few words about your question about what we emphasize as an embodiment of the Juche idea in our present domestic policy.

Embodying the Juche idea means accelerating revolution and construction powerfully from an independent and creative stand.

The most urgent problem facing us at present in embodying the Juche idea in the Korean revolution is that of bringing about the independent, peaceful reunification of our country.

Our people have been fighting for a long time to rid themselves of the yoke of imperialism but our national sovereignty is still being trampled underfoot by foreign aggressors in one half of our territory. There is nothing more urgent for our people today than driving out foreign aggressors and establishing national sovereignty throughout our country.

The south Korean rulers have been hampering the independent, peaceful reunification of the country for nearly 30 years, pursuing a

policy of dependence on outside forces. Dependence on outside forces is the road to national ruin. This is a serious lesson our people have learned for themselves during a long history of national suffering; it is also a fact which we are now clearly witnessing through the misfortunes and pains of the south Korean people under the US imperialist occupation. Our immediate task is to see that all the people in north and south Korea fight against outside forces in the spirit of independence and self-reliance and rise in the forceful struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. Achieving this reunification is the most important work in embodying the Juche idea in the Korean revolution today.

The main task before us now to implement the Juche idea in the northern half of Korea is to free our people from tough labour by pushing dynamically ahead with the three major tasks of the technical revolution.

Our people, freed from exploitation and oppression, have now the important task of emancipating themselves from arduous work.

Labour holds the most important place in people's social life. Eliminating fundamental distinctions which exist in work conditions and freeing the people from tough labour will be of great importance in making their lives more independent and creative.

In order to emancipate the people from backbreaking work, it is imperative to press ahead with the three major tasks of the technical revolution. The three tasks we propose are designed to narrow the differences between light and heavy labour and between agricultural and industrial work and to free our women from the heavy burdens of household chores by developing techniques comprehensively through our own efforts. When they are carried out completely, difficult work in town and country will be largely removed and the class difference in work between the working class and the peasantry will be eliminated.

We proposed the three major tasks of the technical revolution as our goal in emancipating our people from arduous labour; we did this instead of merely referring in general terms to the development of heavy industry or light industry. This clearly testifies to our Party's consistent

standpoint that economic construction or technical revolution should not be carried out for their own sake but should serve as a means to provide the people with fruitful lives as the masters of the state and society. Attaching the greatest importance to people in every respect and serving them—this is precisely the requirement of the Juche idea.

Next, you asked me to talk about the education of our young people and children based on the Juche idea.

We are greatly concerned with the education of young people and children. This is because they are the reserves of our revolution who must carry forward the revolution through coming generations. Moreover, there is no more important task than that of educating and training people for the progress of society.

It is true that with no material means people can neither live nor develop. In this sense, the economy constitutes the material foundation of social life. However, this is always planned for the benefit of people and would be meaningless without them. It is also the people who create the means of living and improve living conditions. Therefore, the most important factor in the development of society is training people to be more dynamic; in order to press ahead with the revolution and construction, top priority must be given to the work with men, that is, to the work of reforming men.

The basis of the Juche idea is that man is the master of everything and decides everything. Remaking nature and society is also for the benefit of people and it is work done by them. Man is the most precious treasure in the world and he is also the most powerful. All our work is for the people and its success depends on the way we work with them. Education is an important aspect of this work.

Education involves training people to be social beings who are fully prepared mentally, morally and physically. In order to become social beings, they must first have sound social consciousness. If the younger generation, who were born in this revolutionary era, are not armed with revolutionary ideas and if they are ignorant of science, techniques or literature and art as the men in our era of socialist construction, they cannot be called social beings.

Only when people have an ideological and cultural background which they should possess as social beings, can they participate as masters in all aspects of social life and energetically accelerate the revolution and construction. This is why our Party always places greater emphasis on education than on any other work.

We regard the implementation of the principles of socialist education as the core of education. Its basic principle lies in training people to be reliable revolutionary workers equipped with ideology, knowledge and a strong physique which will enable them to adopt the role of master in the revolution and construction.

In training and educating people, it is most important to reform their ideology in a revolutionary way. All human activity is determined by ideology. If a man is ideologically backward and morally degenerate, despite his excellent health, he can only be regarded as utterly useless and mentally disabled in our society. Therefore, our Party always directs its primary attention to reforming people's ideology in a revolutionary manner.

In the education of young people and children, we should give top priority to the work of training them in revolutionary ideas. If they hate work and do not serve the state and society, their knowledge and skills will be of no use however excellent they may be. They must be so equipped with socialist patriotism and a revolutionary world outlook as to work for their people and homeland instead of trying to get promoted or earn money; we must ensure that whatever they learn is useful and that all children and young people grow up into men of a new type with communist moral traits, who are eager to work, protect and take good care of state and social property, and take the lead in the revolution and construction. This is the fundamental requirement of socialist education.

Today we are making great efforts to introduce universal ten-year compulsory education. When this has been effected, our rising generation will grow up as an able builder of socialism, equipped with the essentials of a revolutionary world outlook, with a basic knowledge of nature and society and more than one technical skill. This is of

tremendous importance in revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society and advancing our socialist construction.

You requested me to give a detailed explanation of the Juche idea. But there is no end to it. All the policies and lines of our Party derive from the Juche idea and they embody this idea. The Juche idea is not a theory for theory's sake; it is the guiding idea of the revolution and construction in our country that we put forth on the basis of the experiences and lessons obtained through our complicated revolutionary struggles. In our country the Juche idea is a stern fact of history established in all aspects of social life. To have a deep understanding of the Juche idea, it is necessary to make a detailed study of our Party's policy and our country's situation.

## **2. ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC**

You asked me what influence our foreign policy, based as it is on the Juche idea, has in strengthening the solidarity of the socialist countries, in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the consolidation of international democratic forces. I am going to make a few remarks on this question.

As you correctly pointed out, the Government of the Republic formulates its foreign policy on the basis of the Juche idea and is guided by this idea in carrying out all its external activities. In brief, our Republic firmly maintains independence in its foreign activities.

The Government of the Republic's independent foreign policy reflects the lofty aspirations of our people and the people of the world. In our foreign activities we maintain the principle of increasing internationalist solidarity and cooperation, while maintaining independence; we are promoting friendly and cooperative relations with those countries which are friendly towards our country, be they

large or small. We do not infringe upon the interests of other countries nor allow anyone to encroach upon our nation's rights and dignity, or meddle in our country's internal affairs. This foreign policy pursued by the Government of our Republic not only conforms with the interests of the revolution and construction in our country, but it is also in full accord with the interests of the world revolution.

The principle of independence held by the Government of our Republic in its external activities is in no way contradicted by proletarian internationalism. There can be no internationalism without independence, and vice versa.

First of all, our Government's foreign policy based on the Juche idea is making a strong contribution to strengthening the solidarity of socialist countries.

The Government of the Republic abides strictly by the principle of independence in its relations with the socialist countries. Based on the principle of equality and independence, we are developing our relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries. We are waging our struggle against all shades of opportunism arising within the international working-class movement, in conformity with the specific conditions of our country, on the basis of our independent judgement and conviction.

We particularly adhere to our principle based on independence in our efforts to achieve unity and cohesion between the socialist countries. We maintain that all socialist countries should, first, oppose imperialism; second, support the national-liberation movement in colonies and the international working-class movement; third, progress towards socialism and communism; and fourth, attain unity on the principle of noninterference in each other's internal affairs, mutual respect, equality and reciprocity. Although differences of opinion exist amongst the fraternal parties and socialist countries, we continue to promote unity and wage a joint struggle in accordance with these four principles.

As regards the anti-imperialist struggle, also, the Government of our Republic is fighting in accordance with our own beliefs and our

actual situation. Internally, we define the struggle against US imperialism, the sworn enemy of our people, as a major revolutionary task and in our external activities as well, we are fighting hard to check and frustrate the US imperialist policies of aggression and war and to defend world peace and security. Our Government regards it as its iron rule to give active support and encouragement to the struggle of the people of the world against US imperialism and is endeavouring to increase our solidarity with all the anti-imperialist forces.

With regard to the international democratic movement, the Government of our Republic also adheres to the principle of independence and noninterference. We are doing all that we can to support and encourage the revolutionary struggle and democratic movement of people throughout the world for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress; we have no intention of interfering or imposing our ideas upon them.

Our Government also strives to unite with the newly independent countries and all other countries on the five principles—respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

Our Party's Juche idea and our Government's independent foreign policy enjoy the support and sympathy of the people of the world. Every day more and more people throughout the world are expressing sympathy with our Party's revolutionary Juche idea and giving positive support to the principle of independence maintained by the Government of the Republic.

Today progressive people throughout the world want to live in accordance with the Juche idea and many countries are demanding independence. No one wants to be subjugated by others. No nation will tolerate interference in its internal affairs and infringement upon its honour. Not only the socialist countries but also the newly independent countries oppose foreign interference and restrictions, and are taking the road to independence and self-reliance. Even capitalist countries do not want to follow the big powers blindly any

longer but are demanding the right of independent action. The people of the world are now demanding the Juche idea and many countries are on the road of independence. This is an irresistible trend of our time.

You wanted to hear our views on peace in Viet Nam and on the Asian policy of US imperialism in this context. I shall touch on this matter briefly.

Peace has not yet been achieved and the war is still going on in Viet Nam. This is very regrettable not only for you but also for the Asian people and the peace-loving people the world over. In particular, the war in Viet Nam is causing great misfortunes and sufferings to its people.

It is entirely due to the crafty and vicious US imperialist policy of aggression that peace has not been achieved in Viet Nam.

As you know, in recent years US imperialism has repeatedly sustained great setbacks in the Viet Nam war and has undergone a serious political, economic and military crisis at home and abroad. To find a way out of this dead end, US imperialism produced the so-called "Nixon doctrine". This is a more devious and insidious policy of aggression aimed at making Asians fight Asians in Asia and Africans fight Africans in Africa.

However, the "Nixon doctrine" is a stereotyped and worn-out artifice which is quite impracticable. The reactionary ruling circles have used it for a long time to save themselves whenever they are driven into a predicament.

The "Nixon doctrine" is, above all, going bankrupt in the face of the Vietnamese people's heroic war of resistance. At present, the US imperialists, while persistently furthering the plan to "Vietnamize" the war in South Viet Nam, are more viciously perpetrating such criminal acts as blockading the coast of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and bombing its towns, villages and economic and cultural establishments indiscriminately. But they are continuing to suffer heavy military and political setbacks in the face of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people who have risen as one in the battle against

US aggression and for national salvation.

In order to ensure peace in Viet Nam, the US imperialists must immediately stop their aggressive war, give up the policy of “Vietnamization” of the war and get out of South Viet Nam taking with them their armed forces of aggression, troops of their satellites and puppets and lethal weapons. The Viet Nam question must be solved by the Vietnamese people themselves without any interference from outside forces.

The heroic Vietnamese people who are enjoying the powerful support and encouragement of the revolutionary peoples of Asia and the rest of the world will frustrate the US imperialist policy of “Vietnamization” and assuredly win a great victory in their struggle to liberate the South, defend the North and reunify the country.

Now, I should like to refer briefly to the Government of the Republic’s position on the discussion of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly this year.

At present we take a fundamentally different position to that of our enemy on this matter.

As they did last year, the US imperialists and south Korean rulers are employing the tactics of stalling discussion of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly this year. They maintain that there is no need for the UN General Assembly to deal with the Korean question and its discussion must be postponed because talks have begun between the Red Cross organizations of north and south Korea and dialogue is taking place between the north and south.

This assertion is quite contrary to the will of the Korean people; it is an extremely unjust assertion aimed at hampering the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. The plot of the US imperialists and south Korean rulers to put off consideration of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly again this year on the pretext of the partial contacts and dialogue now going on between the north and south serves to hide their sinister designs. By putting off the discussion, the US imperialists are trying to cover up their policy of aggression in Korea and the south Korean rulers want to keep the US imperialist

aggressor troops stationed in south Korea. Therefore, the tactics of the US imperialists and south Korean rulers in relation to the United Nations are totally aggressive and anti-popular.

To counter these enemy tactics, the Government of the Republic has decided to insist on the discussion of the Korean question at this year's UN General Assembly session.

We consider the United Nations should help the Korean people's struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of their country because discussions are being held between the north and south, talks are going on between the Red Cross organizations of north and south Korea and the north and south have made a joint statement which calls for the unity of the Korean nation to reunify the country peacefully, free from foreign interference.

If the United Nations wants to help towards the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea, it should not postpone, but start discussion of the Korean question at this year's UN General Assembly session and take positive steps in order that the Korean people's struggle to reunify their country peacefully on the principle of national self-determination can succeed.

The United Nations must first dissolve the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", take the cap of "UN forces" off the US imperialist aggressor army occupying south Korea in the name of the UN and force them to withdraw from south Korea. At the same time, it must revoke all resolutions and actions against the Korean people's struggle for national reunification and adopt a resolution for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. If the United Nations takes these measures, Korea's peaceful reunification will stand a better chance of coming about.

Many countries support our policy towards the United Nations today. More and more countries will support our just policy in the future.

We consider that with the active support of the world's progressive people, the United Nations will, sooner or later, take positive measures for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

### **3. ON THE QUESTION OF THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA**

It is the unchanging policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic to reunify the divided country independently and peacefully. Since the first days of our country's division, we have made every sincere effort for its peaceful reunification.

However, our country still remains divided into the north and south; it has not been reunified although 27 years have passed since liberation. Our people who are suffering from territorial division and a national breach unanimously desire the peaceful reunification of the country.

The aspiration for peaceful national reunification is rising rapidly not only amongst the people in the northern half of Korea, but also amongst the south Korean people.

When the sentiments for peaceful reunification were mounting rapidly amongst the south Korean people, we declared in our speech of August 6 last year that we were prepared to make contact at any time with all political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individual personages in south Korea.

After we made this new proposal expressing our readiness to make contact with even the Democratic Republican Party of south Korea, the south Korean people increased their pressure and the world raised its voice in favour of such contact. This compelled the south Korean authorities to propose the holding of north-south Red Cross talks and start a movement to search for families. Needless to say, we had proposed political negotiations with the south Korean side. But since we have consistently desired to have north-south contact ever since immediately after liberation, we valued their proposal despite its

limitations and agreed to hold talks, even though these were confined to a movement to search for families. As a result, the preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south opened on September 20 last year.

When the preliminary talks opened, the south Korean people, to say nothing of the people in the northern half of Korea, rejoiced deeply over the coming about of north-south contacts and warmly hailed them with great excitement. Following the preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south, the sentiments for peaceful reunification mounted still higher amongst the south Korean people.

Scared by the south Korean people's fast-growing sentiments for peaceful reunification, the south Korean authorities proclaimed a "state of emergency" under the fictitious pretext of a "threat of aggression from the north" and inaugurated the policy of suppressing the people. The declaration of the "state of emergency" by the south Korean rulers was merely a deceptive manoeuvre to dampen the sentiments for peaceful reunification and the democratic aspiration which were growing rapidly amongst the south Korean people.

Even after they declared the "state of emergency", we put forward different positive proposals for reunification out of a desire to dispel the dark clouds of national division and reunify the country in a peaceful way.

The pressure of the south Korean people and the strong opinion of the people of the world forced the south Korean authorities to propose secret north-south high-level talks separately from the preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south. Thus, as all the world knows, the north-south high-level talks were held and the north-south joint statement was published with our three principles of national reunification as its main content.

The high-level talks between the north and south and the north-south joint statement have opened up a bright future for our nation in its struggle to bring about the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. The spirit of the north-south joint

statement on the peaceful reunification of the country by the efforts of the Koreans themselves, free from foreign interference, has evoked the sympathy of all the Korean people and the world at large.

However, the announcement of the north-south joint statement does not mean that all the problems of national reunification will be solved easily. In order to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, all the Korean people must carry on their unremitting struggle with patience.

After the joint statement was made, the south Korean authorities did an about-face and are now employing double-dealing tactics; they are not honestly implementing the agreements stipulated in the joint statement. They speak fine words when they have face-to-face talks with us. But as soon as they turn on their heels, they slander us and become engaged in statements and acts contrary to the fundamental spirit of the joint statement.

The first principle of national reunification set out in the north-south joint statement is to reunify the country independently on the principle of national self-determination, without relying on outside forces or their interference. To be frank, reunifying the country independently means forcing US imperialism out of south Korea and preventing other foreign forces from interfering in the reunification of our country.

We are allies of the Soviet Union and China, but they do not meddle in the internal affairs of our country. There are no Soviet troops and no Chinese People's Volunteers in our country. The outside forces now encroaching upon our sovereignty and standing in the way of our national reunification are none other than US imperialism and some Japanese reactionaries. In order to reunify the country independently, therefore, we must oppose US imperialism and Japanese militarism, which are interfering in the internal affairs of our country.

Nevertheless, the south Korean authorities, even after they agreed to the principle of independent national reunification, are still making absurd allegations that the United Nations is not an outside force, that

US troops should remain in south Korea for a long time or that Korea should be reunified through UN-supervised elections.

The north-south joint statement also affirms the principle that national reunification must be attained by peaceful means without recourse to force of arms against either side. If this principle is to be observed, both sides must refrain from words and deeds which could aggravate the situation.

We have clearly stated more than once that we have no intention of “invading the south”. But the south Korean rulers say that they cannot trust our statements, and they are claiming that they must “build up strength” for north-south confrontation by reinforcing military installations both at the front and in the rear and speeding up the modernization of their armaments; they are also staging military exercises more frequently. This is a serious act which will aggravate tension between the north and south.

The south Korean rulers’ preposterous vilifications and provocations against us are evoking resentment amongst our people and People’s Army and creating tension in spite of dialogue, in the long run. This act will only help produce an atmosphere of war rather than an atmosphere of reunification.

Another major principle of national reunification set out in the north-south joint statement is that of promoting the great unity of the nation transcending differences in ideology, beliefs and social systems.

If we do not force the socialist system of the north upon south Korea and the south Korean authorities do not force us to restore the capitalist system, why should we, one and the same nation, fight against each other? We are not forcing socialism upon south Korea. What society south Korea will be in the future will be decided by the south Korean people according to their own will. The south Korean rulers are now claiming that a “wind of freedom” should be sent into the north. This arrogant attitude is aimed at obstructing peaceful reunification.

The principle of achieving great national unity transcending the differences in ideology, beliefs and social systems demands the

democratization of society and freedom of political activities for all parties, all groupings and personages of all levels. Only when society is democratized, can all the forces desirous of the independent, peaceful reunification of the country be united in one, irrespective of the differences in ideas, political views, religious beliefs and political groupings.

Even after the announcement of the north-south joint statement, however, the south Korean authorities have been suppressing democratic freedom as they have always done and intensifying their fascist repression of the people, claiming that there is no reason to revise the “Anti-Communist Law” and the “National Security Law”. They are even restricting the activities of the opposition and are preventing opposition party members from making contact with us, and they are arresting and imprisoning many people who advocated contact and interchange between the north and south and national reunification on charges of violating the “Anti-Communist Law”. Some time ago the south Korean authorities went so far as to execute the patriots who had striven for democracy and peaceful reunification in south Korea. This is a naked provocation to us.

Although they solemnly promised the nation to carry out the agreements in the joint statement conscientiously, the south Korean rulers are thus violating them without hesitation. They do not think of the consequences of their treachery to the nation.

These provocative acts of the south Korean authorities are infuriating all the Korean people and the people of the world as well. For the sake of national reunification we are restraining our indignation and showing patience to the arrogant gangsterism on the part of the south Korean rulers. Their acts will, in the long run, evoke greater wrath amongst all the Korean people.

If the south Korean authorities desist from such acts, observe the provisions of the north-south joint statement, the main content of which is the three principles of national reunification, make efforts to remove distrust and achieve mutual understanding and make sincere efforts to solve the reunification question, we shall continue

to work patiently for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

We will first exert every effort to bring about the earliest possible success of the talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south now going on amidst the expectations of the whole nation. In this way we intend to alleviate the misfortunes and hardships of the families and relatives separated in the north and south by the artificial division of the country and provide favourable conditions for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

In addition to this, we shall form and operate the North-South Coordination Commission as soon as possible, in order to implement the provisions of the north-south joint statement and so solve various problems to expedite the country's reunification.

However, the question of the country's reunification cannot be fully solved merely through contacts and negotiations of such limited scope as the north-south Red Cross talks and the North-South Coordination Commission. The reunification of the country involves many problems which cannot be solved within the functions of the north-south Red Cross talks or the North-South Coordination Commission. To settle fundamental problems for the country's reunification, it is necessary to have contacts and negotiations on a wider scale, and in many more fields, to discuss a number of specific measures for removing the long-accumulated misunderstanding and distrust between the north and south, promoting understanding and attaining independent, peaceful reunification. That is why we insist on immediately holding political negotiations such as a joint conference of political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea, or a conference of the north and south Korean authorities or a joint conference of our Supreme People's Assembly deputies and the south Korean "national assemblymen".

In order to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country as early as possible we deem it necessary to institute a north-south Federation for the present.

The north-south Federation we propose involves the formation of

a supreme national council with representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the "Government of the Republic of Korea" to solve political, economic, military and cultural problems arising between the north and south and thereby achieve national unity, while maintaining the present political systems of the north and south as they are. There is a difference in systems between them. But, if both the north and south abide by the principle of not forcing their social systems on each other, there is no reason why they should not institute a north-south Federation.

Once the Federation is established, there will be more contacts and visits and economic and cultural communication will also be effected more smoothly between the north and south. If the north and south work together economically and conduct interchange it will be possible to improve the economic situation of south Korea rapidly by utilizing the developed heavy industry and rich underground resources in the northern half of Korea and it will benefit the people in both parts of Korea a great deal. Sportsmen and performers can visit the north and south holding sports meetings and giving art performances, and form single north-south teams and single art troupes to participate in international sports competitions and international art festivals. Journalists can also travel freely for news coverage; and it will be possible to set up press centres of newspaper bureaus in Pyongyang and Seoul and exchange newspapers and journals between the north and south.

If a north-south Federation is instituted and broad interchange and visits are effected in economic, cultural and all other spheres, distrust and coldness between the north and south will be removed and a climate of mutual understanding and trust will be created and national unity easily attained. If an atmosphere of trust is created and national unity achieved between the north and south, the independent, peaceful reunification of the country will be achieved by way of establishing an all-Korea unified government through north-south general elections on a democratic basis without any interference from outside forces.

#### **4. ON RELATIONS BETWEEN KOREA AND JAPAN**

As you know, in the days of the Sato Cabinet, the Japanese government pursued an extremely hostile policy towards our country. But there is an indication that the present Tanaka Cabinet is pursuing a slightly less hostile policy than the Sato Cabinet. Sato obdurately opposed the travel of Korean citizens in Japan to and from the homeland and their journeys abroad. Korean citizens in Japan are now allowed to journey abroad to some extent and at least some of them are permitted to visit their homeland. I think this is a good thing.

However, we cannot say that everything has been settled in relations between Korea and Japan. Many problems have yet to be solved in order to normalize relations between the two countries.

To form a friendly relationship and establish normal diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan, the Japanese government must first change its attitude towards our country. It is entirely because of the hostile policy of the Japanese government that friendly relations have still not been formed between Korea and Japan. If the Japanese government stops meddling in the internal affairs of the Korean peninsula and adopts a friendly attitude towards our country, everything will be settled smoothly between Korea and Japan.

Our position on the question of Korea-Japan relations is consistent. From the first, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea hoped to have good-neighbour relations with Japan even though its social system differs from ours; and even now we want to put an end to the unnatural situation between the two countries as soon as possible and establish normal relations.

If the Japanese government wants to establish good-neighbour relations with our country, it must renounce its one-sided policy and

adopt an unbiased policy devoid of aggression to both the north and south of the Korean peninsula, and by doing so, it should help towards accelerating Korean reunification.

By pursuing its one-sided policy, the Japanese government is trying to sow seeds of discord in the Korean peninsula by egging on one side to oppose the other. This is most undesirable. The Japanese government should hope that the Korean peninsula, its neighbour, will become stable and that north and south Korea will be reunified and live in peace and happiness. If people in the next-door house were in turmoil and fighting each other, it would not benefit Japan either, would it? We consider that for its own benefit, too, the Japanese government should pursue a friendly policy towards our country, its neighbour.

It is true that there is a difference in the social systems of our country and Japan. But we think that it would be quite correct for the Japanese government to treat our country on an equal footing and establish diplomatic relations with us on the five principles of peaceful coexistence since it has established diplomatic relations with other countries with different social systems.

Even before the establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan, we are ready to bring about frequent visits by journalists, technicians and other people and conduct broad economic and cultural exchanges. This kind of exchange must not be one-sided; it must be conducted on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

As you know, Korea and Japan are conducting some exchanges at present. However, it must assume a one-sided character because of the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese government. Take the exchange of journalists for example. You Japanese journalists can visit our country but our journalists cannot visit Japan. As long as this one-sided system is followed, friendly relations will never develop between the two countries.

In our opinion, whether good-neighbour relations will be established between Korea and Japan or not depends entirely on the Japanese government's attitude, quite apart from specific procedures.

In the establishment of friendly relations between Korea and Japan it is very important that the Japanese government guarantees the Korean citizens in Japan their national rights.

Foreigners should be guaranteed their national rights. This is the requirement of international law. But the Korean citizens in Japan are not given the treatment due to foreigners today, although they have the nationality of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This is another expression of the Japanese government's unfriendly attitude towards our country.

We demand that, first of all, the Korean citizens in Japan be guaranteed the full right to national education as well as the right to repatriation and freedom of travel to and from the homeland.

You said that Japan has incurred widespread criticism internationally by its rapid economic development in recent years and asked for our views of Japan's present situation and foreign policy. Let me speak briefly about this point.

We do not think ill of Japan's economic development. Why should we think ill of our neighbour's economic development? If the development of Japan's economy is not used for the revival of militarism and aggression on other countries and contributes to improving the material and cultural living standards of the Japanese people and promoting its friendly relations with other countries, it will indeed be a good thing.

In the past, however, the reactionary Japanese ruling circles deviously planned to speed up the militarization of the country and invade other countries on the basis of the revival of Japan's monopoly capital and the establishment of its ruling system. The Japanese reactionaries have not yet dispatched troops abroad, but they are laying a stepping-stone for their future military aggression in other countries. This shows the danger of the revival of Japanese militarism.

At present, the Japanese reactionaries, actively speeding up the militarization of the country, have no scruples about embarking on the road of aggression against other countries under the guise of "helping" them. Taking advantage of the economic difficulties of some countries

in Southeast Asia, they are trying to seize the key branches of their economy by increasing the export of capital to these countries under various names such as “government loan”, “direct investment” and “joint enterprise”. They attach tight political strings to their “economic aid” in an attempt to sway some newly independent countries to the Right and deflect them from the anti-imperialist front.

In particular, Japan’s reactionary ruling circles started their full-scale economic infiltration into south Korea after fabricating the criminal “south Korea-Japan treaty”. They are again working desperately to reduce south Korea into Japan’s exclusive colony, stepping up political and military infiltration as well as economic infiltration.

It was reported that some time ago the Japanese authorities went to Seoul and held a “south Korea-Japan ministerial conference” with the south Korean rulers, at which they agreed to conclude an “agreement on industrial ownership” with the south Korean reactionaries as a price for their so-called aid. This is also an open act of aggression designed to subordinate south Korea to Japan economically. The conclusion of the “agreement on industrial ownership” between Japan and south Korea will enable the Japanese monopolies to have privileges in their business activities in south Korea and will shackle the south Korean economy more tightly to rapacious Japanese monopoly capital. This will create the danger of another Japanese invasion of south Korea, just as the Japanese imperialists invaded our country in 1894 under the pretext of protecting Japanese property and Japanese residents. As you see, Japanese monopoly capital is paving the way for the overseas aggression of Japanese militarism.

This is why our people are becoming more vigilant against the growing Japanese monopoly capital and are fighting resolutely against the militarization of Japan’s economy and its overseas aggression.

The Japanese reactionaries must not forget the lesson of history and must stop the militarization of Japan’s economy and their manoeuvres for overseas aggression. If the Japanese reactionaries continue to take the road of overseas aggression, oblivious of the lesson of history, they

will sustain another shameful defeat in the face of the struggle of our people and the progressive people of the world.

The Korean people express solidarity with the Japanese people in their righteous struggle against the revival of Japanese militarism and the Japanese reactionaries' aggressive manoeuvres.

I take this opportunity to send my greetings to the Japanese people and progressive men of the Japanese press who are helping the Korean citizens in Japan in their fight to defend their democratic, national rights and are actively supporting our people's struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

**TALK WITH THE MANAGING EDITOR  
OF THE JAPANESE POLITICO-THEORETICAL  
MAGAZINE *SEKAI***

*October 6, 1972*

I am grateful to you for your visit to our country. I also extend my thanks to your director for the letter he has sent me. When you return home, please convey my greetings to him.

You have addressed a number of questions to me and I shall now make my comments.

You asked me when the Juche idea was formed and established.

On this question I am going to give you a general account as I did to the correspondents of the *Mainichi Shimbun*.

You asked whether you can consider it correct to say that the history of the Juche idea is the history of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea itself. I quite agree with you.

The Juche idea could be fully established in our country after the people assumed power. We can say that since then we have worked hard to put the Juche idea into effect in all spheres of activity.

But insofar as the background of the emergence of the Juche idea is concerned, we formed this idea in the course of a long revolutionary struggle waged through many trials and tribulations.

To illustrate how I came to form the Juche idea, I must mention two events which I witnessed while I was young. Of all the things which I saw when I was still young, particularly when I was a student, there were two which I thought most unjust.

One of them was the fact that the communists and nationalists who professed themselves to be engaged in the national-liberation movement of Korea were divorced from the masses; a few top-level personalities simply playing with words and quarrelling, instead of arousing the masses to the real revolutionary movement. It was essential to organize and mobilize all the masses to assure success in the revolutionary movement. But those people, isolated from the masses, were only scrambling for power and indulging in “theoretical” arguments with each other, each claiming that he was right. Their “theory” was not for the advancement of the revolution, but was a sophism that had nothing to do with revolutionary work. So I wondered how they could ever lead the revolution to success merely by getting together and indulging in controversy all the time without developing a mass movement, and began to take a critical view of these things.

The masters of the revolutionary struggle are the masses, and only when they rise will it be possible to win the struggle. Yet, a handful of leaders, divorced from the masses, were just talking nonsense. What was the use of this? We considered the matter seriously. Those people ought to have gone amongst the masses and awakened them so that they became masters in the revolutionary struggle. No problem could be solved while a few people in leading positions did nothing but indulge in word play. This led us to attach great importance to Juche, to the viewpoint that the masses themselves were the main factor in solving all problems.

Another fact I faced was that there were many factions within the Korean communist movement at that time. I am not sure whether this was because of a lack of understanding of the communist movement or a scramble for power or flunkeyism. But our country had many factions then, such as the M-L group, the Tuesday group and the North Wind Association group. All these factions sent their representatives to the Communist International in an attempt to obtain its recognition. If they had conducted the communist movement well, they would have been recognized without taking such trouble. However, they formed

their own groups by collecting together three or five persons and busied themselves in gaining the recognition of the Communist International, instead of carrying out revolutionary movements. Each of the groups insisted that it was the only “orthodox” and genuine Marxist group. As a result, the Korean Communist Party was expelled from the Communist International in 1928, and was finally dissolved. We thought it a disgrace to the Korean nation. If one conducts the revolutionary movement well, one will be recognized by others without going to all the trouble of asking for their recognition. Is a Communist Party regarded as such only when it has obtained the recognition of other people? We need not get approval of others before starting our revolutionary movement. We carry it out if we want to. When we do so properly, what does it matter whether others give us approval or not? As long as we make revolution well, others will give us recognition naturally. What is the need of rushing around to gain other people’s recognition?

These two factors—the serious factional strife in the Korean national-liberation and communist movements and the leadership divorced from the masses—strongly convinced us that we must not carry out our revolution in that way. We keenly felt that we must mix with the masses and rely on them in our struggle, that we must solve our problems by our own efforts, and that if we worked well, the recognition of others would be of no importance.

The two aspects mentioned above had a great influence on the development of my revolutionary thinking. From then on we emphasized that the people are the masters of revolution, and accordingly, we must mix with them and that if we step up the revolution of our own country by our own efforts in a responsible manner, whether or not recognized by others, we will naturally gain sympathy, recognition and assistance from other countries. We can say this was the starting point of our Juche idea.

As I said to the *Mainichi Shimbun* journalists the other day, the long revolutionary struggle deepened our conviction that the force of the masses is the main factor in the solution of all problems. We must

solve all problems, relying on the force of the masses, and since revolution is a struggle of the masses to emancipate themselves, they must rise up together. It is on this basis that we carried out our revolutionary struggle.

We also thought that all problems had to be raised in accord with the masses' political awareness.

In 1936 we organized the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland and put forward its Ten-Point Programme. I shall not go into its details. At the time we presented a programme for mass unity—that the whole nation must be banded together and all the people must be united—a programme to form an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal united front against the imperialists and traitors to the nation. This was a most appropriate slogan for our people at that time. After liberation, we also followed this line in carrying out a number of policies.

Our fundamental problem was how to get more of the people to take part in the revolutionary movement and the building of the country. In the early days after liberation we organized the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. Immediately after liberation, however, our country had a small working class, and only a few of its members were armed with communist ideology. In this situation, if we had stuck to the slogans of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, it might have split the masses and young people into many groups. We took stock of the situation and realized that the formation of the Communist Party did not conform with the masses' preparedness. Therefore, we promptly reorganized it into the Workers' Party. We also took the initiative in transforming the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League which included young men and women of all levels.

The revolutionary movement and the construction of the country cannot be carried out by the efforts of a few communists. They must be joined by many young people and progressives. Therefore, we abandoned the narrow-minded position and reformed our organizations to meet the needs of the situation.

After the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

we laid greater emphasis on the necessity to solve all problems on our own.

Our situation was completely different from that in other countries. Ours was the only Asian country where the people seized power immediately after World War II. At the time China was still carrying on her revolutionary struggle. Our country's situation was also quite different from that in the European countries. We have characteristic features as an Oriental people, as the Korean nation. Therefore, we could not copy European things mechanically. Of course, we ought to study and refer to some experiences gained in the European countries, but we could not follow them automatically. Ours was a backward country which had suffered for a long time from the corrupt policies of feudal rulers and then remained a colony for over 36 years. If our country was to rid itself of backwardness, it was essential to adopt lines and policies to suit the Korean situation. So we had to solve all problems in a unique way. Objective realities required us to do so. In other words, the facts demanded that we display independence and creativity. That is why we believed more firmly that we had to pursue all policies in conformity with our country's conditions and our people's needs.

You asked, amongst other things, what the biggest problem was in the formation of the Juche idea. This is a very interesting question. In my opinion, it also has two aspects.

The most important thing in establishing the Juche idea is to do work with people well, because the people decide everything. Success in the struggle to transform society and nature, in the last analysis, depends largely upon how one works with people.

Work with people is extremely important. As I always say, Party work is work with people, so is the work of mass organizations. Economic activity, too, only proceeds well when work with people is done well. But this work was often not done properly but in an administrative manner, instead of educating and teaching people patiently. This was our greatest difficulty.

It is wrong to work with people in an administrative manner. The

administrative method of work is a bureaucratic work method. Revolution must not be made in an administrative way. We have not yet been able to correct this completely.

Within the Party we are continually trying to change Party work into work with people. But in some cases this work is replaced by issuing instructions or decisions or by holding meetings. I think this is one of the major defects which have to be overcome. We are now making efforts to rectify it.

In order to establish the Juche idea, it is most important to reform the people's ideology. Using administrative methods, this is impossible. If we issue instructions in an administrative manner, people do not really accept them, although they superficially appear to do so. If we issue orders which are not to their liking, the masses do not accept them at heart; they just pretend to accept them. We insist on rooting out administrative methods. We are making sure that both in economic and state affairs, or in any other activity, political work is done ahead of all other work before the appropriate tasks are given.

In personnel administration, we have to educate cadres after their assignment. Only then can we prevent them from committing errors. Giving them no education after their assignment and dismissing them when they commit mistakes is wrong. This shows ignorance of work with people and an inability to do it.

Another large stumbling block in establishing the Juche idea is flunkeyism. Flunkeyism is an old idea which had persisted for centuries in our country. The flunkeyists claim that the things of their own country are all bad, that they have nothing which is useful and that everything foreign is good. They take such a nihilistic attitude to things of their own.

Of course, there are good as well as bad foreign things, and we can learn from the good things. It does not mean that we are chauvinistic, just because we are opposed to flunkeyism.

We must learn from good foreign things and cast aside the bad ones. Even when we do this, we must take them in a way which suits our taste. We must not try to swallow those things which we do not

like. Some Koreans had been so deeply infected by flunkeyism in the past that we had to wage a hard struggle to root it out.

At one time there was a great deal of flunkeyism in our country. Let me tell you just how flunkeyism was manifested in the realm of literature and the arts.

This is what happened when flunkeyism and dogmatism were very evident in our country. I visited a local army hospital during the war in order to enquire about the wounded. There was a picture hanging on the wall. It showed a Siberian landscape with a bear crawling about on the snow-covered ground under a giant pine tree. I asked the soldiers what place the picture showed. They said that the painting showed a bear crawling around in a forest but that they did not know where the place was. Then I asked them if there were many bears in our forests. They said that there were some but they were not typical Korean animals.

I asked the soldiers which they preferred, this picture or a nice painting of our Mt. Kumgang. They answered that they preferred the latter. So I asked the chief of the political department of the unit why he had hung this kind of picture instead of one of our Mt. Kumgang, which the soldiers liked better. I was shocked to hear his answer. He said that he had to buy it because our picture dealers sold only such pictures.

This incident gave us a great deal to think about, and we decided that it was all due to flunkeyism. So we began to check how things were going on in the realm of the arts at that time. Our examination showed that almost all of our artists were engaged in Western-style painting.

At that time our musical world had a very few national instruments. There were national instruments at some places, but they were exactly the same as those used in the old days. Some artists alleged that our national music was outdated and Western music was modern. This is actually what they used to call them. So I gathered artists together and asked them why they, our contemporaries, could not produce their own music although our ancestors had created theirs, why they regarded

Western music as the sole modern music, why there was no modern national music and on what grounds they asserted that modern music was Western music; I asked them why Korean national music should be old music and modern music be Western music and why we Koreans could not create modern music to suit our national taste. They could not answer my questions.

Furthermore, I asked our artists about the meaning of the word “realism” which they used so often. They knew the word only, not its real meaning. So I told them that they should not swallow things that way. Then I gave a definition of socialist realism in our country: national in form and socialist in content.

I told them that they must not label everything as socialist realism, and that it was meaningless to create music that could not be understood by the Korean people. I also said to the artists: “Of course, I am not against your singing only Italian and other European songs. But I wonder how many Koreans will like them. You have failed to create art for the masses. What’s the use of making art for art’s sake? Art should serve the people. Music should be pleasant to hear; it should bring joy to people; it should be understood and endorsed by them. But they say they don’t understand your music. If you indulge in the old musical art under the pretence of performing national music, our young people will not like it. You must not take to restorationism either. If you do so, you’ll eventually be inclined to admire the West. We should never do that.”

Instead of trying to serve their nation and people, some people thought that if they introduced everything foreign, it would do since foreign things were all good. This was a great problem.

In our country flunkeyism also found expression in the fields of construction, industrial management and education.

Thus, flunkeyism was manifested a great deal in different realms in our country previously and it was very difficult to overcome. We have fought flunkeyism over a long period.

As I have said, we have two major obstacles to overcome in establishing the Juche idea in our country. One is flunkeyism and the

other is the administrative method in working with people. I think this will be only overcome through a prolonged struggle.

We are still endeavouring to overcome them and I think we should continue to do so. We do not consider that they have now been surmounted completely. That is why we are still stressing that both Party work and the activities of the working people's organizations should not be conducted by the administrative method but should be converted into work with people. At the same time, we stress the fact that all of us must serve our country and people and that we must not adopt a nihilistic attitude towards our own things, claiming that we have nothing which is useful, while approving and worshipping everything foreign. In a nutshell, we are going to eliminate the idea of relying on others without having faith in our own strength. This does not mean national communism. If revolution and construction are conducted well at each national unit, they will also be successful on a worldwide scale, won't they? Marx, Engels and Lenin also said that Marxism is not a dogma and it should be applied creatively.

In your next question, you asked if the Juche idea is a new philosophy on the correlation between the national task and the task of internationalist solidarity. That is excessive praise.

In my opinion, true Marxists must have independence and creativity. For my part, I have only emphasized this point.

I shall not speak at length about this matter. I have already talked a lot about the problems related to the content of the Juche idea. Since I dealt with them fully in my answers to the questions raised by the Japanese *Mainichi* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* journalists, I believe you understand them. So, in order to avoid repetition I am not going to make any further statement.

I have spoken about the problems which have arisen in translating the Juche idea into reality. There are many other problems, of course, but I have concentrated on fundamental points today. So much for the problem of the Juche idea.

I shall now answer your question about our education.

We attach more importance to this problem than others. As I have

just said, what is important in establishing our Juche idea is to work well with people. In order to do this work well, we should first carry out education well.

Educational activity is the beginning of work with people. That is why our Party and Government have put a lot of energy into this problem from the start.

In order for our country to extricate itself from backwardness and advance rapidly, all our people had to be given education. The goal of socialist and communist construction itself demands that we conduct education well. After all, the construction of socialism and communism aims at providing all the people with prosperous lives. For this purpose it is important not only to raise everybody's material standard of life but also to raise their ideological and cultural levels.

The aim of revolution is to enable all the people to lead affluent lives. To do so, everybody must work well and, in order to work well, they must have their self-consciousness.

The development of people's self-consciousness should start from education. It is clear what great power can be shown when everyone works willingly. I think if everyone takes a willing part in the work of construction and revolution it will generate great power and make everyone prosperous more quickly.

Unless the people are well educated, some people might emerge who neglect the property of the state and society and destroy or erode it. Then, however much we may build, it will be of no avail. Some people like to be idle, but if we do so, it will be impossible to make our people equally well-off.

Our Party holds that we must occupy the material and ideological fortresses on the way to communism. It will be wrong to capture the material fortress only without conquering the ideological fortress. Unless the ideological fortress is occupied, it is impossible to capture the material fortress. Therefore, we put forward the slogan: "The whole country must study, the entire Party must study, and all the people must study." Under this slogan everybody is studying now.

In our country people of over 40 are made to attend the working

people's middle schools to attain the knowledge of middle school graduates; all people under 40 are at the level of middle school graduates or above since they have received compulsory secondary education.

In order to educate people, cadres must show a practical example. We have set up a system under which cadres study two hours every day. They also study every Saturday afternoon, and we have a system for them to study for one month a year. This is to re-educate cadres. Under this system our cadres study to raise their ideological, cultural and technological standards.

The education of young people and children is very important. To this end, we have introduced universal ten-year compulsory education which includes senior middle-school training. We have a Korean saying: "In ten years even mountains and rivers will change." I think ten years of proper education will enable all the rising generation to lay the foundation of a revolutionary world outlook.

Our compulsory education differs from that in capitalist countries. We give free education to all students; we do not engage them in physical labour during schooling. The state law prohibits labour by boys and girls under 16 years of age. If our children do any labour, they plant flowers on roadsides or trees on the hills. That's about all. This is organized by schools to develop their love for labour, and it cannot be called labour in the true sense of the word. Our children have formed the Greenery Guards and Hygiene Guards, swatting flies, polishing windows and cleaning classrooms. All this is designed to get all children and young people to love labour.

In our country today approximately six million members of the rising generation are receiving education at state expense at kindergartens, primary schools, senior middle schools and colleges. This imposes a considerable burden on the state. The burden is heavy now, but the prospects are bright. It will bear fruit in ten years' time.

In the old society the intelligentsia was regarded as a social class. Of course, it still is in a capitalist society. But the intelligentsia may disappear in the future. When everyone becomes an intellectual, then

there will be no intelligentsia. At present our country has 500,000 technicians and specialists. We are putting up a slogan: Let's train another 500,000 during the Six-Year Plan and build a huge army of one million technicians and specialists. This is a task proposed by our Party at its Fifth Congress.

Party organizations at all levels are now working hard to achieve this target. We are increasing the number of factory colleges, as well as regular institutes of higher learning. At factory colleges our workers study by day or by night according to the shifts they work. We are going to build a great army of intellectuals in this way. Looking ahead, when almost all of our people have graduated from universities and colleges in the future, there will be no separate social class such as the intelligentsia. They used to call the intelligentsia an unstable group or an opportunistic class but there will be no such problem in the future.

Our universal compulsory ten-year education means that pupils receive senior middle schooling. Through this we aim to give all our people a complete middle school education.

We started universal compulsory ten-year education this year. We are planning to introduce it in 20 per cent of schools every year so that it will be completely established in five years. We think this is possible. Of course, there may be some difference between localities. This compulsory education may be fully established in four years in some places and three or two years in other places. We mean that it will be completed in five years on a nationwide scale. Some time ago I visited Mundok County. Its chief Party secretary told me that they would complete it in two years. I said I had no objection to this.

Once all the young people acquire perfect knowledge of middle school standard through compulsory education, they will carry on their studies more easily. They may finish collegiate courses by studying for themselves or may continue to study at universities and colleges. In my opinion, when they have received a basic education, they will be able to acquire specialized knowledge without much difficulty.

Next, you asked me if we conduct a "genius education", that is, a special education of those children who have remarkable talents. We

are now conducting this kind of education as well. Fundamentally speaking, I oppose the theory of “genius education”, because it is difficult to classify people as talented or untalented.

But, in fact, we cannot deny that there are some who have peculiar talents for specific realms. In the Students and Children’s Palace there is a girl who plays the xylophone. Probably you have heard her play. I think she has a special talent. She is 11 or 12 years old but plays the xylophone excellently. There are some children who have exceptional skill for certain fields like this girl. We do not ignore this fact. Those children of remarkable talent are sent to suitable schools.

For example, our country has the University of Science. This university enrolls fresh middle school graduates, whereas, as a rule, universities and colleges admit those middle school graduates who have received recommendations after having worked at factories or finished their service in the army. We have this sort of system, too. There are similar systems in art and other fields. In some cases school-teachers pick out some young people and recommend that for their brilliant talents it will be more beneficial to the state to give them special education than sending them to factories or to the army. Such young people are allowed to enter institutes of higher learning immediately after graduation.

Social organizations also have their own schools. The Women’s Union runs the mothers’ schools in the rural areas. Both educated and uneducated women attend these schools. They were established with a view to giving appropriate education for women, teaching such subjects as the question of the emancipation of women. The League of Socialist Working Youth also has schools for young people. Adult education is conducted in all parts of the country. Therefore, the Government has to provide a huge amount of money for education. We are allotting almost all the state funds for education.

We are now studying the science of socialist education. The most important thing here is to train people to work willingly, which is the fundamental requirement of socialist construction. If anyone is to work well, he must study and raise his technological level. It is also

important to educate all the people to acquire the habit of taking care of social property, since all wealth belongs to the people in a socialist society. In this way, we attach great importance to the question of educating everybody to love labour and look after the people's property in a socialist society.

Furthermore, we must educate people to value the collective life more than individual life, although this is also important. We educate our people in these subjects.

We can see such practices as hating work, loafing on the job and embezzling and wasting state property even in countries whose people have received a good education for many years. In order to eliminate such practices, I think, people should be educated to love labour, take care of the people's property and value their organizations and collectives.

We have put forward the task of studying socialist education consisting of the above-mentioned items and some other aspects and are gradually putting it into practice. Perhaps you have received a lecture on this matter from our comrades, so I will cut my comment short here.

A capitalist society cannot abolish the police system. The police system is required to keep public order. In other words, the police perform such functions as arresting thieves, controlling the violation of traffic regulations, keeping watch to prevent the illegal felling of trees in the mountains, collecting fines and so on. In order to put an end to such practices in the future, people must have a high level of conscience and everyone must take care not to trouble others.

Our country has no forest ranger. But no one fells trees at will. You will find no instances of reckless felling in our country. I think this is because the people are conscientious.

Would it be a good thing to increase the police as property increases? Our country has no police. We have public security men to keep order, but they should disappear in the future. People must be led to do everything themselves. Therefore, we must educate them well.

In addition, it is important to intensify organizational life so that

people teach each other and correct each other's faults. Since socialist education was introduced, improvements have been made in many aspects in our country.

You asked about our economic development. I shall deal with it briefly.

As you know, since we rose on the ashes after the war, we underwent many difficulties in economic construction and we cannot yet say that we have solved all our problems.

But we can tell you one thing: we are now able to walk by ourselves. What is important here is that we have our own cadres. Previously, we had no cadres of our own. But the nation's cadres have been trained in large numbers for all branches. Our country has trained many young cadres, who are highly creative because they have developed in the course of the struggle for construction. Because there are many such cadres of our own, I think, the groundwork has been laid and the conditions have been created for rapid economic development in the future.

You asked me what the main goal of the Six-Year Plan is. In brief, it is to effect automation and free the people from tough labour and enable them to work with ease, by consolidating and developing the successes in industrialization. In order to achieve this goal, our people have to display greater creativity, but it is also important to introduce advanced foreign technology.

You asked if we are now in the process of changing over from quantity to quality. We must increase both quantity and quality.

Next, you asked me about the problem of environmental pollution resulting from industrial construction. We also consider it a very serious problem. In building industries we have made it a principle to refrain from contaminating the environment as far as possible.

To take an example. They say Mt. Myohyang has a large deposit of gold. Once some of our people proposed to mine gold there, but the Government prohibited it. We did not want to destroy that beautiful mountain just for a few tons of gold.

Because in our country industry is controlled by the state as the

property of all the people and there is no private monopoly capital, we can take measures to protect the people from damage and prevent the environment from being contaminated while developing industry. We prohibit the building of large factories in Pyongyang. So such factories are few in this city. In Pyongyang there are only textile mills, machine-building plants and other factories which do not harm people. Women can work at these factories. Therefore, the environment of Pyongyang is never contaminated.

Industries are concentrated to a certain extent in Hamhung. The city is crowded with factories and they may do some harm to the population. Therefore we ensured that the dwelling houses were rebuilt on the foothills.

We foresaw this problem and dispersed factories a long time ago. It is not raised for the first time today. Immediately after liberation and when we rehabilitated and constructed our industry immediately following the armistice, we pursued a policy of preventing factories from doing harm to people or contaminating the environment. We have distributed the nation's productive forces in such a planned way. Our country is now free from environmental pollution because according to this policy we have dispersed factories and selected definite areas to erect plants.

I will tell you this much since I was told that you are well informed of our economic situation.

As for your question about how we evaluate the past year's developments in Asia, I think they were favourable.

In the past year the Japanese people have also struggled energetically. Their struggle was so powerful that the reactionary Sato government went out of office and the Tanaka government came into office. I consider that this is the result of the Japanese people's struggle.

We highly value and fully support their struggle. In my view, the Japanese people's struggle is important not only in forcing the Sato Cabinet to resign; it is of tremendous importance in leading the Japanese government to take the road to independence. I think this is a very good thing.

Some time ago Sino-Japanese talks were held and a Sino-Japanese joint statement was made. The joint statement is considered a good thing. I believe that the recent normalization of relations between these two countries will contribute greatly to peace in Asia.

The Japanese people have also fought actively to establish the friendly and cordial relations with the Korean people. As a result, mutual visits have now begun between the two countries, through which mutual understanding has been deepened; there is a possibility that economic interchange will increase. I think this has also made the situation favourable for the peoples and contributed to a lessening of tension.

With regard to the war in Viet Nam I have already made my comments to the correspondents of the *Mainichi Shimbun*, so I have nothing more to say about it for the present.

In general, we may say that over the past year the Asian situation has developed in favour of the Asian peoples and that US imperialism has suffered a great setback in Asia.

US imperialism is no longer in a position to make a fool of Japan at will. It is true that Japan is allied with the United States as its subordinate, but it is trying to free itself from the control of US imperialism.

US imperialism was also forced to abandon its policy of blockade against China. As a consequence China's international prestige has increased.

All this will have a good effect on the Asian peoples. I do not think it will affect them adversely.

The US imperialists have intensified the bombing of Viet Nam and blackmailed it by all possible means. But the Vietnamese people have not been brought to their knees; on the contrary, they are fighting more strongly. This shows that there is no way out for US imperialism.

The Asians must become the masters in Asia and the US imperialists must not be allowed to behave as masters. We must drive all the US imperialist forces out of Asia wherever they have set foot. To this end we should, of course, wage a powerful struggle in the

future. One thing I can say definitely: the awareness and fighting spirit of the Asian peoples have increased and they do not want to be ruled by US imperialism.

In short, I believe that the situation in Asia will develop in such a way as to enable the Asians to live peacefully together and it will turn more favourably for the Asian peoples who are fighting for freedom and liberation, national independence and peace.

Next, you asked me about national reunification. On this question I have nothing to add to what I said to the *Mainichi Shimbun* correspondents.

It is true that the north-south joint statement was made on the basis of the three principles maintained by us. However, its announcement does not mean that everything has been solved. We have only opened the closed door, met and exchanged greetings with each other for the first time; we have just laid down the principles for further discussion. Although they have started the north-south talks, the south Korean rulers are carrying on unwarranted acts. They proclaimed a “state of emergency” on the pretext that there is danger of our “invasion of the south”. They have not yet removed it, even after the announcement of the north-south joint statement which provides for the peaceful settlement of questions. They have not only not rescinded the “state of emergency” but they are also neglecting the implementation of the stipulations of the joint statement, saying that they cannot believe in the communists or that they must wait and see.

If they cannot believe in us, what do they want us to do? If they are asking us to disarm ourselves and give up our armaments to them, it is an unreasonable demand. We are not demanding that they should do so. Once they have promised to settle things peacefully, they should remove the “state of emergency” and show some reaction. But they are taking many unwarranted actions, claiming that they cannot remove the “state of emergency” and repeal the “Anti-Communist Law”, nor can they agree to hold political negotiations for peaceful reunification, because they cannot trust the communists. Although they have published the joint statement designed to achieve reunification without

outside interference, the south Korean rulers are claiming that the UN is not an outside force.

At present US imperialism is trying to find an excuse for preventing the withdrawal of their troops from south Korea. This is the biggest obstacle to the solution of our reunification question. The US imperialists said that they welcomed the north-south talks, but soon afterwards they declared that they would keep providing south Korea with armaments and that they would not get out of there. In the final analysis, it is the US imperialists and the reactionary forces trailing behind them who are hindering the reunification of our country.

Since the north-south joint statement has been made, many people are looking forward to the country's reunification. However, some reactionaries, while obstructing the people's desire from coming about, are claiming that peaceful reunification is impossible, and some people are saying that national unity between the north and south cannot be achieved.

The problem now rests with the fact that the outside forces and their sycophants are obstructing dialogue between the north and south. Outside forces are the US imperialists, and some reactionary circles in Japan can be regarded as belonging to this category. The main outside forces are the US imperialists. The US imperialists say that they are in favour of the north-south dialogue, but, in fact, they are obstructing it.

I consider that the people in Asia and elsewhere should pool their strength and put pressure on US imperialism. The US imperialists say that they are going to improve relations with China as well as with the Soviet Union. Why do they try to keep their military bases in south Korea, one half of our territory? They claim that they are staying on in south Korea to "protect" it because we may attack. Why are they going to stay on there after our declaration that we will reunify the country peacefully? At the United Nations they flatly insisted on postponing the discussion of the Korean question for a year. We demanded that the discussion of the Korean question should not be postponed, that since the dialogue has begun between the north and south Koreans all obstructive factors to Korean reunification should be removed in order

to fully guarantee the unity of the Koreans and that only by doing so will it be possible to assist in the reunification of Korea. The Algerian proposal was tabled on this basis, but it was rejected because of US obstruction. At the current session of the UN General Assembly many countries supported the Algerian proposal in order to help us. We feel grateful to these countries for their great efforts in supporting our position.

The south Korean representatives are allowed to carry out their activities at the United Nations freely but our representatives have not been allowed to do the same.

The discussion of the Korean question was postponed for one year at the UN General Assembly, so the reunification of Korea will be held back by that amount of time. The point is that the US imperialists are leading the obstructionist manoeuvres. It is obvious that as long as foreign troops are occupying part of a country, it cannot reunify itself of its own free will. The US imperialists allege that they are “protecting” south Korea because we may invade it. What is the reason that they are going to remain there although we are willing to reunite the nation by peaceful means? They are openly revealing their aggressive ambition. It stems from the nature of imperialism.

It is not by chance that we Koreans are fighting vigorously against US imperialism. Since US imperialism is preventing our nation’s reunification and trying to continue its occupation of south Korea we cannot adopt a well-disposed attitude towards it, can we?

I am sure that if there are no obstructionist forces, the Koreans can find common grounds between themselves. There are differences in political systems and other problems between the north and south, but I think that we can find common grounds and achieve national unity because we are the same nation. As I said to the *Mainichi Shimbun* correspondents, we proposed the establishment of a Confederation while maintaining the present systems as they are, if it is impossible to achieve the reunification of Korea at this time.

I hope the Japanese people and other Asian peoples will make united efforts to help us attain the reunification of Korea.

A nation must not be divided in two against its will. We Koreans are a single nation with the same language and alphabet and long-standing traditions. It is unjust to divide this nation in two by force, isn't it? We are suffering pain now. This is really agonizing. We shall have to unite and fight stoutly for reunification.

The present policy of the south Korean rulers is to resort to delaying tactics. They want to prolong their days for even the shortest time. Our three principles of national reunification have deprived them of an excuse for taking unjust action. That is why they are now trying to postpone the discussion of the Korean question at the UN and mouthing all kinds of sophistries. This year they succeeded in postponing the UN discussion of the Korean question for one year, but I do not think their scheme will be long-lived. They cannot deceive the people for long. History will not allow them to do so. The people will be awakened and their struggle strengthened.

We have been told that recently some south Korean opposition members stated that they supported the north-south joint statement, that it was necessary to accept our idea of a Federation and that political negotiations between political parties and social organizations of the north and south should be held. Public opinion is increasing in favour of reunification in south Korea. The south Korean press are being muzzled so severely that they cannot reveal the facts. It will be useful if the Japanese press report the just voices of the south Korean people and the opposition members. In south Korea different things are being said because the reactionary forces who are obstructing reunification are resorting to harsh repression and there are complications between themselves, but the people are well aware of which is right.

The forces in south Korea who want to perpetuate the division of one people and partition the country in two are insignificant; the great majority of its people demand reunification by all possible means. So we may hope, though it will require some time. The south Korean rulers first suggested refraining from abuse and slander but they have violated the agreement. So I mentioned it in my recent talk with the

correspondents of the *Mainichi Shimbun*. Recently a “letter” signed by Ri Hu Rak was addressed to the south Korean press, requesting them not to use words which might obstruct reunification. I do not know whether this is a trick or not. If they really mean what they say, we shall also adopt a friendly attitude.

The north and south could have no contact before, but now contacts are being made through the Red Cross talks and through the Coordination Commission. This is a good thing compared with the past. I think common grounds will be found through these contacts.

Now let me touch briefly on the relations between Korea and Japan.

With regard to this question, I have already spoken many times, so I shall not make a long comment. I think the problem of Korea-Japan relations will be settled more smoothly if the north and south Koreans solve the country’s reunification question speedily.

We consider that there has been a great deal of progress in our relations with the Japanese people in the past year. Today relations between the Korean and Japanese peoples are developing satisfactorily.

Judging from the fact that the Tanaka government is establishing relations with socialist countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, I do not think that it will adopt a hostile attitude towards our country in the future. At present the Tanaka Cabinet permits mutual visits of individual persons between Japan and our country; and recently it permitted the entry of our scholars into Japan. It is reported that they will invite a delegation of our journalists and permit visits of technicians in the future. In this way the Tanaka Cabinet has relaxed the hostile policy pursued towards our country in the days of the Sato Cabinet. I think this is, indeed, a good thing.

The Japanese press including the *Mainichi Shimbun* and the *Asahi Shimbun* are also suggesting the necessity to reappraise Korea-Japan relations. The Japanese people, especially, have an increasingly deeper understanding of our country.

In all these respects, we can foresee a closer relationship between the two countries.

We consider that if the Japanese government wants to work sincerely for the peace of Asia, it should at least pursue a policy which is not obstructive to our country's reunification, and we hope that the Japanese government will do so. For this the Japanese government must renounce the one-sided policy and adopt an unbiased policy entirely devoid of aggression to both the north and south of the Korean peninsula. By doing this, it should help towards accelerating the reunification of our country, I think.

We do not fear that the development of trade relations between Korea and Japan will reduce our country to a supplier of raw materials or a commodity market for Japan. Ours is an independent country. It is an economically independent country with its own industrial base. Therefore, we are firmly convinced that our country will never be reduced to a supplier of raw materials or a commodity market for other countries.

Of course, we can sell some raw materials to Japan. This does not mean that our country will become a supplier of raw materials for Japan. Our country is blessed with abundant sources of iron ore. Even if we sell some to Japan, it cannot be said that our country will be reduced to a supplier of raw materials for Japan. A country which has no independence and self-sufficiency will be reduced to a supplier of raw materials for foreign countries. However, our country will never be driven into such a position since we have independence and a self-reliant economy.

We do not worry about this. On the contrary, we think it will conform and be beneficial to the interests of the peoples of the two countries to develop trade with Japan on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. If the Japanese authorities propose to conduct trade with us, we are ready.

We do not expect any great benefit from our economic exchanges with Japan. And yet we consider that Korea and Japan can conduct as much economic interchange as possible on the principle of mutual benefit.

Any exchanges must be conducted on the principles of equality and

mutual benefit, not by aggressive methods. We are carrying on trade with other capitalist countries on the principle of mutual benefit. We are sure that we shall never be deprived of our independence.

South Korea's case is entirely different. South Korea is trading in such a way that it imports factories from Japan and manages them jointly or hands over the right of management to the Japanese. This should be considered a shackling economic exchange.

We do not tolerate such things. If we import factories from Japan we shall pay for them. We want to trade with Japan on the principle of equality. We do not permit the Japanese to gain the right of industrial management or ownership in our country, nor do we want to receive long-term loans from Japan. We are going to conduct trade in accordance with the principles of international trade.

You asked me if we shall establish diplomatic relations with Japan in spite of the "Japan-south Korea treaty". We have never said that we shall establish diplomatic relations with Japan while the "Japan-south Korea treaty" exists. The worst part of this "treaty" is its third article. It stipulates the "Republic of Korea" as the only lawful government in the Korean peninsula. This is an interference in our country's affairs.

When Governor Minobe was in our country I told him that I could not recognize the "Japan-south Korea treaty". It can be said that the Japanese government asserts that the "Republic of Korea Government" is the sole lawful "government" in the Korean peninsula, because Japan pursues a policy of following the United States and the reactionary Japanese government follows a hostile policy towards us. Therefore, we cannot say that Japan will treat us on an equal footing as long as the "Japan-south Korea treaty" remains effective. I think some sort of action must be taken to annul or abrogate it.

There are many problems here. For example, if the "UN resolution" defining the "Republic of Korea" as the sole "government" in the Korean peninsula is repealed, the "Japan-south Korea treaty" will lose its effect automatically, because the "Japan-south Korea treaty" is based on the "UN resolution".

We have not yet proposed the establishment of diplomatic relations

with the Japanese government. We are not going to conduct a sycophantic diplomacy. If the Japanese government wants to establish diplomatic relations with our country, it may and, if not, it may not. This is our position. Certainly, it would be better if diplomatic relations were established between the two countries. If Japan normalizes its relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the third article of the "Japan-south Korea treaty" can be regarded as null and void. Many problems may arise in this connection. We have not yet raised this matter formally with the Japanese government. We are going to solve the question of Korea-Japan relations, examining the Japanese government's attitude towards us.

I am glad to have a long talk with you during your visit to our country. I am happy to have exchanged our opinions in this way.

**A LETTER OF CONGRATULATION  
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL  
YOUTH SHOCK BRIGADE AND OTHER  
RAILWAY BUILDERS WHO PARTICIPATED  
IN THE PROJECT FOR A NEW YOUTH  
RAILWAY BETWEEN ICHON AND SEPHO**

*October 10, 1972*

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and on my own behalf, I extend warmest congratulations and thanks to you, the members of the national youth shock brigade and the other railway constructors, who have succeeded in the building of a new youth railway between Ichon and Sepho by demonstrating all your patriotic devotion and unparalleled mass heroism in support of the magnificent programme put forward by the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, and made a faithful report to it.

By completing the new railway, you, who are boundlessly loyal to the Party, have splendidly carried out the decision of the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea on quickly opening a new railway which links the eastern and western coasts of our country and have brilliantly implemented our Party's policy on linking our railways by a great loop-line.

The Ichon-Sepho line which has been built by your heroic efforts has increased the transport capacity of our country greatly; it will improve the living conditions of the people in this part of the country

and give a great stimulus to socialist construction.

The members of the youth shock brigade and the other railway constructors have rendered a really great service by building the new youth railway between Ichon and Sepho for our Party and people and have achieved a wonderful success which astonishes the world.

Since the day when you set about this project, you have bravely overcome all the difficulties and obstacles by fully displaying a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity and you have finished the arduous and colossal project in a period of a little over a year, as you had promised the Party. In this way, you have built the youth railway, another great monument to the beloved socialist motherland.

In the worthwhile struggle to conquer nature, you have also equipped yourselves with the monolithic ideology of our Party more firmly, revolutionized and working-classed yourselves and prepared yourselves better as true revolutionary fighters of our Party, as dependable heirs to the cause of our revolution.

The indomitable revolutionary spirit you have shown and the feat of labour you have performed in the construction of this railway are an expression of our young people's infinite loyalty to the Party and another demonstration of the fighting stamina and creative power of the young Korean men and women who are dashing forward to hasten the reunification of the country and the victory of the cause of socialism and communism.

Through the construction of the new youth railway between Ichon and Sepho, you have clearly shown that the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity of the young people and constructors educated by our Party are limitless and that nothing in the world is impossible if the LSWY organizations get down to the task and if the members of the youth shock brigade and other young men and women pool their wisdom and efforts.

I have the highest praise for the immortal exploits of labour performed by the members of the national youth shock brigade and the other railway constructors who have made a great contribution to

increasing the power of their socialist motherland by carrying out the worthwhile task of building a new railway with honour.

Our Party and people will remember your valuable achievements and imperishable service in this undertaking for ever and will pass them on to the generations yet to come.

Beloved youth shock brigade members and railway constructors,

We are now faced with the honourable task of bringing about a new revolutionary uplift on all socialist construction fronts in order to accomplish the magnificent programme of building socialism laid down by the Fifth Congress of our Party and to expedite the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

In the future, too, you must equip yourselves more firmly with the Juche idea of our Party, revolutionize and working-classize yourselves thoroughly and thus become guards and a death-defying corps who are boundlessly loyal to the Party.

Just as you have done until now, you must develop the youth shock brigade campaign more widely on all fronts of socialist construction, bearing the brunt of the worthwhile struggle to implement the Six-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

The youth shock brigade campaign is a fitting challenge to the young people; it is a glorious campaign for the LSWY organizations and young men and women.

The LSWY organizations must, in the future, too, send many more youth shock brigades to the most important and urgent sectors and projects of socialist construction.

The young people who are enterprising and sensitive to the new ought to advance in a more powerful mass campaign to acquire science and technology, participate more enthusiastically in the struggle to mechanize and automate all production processes, and stand in the front ranks in carrying out the three major tasks of the technical revolution put forward by the Party.

We have to build many more new railways during the Six-Year Plan.

Young people and other railway builders must display boundless

loyalty to the Party and mass heroism and bring about a great revolutionary change at new railway construction sites just as they did when building the youth railway between Ichon and Sepho.

We are now living in the age of revolution.

You must all work, study and live in a revolutionary manner, as befitting the young people of the revolutionary age. All the young men and women will thus advance in the forefront of the fight for the ultimate victory of the revolution and for the reunification of the country.

I firmly believe that the members of the youth shock brigade and the other railway constructors will continue to carry out the revolutionary tasks given by the Party with credit, rallied more closely behind the Party.

## **TALK TO A DELEGATION OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE OF SWEDEN**

*October 19, 1972*

I warmly welcome your visit to our country.

This visit is a great contribution to strengthening friendship and solidarity between the young men and women and the peoples of Korea and Sweden. It also gives tremendous encouragement to the young men and women and the rest of our people in their struggle to accelerate socialist construction and reunify their country. I am grateful to you for your visit.

The situation in our country has, I believe, been explained to you by the chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Socialist Working Youth. So I shall not refer to it. I should like to talk briefly about the relations between the north and the south of our country.

In my speech on August 6 last year, I stated that we were ready to have contacts with all political parties, including the Democratic Republican Party, public organizations and individual figures in south Korea at any time. As our new proposal for north-south negotiations was published, the south Korean authorities replied that north-south Red Cross talks should be held first. In this context, preliminary talks were held between the north and south Red Cross organizations.

The preliminary talks dealt with the items on the agenda for the full-dress talks, including reunions and free travel between the families, relations and friends who had been scattered between north

and south as well as the meeting places and dates of the full-dress talks. At the preliminary talks, the south Korean side insisted that only the question of finding the displaced families should be discussed. We proposed that the discussion should cover the question of finding not only the displaced families, but also relations and friends, and not only the question of finding them, but also the question of allowing free travel between them. The preliminary talks dragged out on these questions for a year, and some time ago reached an agreement and then proceeded to full-dress talks.

The opening of the north-south Red Cross talks was hailed by the young men and women and the rest of the people in south Korea as well as those in the northern half of Korea. Why should they not rejoice over the event which meant our people, the same nation, meeting again after being kept separated in north and south for nearly 30 years?

Alarmed at the delight of these south Koreans and at their mounting trend towards the reunification of the country, the south Korean authorities threw a wet blanket over the trend by saying, "Don't be too excited," and "Even though we have to reunify the country, we must do it by stages." They even declared a "state of emergency". Under the pretext that we were going to attack, the south Korean authorities reinforced their armed forces and intensified the fascist repression of the young men and women and the rest of the people.

They invented a lie that we were going to attack them. On many occasions we have stated clearly that we have no intention of "invading the south" and that we want a peace agreement between the north and the south.

While the north-south Red Cross preliminary talks were under way, separate north-south political negotiations took place. Early last May, a high-ranking official of the south Korean authorities came to the northern half of Korea for high-level political negotiations. When I met him, I proposed three principles on which the country should be reunified.

The first of the three principles of national reunification is that the country should be reunified independently.

Why should we settle the question of the reunification of our country by depending on foreign forces and not by the efforts of our own nation? We must reunify our country by our own efforts. The US imperialist aggressive forces must stop interfering in the internal affairs of our country and withdraw from south Korea. The occupation of south Korea by the US armed forces is totally illegal, and their presence in south Korea is the major obstacle to the reunification of our country.

The second of the three principles of national reunification is that great national unity should be promoted, regardless of thoughts, ideas and systems.

There are differences between the north and the south in their thoughts, systems, political views and religions, but, the whole nation must achieve unity of purpose by transcending these differences in order to bring about national reunification. Different countries and different nations are on friendly terms and live together in harmony, in spite of their beliefs and systems. Why, then, should these differences prevent the same nation from uniting? If we do not force the socialist system on south Korea, and if the south Korean authorities refrain from imposing the capitalist system upon us, we can achieve great national unity, leaving the existing social systems in the north and the south as they are.

If the people in the north and the south cooperate with each other, visiting each other and trading with each other, both the north and the south will be able to make rapid progress and provide all the people with a good life. The northern half of Korea is rich in resources and has developed heavy industry, and south Korea has a large area of arable land. Every year a large number of fields in south Korea are left uncultivated because of inadequate irrigation. If the north and the south undertake irrigation construction in cooperation, south Korea will be able to increase agricultural production rapidly and will not have to import rice. If they cooperate, the two halves of the country will be able to undertake joint fishing operations, and the north will be able to supply industrial raw materials to south Korea. South Korea will find it

much more advantageous to develop industries by using the raw materials available at home than by importing them from foreign countries.

The north and south will be able to deepen mutual understanding in the course of visits and interchange and, then establish a north-south Federation and, further, hold north-south general elections for the complete reunification of the country.

The third of the three principles of national reunification is that the country should be reunified peacefully without either side resorting to armed force.

We do not intend to “invade the south”. The Korean people are one and the same nation, and the north and the south must not fight against each other and must reunify the country peacefully.

The south Korean authorities agreed on the three principles of national reunification which we had proposed.

After the south Korean delegate’s visit to the northern half of Korea, our delegate visited south Korea and negotiated with the high-ranking authorities there.

In the course of a number of high-level political negotiations, we and the south Korean side agreed that the north and the south should refrain from slandering each other, that the armies of both sides should not fight against each other, that both sides should conduct exchange in many areas, for the implementation of the three major principles of national reunification, and that, in order to discuss and coordinate these matters from time to time, a North-South Coordination Commission should be formed and operated.

As a result of the north-south high-level political negotiations, a historic North-South Joint Statement, the keynote of which is the three principles of national reunification, was finally published.

The south Korean authorities, however, went back on all the agreements in the North-South Joint Statement on the day following its publication.

They have contravened the joint statement a great deal in word and deed, declaring that the United Nations are not foreign forces, that the

US army should continue to stay in south Korea, that they cannot revoke the “Anti-Communist Law” because they cannot believe the words of the Communist Party, and that they must bring more weapons from the United States for the purpose of “fostering strength”.

The south Korean authorities have continued to slander the northern half of Korea. On the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, we stopped censuring south Korea by the press immediately, but the south Korean authorities did not do the same. When we asked them to explain why they did not implement the two sides’ agreement on refraining from slandering each other, they answered that it was because their internal situation was complicated. As I said to the journalists of the Japanese newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun* some time ago, the south Korean authorities are now using double-dealing tactics. When talking with us, they say good things, but they are doing a lot of bad things behind the scenes.

Because the south Korean authorities were slandering us ceaselessly, we rebuked them for their unreasonable acts. They admitted, to our delegate, their continued slanders against the north after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement and urged the early formation of the North-South Coordination Commission. Our delegate told the south Korean delegate that their proposal for the early formation of the coordination commission was good, but that the agreements in the North-South Joint Statement on refraining from slandering each other had, however, already been brought to nothing. He proceeded to criticize the south Korean side for all its violations of the joint statement.

Even after that, the south Korean authorities have kept none of the promises they had made to us, nor have they lifted the “state of emergency”. Worse still, two days ago they declared an “emergency martial law” on top of the “state of emergency”. By this “emergency martial law” they have dissolved the “national assembly”, suspended all activities of the political parties, occupied the broadcasting station by assaulting it with tanks, closed down the universities and imposed censorship on the newspapers.

In spite of their promise to us for peaceful national reunification, the south Korean authorities are bent on fascist repression in south Korea in this way. These acts of theirs are a laughingstock for the newspapers of the United States, Japan and many other countries.

The south Korean authorities themselves have shown the world that their assertion that we are going to “invade” and “communize” south Korea is a complete lie. They have declared the “emergency martial law” on this occasion with the aim of overhauling their “Constitution” so as to put south Korean society under stricter fascist rule and bring about their wild plan to remain in office for a long time. In order to facilitate their plots, they suspended the activities of the political parties and closed down the universities because they were afraid of political parties and young people and students.

The south Korean authorities are more afraid of the young people and students than anyone else. The south Korean young people and students support us because our policy for national reunification is just; they are opposed to the policy of national division and fascism pursued by the south Korean authorities. University students and other young people and pupils in south Korea rose in revolt in 1960 and ousted the former dictator Syngman Rhee. The present dictator of south Korea is suppressing them cruelly, but he will not be able to block their just struggle.

Park Chung Hee is a traitor. He was an officer of the Japanese imperialist aggressive army before liberation. And then, after the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialist aggressive army, he served as a special agent of the USCIA. We told him that, if he worked sincerely for the good of our nation even now, we would forgive him his past crimes. But he is continuing to act against the North-South Joint Statement.

Our fight for the peaceful reunification of the country is, after all, a fight between a patriot and a traitor. We shall continue to speed up socialist construction and improve the people’s standard of living quickly by uniting all the people in the northern half of Korea, and work hard to reunify the country peacefully in cooperation with the south Korean people.

Our slogan for peaceful reunification is absolutely correct and has won active support from the people around the world. The more the people of the world support our call for peaceful reunification, the greater terror it will strike into the hearts of the enemy. But, because of the misleading US imperialist propaganda against our country, some people do not have a correct understanding of our people's just struggle for national reunification. In this situation, it is important for progressive people like you to work hard to build up support for our people's struggle for national reunification amongst people throughout the world.

We are convinced that, with the active support of the people of the world, our people will accomplish the cause of national reunification.

I hope that you will extend the sphere of your activity in support of our people's cause of national reunification.

**CONCLUDING SPEECH DELIVERED  
TO THE FIFTH PLENARY MEETING  
OF THE FIFTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA**

*October 23 to 26, 1972*

**1. ON THE DRAFT SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION  
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

I wish to speak briefly about the draft Socialist Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The socialist revolution in our country was carried out on a full scale after the publication of the April 1955 Theses. It is true that production relations had been reorganized on socialist lines to a certain extent during the period of peaceful construction, throughout the Fatherland Liberation War and in the early postwar years. However, this was done on an experimental basis. Full-scale socialist transformations in our urban and rural communities were undertaken after the publication of the April 1955 Theses and they were completed almost simultaneously in 1958. Since the publication of the April Theses, we have achieved great success in the socialist revolution and in building socialism.

In the course of the socialist revolution, we had to overcome numerous obstacles.

When we began to tackle full-scale socialist transformation in town and country after publishing the April Theses, some people did not support the Party's policy.

The anti-Party factionalist Choe Chang Ik and his "Yanan group" objected to our Party's line on the socialist revolution by questioning how socialist transformation could be undertaken in the northern half of Korea alone, when the country had not yet been reunified. The "Irkutsk group" and other flunkeyists doubted whether we could introduce cooperativization when everything had been reduced to ashes and even countries with developed industry were unable to reorganize production relations on socialist lines.

Big power chauvinists also objected to socialist transformation in our country. They asked how we were going to undertake socialist transformation when we had no industry, nothing but ashes. They said that, although they had more developed industries than Korea, European People's Democracies had not yet undertaken cooperativization widely. They advised us to make use of the capitalists in Korea as other countries were doing. None of these people understood the peculiar conditions in our country.

Other countries had to make use of capitalists because they probably found capitalists useful, but the capitalists in our country had gone almost bankrupt in the war years and had lost their usefulness even if we had wanted to use them. Worse still, in those days, some private merchants and manufacturers were doing a great deal of harm to the state by stealing its property. In these circumstances we could not afford to leave them untouched and it was unnecessary to rehabilitate the bankrupts and help them to become capitalists just so that we could make use of them. It was more advantageous to bring them under the cooperative economy and reorganize them on socialist lines than to provide them with state money and resuscitate them after they had become extremely poor. Particularly in our country where everything had been destroyed in the war, it was impossible to improve the people's standard of living and develop the national economy quickly unless a large number of people combined their efforts. In the

postwar years, the socialist revolution in our country was needed urgently and could not be postponed any longer.

Categorically rejecting the arguments of the big power chauvinists, flunkeyists and anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists, our Party set about the socialist revolution without hesitation.

Although we began the transformation of production relations on socialist lines empty-handed, we were able to carry out the cooperativization of agriculture successfully and incorporate private merchants and manufacturers in the cooperative economy smoothly. To be honest, it was flunkeyists and not the bourgeoisie who caused trouble in our country during the years of cooperativization. It was the flunkeyists who came out against our Party in 1956 when things were difficult.

In the period of cooperativization, our peasants supported our Party's cooperative policy enthusiastically. At that time, our Party defined the three forms of the cooperative economy in agriculture. The first was the permanent mutual assistance team which only worked together without bringing means of production under communal ownership. The second was a semi-socialist form in which lands were pooled and brought under communal cultivation and distribution was given according to the work-points and land contributed. The third was a completely socialist form in which lands and major means of production were pooled and distribution was made only according to the work done. Most of our peasants organized cooperatives of the third category from the outset. They did so, not under coercion, but of their own accord. There were no cooperatives of the first category in our country, and there were very few of the second category in the initial stage.

We were absolutely correct to publish the Theses in April 1955 and press ahead with the socialist revolution.

Big power chauvinists and flunkeyists objected to socialist transformation in our country, but what was the result? We not only reorganized production relations on socialist lines successfully in a short period after the publication of the April 1955 Theses, but also

carried out socialist industrialization.

What would have happened if we had just sat down and waited until the north and the south had been reunified as counselled by the flunkeyists, instead of taking the road to socialism? What would have become of it if we had revived the impoverished bourgeoisie and tried to make use of them by following the advice of the big power chauvinists? The situation in our country today clearly shows that the road which the Central Committee of our Party took was absolutely correct.

Because our Party's road was correct, the working class and the rest of the people supported our Party enthusiastically. Believing in the strength of the people only and depending on it, our Party advanced, braving difficulties and trials. This was how we emerged victorious by defeating all the schemes of the big power chauvinists, flunkeyists and anti-Party factionalists who were opposed to the Party's line and policy.

The present situation in our country where the socialist transformation of production relations in urban and rural communities and socialist industrialization have been carried out requires the adoption of a Socialist Constitution.

If we are to consolidate the great success achieved by our people in the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism, it is necessary to make the Socialist Constitution legal and establish that success by law. The existing Constitution which confirmed the success of the democratic revolution by law is already outdated. This Constitution does not accord with the present situation and contradicts it in many respects. We have, therefore, decided to amend it to suit the present situation in our country.

Our original intention was to revise the Constitution and the law of state structure before the Fifth Congress of the Party. Although we did not make a formal announcement of the formation of the commission for the drafting of the Constitution, we set about drafting a new Constitution a long time ago. We were the main draftsmen, and many other comrades including the members of the Political

Committee took part in this work. However, this could not continue without interruption but was suspended from time to time because of changes in the situation and under the pressure of various other matters. That was why the new Constitution was not drafted before the Fifth Party Congress. In early 1971, following the Fifth Party Congress, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee decided to draft the new Constitution as quickly as possible. By this decision, we formally organized a commission for the drafting of the Constitution and completed the draft of the new Socialist Constitution.

The important thing in this Constitution is that the victory and success achieved by our people in the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism are legally established. Another important matter is that the principles governing political, economic and cultural fields in the socialist society are defined clearly. The Socialist Constitution also defines a new system of state structure. Through this new system, the Presidency and Premiership are introduced, and the Central People's Committee is made the highest leadership organ of state power. In other countries the term state council is widely used, but we have called the state power organ the people's committee from the outset, so the term people's committee is preserved.

Our Socialist Constitution differs from foreign constitutions in a number of ways.

Foreign constitutions deal briefly with political, economic and cultural life in terms of general rules or an introduction, but our new Constitution stipulates in detail the principles to be observed in political, economic and cultural life. This is aimed at consolidating the already achieved success and victory by means of law. Unlike foreign constitutions which deal mainly with the system of state structure, our Socialist Constitution provides favourable conditions for the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions by clarifying the details of the principles of political, economic and cultural life. The Constitution will bring about a great change in the lives of our people in the period of transition by defining these principles and binding all

the citizens to fulfil their constitutional duties, just as Party members perform their duties as defined by the Party Rules.

The new Constitution has no stipulations about south Korea. The old Constitution covered the question of the whole of Korea, but the new one does not. Although the new Constitution does not explicitly say anything about south Korea, it can be applied to south Korea as it is, if the south Korean people approve it. In addition, stipulations about south Korea can be supplemented in the Constitution at some time in the future if it is necessary to do so. No constitution is immutable.

At the present time, the south Korean puppet clique is also going to change its “Constitution”. Therefore, if we change ours now, it may give the peoples of other countries an impression that the north and the south are competing in revising constitutions. But we are not revising it because they are doing so in south Korea. We have been preparing the new Socialist Constitution for a long time. So there will be no problem in our adopting the new Constitution now. In south Korea martial law was promulgated for the purpose of changing their “Constitution”. But we are going to adopt our new Constitution in a peaceful atmosphere without having recourse to martial law. Since the world can see the contrast, there will be no harm even though we adopt the Constitution now. Nor can we postpone this matter for long.

The adoption of the new Constitution is very important. All comrades must, therefore, take an active part in discussing the Constitution and express their opinions. The plenary meeting must organize sectional meetings to hear a wide range of opinions not only of the members and alternate members of the Party Central Committee, but also of the observers.

After discussion of the draft Socialist Constitution at this plenary meeting, it should be sent to the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea for consideration so that the opinions of different political parties and public organizations can be heard.

## **2. ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR 1973**

It would be preferable if I could hear all the speeches of the chief secretaries of provincial Party committees, but let us wind up the speeches since the major problems have been discussed. The chief secretaries of provincial Party committees who have not spoken are advised to do so at the plenary meeting of the Cabinet. The Cabinet plenary meeting must discuss next year's plan widely, adopt a detailed decision and issue it for the subordinate units.

Now, I shall talk about some important questions in carrying out next year's national economic plan.

In the first place, we shall have to continue to make great efforts to implement the three major tasks of the technical revolution.

As all of you know, the Fifth Party Congress adopted the policy of carrying out the three major tasks of the technical revolution. This policy is the expression of the desires and wishes of the entire membership of the Party. All cadres and other Party members must, therefore, work hard to succeed in carrying out the three major tasks of the technical revolution which were put forward by the Fifth Congress of our Party.

The main factor in carrying out these tasks is the machine industry. To be precise, the technical revolution means a revolution in the machine industry. If we are to carry out the three major tasks of the technical revolution successfully, we have to concentrate on the machine industry so as to increase the production of different kinds of modern machine tools, tractors, lorries and ships and mass-produce large bulldozers, large excavators and other heavy-duty machines. For the purpose of implementing the three major tasks of the technical revolution successfully, our Party has defined the order of priority in

developing the machine industry and concentrated on the main factor. Just as a correct definition of the order of the objectives to be attacked in battle is very important, so is the correct order of priority in the development of the machine industry.

Our Party has decided to give priority to the battle to increase the production of machine tools during the Six-Year Plan.

The increased production of machine tools will enable us to develop factories producing tractors, motor vehicles, trailer farm equipment, single-purpose machines and machine parts as well as many other modern factories and shipyards.

However, the officials in charge of the machine industry have relaxed after reaching the level where 30,000 machine tools are produced. They are not making further innovations. This is not the way you should work. When you have seized a height in a battle, you must continue to fight stubbornly to exploit the success while holding out on the height you have captured. This is a fundamental principle of battle. If the officials in charge of the machine industry relax and do not think of making further advance after the victory in the first battle, they will be unable to consolidate the victory which has been achieved.

Because there has been no further innovation in this sector since the victory in the first battle as a result of the officials' laxity, we have on many occasions encouraged them to strengthen their resolve. If you are to emerge victorious in battle, you have to be enterprising and keep your spirits high.

As is the case with any other work, people can only succeed in carrying out the three major tasks of the technical revolution when they are in high spirits and have revolutionary optimism.

It is true that the three major tasks of the technical revolution are difficult and arduous to perform. But if all the officials are in high spirits and if they tackle these tasks with determination to carry them out and with a stubborn fighting spirit, it will be well within their capability. The officials in charge of the machine industry must show revolutionary enthusiasm and an unbreakable fighting spirit, without being in the slightest content with earlier victories, and thus make

continual innovations in the production of machine tools.

There is nothing particularly complicated about the production of machine tools. If there is any problem in this work, it is with the production of castings in the Huichon Machine-Tool Factory. In order to save materials, the workers of this factory have set up the casting shop in the open. In rainy or snowy weather, the men cannot work as they should, and production does not proceed on a steady basis in the rainy season in particular. So we told them to build a casting shop. The workers of Huichon must concentrate on this project and finish it quickly, and make up for the deficiencies in the processes as soon as possible so as to maintain the production level of 10,000 machine tools. The Kusong Machine-Tool Factory must also make continual innovations and produce at least 10,000 machine tools every year. From now onwards, special machines produced by machine-tool factories should be calculated in terms of ordinary machine tools for the assessment of the work results of the factories concerned.

We must also increase the production of single-purpose machines. If we have to import them, they will cost us a large sum of foreign currency and take a long time. The workers of the machine industry must work hard to increase the production of high-quality single-purpose machines for the motor vehicle and tractor factories, light industry factories and different sectors of the national economy.

The production of tractors has to be increased.

Mechanization is the main task of the rural technical revolution at present, and it requires a large number of tractors. By increasing the production of tractors and mechanizing agriculture we can increase the production of cereals and other crops and free farmers from difficult and labour-consuming work. However, the senior officials of the Ministry of Construction did not press ahead with the project for the extension of the tractor plant, nor have the senior officials of the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 and the officials of the Party Committee of the Kiyang Tractor Plant worked efficiently to increase the production of tractors.

The officials in charge of the machine industry must concentrate

great effort on the production of tractors and increase this capacity to 30,000 tractors as soon as possible.

In addition, the production of trailer farm machines must be increased. You cannot mechanize agriculture with tractors alone. Each province must take steps to manufacture trailers, rice transplanting machines, harvesters, threshers and loading machines to meet provincial needs. If, instead, provinces depend only on the Agricultural Commission for these machines, they will be unable to mechanize agriculture quickly.

The production of lorries must also be increased.

Large numbers of lorries are required today; every sector needs them. Coal and ore mines, the transport sector and the People's Army continue to request 10-ton lorries, and the agricultural sector and the commercial network are asking for a large number of *Sungni-58* lorries.

The officials of the machine industry must direct great effort to the manufacture of lorries and produce 10,000 *Sungni-58* lorries and 5,000 *Jaju* lorries every year in the near future. It is necessary to manufacture four- to five-ton lorries which are widely used in construction, but we cannot afford to build the factory immediately. Therefore, we have to postpone the construction of this factory and produce large numbers of *Sungni-58* and *Jaju* lorries for the time being instead.

If we are to develop the fishing industry very quickly, we must increase shipbuilding. In obtaining non-staple food for the people, it is more profitable to build many ships and catch fish than to build plants for the production of pork.

Machine factories must develop a widespread campaign to let each machine factory produce equipment for another.

In order to improve the daily necessities industry and the food industry speedily, it is necessary to mass-produce sweet-packing machines, cigarette-rolling machines and bottle-capping machines and similar equipment. We are capable of making as many of these machines as we need.

Recently I visited a machine factory and found that it had contrived many new modern machines by the workers' own efforts and

automated its production processes excellently. So we told the executives of the factory to produce another plant and turn it over to the Ministry of Daily Necessities Industry. They answered that they would do so by the end of the first half of 1974.

Other machine factories must also develop the campaign to increase the number of factories and produce a large number of machine plants needed for the development of the daily necessities and food industries. It is desirable that the decision of this plenary meeting should include the task for machine factories to produce the machine plants which are needed for light industry.

If the light industry sector is provided with many machine plants, it will be able to build many modern light industry factories on its own. Since we have already imported samples of a footwear factory, leather-shoe factory, knitwear factory, confectionery, fruit processing factory and many other kinds of modern factories, we shall be able to build many good light industry factories by manufacturing equipment on these patterns.

At present, graduates of universities of technology are not properly appreciated but work on any job. They should all be returned to the Ministry of Machine Industry so as to organize many design groups. It does not matter if they only imitate existing models at first, without making inventions. At some time in the past, technicians in the munitions industry were blamed for their inability to invent new equipment, but now they are inventing fairly good machines.

Technicians must be concentrated in the machine industry so that they can produce many machine plants which are needed for the development of light industry.

We must think boldly and get down to the task confidently and develop a widespread campaign for machines to reproduce machines and for factories to reproduce factories. The present situation is fundamentally different from what it was in the past when the let-one-machine-tool-make-another movement was under way. In the past machine tools reproduced machine tools, but now factories must reproduce factories, in addition to machines reproducing machines.

At present, some officials, affected with timidity and flunkeyism, cannot develop work boldly.

Let me give a few examples.

Although it is three years since a new kiln was installed at the February 8 Cement Factory, it has not yet been provided with balanced preparatory and subsequent processes. Nevertheless, the Party Central Committee department concerned, the Cabinet, and the Party committees of North Hwanghae Province and Pongsan County are not doing anything positive about this.

The work of freeing women from the heavy burden of household chores is not going ahead smoothly.

Yesterday I visited the Oesong Rice-Cooking House and found that women there were working in an unhygienic manner, and that the house itself was not clean. This house was built as a present to the Fifth Party Congress, but the senior officials of the Ministry of Commerce have not tried to improve it, neither have they endeavoured to build more rice-cooking houses.

These officials also neglected the construction of laundries. Our working people are now wearing a great deal of clothing made of chemical fibre, but they find it inconvenient because dry cleaning facilities are not available.

Food processing factories are not developed, either. If we are to free women from the heavy burden of household chores and bring up children well, we must develop the food processing industry and mass-produce tasty and nutritious food. Building a large number of nurseries and kindergartens is important, but supplying children with good food is no less important.

Our food industry, however, is underdeveloped at present, and we are not producing a great deal of children's food in particular. At some time in the past liver-oil sweets and powdered meat were produced, but now even these things are scarce.

All Party organizations must pay particular attention to the development of the food industry and ensure that the production of different kinds of palatable and nutritious food is increased. It is

advisable to import a modern food factory even though we have to spend some foreign currency. In the future, the officials concerned must import an automated food factory.

In order to free women from the heavy burden of household chores, it is also necessary to build many hosiery and clothing factories.

Under the influence of flunkeyism, the officials in charge of light industry say that only those machines which are imported from foreign countries are serviceable, instead of thinking of making the machines they need. Since the state has imported sample factories, they must manufacture equipment on their patterns by themselves. The state cannot afford to continue to import factories. We have to import some samples of those which we cannot make ourselves, and then we must make them on their patterns.

All Party organizations must not pay only lip service to relieving women from the heavy burden of household chores; they must organize work substantially. Two years have already passed since we began to implement the Six-Year Plan, and six years will pass quickly while you are dawdling.

At present, no one is supervising the struggle to carry out the technical revolution in a responsible manner. In future, the Party Central Committee departments in charge of economic affairs, provincial Party committees and the Cabinet must have this work under their control. The economic departments of the Party Central Committee must energetically organize the work of implementing the Party's policy, and direct and control the Cabinet and ministries so that they will carry out this task in a responsible way. The Party must not take administrative and economic affairs upon itself. The economic departments of the Party Central Committee must adhere to the Party's policy and stimulate the Cabinet and ministries.

In addition, we must improve labour administration.

Labour administration is one of the most important activities in building the socialist economy. Efficient labour administration can ease the acute manpower situation and stimulate the working people's zeal for production and their voluntary work enthusiasm. Whether

production grows quickly or not in our society depends largely on the efficiency of labour administration. All Party organizations, senior officials and the officials in charge of labour administration in particular must have a correct understanding of the importance of this work and direct it firmly.

Labour management must be improved.

At present, our executives do not take sufficient notice of the work hands, so that they know nothing about how the work hands at factories and other enterprises are moving, and what absentees are doing. If labour is managed in this way, it will be impossible to ease the strain on the manpower situation and increase production quickly.

As all of you know, the producer masses are the decisive force in transforming nature and society, and labour management means precisely taking care of the producer masses. Therefore, unless we improve labour management, we shall be unable to increase production quickly and we shall not be able to ensure rapid social progress. All Party organizations and senior officials must rectify the shortcomings in labour management as soon as possible and improve this work radically. The officials in charge of labour administration must not depend totally on paperwork, but visit subordinate units, and investigate the manpower situation at factories and other enterprises in detail. If they find excessive labour in relation to their production capacity, the surplus should be transferred to those sectors which are short of work hands.

If the senior officials of the Ministry of Labour are to direct labour management well, they must always have a clear idea of the total work force of each of the industrial establishments, the number of people who are on official journeys, who are away from work because of illness and who are absent without leave, in relation to the total work force. Even during the difficult years of the war, we had a daily picture of the location of each of the People's Army units, of its daily strength, the number of its casualties, and the amount of ammunition available for it. Because we had a good grasp of the units' situation at all times, we were able to command the war correctly. Senior officials, no matter

what office they are in, must have a clear picture of the manpower situation. Since they are exclusively in charge of labour management, the senior officials of the Ministry of Labour ought to have a clear understanding of the labour situation at the factories and enterprises in different sectors of the national economy as well as the movements of the work hands in these industrial establishments.

Of course, it will be a little difficult to know the labour situation at all the industrial establishments throughout the country at all times. However, the Ministry of Labour must at least know the labour situation in the major factories and enterprises such as the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Kiyang Tractor Plant and the Komdok Mine. If it is kept informed regularly of approximately 100 major factories and enterprises, the ministry will be able to have a rough estimate of the percentage of workers who are present on the job, who are on official trips, who are ill, and what are the reasons for staying away from work, on a national basis.

It is not really very difficult to obtain the information of the labour situation in the industrial establishments. Ministerial officials can get it simply by telephoning their subordinate units. If they ask about the labour situation at factories and enterprises regularly and become highly demanding with regard to labour management, managers will also try to know the number of people who come to work every day and the reasons for the people who are absent from work, and then take the necessary steps. At present, however, the central authorities do not ask their subordinates for information, nor are they strict in this matter. This is why factory and workshop managers do not care about the movements of work hands in their factories and workshops.

From now onwards, the officials in charge of labour administration must make it a rule to get to know labour management at factories and enterprises in detail weekly, monthly and quarterly. The county authorities must know the labour situation in the county, the provincial authorities in the province, and the central authorities in the whole country. Since there is a well-knit labour administration system from top to bottom in our country, they can keep themselves informed

regularly of the nation's labour situation and can manage labour efficiently by means of the system.

The main reason for inefficient labour management at present is that the officials in this sector, accustomed to outdated practices, depend totally on paperwork and do not get in touch with the actual situation. The officials of the labour administration sector must break with the old practices once and for all and get in touch with the producers frequently, discuss matters with them and establish a correct system of getting to know the labour situation regularly.

In addition to improving labour management, work norms must be assessed correctly, and wages and work-points applied correctly.

These are very important in stimulating the enthusiasm of the producers for their work. The officials of the labour administration sector and the executives of the factories and enterprises and of the agricultural sector must improve the assessment of work norms in keeping with the developing situation and implement the socialist principle of distribution to the letter.

Work norms are not immutable. With the rise in the technical level and with the progress of mechanization, semi-automation and automation, the work norms must rise.

The officials of the labour administration sector, however, are still using the method of calculating work norms which was used scores of years ago in foreign countries, instead of adjusting them to suit the changing situation. That is why many of the work norms do not accord with the actual situation. Some sectors are now boasting of having exceeded their work norms twice or three times over. This is impossible. It would be a different matter if they had exceeded their norms by 20 or 50 per cent. Exceeding the norms two or three times over means that the work norms are wrong.

Labour administration workers must visit production sites and examine in detail whether the current work norms accord with the actual situation or not, and must correct those which do not suit the present situation. When new work norms are assessed, they must not be copied from foreign work norms or assessed by rule of thumb. They

must be defined scientifically. If the work norms of the weavers of a textile mill, for instance, are to be assessed, it is necessary to choose three weavers, one of the highest skill, one of ordinary skill and one of the least skilled, and then measure the amounts of their eight-hour work for a week, give them holiday and then repeat the same process for another week. On this basis, an average amount of cloth which can be woven by a weaver during the eight-hour day must be calculated. If you are to assess the correct work norms of farmers who transplant rice seedlings, you will have to select three people, a fast worker, an ordinary worker and a slow worker, and then measure the areas covered by each of these farmers during the day and repeat the same process for several days before you get the daily average. In this way, all sectors and all units will correct the work norms.

After the assessment of correct work norms, it is necessary to encourage the producers to exceed those norms. For this purpose, wages and work-points should be given according to how work norms have been implemented. If workers have not fulfilled their work norms because raw materials and other necessities have not been supplied in sufficient quantities by the state, an average wage should be paid to the workers. This is to provide them with a reasonable life.

In order to stimulate factory and office workers to work enthusiastically, it is also necessary to control them by means of food.

At present, the state supplies factory and office workers with rice for eight *jon* a kilogramme. By working a day at a factory in our country, a worker can, in fact, earn more than enough money to buy the rice needed for a month. Because rice is so very cheap and because each of the working people gets an equal 700 grammes of cereals daily, whether he is good at his work or not, he is not given any stimulus with regard to the question of food. I think it necessary to amend the food supply system in such a way as to give some stimulus to factory and office workers.

I was told that, taking advantage of the lack of rigid state control, some people go to work for only ten days a month and spend the remaining 20 days in idleness at home or even go out to catch fish to

sell. We must combat this practice uncompromisingly so as to make all the working people go to work and perform their duties with enthusiasm.

The organizational structures of Party and state bodies and the work forces of the auxiliary sectors have to be reduced.

The staff structures of the central authorities have swollen excessively. They must be slashed so as to strengthen the executive units. The present personnel of the Cabinet Secretariat should be reduced by 50 per cent, that of ministries by 30 per cent, and scientific institutions should also be merged as the situation requires. The present department staffs of the Party Central Committee must also be reduced by 25 per cent, and those of provincial Party committees also need to be decreased.

The people who have been taken away from the central authorities must be reappointed so as to strengthen provinces, counties, factories and other subordinate units rather than being transferred to work involving physical labour. Strengthening the executive units through the reduction of the staffs of the central authorities is the way to simplify paperwork and ensure the correct implementation of Party decisions.

The organizational structures of the central authorities must not be reduced at random, just because they have to be reduced. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Korean Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the External Economic Affairs Commission, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and other institutions for external activities must not be reduced. The range of our external activities is now very wide, and our country has a large number of foreign visitors. This situation does not permit us to reduce the staffs of these institutions.

In addition, the work forces of auxiliary sectors must be reduced and transferred to directly productive sectors.

An inspection group which is composed of the officials from the Party Central Committee, the Cabinet and the Ministry of Labour should be formed and sent to lower units for the purpose of improving labour administration and exploring the reserves of labour. Since this

inspection group is going to work by decision of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, all institutions and enterprises must obey it without question. While this group is inspecting factories and enterprises, the Ministry of Labour must examine all the work norms and correct them.

Next, the Party's price policy must be implemented thoroughly.

Correct price assessment is important in increasing the working people's enthusiasm for production and in improving the people's standard of living. At present, however, careless price assessment is proving to be a considerable impediment to the production of pickled fish and similar foods.

A long time ago we gave instructions that the prices of pickled items should be raised because the fishing workers and farmers in coastal areas were reluctant to produce them on account of their low prices. The officials in charge of price assessment, however, still price them low.

At present, salted shrimps are 70 *jon* a kilogramme, salted and seasoned anchovies 80 *jon*, and only salted ones 50 *jon*, salted pollack roe 55 *jon*, salted pollack entrails 60 *jon*, and salted pollack milt 20 *jon*. These prices are so low that no one is willing to produce them at the cost of labour. Mashed and salted pollack roe, for instance, is 40 *jon* a kilogramme, and you will know clearly how cheap it is if you compare the price with that of an egg. The price of an egg is 17 *jon*, and since it weighs approximately 50 grammes, 20 eggs will make up a kilogramme, and 20 eggs will cost 3 *won* 40 *jon*. If the price of mashed pollack roe is to be equal to that of eggs, the price should be 3 *won* 40 *jon* a kilogramme but it is only 40 *jon*. Who will produce mashed pollack roe? Salted planktonic shrimps are a food item which is eaten only a little at a time, and this is also priced at only 1 *won* 10 *jon* a kilogramme.

Pickled fish have been priced so low that they are not available at markets at present, and pickled shellfish and shrimps which used to flood the market in Phyongan Provinces have now totally disappeared.

We are now catching more than 300,000 tons of pollack every year.

If we use the by-products from it, we shall be able to produce large amounts of pickled roe, entrails and milt. Because of their low prices, however, people are not willing to produce them. Pollack eyes are also a good food item, but their price is only 1 *won* a kilogramme.

Our officials are not implementing the Party's price policy correctly because they do not study it well. The major shortcoming of our officials at present is that they pretend to know everything when they know nothing. As they do not study hard, they do not know how the law of value operates on the peasant market, let alone how it works in the socialist society in general. No matter how high cooperative farms or their members may price the pickled fish they have produced, the prices cannot rise too high because there is a limit to the people's purchasing power. The present average monthly wage of the factory and office workers is 70 *won*; and since they have to buy clothes, vegetables and meat with this money, they cannot afford to spend it all on pickled pollack roe or on pickled shrimps. There are no capitalists in our country, so that there can be no practice of buying up goods. Therefore, you need not be afraid of raising the prices of pickled food items a little. If cooperative farms or their members charge too much for pickled items, people will not buy them, and then the prices will drop spontaneously. Since there is a limit to the demand of buyers, the price will drop when supply exceeds the demand and vice versa. This is a law.

In order to increase the production of pickled items, it is necessary to raise their prices a little so as to stimulate the producers. In a socialist society, outdated ideas are still lingering in people's minds, so ideological education alone is not enough to increase the producers' work enthusiasm satisfactorily. In order to increase their enthusiasm for production, it is necessary to combine a political and moral stimulus properly with material incentives. This is an immutable policy of our Party. The officials in charge of price assessment should, therefore, raise the prices of pickled fish a little, so that cooperative farmers in coastal areas and fishing workers will become interested in the production of these items.

Because the production of pickled items entails a great deal of labour, their prices ought to be higher than those of the goods manufactured by means of machines. Fresh fish like pollack and croakers are caught by motor-boats and frozen before they are brought to the market, and this does not involve a great deal of work. But the production of pickled pollack roe or pickled shrimps needs careful manual washing of the ingredients one by one as well as seasoning with spices and packing, so this process requires the use of a great deal of labour.

Price assessors must not price pickled food items negligently; they ought to confirm the details of the amounts of materials and work needed for their production before they price them, so that the producers can recover the cost of production and make some profit.

In order to implement the Party's price policy correctly and improve the people's standard of living, it is also necessary for the officials to be well versed in the customs and likings of the inhabitants of those particular districts.

Our officials are now causing great inconvenience to the people because they are working arbitrarily, without knowing the customs and preferences of the inhabitants of the districts concerned. In the past, the people in Phyongan Provinces used to grow sesame as a mixed crop in cotton fields or on the edges of fields in order to obtain cooking oil. They do not like wild-sesame oil. But officials who came to work in Phyongan Provinces from Hamgyong Provinces did not know this and ordered the cultivation of wild sesame only, saying that sesame is not so productive as wild sesame. That is why the people in Phyongan Provinces cannot eat as much cooking oil as they please.

The incorrect assessment of pickled food in the past was also due largely to the fact that our officials worked without knowing the customs and likings of the people of the districts concerned. Pickled shrimps, pickled shellfish and pickled planktonic shrimps are long-celebrated food items for the people of Phyongan Provinces, but the people of Hamgyong Provinces do not know how to pickle them nor can they appreciate their taste fully. It is obvious, therefore, that the

officials from Hamgyong Provinces did not pay attention to the production of these items while working in Phyongan Provinces, nor could they price them correctly.

In future, we must ensure an appropriate proportion of provincial origin in the composition of officials, and see that local officials are selected from amongst the people of the province concerned as far as possible. This does not mean that the officials who have come from other provinces should all be dismissed. The officials who came to Phyongan Provinces from Hamgyong Provinces should be assimilated with the people of Phyongan Provinces and vice versa.

Next, we must develop a mass drive to earn foreign currency.

If we are to improve the people's standard of living quickly, we must develop trade with other countries. At present, quite a few socialist countries are importing consumer goods from capitalist countries. This does not imply that economic construction in socialist countries is ineffective. The shortage of consumer goods in socialist countries can be explained by the fact that in these countries the states have to supply these products to the people on a basis of equality.

If socialist countries sell consumer goods on the market at high prices, instead of supplying them to the people, the goods will always be on sale without running short. But this is not the way socialist countries should act. This is the main difference between the capitalist and socialist systems.

Capitalist countries do not export consumer goods and cereals because they have a surplus of them. Capitalists do not care about the lives of the people and money is everything to them, so they export consumer goods and cereals whether the people in their own countries are ragged and starved or not.

For some time in the future, we have to advance into the capitalist market widely and obtain a large amount of the goods we need. When socialist countries produce an abundance of consumer goods in the future, it will, of course, be better to make use of the socialist market than the capitalist market. At present, however, it is difficult to obtain large amounts of the goods needed for the development of light

industry. That is why we have to buy some goods from the capitalist market for the time being in order to improve the people's standard of living quickly.

Dye-stuffs, for instance, have to be imported from the capitalist market. If we are to produce sweaters and jackets for all our people, we shall need a large amount of dye-stuffs. But we are not yet mass-producing them.

The equipment needed for light industry factories will also have to be imported from capitalist countries. At present, ice cream is produced on a small scale in Pyongyang. If we are to mass-produce delicious ice cream in the future, we shall have to import a modern ice cream plant. Modern food factories to free women from the heavy burden of household chores will also have to be imported from capitalist countries. I was told that in some countries there are machines which, once fed with wheat, can process it into flour and knead it and emit noodles through one spout, biscuits from the second, and bread from the third. If we have these machines, we shall be able to produce palatable and wholesome food and save a great deal of labour.

In order to obtain the goods we need from the capitalist market, we must spend a large sum of foreign currency. Otherwise, we cannot buy goods from the capitalist market. According to the recent balance sheet prepared by the State Planning Commission, there is a deficit of a large sum of foreign currency. After this meeting, the Cabinet plenary meeting must discuss the matter thoroughly and adopt measures to earn more foreign currency.

We cannot export consumer goods in order to earn the large sum of foreign currency we need. Because we have to provide our people better with food and clothing, we do not have a large surplus of consumer goods which can be exported. We must think of earning foreign currency by selling goods other than consumer goods.

The plenary and Political Committee meetings of the Party Central Committee have adopted decisions more than once on earning a large sum of foreign currency, but many Party organizations and senior officials are not yet implementing them faithfully. After this plenary

meeting, the chief secretaries of provincial and county Party committees must organize a mass campaign to earn foreign currency on their own responsibility. If everyone earns two pounds, it means 30 million pounds on a national basis. All Party organizations and senior officials must press ahead with this campaign so as to import many machines for the development of the daily necessities industry and the food industry.

We must not only earn a large sum of foreign currency but use it most economically.

Economizing in foreign currency is the same as earning it. Instead of thinking of making machines by their own efforts, many officials now only want them to be imported. They must not do so.

It would be a good idea to send competent technicians to foreign countries in order to copy models of foreign machines with a view to saving foreign currency. Then, they will be able to make good machines themselves.

In future, we must send many competent designers and other technicians to international markets. If these people go to appropriate countries, they will be able to bring back many copies of foreign models.

In order to save foreign currency, it is necessary to use as few imported materials and use as many home-produced materials as possible.

Officials in charge of construction are now even trying to import unimportant materials needed for housing construction. This is not the right attitude. Importation should be limited to some special materials, and all ordinary materials should be produced at home.

The quality of domestic building materials is not bad. Our own lifts are fairly good. That is why I told them to make the high-speed lifts for Building No. 2 of Kim Il Sung University here, although they had suggested ordering them from a foreign country.

Our people can now make anything as well as foreigners do. Some officials who are influenced by flunkeyism think that capitalist countries make everything well. They are mistaken. We must not worship the bourgeoisie on any account.

England, for instance, carried out the Industrial Revolution more than two centuries ago. In contrast, our country was a colony where backward agriculture was predominant over a long period. To make the matter worse, everything was reduced to ashes by the US imperialists' barbarous bombing during the Fatherland Liberation War. In these very difficult circumstances, we had to set about building socialism. It is a great success that we are now manufacturing the building materials we need. Our officials ought to be highly proud of the fact that building materials are produced by our own efforts.

At present, officials in charge of construction are asking for imported materials for the construction of the Ansan Hotel. They must use the materials produced in our country.

I heard that certain of our officials had even ordered passenger cars from a foreign country, allegedly because that country produces good passenger cars. Recently, however, I saw domestically produced ones and found that they were better than foreign ones. These things, too, need not be imported.

Party Central Committee departments as well as state and economic establishments must refrain from spending foreign currency heedlessly and save it.

To proceed, I shall speak briefly about the tasks of capital construction.

At present, the executives of the building industry are undertaking too many construction projects without making careful calculations. Both central and provincial authorities have started too many projects. In South Phyongan Province they erected the frames of buildings at the entrance to Phyongsong a long time ago, but they have not yet completed them. The situation is the same in other provinces. In some parts of the country, they are continuing to erect the frames of buildings without thinking of completing them, and some of these have been standing for more than three years without having been completed.

This is not the way to build houses. Once a frame is erected, it must be completed without delay. Construction must be finished quickly so that the result can be put to effective use as soon as possible. This is

one of the major principles of construction.

If construction projects which have been started are not finished, an enormous amount of state money will be blocked, and this will interfere seriously with the circulation of state funds. If a capitalist had had such a large sum of blocked capital, he would have gone bankrupt a long time ago.

Our officials, however, do not know such bankruptcy because they are undertaking construction with state money, and some of them do not even feel remorse for having blocked the construction funds and hampered the circulation of state funds. This is why they more often than not give up construction projects halfway or import unnecessary equipment and make no use of it.

When you plan construction projects in future, you must assess them carefully from every angle. In other words, before you decide to undertake the construction of a factory, you must carefully examine both the positive and negative sides of the factory, the ways to use materials and labour economically, the actual necessity to build it and so on.

When planning a large construction project, the officials in charge of the building industry must discuss the matter widely, and then bring the idea to the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and the new Central People's Committee which is still to be elected, for approval. This procedure must be a strict rule for the building industry.

Building workers must concentrate their efforts on major projects and complete them quickly.

At present, we are building the Sodusu Power Station, the converter workshop and hot-rolling workshop of the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Sungni Chemical Factory and many other large factories and enterprises. From next year, we shall have to construct an Orlon factory, a polyethylene factory, a naphtha pyrolysis factory, a paper mill, a fertilizer factory, a thermal power station and many other large modern factories and enterprises in the western region. Therefore, we must not disperse our building efforts, but concentrate them so as to finish the projects quickly.

Provinces must also not spread out construction.

The Party Committee of South Hamgyong Province must ensure that the vinalon factory extension project is finished quickly and that cutting-and-spinning machines with 10,000 spindles are installed in the Hamhung Woolen Textile Mill within this year. This mill has to be equipped with these spinning machines as soon as possible so as to produce netting threads, but the senior officials of the South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee are suggesting postponing the project until next year on the pretext of the shortage of building forces and on various other pretexts. The Party committee must take prompt action to install the spinning machines in the mill and produce netting threads. This is needed to increase the fishing catch. The South Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee must finish the construction projects now under way by the end of the first quarter of next year and send the building forces to Namhung.

North Hamgyong Province must press ahead with the construction of the Sungni Chemical Factory now going ahead on the one hand and, on the other, divide the construction forces at the chemical factory into two and send one of them to Namhung.

The South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee must speed up the construction of the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant. In the past, the senior officials of the Ministry of Construction have not carried on the construction of this power plant as they should. The provincial Party committee and the senior officials of the ministry must install the eighth and ninth generators within this year, using the existing building forces.

South Phyongan Province must also start the construction of the dam for the Taedonggang Power Station. If we build this power station, we shall be able to protect Pyongyang from flood damage and supply an adequate amount of water to the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant. Officials in this sector are now suggesting that they will build a separate reservoir just large enough to supply water to the thermal power station for the time being because the project for the Taedonggang Power Station is colossal and difficult. But I do not think it necessary to undertake separate construction. They must start

building the dam, even though they have to build it just high enough to supply water to the thermal power plant if it is impossible to build it to its full height now because of the shortage of cement. When the dam of the Taedonggang Power Station is completed, 200,000 kilowatts of electricity will be produced, enough electricity to ensure electric cooking for all the Pyongyang population and provide reserve energy. Since it is said that the Taedonggang Power Station dam project is larger than that of the Suphung Power Station, the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee should divide the construction forces working on the Sodusu Power Station into two and send one of them to work on the Taedonggang Power Station dam.

South Phyongan Province must also build an aluminium factory and finish the tractor plant extension project by the end of December this year, and also undertake the extension of the Nampho Communications Equipment Factory. It is desirable that Pyongyang should supply 200,000 bricks needed for the extension of the communications equipment factory. South Phyongan Province has many brickfields, but it cannot meet its own needs because it cannot supply sufficient coal to these brickfields. It has built these brickfields at the cost of enormous sums of state money, but it is asking the state for bricks, instead of operating them. This is the wrong attitude.

The North Phyongan Provincial Party Committee must concentrate its building forces in Namhung. This is necessary because there are eight large projects to be undertaken there. Some of the army units will also have to be mobilized for construction in the Namhung district and for the building of the Unsan Cement Factory.

Since they are expecting large-scale construction, North and South Phyongan Provinces have to build dwelling houses, build dykes in the Anju district, construct industrial lines, sewerage and drainage and carry out other preliminary work to ensure capital construction in the Namhung district.

As I mentioned earlier, we are planning large-scale construction next year. So provinces must not undertake too many construction projects on any account. If they do, they will not be able to complete

their projects because the state will not be able to supply cement and steel for them.

Provinces will have to use locally available materials for the construction of dwelling houses, schools and hospitals. You comrades have suggested that you should use state-supplied materials for the construction of university buildings in the provinces. You must not do so. There is no great difference between university buildings and middle-school buildings, nor is it necessary to construct high-rise buildings for all universities like those of Kim Il Sung University. University buildings in local districts can be built up to three storeys high with bricks in the same way that Songnim-style dwelling houses are built. In local districts, all the schools and hospitals should be built with materials which are available locally.

In future, the state is only going to supply materials for the construction of large factories which are to be run by the central authorities. Provinces should, therefore, refrain from requesting cement, steel and other building materials from the state. It is advisable for Ryanggang Province, for instance, to build wooden houses. This is the way the state can concentrate materials on major projects, without dispersing them.

Next, we must take good care of state property and use it most economically.

We must combat the practice of wasting electricity, steel, cement and timber more effectively and wage a powerful ideological struggle against wasting coal in particular.

We now produce more than 32 million tons of coal every year. In fact, we are now far ahead of other socialist countries in terms of coal output per head of the population. Although our annual coal output is so great, more often than not, production suffers from a shortage of coal. This is because our officials waste a great deal of it.

Pyongyang, for example, has many possibilities to save coal, but the senior officials of the city do not pay much attention to this matter.

If they recover half-burnt coal from the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant, they will obtain at least 200,000 tons which can be supplied for

home use. This amounts to obtaining a new coal mine with a capacity of 200,000 tons. We have already urged these officials on many occasions to take steps to recover this coal, but they are not yet enthusiastic about this work.

Senior officials in Pyongyang are also neglecting the development of the central heating system. One more flat included in the central heating system means that much less of a burden on women and a so much smaller waste of coal. If 100,000 flats in Pyongyang are linked to the central heating system. 200,000 to 300,000 tons of coal for home use will be saved every year.

Pyongyang is not the only city which has possibilities of saving coal. The Pukchang Thermal Power Plant also discards half-burnt coal which can be used for homes. Since 200,000 tons of coal is thrown away in the ash at the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant with a capacity of 500,000 kilowatts, it is obvious that a larger amount of coal is thrown away with the ash at the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant with a capacity of 800,000 kilowatts. As you can see, there are large reserves for the economical use of coal in many parts of our country.

A rough estimate indicates that at least five million tons of coal can be saved on a national basis. If we go into detail, we shall be able to discover greater reserves for saving coal.

Party organizations and senior officials, however, are not doing their best to use coal economically. Some time ago, the Party called the National Meeting of Heating Workers and stressed the need to save coal as an important task, but this is not yet being implemented well. The provincial Party committees ought to hold executive committee meetings and take steps to implement the task given at the National Meeting of Heating Workers, but they are not doing so. This being the case, the heating workers' meeting has, after all, ended in being a lip-service gathering.

All Party organizations must institute a powerful mass campaign to save coal, a campaign which involves the whole Party.

The fight to economize on coal is no less important than the battle to produce it.

In order to save coal, it is necessary, first of all, to press ahead with the development of central heating in Pyongyang. We have constructed the thermal power plant in Pyongyang for the purpose of solving the problem of electricity and also of introducing central heating in this city so as to promote the comfort of the working people. If all the dwelling houses in the city are linked to a pipeline system and supplied with hot water from the power station, a great deal of coal for home use will be saved.

I was told that central heating for Pyongyang is not making progress because of the shortage of steel pipes. The officials concerned must ensure the supply of an adequate amount of steel pipes for the project. I have already mentioned that if central heating is provided for 100,000 flats in Pyongyang, at least 200,000 tons of coal can be saved. It is more economical to supply steel pipes for the central heating of 100,000 flats than to supply the steel needed for the production of 200,000 tons of coal. If Pyongyang wants to build more central heating facilities than the original plan, we shall have to supply the necessary steel pipes even though we have to import them.

If we complete the central heating system in Pyongyang quickly the city will not only benefit from it economically, but will be much cleaner because coal will not be used in dwelling houses.

Seoul is now the most polluted city in the world. It is reported that even a United States publication carried an article which describes Seoul as being too densely populated, reeking with the stench of uncovered drains, and as being full of carbon monoxide permeating the streets, a poisonous gas from the holed coal briquettes burned in dwelling houses, as the dirtiest and the worst air-polluted city in the world, a city in which to live for a few years is sufficient for its inhabitants to contract TB and bronchitis which are fatal.

In contrast, Pyongyang is a garden city. When its central heating is complete and when the Taedonggang Power Station has been constructed so as to supply electricity for cooking in all the city's dwelling houses, the city will do away with the smell of petroleum. Then Pyongyang will be cleaner.

The aim of our revolution is, in the final analysis, to provide the working people with cultured and suitable living conditions. The senior officials of the Pyongyang Municipal Party Committee and those of the sector concerned must continue to make great efforts to carry out the construction of central heating facilities for Pyongyang.

The Pyongyang and Pukchang Thermal Power Plants must be equipped with the facilities to recover and use unburnt coal. In addition, the effort to save coal must be increased by all units like boilers which use coal.

We must also save fabrics. More than once we have instructed that fabrics must not be used for window curtains and chair covers, but these instructions are not yet being implemented. There is no need to cover chairs with cloth. Wooden chairs are cleaner than those covered with cloth.

Party organizations must wage a powerful ideological struggle against the practice of handling state property carelessly.

Some officials are still in the bad habit of neglecting the care of state property. I heard that recently a chief of a bureau of the Cabinet Secretariat had damaged a car by driving it himself. Instead of criticizing himself for the damage he had done to state property, he is said to have asked for another car. How brazen he is. He should have taken good care of the car which the state had imported for him at the expense of precious foreign currency.

We have told cadres that, when they go a long way on an official trip, they should travel by rail rather than by car. In spite of this, some officials do not think of taking good care of the cars of the state; they even travel by car when going on leave and damage them by driving about with all their families. Cadres must not forget for even one moment that the cars they use belong to the state and cost the sweat and blood of the people.

We must make an all-out effort to ensure that all sectors of the national economy take good care of state property and use it most economically. If we go on managing the nation's economic life as we do now, the country will be unable to prosper. Party organizations at all

levels must wage an uncompromising ideological struggle amongst cadres and working people so that they all appreciate and take good care of state and social property.

Now I shall talk briefly about the task of increasing the sense of responsibility and the role of the members of the Party Central Committee.

As all of you know, a member of the Party Central Committee is a member of the highest Party leadership which directs all Party and state affairs.

If the Central Committee of our Party holds its plenary meeting, the whole world pays attention to it in order to know what is being discussed and decided. Since they belong to the highest leadership of the Party which enjoys international prestige, the members of its Central Committee ought to play their parts well.

Some of them, however, are not playing their parts as members of the Party Central Committee satisfactorily. They are neither good at educating Party members nor skilful in external activities.

As our Party's prestige rises in the external field, and as its external activities are increased, many people are visiting our country from almost all lands of the world, and even Americans want to visit our country. Communist Party delegations, social figures and other people from different countries come to visit our country almost every day.

Because our Party's external activities are increasing and their range is widening in this way, the efforts of a few people of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or of the International Department of the Party Central Committee are not enough to deal with external affairs satisfactorily. If our external activities are to be successful, the whole Party must engage in external work. Members of the Party Central Committee, ministers and vice-ministers must be able to talk to foreigners skilfully and explain our Party's policies correctly.

In order to help the members of the Party Central Committee, ministers, vice-ministers and other cadres to become competent in external activities, it is necessary that the International Department of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should

compile the materials which they need in their external activities. Information on the building of socialism, on the Juche idea, on the question of national reunification, on our Party's educational policy, on the rural question, on our Party's attitude to the international working-class movement and on other problems which deserve explanation should be compiled so that the officials can master it.

We set this task a long time ago, but it has not yet been implemented. This information can be obtained and compiled from the records of our talks with people of socialist countries, of newly independent countries and of capitalist countries.

The International Department of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must prepare collections of this information as soon as possible and supply them to the members and alternate members of the Political Committee and members and department heads, of the Party Central Committee, so that these cadres can master the content and talk to foreigners whenever it is necessary to do so.

The members of the Party Central Committee and other cadres must be well versed in all our documents which clarify problems of the socialist economy, the problems of the transition period and other new theories and policies. From our interviews with democrats from foreign countries we know that they are studying a great many of our documents. If they do not study hard, members of the Party Central Committee may not know our Party's policies better than foreigners.

The members of the Party Central Committee and other cadres must study our Party's line and policy more deeply and fulfil their responsibility and role in all their internal and external work.

### **3. ON CHANGING THE MEMBERSHIP CARDS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA**

We are going to change the membership cards of the Party on this

occasion. A long time has passed since we issued membership cards to the Party members, and at present, there are some members who are not performing their duties as members of the Workers' Party of Korea. Therefore, we discussed the matter at the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee and decided to replace the old membership cards with new ones.

This work must be regarded as an important work of increasing the Party spirit of its members rather than as a technical and procedural matter. Every Party cell must discuss whether its members are qualified to receive the new membership cards or not and then issue new membership cards only to those who are recognized as being so qualified.

Party cells must not dismiss Party members from its ranks arbitrarily simply because they have to discuss their qualifications. Some of the veteran cadres and veteran Party members are too old to attend Party meetings and Party group study as they should. New Party membership cards should be issued to these members, but they should be exempted from participating in these meetings and study.

For example, some of the comrades who have distinguished themselves by fighting well during the agrarian reform and the war and by working well for the cooperativization of agriculture are now too old to participate in Party meetings and perform their duties as Party members as well as young people do. New membership cards of the Workers' Party of Korea should be issued to these members without reserve, and these members should be exempted from attending Party meetings. If a Party member cannot attend a Party meeting, it is tantamount to forfeiting his qualification as a Party member. How can he be called a Party member? But old Party members cannot participate in all Party meetings as well as young people do, so there is no alternative but to exempt them from attending Party meetings.

I do not think that there are many Party members who are too old to participate. Most of them will try to remain Party members who attend Party meetings at least by sitting in a corner of the meeting hall until they go home.

At first, we thought of giving honorary membership cards to those cadres and Party members who are too old to attend Party meetings. But it seemed to me that they would not like to have honorary membership cards. They would rather remain members of the Workers' Party of Korea until the last moments of their lives than end their lives as honorary Party members for which they might feel as if all their services for the revolution counted for nothing. So the matter was discussed again, and a decision was made to issue membership cards even to these comrades. The term Party member seems to sound better than an honorary Party member.

The names of the Party members who are exempted from attending Party meetings should be excluded from the list for the compilation of statistics on the participants in the Party meetings and Party study, although they still have their places in the list of Party membership statistics. Their absence from these meetings and study would badly affect the rate of attendance at these events. This is why they should be excluded from the statistics on people attending these events.

If the change of membership cards of the Workers' Party of Korea is to serve as an occasion to educate its members and temper their Party spirit, this work must not be undertaken in haste. Old membership cards should be exchanged for new ones while carrying on a tireless ideological struggle and ideological education without haste for six months or a year. Suppose there is no problem for the Party members of a cell except two of them. Then, the cell should give new membership cards to those who have no problem and proceed to an ideological struggle by criticizing the two members who have shortcomings so as to help them correct their shortcomings. Their membership cards should not be changed until they criticize their own defects sincerely and say that they will correct them.

On the occasion of the change of the membership cards of the Workers' Party of Korea, we should take steps to degrade the Party members who lack the membership qualifications to the status of probationary Party members. A Party member who has disqualified himself by making mistakes frequently and failing to keep Party

secrets should be given a probationary Party membership card, instead of a full membership card, so that he will have to go through approximately two years of probation. This amounts to suspending his rights.

The decision to be adopted by the plenary meeting on the change of the membership cards of the Workers' Party of Korea should be followed by the publication of detailed rules for the implementation of the decision. In addition, the Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee must organize a demonstration lesson in accordance with the detailed rules.

In conclusion, I shall talk briefly about building up the ranks of the officials of the League of Socialist Working Youth with young people and about improving the work of the league.

At present, the league is not working well. This is mainly because the ranks of its officials are composed of old people.

Because the league is led by old people, it lacks the vigour of a young people's league; it looks as if it were a "league of old people". We must take the plunge and replace its cadres with young people.

Recently, I met the chairman of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Youth League of Sweden, and he was 28 years old, and the head of its International Department who accompanied the chairman was also 28 years old. Young as they were, they were working by visiting many countries and they spoke well when I met them.

In contrast, the chairman of the Central Committee of our LSWY will have a grandchild before long. Because the cadres of the league are old like this, the youth movement is not vigorous.

I started the youth movement when I was fourteen years old. At that time, we worked, not noticing whether the sky was falling or the land was quaking. It seemed to us that we could destroy imperialism overnight. Officials who are dedicated to youth work must be ambitious and courageous. But the cadres of our LSWY are so old that they calculate too much and lack courage. They even walk like old people and are used to putting on airs. The offices of the Central

Committee of the LSWY reek so strongly with the smell of cigarettes that, when I visit there, I feel as if I was in the bowl of a tobacco pipe. Young people ought to be seething with enthusiasm, but they are not.

Strengthening the ranks of the officials of the league with young people and improving youth work are very important in our country where all the young people belong to the organizations of the league. Wherever they are, the young people in our country participate without exception in the organizational life of the league. Young students lead their organizational life in the school league organizations, the young people of factories and rural communities do the same in the league organizations in factories and rural communities, and those in the army do it in the league organizations in the army. We must promote young people as cadres of the league without hesitation so as to improve its work.

We brought up the matter of appointing young people as league cadres last year. But this task is not yet being implemented well because of a timid attitude and conservatism on the part of Party and league organizations. At present, a large number of league cadres are over 30, and many of them are even 40 years old. In future, the cadres of the league should be ten years younger than now. They should be at the age of 28 to 30. In this way, the league will have the appearance of a young people's organization. The Party Central Committee section chief who is in charge of directing the work of the league should also be a young man. Only then can he direct work to suit the characters of young people. There will be no harm to league work in promoting young people as its cadres. Some comrades now insist on forming the ranks of its cadres with people who are experienced in this work. But experienced people are already too old to lead the organizational life of the league. Work experience is not very important in league work. We did not conduct the youth movement in our school days because we were experienced in this work, nor were we taught by anybody. All that is needed is to organize work to suit the attributes of young people.

If the ranks of the league cadres are composed of young people, the practice of putting on airs will disappear of its own accord. Old people

are apt to put on airs because of their physical condition.

All the officials of the league must be replaced by young people by May Day next year.

In addition, the league must organize a campaign for the young people to refrain from drinking and smoking. This campaign must be forcefully developed in the army in particular. At present, the young people who have undergone military service are all in the habit of smoking. The university students who smoke are discharged soldiers.

The league organizations must press ahead with this campaign by means of education, as a movement to acquire a cultured way of life, so that all our young people can acquire noble qualities befitting the young people of a socialist society.

## **AN OPEN LETTER TO THE VOTERS IN ALL CONSTITUENCIES**

*December 1, 1972*

I have been nominated as a candidate for the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the nomination meetings of industrial workers, of the cooperative farm members, and of the servicemen and other citizens of the whole country.

Regarding my nomination as an expression of support for and trust in our Party and the Government of the Republic, I express my heartfelt thanks to all voters.

Article 36, Chapter 5, of the "Rules for Elections to the People's Assembly of County, City (District), Province (City Directly under Central Authority) and to the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" stipulates that a candidate for office can be registered in only one constituency. Therefore, I consent to my registration as a candidate for the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly in No. 216 Huichon Constituency for the election to the SPA of the DPRK, and I hereby inform the voters of this.

I shall prove myself worthy of the deep trust which you voters have placed in me by dedicating myself to the struggle to expedite the building of socialism and communism in our country and to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, which is the greatest desire of our entire nation.

The forthcoming election will be an important occasion to review

the great victory and proud success achieved by our people's government under the leadership of our Party, to consolidate this government so as to enhance its functions and role in keeping with the new requirements of the developing revolution, and to press ahead with our revolution and construction.

I am convinced that all the voters will participate as one man in the elections with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and ardent love for the country in order to strengthen the revolutionary government, the powerful weapon of our revolution and construction and the banner of our people's liberty and happiness, will express their fervent love and unqualified support for our Party and the Government of the Republic, and once again demonstrate to the world the unbreakable might of our people who are closely united in ideology and will, on the basis of the Juche idea.

I wish you great success in your fight to press ahead with socialist construction in the north to a higher degree in accordance with the magnificent programme put forward by the historic Fifth Congress of our Party, and to accelerate the sacred revolutionary cause of independent and peaceful national reunification.

# **SOME TASKS IN DEVELOPING OUR COUNTRY'S SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

**Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting  
of Natural Scientists**

*December 5, 1972*

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Academy of Sciences, in the name of the Party Central Committee, and especially in the name of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, I should like to offer warm congratulations to you comrades present here and to all the scientists who have contributed greatly to the development of our Juche-oriented science.

Many of those who attended the Inaugural Congress of the Academy of Sciences are present here today. Some time ago I checked the attendance list of the congress and found that the number of qualified scientists at that time was 97 in all. Some of them are now dead and others have retired because of old age or illness, and only a few have proved to be turncoats. The overwhelming majority have performed their revolutionary duties well. In the name of the Party Central Committee I should like to offer warm thanks to the scientists who, ever since the foundation of the Academy of Sciences, have steadily endeavoured to develop our science and create a Juche-oriented industry.

For the past 20 years, firmly resolved to follow the Party and dedicate themselves to the cause of the Party and the working class and to the interests of the country and the people, all our scientists have

worked valiantly in spite of all hardships and tribulations. At times their working conditions were very unfavourable. However, they made determined and tireless efforts for the good of the Party and the country everywhere and at all times. During the two decades of struggle the ranks of our scientists have increased to hundreds of thousands, scientific research centres have been built up, and great successes have been achieved in scientific research.

Nothing is more honourable for a man than to dedicate his life to the cause of revolution and to the good of his country, his people and the working class. It would be shameful to sell himself for a few pennies, to seek a high position or to backslide on the wrong impulse of a moment, whereas it is an honour for him to devote his life to the cause of the Party and the working class, and to the welfare of his country and people. During the past 20 years our scientists have devotedly worked solely for the sake of the Party and the working class, for the sake of the country and the people. This is a boundless honour for the scientists themselves and a source of great pride for our Party. You comrades present here and all our scientists are our Party's great treasure and priceless asset. The achievements our scientists have made in the past 20 years will go down for ever in our people's history.

The Party Central Committee is proud that it has many scientists who are faithful to the Party. I wish that all our scientists will work devotedly for the motherland and the people in the future, as in the past.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Academy of Sciences we feel very satisfied with the development of many new scientists over these past years. We are very proud of this priceless achievement which cannot be bartered for anything.

Whenever foreigners come to our country and ask me how, despite our backwardness, we have managed to build this great nation of today from scratch, I tell them that if one is to build a new nation, one must first train one's own cadres.

The primary requirement in building a new country and creating a new life is to train one's own cadres. Without them nothing can be done. Without them it is impossible to build an independent economy,

develop national culture, or expect the nation to achieve greatness, progress or prosperity.

That is why, since immediately after liberation, our Party has consistently followed the policy of giving educational work the highest priority and concentrated on training our own cadres, even though this meant tightening our belts. Shortly after the armistice our Party introduced compulsory primary education, compulsory secondary education and then compulsory nine-year technical education and, from this year onwards, it is introducing universal compulsory ten-year education. Some may think we are implementing this ten-year educational programme because we are rich. But this is not so. It is because of the vital necessity to train our own cadres that we channel so much energy into educational work at the expense of other things.

I remember how arduous the struggle was to train our own cadres.

When we were going to establish a university, many people opposed the idea. They claimed that we were not in a position to establish the university, because we did not even have a specialized school. We were convinced that progressive people would support us, because the building of the university was a patriotic undertaking; and in defiance of all obstacles and hardships, we set up the university and started to train our own cadres, mobilizing all the scholars in the northern half of the country and inviting scholars from south Korea for the project.

Today, looking back with deep emotion on the foundation of the Academy of Sciences in 1952 when our Republic was only four years old, in those hard days of war, we reaffirm the rightness of that step.

We prepared a roster of scientists with a view to setting up the Academy of Sciences. It showed that the total number of our social and natural scientists was less than 100. However, we were resolved to set up the Academy of Sciences, because well begun is half done as the saying goes, and daringly established it with that small core of scientists. After this beginning in difficult circumstances, we made strenuous efforts to train scientists. The result is that today the ranks of

our own cadres have increased to 500,000 although twenty years ago we had less than 100.

All these facts prove with what foresight our Party has worked for the good of the country and the people, for the future prosperity of our nation, and clearly show how great and wise our Party's policy is.

The ranks of our intellectuals have not only increased rapidly in number; they are also very sound ideologically.

In the postwar years our people were so poor that they lived on rice mixed with other cereals and bean paste. But none of our intellectuals grumbled about food, and even now, none of them seeks a luxurious life. Our intellectuals live revolutionary and frugal lives. This is one of their noble qualities. We are particularly pleased about this.

Needless to say, some scientists dropped out of our ranks as stragglers in the revolution. Here is one incident which is still vivid in my memory. Once a certain professor from the university insulted our nation by telling the students that a country incapable of manufacturing even a tape measure could hardly be called an independent state. If he loved the country and the people, he would have said: "We can't even make a tape measure properly; so you students must study ten times or even a hundred times harder and develop science, so as to make our country rich and powerful quickly." But, instead, he said something to the effect that as our country could not even make a tape measure, it was not fit to be an independent state, and that our people must live in slavery, shackled to foreigners. When we were informed that he had insulted our people, we were extremely indignant. Yet we did not blame him at all. Afterwards, we appointed him director of a research institute and then director of the Bureau for the Compilation of the Encyclopaedia. But he did not acquit himself well and deserted our ranks. This was entirely because of his failure to revolutionize and working-classize himself.

At that time we were very upset and annoyed, but did not in the least lose heart. I am not the kind of person to react to such a shock and it only inspired me to renewed efforts. We were convinced that the majority of our scientists were patriotic-minded and had a national

conscience, that those without a national conscience could not be in the majority. We were firmly resolved to set up the Academy of Sciences through the efforts of our scientists and stimulate our science. As a result of our strenuous efforts, we now have a huge army of Korean cadres and a mighty force of scientists.

We have trained a large number of Korean cadres through hard work. This enabled us to build the independent, powerful industry of today by our own efforts. We rebuilt the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Kangson Steel Plant, as well as the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory and the Suphung Power Station. We also built the Sungni General Motor Works, by developing a motor vehicle accessory shop. Through their hard efforts our scientists and technicians have made a tremendous contribution to the building of the new country.

If we had not trained Korean cadres, we would not have been able to develop our defence industry or implement our Party's line of self-defence in guarding the nation.

Everything is decided by man, by cadres. Today we have a large army of Korean cadres. This is our nation's pride and great asset. Nothing is dearer to us than our own cadres.

This is because our Party carried out a correct policy of training our own cadres—drawing the old-line intellectuals into our fold and uniting them to serve the country and the people with devotion, and using them to train new intellectuals in great numbers. It is also because our scientists upheld the Party's policy and worked well.

In recent years we have achieved great success in training our own cadres, but we must never rest on our laurels. In the light of our country's increasing international prestige, we are still backward in the development of science and technology and in the training of technical personnel.

As you know, eight more countries have established diplomatic relations with us this year. Our country's international prestige is rising with every passing day.

Today many newly independent countries are asking us to help them in building their national economy and advancing their science and technology.

If the newly independent countries which have thrown off the imperialist yoke are to maintain independence in politics, they must build an independent economy. And if they are to build an independent economy, they must have native cadres. But this is what they lack, and that is why many of them are asking us for the help of our technicians. Considering how we ourselves fretted over the lack of our own cadres in the days immediately after liberation, we should send our technicians to the newly independent countries.

If we rest content with our ability to stand on our own feet, we shall not be able to meet the expectations and requests of the people of the world. We must strive to make our country richer and more powerful, by endeavouring to do three years' work in a single day, and we must help those countries which ask for our assistance.

The Fifth Congress of our Party put forward the militant task of increasing the number of intellectuals to one million during the Six-Year Plan period. We must carry out this task, come what may. The Party is pinning great hopes on scientists in fulfilling it.

As I recently told some Japanese scientists and the managing editor of the Japanese politico-theoretical magazine *Sekai*, we plan to intellectualize all our working people in the future. Working-classization sounds revolutionary, but intellectualization sounds like converting people into petty-bourgeois. So we have avoided using the word intellectualization. However, we may use it in this context. The intelligentsia is a social class destined to disappear in the future. When everybody reaches the level of the university graduate and becomes an engineer or a specialist, the social class of intellectuals will cease to exist. Only by working-classizing the intellectuals and by making the working class acquire knowledge, so as to working-classize, revolutionize and then intellectualize all the members of society, can a communist society be built. Our Party's aim is to train a huge army of intellectuals—one million strong—during the Six-Year Plan period and then increase it to two million, thus turning all the working people into intellectuals in the future.

Only when all our working people are equipped with an advanced

science and technology will flunkeyism be completely eliminated. Our plan to train an army of one million intellectuals under the Six-Year Plan is not only aimed at developing science and technology, but mainly at advancing our nation rapidly and soundly, and thus doing away with deep-rooted flunkeyism once and for all.

Today our scientists and technicians are faced with the mighty task of raising our science and technology to new heights.

We may say that we are ahead of other countries in the realms of the social sciences and ideological work. Today many peoples, those of the third world in particular, are studying our Juche idea and paying tribute to our Party's policy on education and the intellectuals. Many foreign visitors express their admiration for the healthy development of our country. They speak in the following vein: "The Korean people are frugal, industrious and not conceited; everybody here strives to be equally prosperous; above all, the Korean people have a bright future; we see Korea's splendid future in the education of its children and young people."

Our country has outstripped others in the social sciences and in ideological work, but its natural sciences and technology are still backward. In recent years great success has been achieved in the development of science, but we have obtained only the foundation for being independent. Using this success as a base, we must work to raise our science to a higher level.

The world was once dominated by the capitalist nations of Western Europe, which were the first to advance along the road to modern technical civilization, but their days are gone for ever. These capitalist nations have entered an era of stagnation. Now is the time when the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, once oppressed and maltreated, are rising up and making progress.

We communists are entrusted with the historic mission of building a socialist, communist society in our country, where everybody will lead a decent, cultured life and, furthermore, of wiping out imperialism from the face of the earth and of building a communist society so that all the peoples of the world can enjoy happy lives. In order to carry out

this honourable task it is essential to improve science and technology.

Only when we have developed science to a greater degree and improved our people's welfare, can we root out flunkeyism, too. If one is inferior to others, it is bound to give rise to flunkeyism. In the last few years, we have waged an energetic ideological struggle and eliminated flunkeyism to a large extent. However, this does not mean that flunkeyism has been completely eradicated. If we are to wipe it out once and for all, we must develop our independent economy still further.

And only by developing science, shall we make our country rich and strong and meet the newly independent nations' requests for our assistance.

In raising our science and technology rapidly to international standards, it is important to introduce advanced science and technology.

It is certainly necessary for our scientists to create inventions. However, if we are to overcome scientific and technological backwardness quickly, we must introduce advanced science and technology to suit our specific conditions.

It is by no means easy to introduce the achievements of advanced science and technology. Their application to our specific conditions is little less than creation.

Next in importance is the need to put the achievements of our scientists' scientific research into production quickly.

Only then will the research work of our scientists prove its worth and their achievements be put to good use. There might be some failures in putting the results of research into production, but this is not something to be afraid of. Just as the first spoonful cannot satisfy the stomach, so the first attempt is not always successful. Through repeated failures you will gain experience and complete your work. And through this process scientists will grow in numbers and gain self-confidence.

It is necessary to take steps to introduce the results of research in the realm of the natural sciences into production without delay. I visited

the Scientific Exhibition Hall a few days ago, and found that our scientists have achieved great success in their research. We should take governmental measures to put their research results into production in the future. If the situation does not allow us to build large factories immediately, many small intermediary pilot plants should be built and provided with the necessary equipment, materials and funds on a priority basis.

Meanwhile, we should examine and quickly reform the scientifically and technologically backward sectors of our country and build standard factories in every sector.

We still have some inadequacies and weak points. This is largely because our senior officials are neglecting organizational work. If we carry out organizational work properly, we can solve many problems at once.

Let me quote an example.

Last year we gave the Hyangsan branch of the Unsan Tool Factory in Hyangsan County the task of manufacturing a general-purpose dental chair and a general-purpose ear, nose and throat treatment chair on a trial basis. On my way to Huichon this spring I visited the factory and saw some of the products they had made. I told our doctors to try them out. They say that ours are on a par with any foreign-made ones. We named the medical appliances *Myohyangsan* and had them installed in the Red Cross Hospital. The doctors say that the domestic medical appliances are better than foreign ones.

One of our great defects is that we do not use our scientists and technicians rationally, although we have trained so many of them. Once the senior officials of light industry complained that they had no needles for circular knitting machines. So I told them: "Our country manufactures motor vehicles, tractors, large machine tools and many other items; and there is no reason why we cannot make such a trifle as needles for circular knitting machines. What counts here is organizational work. If you will only organize work properly, this problem can be solved easily." Although light industry requires precision equipment, we can provide all that is needed, provided that

our scientists and technicians get down to hard work.

We have a strong force of scientists. If we make full use of this great talent, we shall be able to develop our industry speedily and provide our working people with more cultural amenities.

Now, I should like to talk about some specific tasks arising in the development of science and technology.

It is necessary first to promote the industrialization of the production of synthetic rubber speedily.

We decided to build a synthetic rubber factory a long time ago, but we have not yet put the idea into effect because the design of the factory has not been completed. Therefore, in order to industrialize the production of synthetic rubber, it is necessary to complete the design quickly.

We must not try to import the blueprint and equipment for the synthetic rubber factory. We must make them ourselves; we must build the factory with as high a proportion of domestic materials as possible. Only then can we expedite the construction project.

Rubber is badly needed by the national economy. We need quite a lot of rubber for the rapidly increasing production of motor vehicles and tractors in our country. In addition, rubber is needed for the production of shoes, conveyer belts and packing; it is in great demand for other purposes, too. There is an ever-growing demand for rubber, but the world's output of natural rubber is rather limited. Therefore, our national economy's increasing need for rubber cannot be met by importing natural rubber. We must develop the production of synthetic rubber to satisfy the demand of the national economy.

I should like to stress once again the need to prevent environmental pollution. As in the past, so in the future, we must pay fundamental attention to the prevention of environmental pollution while building industry.

Every Japanese who visits our country expresses admiration for our excellent measures against environmental pollution and criticizes the Japanese government for its indifference to this problem. They envy us very much because our industrial areas are dispersed and there are lots

of pheasants and wild animals on our hills. It is true that, by distributing our industry far and wide, we were not only concerned with preventing environmental pollution but primarily with obliterating distinctions between town and country and strengthening ties between the workers and farmers. This far-sighted distribution of industry is one of the major reasons for the speedy completion of the electrification of our rural areas.

They say environmental pollution has reached a serious state in Japan. The seawater near Japan's coastal cities is so dirty that people cannot bathe in it and the fish caught in offshore waters emit such a bad smell of oil that they are not edible. It is also said that large Japanese cities are greatly affected by exhaust fumes from motor cars. According to a medical investigation, it was reported, 85 per cent of those living in multi-storeyed apartments in the big cities have either lung or liver troubles because of those exhaust fumes.

Today the south Korean cities, too, are said to be frightfully contaminated because the south Korean authorities take no measures against environmental pollution. Some time ago I read a foreign newspaper report, which said that Seoul is the worst polluted and dirtiest city in the world. Being a Korean myself, I felt insulted.

Our Party has time and again stressed the need to prevent environmental pollution, but some factories and enterprises are still pouring noxious substances into the rivers. This is a manifestation of their departure from the Party's monolithic ideology, and of their unpatriotic attitude towards their country and people and future generations. We mine iron ore and build industries in order to improve the welfare of our people both today and tomorrow; it is a crime to harm our people and posterity. If they had a spark of patriotism, they would never have allowed such a thing to happen. If our generation is prosperous, but our descendants will be badly off, what is the use of our shedding blood for the revolution and construction?

Once the officials in charge of heavy industry proposed that gold should be mined at Mt. Myohyang. We absolutely forbade it. We cannot spoil the beautiful scenery of Mt. Myohyang for the sake of a

few tons of gold. I was told that when iron ore was excavated at the Sinyon Mine in Sakju County, North Phyongan Province, all the fish in the streams flowing towards Suphung disappeared. But when the mine was closed down, eels, catfish and other fish began to come upstream again and now on Sundays the river banks are crowded with anglers. This is pleasant, indeed.

We must not build factories or dump dirt at random in disregard of our people's life and their future prosperity, just as the capitalists do. The Ministry of the Textile Industry proposed building a dye-shop in Kanggye, but it is still under consideration because of the pollution problem. The mines and the textile and chemical factories which still dump impurities into rivers must immediately take steps to neutralize poisonous waste. From now onwards, we must, first and foremost, take measures against pollution when building new factories.

For the present, we must take special precautions to prevent the Chongchon River from being polluted by the construction project of a chemical industry centre in the Namhung area. In future, in this area there will be a paper mill, a naphtha pyrolysis factory, an Orlon factory, a polyethylene factory, a urea fertilizer factory and an ammonium plant. Waste from these factories might possibly contaminate the Chongchon River. This could result in the extermination of shellfish, crabs and shrimps in the West Sea, and we might not be able to enjoy the tasty salted shrimps and shellfish produced on the west coast.

We must develop the petrochemical industry judiciously. If we develop it too fast, a large amount of oil will have to be transported by tankers. Then the oil might leak into the water, which could lead to the extinction of fish resources. Nowadays many countries do not allow foreign tankers to cruise near their territorial waters and are attempting to extend their territorial offshore limits to 200 miles. All this is aimed mainly at protecting marine resources in their territorial waters. From now onwards, we must also prevent the sea from being polluted by oil and bring oil into the Sungni Chemical Factory through oil pipelines instead of by ship.

Now, on the question of producing ammonium sulphate-phosphate (ASP) compound fertilizer and borax.

I heard with great interest the report of our scientists on producing ASP compound fertilizer. Of course, we should produce the compound fertilizer which is vitally needed for agriculture. They say the production of the fertilizer would save a great deal of sulphuric acid and even enable us to obtain borax. This is very interesting. If a factory with an annual capacity of 200,000 tons of ASP compound fertilizer is built as suggested by our scientists, the fertilizer will be more efficient than when ammonium sulphate and phosphate are produced separately, 90,000 tons of sulphuric acid will be saved and 10,000 tons of borax and even 150,000 tons of cement obtained. This would be excellent.

We have not yet decided whether we should install facilities to produce urea or ammonium nitrate as an after-process of the ammonium production facilities with a capacity of 50,000 tons which we are going to build in the Hungnam area. It is a good idea to introduce the production of ASP compound fertilizer instead of urea or ammonium nitrate.

Our scientists have made a very good suggestion. I highly value their proposal with regard to the production of ASP compound fertilizer and borax.

The proposal to industrialize salt production is also good.

Salt production by the present method of using saltings depends largely on weather conditions and requires a lot of land. Besides, it calls for a great deal of manpower and hard work. With a view to mechanizing work on the saltings, we laid cables and introduced many other methods, but with little success. So workers in the saltings are now engaged in backbreaking work in the scorching sun. Salt production by this conventional method cannot satisfy the increasing demand of the national economy.

We must change over to the industrial production of salt. It is a long time since we conceived the idea of industrializing salt production. Now that our scientists have completed their research on the subject, it must be quickly put into production.

First, we must build a pilot salt-producing factory at Unggi. It would be a good idea to build a thermal power station in Hamhung and provide central heating for the city and also produce salt by using waste heat. If a large salt-producing factory is established in Hamhung, we can supply salt to the caustic soda shop of the Pongung Chemical Factory and use it for fish processing as well; this will be convenient in many respects. Salt factories should be built on the east coast to meet the local demand for salt in the future.

We must engage in large-scale mining of iron and nonferrous metal ores which are plentiful in South Hwanghae Province, build a smelter and expand the light industry centres also. The local demand for electric power will, therefore, be considerably increased. We have to build a large power station in South Hwanghae Province to meet the growing demand for electric power. This would save a great deal of copper wire, for there would then be no need to extend the power line. Waste heat from the power station could also be used to produce salt if a salt factory is built. State construction agencies must bear this in mind when planning land development in South Hwanghae Province.

Now, I want to speak about the development of our iron industry.

As you all know, coking coal has still not been found in our country, and we have to import coke from other countries. This necessarily restricts the production of pig iron by blast furnaces. Therefore, it is very important to begin a drive to save coke at iron works. Our country still has a high level of coke consumption per ton of pig iron. We should introduce an advanced technological process to decrease this as much as possible.

We cannot just mark time while the shortage of coke is affecting the blast furnace production of pig iron. Our country has inexhaustible deposits of iron ore, so we must develop ferrous metallurgy to promote a steady increase in the output of iron.

We must produce large numbers of tractors and lorries, as well as ships, mining equipment, excavators, bulldozers and various other machines and embark on many construction projects. This makes it essential to ensure the steady and rapid development of the iron

industry. In the future, we must produce 10 million tons of iron each year and more than this amount after the reunification of the north and the south. Even if we produce 10 million tons of iron, we shall have to produce more than 50 per cent of it by using domestic fuel.

As we lack coke, we must enterprisingly look for new ways of developing our iron industry. At present our scientists are conducting a wide range of research with the object of developing the iron industry using our own fuel. Although this was not mentioned in today's report, research on the production of crude steel is under way and the production of granulated iron with brown coal is being attempted. In addition, research is being made into electric and other iron-making processes.

Electric iron-making is an interesting subject; we must exploit and develop this branch.

We must make full use of various kinds of iron ore in our country and, in particular, take steps to use low-quality dust ores. If we do not use them, but merely throw them away although they are plentiful in our country, this would be a grave crime against the people and posterity. You must not only think of processing high-quality magnetite. Scientists must concentrate on research into the full and effective use of our different iron ores, and especially into the treatment of low-quality dust ores.

As regards the use of dust ores, for the present we have a good grasp of the process, among others, of producing granulated iron. That is why we are repeatedly stressing the question of granulated iron. The Ferrous Metal Research Institute must not disperse but concentrate its efforts on research into the production of crude steel and granulated iron so as to boost their productivity by all possible means.

It is also necessary to carry out research on the treatment of siderite which is plentiful in our country. No satisfactory steps have been taken in this direction. We must work harder to discover practical methods of treating siderite.

I could not hear the report on pure metal research at this meeting, because of the lack of time. The Political Committee of the Party Central Committee should receive a separate report on pure metal

production later. The production of pure metal is very important. We must build many intermediary plants to ensure its production even on a small scale, and meet the demand of the electronic and defence industries for pure metal on our own.

I should like to refer now to the problem of production of microelements.

The most essential items in the life of our people are food and clothing. Our country has good prospects for solving the clothing problem. From yesterday's report I learned that the project for increasing the vinalon factory's capacity to 50,000 tons is proceeding successfully. They say that our locally-made equipment for the extension project is highly efficient; our vinalon is of good quality on the whole and it is not inferior to that of foreign make as regards whiteness. After the completion of the extension project the vinalon factory's production will be 50,000 tons. With the completion of the processes of crimping and cutting vinalon through traction, the clothing problem will be completely solved. When we build a petrochemical industry centre and produce other chemical fibres, we shall envy no one as far as clothing is concerned. In short, our country has a bright future for the solution of the clothing problem.

It is also important to solve the food problem more satisfactorily.

Today our country has enough food and produces plenty of vegetables and fish, but it is short of livestock products. Therefore, in improving the people's diet it is important to increase livestock products. In recent years our Party has made great efforts to develop livestock breeding, and as a result, we have established the foundations for stockbreeding in our country. Chicken and duck plants have been built and provided with good breeds, and quite a few modern pig farms have been established. However, in order to develop stockbreeding on a larger scale, we need a large amount of feed. And in order to solve this problem it is necessary to increase grain production. The problem is how to produce more grain. If we have grain, we shall have enough chicken and pork.

In order to increase grain production, it is essential to supply large

quantities of the three major fertilizers and microelement fertilizers to the rural areas, in addition to many tractors. Our land has been cultivated for such a long time that a great part of it is acidified and short of microelements. The poor soil needs microelements to become fertile. If we just apply nitrogenous fertilizer as we are doing now, crops will grow tall, but their ears will be small and will not bear much grain.

In the past our grandfathers used to work hard to spread soil over the fields. Apparently they did so in order to supplement the microelements. But we cannot use this method. We must produce microelements by industrial methods and not by such a primitive method.

Our maize yield is still low, and this is not because of little sunshine or any other factors, but simply because of the lack of microelement fertilizer. We must determinedly solve the problem of producing microelement fertilizer. Now that the soil analysis tables have been prepared by agronomists and students of agricultural universities for each plot of land throughout the country, we can increase our grain yield radically, if we produce microelement fertilizer.

With regard to this production, we assigned the task to agronomists at Haeju as early as 1967 and we even adopted a Cabinet decision in 1968 on that question, but it has not yet been implemented. The scientists and senior officials concerned ought to feel responsible for this. They have failed to produce the fertilizer, even though it is not extremely difficult to do so. The reason is that our scientists and senior personnel are indifferent to how our people live and do not care about the fact that the people's diet contains insufficient meat.

This winter we must make an effort to carry out the measures for the production of microelement fertilizer. And next year we must supply it before the manuring season to ensure a rapid increase in the yield of grain.

It is also necessary to supply large quantities of phosphatic and potash fertilizers to the farming villages. Phosphatic fertilizers are particularly needed. I was told that an experiment carried out in

Jungsokhwa-ri, Taedong County, South Phyongan Province, shows that the per-hectare yield of the plots treated with phosphate increases by 500-800 kilogrammes. It is necessary to produce one million tons of phosphate as recently proposed by the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee.

We also need approximately 500,000 tons of potash fertilizer a year. We must make a determined effort to produce this fertilizer from feldspar or from other potash sources which are available in our country so as to meet the demand for potash fertilizer by ourselves.

Next, we must concentrate our efforts on mechanical engineering and electronics.

As we always say, our country, which has been endowed with inexhaustible deposits of iron ore, must develop the steel and engineering industries. If we develop precision machine industries, we can produce and export large quantities of different kinds of machines with the steel we are now producing. This will enable us to acquire an enormous amount of foreign currency. If we produce good machines, all the Asian and African countries will buy them.

However, our mechanical engineering is so backward that there are many shortcomings in the production of machinery.

The level of our mechanical engineering is still low. The greatest fault is that we are not good at designing.

We may say that all industrial problems depend ultimately on mechanical engineering. Even if a success is achieved in scientific research in the field of chemistry, it can be introduced into production only with the help of mechanical engineering. This is also true of research results in metallurgy. In order to improve the people's living conditions many problems must be solved by mechanical engineering. The speedy introduction of research results into production as well as the improvement of the people's living standards depends, in the last analysis, on mechanical engineering. Therefore, we must make great efforts to develop our mechanical engineering and designing capabilities.

The present low quality of our machinery designing is not because

we have only a few mechanical engineers or because they are not capable. Recently we carried out an extension project at the Kiyang Tractor Plant by mobilizing designers from different engineering plants, and we found that many of them were capable. The poor quality of our designing is due to the fact that they are widely scattered.

At present, chemical equipment is designed by the Ministry of Chemical Industry, metallurgical equipment by the Ministry of Metal Industry and machines for light industry by the Ministry of Light Industry. As the designers are spread through every branch, they are not able to carry out sufficient designing collectively. When the designers working at the plants under the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 are pooled, they will represent a great force. If we add to these the designers working under other ministries, their capacity will be tremendous.

Although we have trained a large number of mechanical engineers, we are unable to ensure proper designing because the designers are dispersed. In order to solve our present design problems, it is necessary to take steps to collect the scattered designers together. We must set up a large national mechanical designing office by pooling designers of the plants under the Ministry of Machine Industry No. 1 and those under other ministries. We must make sure that the ministries retain a force just large enough to design spare parts needed for the maintenance of equipment and transfer the rest of the designers to the mechanical designing office, and that the ministries only draw up technical assignments for that office to fulfil.

Pooling designers has many advantages. First of all, if designers from different branches pool their efforts, they will be able to discuss and solve the problems involving different branches promptly. For example, if designers of metallurgical equipment consult with those of chemical equipment about difficult problems relating to the designs of their respective equipment, they will solve them and correct any defects speedily. Besides, if designers work together, they can help each other to do mechanical and heat-engineering calculations quickly.

Designers seem to be dispersed in the construction industry, also.

Some time ago I told the city planners to design a wide variety of houses instead of the set types for the city of Pyongyang. They replied that this would scarcely be possible because the designing forces are scattered. If necessary, the designing forces of the construction industry can also be amalgamated. The officials concerned must consider this problem.

After all, it is essential to develop mechanical engineering and chemistry. This will make it possible to raise the people's living standards, boost agricultural production and solve many other problems. We must, therefore, concentrate our unremitting efforts on the engineering and chemical branches.

It is also necessary to intensify scientific research in biology. We are still far behind in this sphere.

In addition, I should like, today, to lay special emphasis on the need for scientists to work hard to solve urgent and vital problems concerning the people's living conditions.

At present, scientific research institutes are primarily concerned with large problems but pay little attention to the minor problems related to the people's living conditions. So far, scientists have solved a number of scientific and technological problems which are of great importance for the development of the national economy. They have done good work, indeed, and our Party appreciates it highly. However, if the economic foundations of the country are to be further consolidated and the people's living conditions improved, many scientific and technological problems still have to be solved. Although we have now laid firm economic foundations, we are still unable to improve the people's living standards commensurately because of the minor problems. Some time ago I criticized our social scientists for tackling major subjects only and for neglecting the popularization and explanation of Party policies. It seems to me that in the realm of natural sciences, too, there is a tendency to stick to major subjects while neglecting minor ones. Natural scientists should not do this; they should show proper concern for minor yet urgent problems related to the people's lives.

As you all know, during the Seven-Year Plan period we concentrated on strengthening the nation's defence power and laying foundations for the defence industry in order to deal with the US imperialist moves to ignite war, and we could not make a great effort to improve the people's living conditions. But this was vitally necessary for defending our revolutionary gains and national sovereignty. Our great efforts have created solid defence industry centres in our country. We are now able to focus our attention on raising the people's living standards. During the period of the Six-Year Plan we must make definite progress in light industry, thus improving the people's living conditions.

By developing light industry and improving living conditions our Party does not mean that we ought to lead a life of luxury. We must always oppose luxurious living. By improving the people's living conditions we mean providing our working people with decent clothes, varied foods and daily necessities.

Not long ago social scientists asked me how one should define the socialist way of life, but I have had no time to answer their question. The socialist way of life changes as the economic foundation of the country develops. The basic principle of the socialist way of life is to stimulate all the working people to lead a sound, cultured life in a revolutionary spirit.

At present some people seem to have a misconception of the socialist way of life. I was told that such people think that the socialist way of life means wearing shabby clothes instead of dressing well. They are wrong. Wearing shabby clothes has nothing whatever to do with the socialist way of life.

As we have often mentioned, shortly after liberation I visited O Ki Sop at his office, and found him sitting at a dusty table strewn with scraps of bread; he had long unkempt hair and stubble on his chin. When I called his attention to this, he replied that he lived the way the proletariat should. So I criticized him for insulting the proletariat.

As we always say, it is the working class who weave good clothes, manufacture excellent motor vehicles and build attractive houses. So

they are fully entitled to wear good clothes and live in fine houses. When the nation's economic foundation was weak, they had to content themselves with clothes of poor quality. But there is no reason why they should put on shabby garments when our economic foundation allows them to be better dressed. We must make sure that all the working people have good clothes and houses as the nation's economic foundation is consolidated.

Of course, this does not mean that we must lead luxurious, dissolute lives in the bourgeois fashion. In an attempt to sell more commodities, the bourgeoisie produce pointed shoes today and square-toed ones tomorrow, short skirts today and long skirts tomorrow. This leads to a great deal of waste. We must never follow this example.

We shall have to establish a proper standard to distinguish the socialist from the bourgeois way of life. Because there is no such standard now, some seem to think that wearing threadbare clothes and unpolished shoes corresponds to the socialist way of life.

Considering the nation's economic foundation as a whole, our light industry is not as developed as it should be. Food is not varied enough, and daily necessities are not plentiful either. The officials in charge of light industry are mainly to blame for the lag in the production of daily necessities. But scientists, too, should feel responsible for the backwardness of our light industry. They must work hard to solve scientific and technological problems arising in the development of light industry, and thus help to improve our people's living conditions quickly.

A matter of pressing urgency in raising the people's living standards is to have a good fish processing industry.

We catch hundreds of thousands of tons of fish in our coastal waters each year. If we add those caught on the deep seas, the figure will be more than one million tons. Judging from this figure, foreigners say our standard of living is very high. It is true that our country's per-capita catch of fish is quite high. However, our fish processing industry is so underdeveloped that the working people cannot eat fish when it is out of season, although they are provided with plenty of fish

when it is in season. We must finally solve the problem of fish processing and mobilize scientists for this task.

For our country it is especially important to process pollack well. At present we catch 300,000-400,000 tons of pollack each year, and if we are provided with more fishing boats, we shall catch 600,000 or even one million tons. Since pollack visit our waters every year, we need not worry about their becoming extinct. Pollack contain plenty of protein and are tasty in winter as well as in summer.

If we process pollack well, we can guarantee six months' subsidiary food for our working people. We shall be able to eat fish all the year round, if we eat pollack from November to May the next year, and then other fish caught in the deep seas and coastal waters.

Fishery officials say that if provided with sufficient boats, they can easily catch 300,000-400,000 tons of fish a year on the high seas. It is essential that we should solve the problem of processing fish, pollack in particular. All scientists specializing in mechanical engineering, chemistry and metallurgy must make every effort to help solve this problem.

There are many scientific and technological problems to solve in fish processing. Scientists must definitively solve the problem of fish processing by their joint efforts.

The industrialization of the production of *kimchi* pickles is one of the urgent problems to be solved in order to improve the people's living conditions. It is 20 years since we first drew attention to this problem, but it is not yet solved. Scientists must try to solve this problem by all possible means. Working people living in multi-storeyed buildings find it inconvenient to pickle *kimchi*. Women say that preserving *kimchi* pickles is the greatest hardship for apartment dwellers living on the upper floors. We must help the women. Scientists who are working in chemistry must conduct research to prevent *kimchi* from turning sour, and those in the field of mechanical engineering must endeavour to mechanize *kimchi* pickling.

We must also try to develop the processing of children's food. In our country almost all the children are now being brought up in

nurseries and kindergartens under public care. If we are to keep our children healthy and raise them in a collective way, we must develop a children's food processing industry. Some foreign countries produce large quantities of varied processed foods by industrial methods; some foodstuffs, when put into boiling water, quickly become palatable food or soup. Only when food is processed in large quantities by industrial methods in this way, shall we be able to provide our children with a nutritious diet anywhere; and then our children will grow healthy in nurseries and kindergartens. We must make sure that research into the processing of children's food is radically speeded up and that more children's food processing factories are built, so that a well-regulated system is established to supply children with food.

In addition, there are many tasks for scientists to tackle in order to develop light industry and improve the people's living conditions. If they think that they have done all they are required to do for the development of light industry just because vinalon and vinyl chloride are now being produced, they are mistaken. Our light industry is still underdeveloped. Its speedy development requires strong assistance from scientists.

At present we are unable to improve the people's living conditions further because of minor problems rather than large ones. In other words, we have solved the major problems in light industry, but not the minor ones, which prevent us from improving the people's living conditions.

It is true that it is difficult for us to meet our domestic needs for raw and other materials, and for machinery and equipment needed for the development of light industry, completely; some of our requirements have to be imported. However, we must start a movement to supply raw and other materials, machinery and equipment for light industry for ourselves, and import as few foreign products as possible.

In order to put our industry on an entirely Juche-oriented basis as proposed in the report to the Fifth Party Congress, it is necessary to develop it in such a way as to supply locally more than 60-70 per cent of the raw materials needed for all branches of industry. We must also

produce consumer goods and the raw and other materials needed for their production by our own efforts in the main.

In our opinion, it is a good idea to establish departments devoted to research on raw and other materials and machines for the people's living conditions in the institutes of chemistry, metallurgy and machinery under the Academy of Sciences. Chemical research institutes must carry out research into the production of chemicals for light industry by setting up small pilot plants and factories under their control as well as the research departments, while assuming responsibility for helping the existing factories to produce more chemicals.

Other institutes, too, must all work hard to increase the production of consumer goods by establishing the research departments and pilot plants. This will involve all scientists in research for promoting the production of consumer goods as a mass movement and help produce the necessary raw materials and machinery.

I think it also necessary to launch a competition in producing more raw materials and equipment for light industry.

In a capitalist society, competition acts as a stimulus for increasing the variety and quality of commodities. Of course, capitalists increase the variety and quality of commodities for the purpose of earning larger profits, not for the sake of improving the people's living conditions. However, they cannot get profits without selling commodities. So they try to produce cheaper and better goods than their competitors. Capitalists try desperately to overcome the competition and take every conceivable measure to conceal their business secrets while prying into the business secrets of their competitors.

In a capitalist society, the workers are fired if they work in a slipshod way or violate technical regulations, and scientists, too, are penalized if they fail to produce research results in terms of their contracts or if their research does not bring profits to the capitalists.

In a socialist society, however, no one is allowed to shout at workers or dismiss them at will. In our socialist society the state

assigns scientists to research tasks in a planned way, so there is no competition between them as in a capitalist society, and they receive salaries and provisions regardless of the results of their research. Therefore, a socialist society functions well if all its members work conscientiously; otherwise it cannot.

We must conduct ideological education amongst the working people more effectively so that they all work devotedly for the interests of the people, while introducing widespread socialist competition amongst producers and amongst scientists.

When there was only one shoe factory in Sinuiju, it did not manufacture good shoes although we called strongly for better quality. But now that we have built shoe factories in several places and make them compete with one another, the quality of shoes seems to have improved to a certain extent recently. It is true that in a socialist society, too, competition does play a certain positive role.

Socialist competition is necessary. So our Party has been stressing the need to introduce extensive socialist competition. Trade union organizations, however, do not organize it properly. I think if socialist competition is organized properly, we shall produce plenty of consumer goods, raw materials and equipment for light industry which our country lacks today.

The merging of some institutes has been suggested. In our opinion, however, it would be better to keep the research establishments as they are and organize socialist competition among them so as to increase the variety and the quality of raw and other materials, machines and equipment for the production of consumer goods.

The economic departments of the Party Central Committee and the Academy of Sciences must take the initiative in examining the scientific and technological problems to be solved for the promotion of the production of consumer goods, and they should give different institutes the tasks of tackling the problems. In this way we should mobilize our scientific and technical forces to the maximum to raise the people's living standards quickly.

Judging from reports on scientific research and from the fact that

their results are not being promptly put into production, we can see that the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet have failed to give proper assistance to scientists in their research work. Meanwhile, our scientists' desire to work hard has increased. This is good. From now onwards, the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet must help scientists in their research work, while encouraging them to give full rein to their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, so as to develop our science to new heights as soon as possible.

We must adopt a Cabinet decision on the use of new scientific achievements in production. From now onwards, we must make sure that every year the state budget appropriates sufficient funds for this purpose. Materials needed for scientific research must always be supplied on a priority basis and manpower must be allotted promptly for the construction and operation of pilot plants by the Academy of Sciences.

Our scientists have so far done a great deal of work. They have trained many young scientists and also achieved great success in their research. The Party Central Committee is very satisfied with this. On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Sciences we must commend those scientists who have acquitted themselves well of their tasks and encourage all scientists to work hard for greater success in their future research.

**SPEECH DELIVERED TO THE NEWLY-  
APPOINTED OFFICIALS OF THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE  
OF SOCIALIST WORKING YOUTH  
AND CHAIRMEN OF ITS PROVINCIAL  
COMMITTEES**

*December 16, 1972*

On this occasion we have taken steps to replace all the cadres of the League of Socialist Working Youth with young people. The LSWY is a young people's organization, so it is natural that young people should be its cadres.

An investigation shows, however, that many of its cadres are elderly people. Many of them are older than 30, and some are even 40 years old. This means that the Party Central Committee department concerned has not been directing the work of the league efficiently.

I was fourteen years old when I began youth work. At that time I used to introduce myself as being a few years older than I really was lest I should be looked down upon because of my youth. Nowadays, however, some league officials are said to be claiming to be a few years younger because they are too old. As its cadres are old, the organization has no vitality.

When we were carrying out revolutionary activities, we ensured that no one older than 25 did youth work. According to the current Rules of the LSWY, young people up to 29 years of age are supposed to belong to this organization, and, in fact, this age limit is too high.

But working environments and conditions nowadays are different from what they were in the past, so it does not seem to me that there will be any harm in this age limit. From now onwards, cadres of the league should be selected from the people who are about 29 years old. They must not be older than 30. As they are older, the league looks like a “league of old people”.

We can say that people between 16 and 27 are most vigorous and courageous. People in our country spend a considerable part of their life in the Children’s Union, the reserve of the league, and in the league, the reserve of the Party. All the younger generation in our country takes part in the life of the Children’s Union from eight years of age to 14 and then proceeds to life in the LSWY until the age of 29. The period of life in these two organizations totals more than 20 years. If the league organizations work efficiently, they can equip all our younger generation firmly with the revolutionary outlook on the world in this period. There is a saying that in ten years even rivers and mountains will change, and if the league organizations work well, they are perfectly capable of training the young people and children to be excellent people over a period of 20 years.

There is no need to lay down that one must necessarily be 14 years old to be admitted to the league. It would be a good idea to admit excellent and mature pupils from amongst those in the third year of the senior middle-school course to the league even though they are a little below the required age. If a pupil is admitted to the league when he is in the third year of the senior middle-school course, he can lead a life in this organization for more than 15 years.

The period of league life is very important. In this period people grow vigorously, are sensitive to the new and very eager to learn about science. The league organizations must, therefore, work well with the young people. Its officials must ensure that in this period its members prepare themselves as fully-fledged masters who are to undertake the building of a new society, as reserves of the Party, as members of the Workers’ Party and as dependable builders of communism. In other words, the league must equip all the young people firmly with the

revolutionary outlook on the world while they are members.

If they are to educate the members well, its officials must set a personal example in work and in their lives. They must refrain from smoking and drinking and must always be dressed neatly. Then they will be an example for the members of the league to follow and will have a good influence on the members of the Children's Union as well.

The league officials must make great efforts to broaden the political horizon of the young people.

The league organizations must see that the young people understand clearly what they have to do to become real masters of the future and builders of communism.

In the politico-ideological education of the league members, it is necessary to give them a correct understanding of communist society. To this end, the league organizations must intensify study amongst the young people and induce them to apply themselves to the study of our Party's Juche idea and Marxism-Leninism in particular. We always say that the basis of the Juche idea is that man is the master of everything and decides everything. Man transforms nature and society.

Success in the revolution and construction, therefore, depends on whether people are given a good education or not. If the people are equipped firmly with the Juche idea of our Party and Marxism-Leninism, they will be immune to flunkeyism, do all work like masters of the country and society, participate in labour faithfully and take good care of state and social property. They will also acquire the revolutionary attitude of placing the interests of their society and collective above their individual interests as well as the determination to rely thoroughly on their organization and to be exemplary in their organizational life.

A man is given his physical life by his parents and his political integrity by the Party. The Party educates people free of charge and trains them to be workers for the communist society. Of course, a man's physical life is important and he must cherish his parents. But his political integrity is more important than his physical life.

The league organizations must convince the young people that their

political integrity is more precious than their physical lives. They will then be able to work for the revolution faithfully, even if they are away from their parents. Even if he were to live for a single day, a man must live a worthwhile life, a life of political purity. If he merely eats and is content with a comfortable home life, keeping himself away from political life, he will be no better than an animal.

If a man is to live like a human being, he must work hard to build a communist society where everyone is provided with good food and good clothing and lives in harmony and in a cultured way. In order to do this, the young people must like work.

If they dislike working, they will be unable to increase the material wealth of the country and will, therefore, be unable to build a communist society. In a communist society everyone will work according to his ability and receive according to his needs. If we are to produce the nation's material wealth in sufficient quantities to meet everyone's needs, everyone must work willingly and value and take the best care of the property of the state and society.

The communist society is a large, harmonious family. The league organizations must ensure that all the young people live on the collectivist principle, "One for all and all for one".

Even in the communist society, people must continue to make progress. All the people must study and become intellectuals in the future. In other words, everyone must become a working-classed intellectual. Then, intellectuals will no longer exist as a distinct social section.

The league organizations must train the young people to be well prepared politico-ideologically, culturally, physically and in all other respects while they belong to the league. This will facilitate their admission to the Party.

Being a member of the working class does not necessarily mean that he has been revolutionized. There are some backward people amongst the workers. That is why our Party emphasizes the need to revolutionize the working class. We must continue to press ahead with the work of revolutionizing the working class and, at the same time,

revolutionize all the league members. If the league members are revolutionized, they can easily become Party members. We welcome the growth of the Party membership.

The league organizations must guide the young people and children so that they will acquire the qualifications for Party membership while they lead the organizational life of the Children's Union and the league.

The young people and children in our country nowadays are growing up without experiencing any hardships. They have no experience of a farm servant, nor have they ever been oppressed and exploited by landlords or capitalists. In our country today, everyone has the right to receive a supply of food as soon as he is born, and every child is taken care of at a nursery and kindergarten and then educated at a primary and senior middle school at state expense.

In former days, it was very difficult to gain access to middle-school education. In my middle-school days, my mother had to earn my school fees penny by penny by washing and sewing for money. I could not afford to stay in the hostel because I was unable to pay for the food there. I had to move from house to house, eating the cheapest food I could buy. I used my canvas shoes only when I was going to school and I went about barefooted after school because I wanted to use them as long as possible. Undergoing this hardship, I realized that the capitalist society was bad and I made a revolutionary determination to overthrow that system. I read many revolutionary novels and other revolutionary books. In those days I had no money to buy books, but I could manage to obtain them by various means. There was a large bookshop in the city where I was living. When I found good books there, I used to advise the children of rich people to buy them and I borrowed them. Although they did not read the books, the rich men's children used to buy them and arrange them in their bookcases for the purpose of showing off. In my middle school, the library was run by the students in turn. When my turn came around, I used to buy good books for the library by spending 50 to 70 per cent of the school money appropriated for the library for the year. I read these books.

Nowadays, our young people and children know nothing of such bitter hardships. They all go to school and learn everything they want to, free from any worries. They are even supplied with clothes by the state, virtually free of charge. Our younger generation seems to think that the social system has always been as good as it is today. How many people have shed their blood, offered their lives and stood on the gallows in order to win this system! Our socialist system was established as a result of the self-sacrificing fight of the revolutionary forerunners. In order to defend this system which cost their blood, our people fought for three years against the US imperialists, and in this war a large number of people shed their blood. The socialist system in our country today has, indeed, been won at the cost of blood. It is not something that has fallen into your laps from the sky.

Our young people ought to defend and protect this system with their lives throughout the generations. This is the duty of the young people.

All our young people and children must know clearly how much blood the revolutionary forerunners and their parents have shed, and how many people sacrificed their lives on the gallows in order to establish the socialist system which gives them happiness today. They must protect this system with their lives. To this end, we must intensify the ideological education of the young people and children so that they do not forget the past when people suffered from exploitation and oppression. "Let us not forget the past when people suffered from exploitation and oppression!"—this must be the motto of the young people and children. They must never forget the reactionary nature and corruption of the exploitative society. We are still surrounded by capitalism, and we are building socialism when the exploitative system still exists in the southern half of our country in particular. Capitalists are very cunning. Japanese capitalists are exploiting workers in so subtle a manner that even the journalists in Japan say that the workers in a capitalist society like Japan need not make a revolution because they are all well-off. We cannot say that there is no danger of the revival of capitalism in our country.

We have to instil hatred for the capitalist system and landlord and

capitalist classes in the minds of our young people and children.

If they are to be educated not to forget the exploitation and oppression of former days, it is necessary to write different kinds of good books including novels and produce many films and plays. Books like novels must be written not only by professional writers but also by young people. Young people can write novels by obtaining information about past lives from their parents and other people.

The young people and children must fully understand the superiority of the socialist system and be firmly resolved to defend this system with their lives and strengthen it. They will then work hard.

In some countries at present, as their living standards have improved a little, young people are forgetting all their parents' past wretched plight. They do not like working and are degenerating and leading a dissipated life. In these countries, young people prefer corrupt capitalist films to revolutionary ones. Films produced in capitalist countries deal with the lives of rich people; none of them represents the lives of the workers and peasants. In the past the Japanese imperialists seduced our young people into degeneracy by means of erotic novels and decadent songs. In the same way, young people of some countries are encouraged to see imported erotic films, with the result that they hate work.

In a capitalist society workers are compelled to work to earn a living because, if they do not work, they are paid no wages and dismissed from factories. By contrast, in a socialist society there is no practice of firing workers; the state provides them with everything they need to live.

In our society everyone is expected to work willingly. In order to build communism, we must educate the young people to work willingly.

The league organizations must strongly combat unwillingness to work amongst the young people so that, in their youth, they acquire the habit of working gladly. They must also be taught to take good care of what they have produced and to have a determination to produce even better articles.

Young people and children must also study well. No country in the world gives education to all the people as our country does. In our country the state spends a large sum of money for the education of all the younger generation. In a capitalist society, however, monthly fees and various other payments are imposed upon the pupils and students to provide the money to run schools or else enrolments are reduced. Some of our young people, however, do not study hard in their university days and also after graduation. The league organizations must ensure that the young people and children acquire the revolutionary habit of studying willingly.

I emphasize once more that the league organizations must educate all the young people to study voluntarily, participate in labour in good faith, treasure and take good care of state and social property, be faithful to the organizational life, and devote all their talents and energies to the benefit of the country and their fellow men. The league organizations must also teach the young people and children to hate landlords and capitalists and the exploitative system on the one hand and, on the other, to fight to consolidate and develop our socialist system which was won at the cost of blood. This is the first task of the league.

Next, the league organizations must ensure that the young people bear the brunt of difficult and labour-consuming work and make it easier by displaying a creative spirit.

Young people are sensitive to the new, eager to advance fast, courageous, nimble, fearless, tireless, and very strong in the spirit to fight against difficulties and hardships. The league organizations must encourage them to develop these qualities and play an important part in the revolutionary struggle and in the work of construction.

The league organizations must encourage the young people to stand in the forefront of any difficult work. Some of them tend to avoid difficult work at present. This is a very dishonourable attitude. Who, if not the young people, should undertake difficult work? Old people are not fit for difficult work. Young people ought to carry on their shoulders the mining, fishing and metallurgical industries and other difficult sectors.

The young people must not only undertake difficult jobs but also mechanize, semi-automate and automate difficult work by using all their creative talents. In other words, they must bear the brunt of the effort to make backbreaking work easier. This is a natural duty of our young people.

The Fifth Congress of our Party put forward the three major tasks of the technical revolution, but the league is not pressing ahead with the campaign to make tiring work easier. Immediately after the armistice, we called upon the young people to make a large number of wheelbarrows and cable cars so as to make their work easier. Young people nowadays, however, do not try to invent anything; they continue to carry heavy loads on their backs, even engaging in a campaign to carry a few more loads on their backs every day. This is not the way young people should work. They must use their intelligence and make an all-out effort to develop the campaign for technical innovations. If they pool their talents, they will be able to think out all kinds of methods, and nothing will be impossible for them.

Let me give you an account of my experience during the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

We organized the guerrilla army, but at the beginning we had no fighting experience. After a great deal of thought, we planned an ambush. Guerrillas lay in ambush at places where the enemy passed frequently. When enemy soldiers appeared there, the guerrillas attacked them and captured their weapons. Not knowing that guerrillas were in ambush, soldiers of the Japanese imperialist army used to pass by, swaggering, with rifles slung on their shoulders. At that time we had few rifles and we had to arm ourselves with spears and clubs and swords to fight in ambush. We used to fall upon the enemy by surprise and capture his weapons. This tactic was used frequently by the guerrillas.

We also had to attack the enemy by raiding his camps. But we had no experience of this action. A reckless attack on the enemy might incur heavy losses on our side because the enemy was well armed. So we worked out adroit tactics. We sent a comrade in peasant's disguise to an enemy post in advance and got him to kill the guard, and then

ordered the guerrillas who were hiding in the bush to assault the enemy camp and destroy him.

We reviewed one year of our battle experiences and compiled a manual *Guerrilla Actions*. The manual gave the details of precautions for an ambush, the methods of raids, the locations of commanders in action and so on. We circulated copies of the manual to the units fighting in different places as a guide to action. Thus actions like ambushes and raids took place in many places, and the guerrillas soon grew into large units.

Later, we evolved various other tactics which were more sophisticated than the *Guerrilla Actions*.

Sometimes we lured the enemy out of a walled town and then destroyed him by guerrilla tactics, and sometimes we sent a few comrades to the vicinity of an assembled enemy force and let them blow bugles from different directions as if we were attacking the enemy in strength so as to keep him from sleeping for a few nights while our main force was having a good rest, and then raided the enemy camp. In this way we were able to harass the enemy to exhaustion and destroy him.

We also attacked one place while pretending to attack another. When that happened, an enemy force came from miles away to support the one under attack. We used to have an ambush at a vantage point in the path of the supporting enemy force and attack it by surprise.

We used all our ingenuity in evolving the guerrilla tactics and always held the initiative in battle and destroyed the enemy. The enemy was very much afraid of our elusive tactics. The Japanese imperialists were afraid of trees, hills and even water because they thought these might be places of ambush for the guerrillas. They trembled with fear when they were passing by villages because they thought guerrillas might fall upon them from the houses.

The league organizations must work hard to succeed in carrying out the three major tasks of the technical revolution advanced by the Party by stimulating the young people to action. At present, these organizations are doing nothing in particular. They must see that the

young people take difficult work upon themselves courageously and make it easier. They can make steady intellectual progress through this kind of work. Man's brain can develop through constant use.

The league organizations must make every effort to give rein to the unlimited creative power of the young people. Many of our young people have been educated at university or trained through labour. So, if you work well with them, they will make many new designs and inventions. The league organizations now just wait for instructions from higher authorities, and when they are given instructions they just follow them and do nothing more on their own initiative.

If young people display their creative spirit, they will be able to solve many technical problems in carrying out the three major tasks of the technical revolution, but at the moment they are just sitting doing nothing. Our young people are now provided with all the necessary conditions to give full scope to their creativity in work.

The replacement of the league officials with young people on this occasion is aimed at giving rein to the creative spirit of the young people who are courageous, willing to adopt new ideas and mentally alert.

In order to give full scope to their inexhaustible creativity, the league officials must acquire a correct work method and style. They must know how to listen to the opinions of the young people. They must not turn down the suggestions of other people without hearing them out nor must they consider only their own opinions right and insist on them. They must always listen to the voice of the young people and encourage their creative opinions and develop them to the fullest extent. The officials of the working people's organizations departments of all the Party committees which are in charge of youth work must help the league officials in every way to work creatively.

The league officials must not put on airs. Many of them are now used to strutting about. Young people must not do so.

When we were doing youth work in the past, we always mixed with the masses. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle, too, we always shared life and actions with the men. Although I was in command of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, I never put on airs. When very young

comrades were standing guard, we stood guard with them lest they should feel afraid, and sometimes we ourselves stood guard so as to give the men more time to sleep. We cooked and ate with the men, and when we were billeted on villagers we chopped firewood for them and talked to them.

You must not put on airs because you are chairmen, vice-chairmen or departmental heads. Putting on airs does not raise your prestige. Some people say that, if a chairman mixes with his subordinates, his prestige drops. This is a seriously mistaken idea. The league officials must mix with the young people without putting on airs. This is the way they can hear their creative opinions and be efficient in the work of the league.

You will also have to be replaced by other people in a few years and leave the league. You cannot stay there for a long time. The chairman of its Central Committee is now 30 years old, so he will have to leave the league, to be relieved by another man in three or four years' time. The newly-appointed officials are also too old. We must continue to replace the league officials with younger people. The younger they are, the better it is. Younger people will not put on airs.

Young people are not pleased with league officials who put on airs. It is necessary for these officials to get into the habit of mixing with the masses while they are young. Then, they will be able to work well amongst the masses when they have to do Party work at some time in the future.

I have been emphasizing for some years that the heads of the departments of the Party Central Committee, the chief secretaries of the provincial Party committees and other cadres should visit universities and give them lectures, but they are not implementing this task well. Probably they are afraid of speaking to well-informed university lecturers and students.

As far as I know, the officials of the Central Committee of the LSWY do not seem to give lectures at universities. Apparently, they are also afraid of doing so. You must not be afraid. There is no reason why you cannot speak to people who hold doctorates. In the past, we

used to make many speeches before doctors in universities and also conducted a great deal of motivation work before them.

The officials of the Central Committee of the LSWY must visit universities to deliver lectures, organize a campaign to root up outdated ideas from the minds of the students and call upon them to study harder.

These officials must also visit factories frequently to stir up the young people and inspire them with a high spirit.

Both Party work and league work are work with people. The latter is work with the young people and children. If you are to succeed in your work with people, you will have to attend the meetings of primary league organizations and deliver lectures so as to rouse the young people to activity.

You must mix with the young people, explaining and propagating the monolithic ideology of our Party, the Juche idea to them, and also give them stirring lectures. The league must be the information and motivation corps of the Workers' Party. If the league organizations work in this way, they will be able to train a large number of cadres amongst the young people.

At present, even some of the Party officials prefer paper work to mixing with the masses. Because they only page through personal files, they cannot discover competent cadres. We do not need personal files; we need competent people who know how to mix with the masses and speak to them and stimulate them.

The league officials must greatly improve their work method and style.

The league is an organized detachment to train the reserves of our Party and an information and motivation corps to give publicity to our Party's policies. If you acquire a good work method and style, you will be successful in your work with people in the future when you will be working in Party bodies. If you lay the basis of good work method and style in three to four years, your successors will follow your example. Moreover, when you are appointed to Party bodies, you will be efficient in information and motivation and also in organizing work.

At present, information workers and organizing workers are functioning separately, but, by nature, these functions should not be separated. Many of the organizing workers now think that all they have to do is to examine personal files and issue directives by putting on airs and remaining in their offices. They are grossly mistaken. Organizing workers must also know how to conduct information work. They must mix with the masses and conduct information and education first, and then organize work. Organizing work and information work are closely related, and information must precede organization. No revolutionary work can be successful unless it is preceded by ideological education. Giving priority to ideological work means teaching the people the Party's policies and then arousing them to implement the revolutionary task in hand.

Some officials of the Party Central Committee put on airs. If this practice is to be eliminated, the league officials who have acquired a good work style must come to work in Party bodies in the future. This is the way the Party can remain a revolutionary and creative party.

You comrades must fight to improve your work method and style in a revolutionary manner.

Next, I shall speak briefly about the tasks on which you will have to concentrate your efforts.

You must, first, concentrate on the work of the league in universities and other educational institutions.

As you all know, there are mass organizations of young people and children in schools, and future cadres of Party and state bodies and of economic and cultural establishments are being trained in universities in particular. The league organization must, therefore, pay particular attention to the education of young students and schoolchildren and work hard to equip them thoroughly with the Party's monolithic ideological system.

At present, educational institutions are not educating young people and children efficiently. In a letter to me, a student of Kim Il Sung University, who was discharged from the army, says that some of the students are not equipped firmly with the Party's monolithic

ideological system and that, instead of thinking of studying hard in the interests of the Party and the revolution, they are leading a leisurely life and trying only to obtain an academic diploma. These students cannot be expected to work well in the future when they are assigned to Party and state bodies and economic and cultural institutions; they cannot become true revolutionary fighters of the Party.

You must tighten up your control of the league organizations in universities, press ahead with your work boldly and develop an uncompromising ideological campaign against undesirable practices.

You must also direct your efforts to the league work in higher technical schools and senior middle schools and to the work of the Children's Union. The league organizations must equip the students with the Party's monolithic ideological system thoroughly so that they will fight faithfully for the Party and the revolution.

You must also concentrate on your league work in factories. There are large numbers of league members there. If these members are vibrant with enthusiasm, they can stimulate older people.

You must also pay particular attention to your league work in the rural communities.

In addition, you must recognize the hard core of the league and improve their role.

The league is a mass organization which is composed of different sections of young people, so it must have its hard-core elements. The league organizations must select the young people who are very loyal to the Party and show promise of becoming true communists and must train them systematically. The league organizations must give them frequent assignments so as to keep them on the move and encourage them to influence others so that all the young people are roused to action.

In the future, secretaries and department heads of the Party Central Committee must visit the Central Committee of the LSWY approximately twice every month to explain relations between the north and the south, major international developments and new Party policies.

If you work well, I may visit your Central Committee once or twice a year to give you lectures myself. At present, I am not particularly

inclined to do so because the league is staffed only with “old people”. When young people are alive with enthusiasm, they will look young, and we, too, will feel like visiting your league.

Local Party organizations must make it a rule to summon league cadres to Party meetings. Even if they are not members of Party committees, the chairmen of the league organizations have to attend Party meetings because this will help them to know Party policy promptly and to work efficiently. The Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee should issue directives to the local Party organizations, ordering them to allow the chairmen of the league organizations to participate in Party meetings.

You must not do your work perfunctorily. A few days ago the trade unions invited me to watch a performance of the travelling information troupe. I complied with their request, but I found the performance very slovenly. The artistic works produced by the trade unions will not stimulate people.

If you are going to produce a literary work, you must do so properly. You must not do it superficially. Art works must be composed in such a way as to encourage people to support the leader wholeheartedly and fight for the Party and the revolution. They must not be composed merely for form’s sake. They must be life-like and logical and show distinct lines so as to stimulate young spectators to rise up with their fists clenched.

The opera version of *The Flower Girl* is better than the film version. The drama *The Flower Girl* was produced in the 1930s, and it is still very valuable in class education. When we produced the play and put it on the stage in those days, many of the spectators would clench their fists, shedding tears, and express their determination to overthrow the corrupt social system. Any literary work must have the essence, that is, the nucleus of the piece.

In future, the league must produce many literary works which have a nucleus. You must present good literary works to the public. Works without any ideological substance will not have any educational influence on the audience.

The poetic drama *Epic of the Pothong River* is well composed. It is now being adapted for the screen. It can also be adapted as an opera. The drama *Lake Yonphung* produced by the Nampho Theatrical Troupe, South Phyongan Province, is also a good piece. It contains a nucleus. The film version is even better. As a matter of course, a novel should be written first, and then it should be adapted for the screen. The workers in this sector, however, have produced the film first, and then they are putting flesh on it to produce a novel. This is a shortcoming of the literary and art sector.

You must quickly destroy the framework of perfunctoriness in doing anything and do your work so as to produce a nucleus and the seeds.

Next, you must establish a correct system of training the reserve cadres of the league and train them methodically.

In all probability, experienced people will have little chance to undertake the work of the league. If any of its officials is to acquire five or ten years' experience in this work, he will find that he is already too old to go on with this work. It is necessary, therefore, to give the candidates for league cadres good training from the time when they belong to the Children's Union. The candidates for these cadres should be selected in their Children's Union days and then taught how to work amongst the pupils and trained in the post of chairmen or vice-chairmen of the league organizations when they are promoted to the senior middle school. After graduation from the senior middle school, they should be sent to the army or to factories and trained as chairmen or vice-chairmen of league organizations for about three years before they are sent to the LSWY University. After education in this university they should be appointed as cadres of the league.

The younger generation should be trained to become political workers from the time of their Children's Union days. The job of the chairman of the LSWY in the senior middle school should be boldly entrusted to one of its students. This student will have to bear a rather heavy burden if he is to perform this work, but this problem can be solved if he has a few vice-chairmen and a LSWY instructor to help him in his work.

The students who are to become cadres of the league must be under the careful supervision of the league organizations concerned. Full records of their activities in the Children's Union and the LSWY must be kept, and, when they leave to serve in the army or to work in factories, their personal files should be transferred to the league organizations concerned. In this way systematic training will be given to reserve cadres.

The comrades who have been chairmen of the Children's Union and of the LSWY in their school days can work as chairmen of company LSWY organizations when they are enlisted in the army, or as factory LSWY cadres when they are appointed to factories. It is not bad for them to serve in the army or work in factories for two or three years. When they have done this, they will be 18 or 19 years old and will acquire the qualities of the working class. Three years of military service and as many years of industrial work should be evaluated equally. Both soldiers and workers can acquire the same working-class qualities. The records of military service are, in fact, as valuable as those of industrial labour. A comrade who has been trained in a factory or in the army for two or three years and educated in the LSWY University for two years before his appointment as a cadre of the league will be able to work for the league for approximately eight years if he is expected to work until he is 29 years old. In optimum conditions he will be able to do the work of the league for ten years. Such comrades will, in fact, be working for 13 years rather than eight or ten years if their records during industrial or military service are added.

It is desirable for the Party to mark competent league workers out for appointment as Party officials who work in Party bodies or in economic establishments. If competent league workers are appointed as instructors of the Party Central Committee after working as assistant instructors for two or three years there, they will make motivation workers, organizers and theoreticians of themselves and will become well-qualified Party officials. If the instructors of the Party Central Committee are selected systematically in this way, the ranks of our Party cadres will be further consolidated.

In future, the Organizational Leadership Department and the Working People's Organizations Department of the Party Central Committee must develop their personnel administration according to this system.

The LSWY is an institution to train the cadres of the Party, the working people's organizations and state organs through organizing and motivation work. If we had trained the league cadres well in the past, personnel administration in Party bodies, working people's organizations and state organs would have been efficient. If we improve the training of the league cadres even now, a large number of well-trained cadres will be promoted two or three years from now. If it handles its personnel affairs in this way, our Party will remain a revolutionary party forever, without degenerating. The LSWY will also become a revolutionary organization.

If it is to deal with personnel affairs systematically, the league must begin with the careful selection of the chairmen of the Children's Union organizations. It is very important to give efficient leadership to the Children's Union. When we were conducting youth work in the past, we never failed to combine it with the work of the Children's Corps. Conducting Children's Union work well is very important in revolutionizing the young people.

The Working People's Organizations Department and the LSWY must prevent schools from selecting the chairmen of Children's Union branch or sub-branch organizations in an arbitrary manner. When selecting Children's Union cadres, they must receive reports from the Children's Union instructors and visit schools to get to know the situation well, and then select promising pupils. If they are selected in this way, they will work well when they have been admitted to the league after leading the life of the Children's Union for some time in the senior middle schools. The league should give them opportunities to work as members of its school committees, as vice-chairmen and then as chairmen for one or two years before they graduate. When they are sent to universities or factories or to the army, the records of their work should be sent to the organizations concerned. Factories,

universities and army units should give them an assignment to do the work of the league while training them through practical work, and then recommend them to the LSWY University. It makes no difference whether they are educated at the LSWY University or at other universities: after graduation, they should be appointed as cadres of the league. If we do things in this way, we shall be able to have a clear picture of the ranks of the league cadres of the whole country and solve the problem of the Party and league cadres satisfactorily.

People who have worked in factories or on farms for about three years or who have been hardened through military service are suitable to be cadres of the league. If these people are promoted as cadres of the league, the proportion of the people of worker and peasant origin will increase in the composition of its cadres. When we met the members of the youth shock brigade, I said that one's experience of hardship in one's youth cannot be bartered for gold. People who have not undergone hardship in their youth are not satisfied with their present living conditions in our society although they are provided with food, clothing and everything else by the state. They do not know the miseries which our people suffered in the past. So one's experience of hardship in one's youth is not useless.

Next, you must see that there are no delinquent young people.

I cannot understand clearly why some of the young people in our society are delinquents. Why should the young people who have been educated in our society misbehave themselves? It seems to me that some of them misbehave because the league has not yet explored the heart of the whole problems and because it is not intensifying communist moral education among the young students and schoolchildren and their organizational life.

The league organizations must examine the cause of their delinquency carefully and take steps to correct them.

You must develop your work boldly. You must hold frequent consultative meetings, plan your work regularly and discuss your plans at the executive committee meetings, organize assignments for each comrade and work hard to implement them.

**THE KOREAN SCIENTISTS IN JAPAN  
MUST MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION  
TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE  
AND TECHNOLOGY IN OUR COUNTRY**

**Talk to a Delegation of Korean Scientists from Japan**

*December 16, 1972*

Your visit to the homeland on this occasion is short, so you must have had a rather tight schedule. But it is very gratifying that you have had this opportunity to visit scientific and educational institutions in the homeland.

Today science and technology are developing rapidly in our country. This is true of all branches of science and technology, and of those in the metallurgical and chemical industries in particular.

Vinalon was invented by our scientists. They had already passed the stage of test production in this research during the war years, and after the war they succeeded in introducing the results of their research into production. We are now working to increase the production capacity of the vinalon factory to 50,000 tons.

Our scientists and technicians have invented other kinds of chemical fibre and are succeeding in solving many other scientific and technical problems related to the production of synthetic rubber and agricultural chemicals. There are many distinguished scientists and technicians in the chemical industry, and, therefore, this industry has invented many new things and achieved great success in introducing the results of their research into production.

There is now a weakness in developing science and technology in our country in some branches of engineering. There are not yet many competent scientists and technicians in the fields of mechanical engineering and electronics. Technological progress in these fields and growth in the number of these scientists and technicians in our country have been retarded largely because of the consequences of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. In former days, the Japanese imperialists did not teach Koreans technology, and in particular they taught them no engineering.

Since liberation, our Party has made great efforts to train engineering scientists and technicians, and they have increased in number quite considerably. But their standard of scientific and technical knowledge is not yet very high. We intend to make greater efforts to develop mechanical engineering, electronics and other branches of engineering. The Korean scientists and technicians in Japan must also learn subjects in these fields and study them harder and then make an active contribution to the development of science and technology in our country.

You will not find it easy to learn advanced science and technology in Japan. At present, Japanese reactionaries are discriminating unjustly against our compatriots in Japan and obstructing their efforts to learn technology. In spite of this, you have to learn and study advanced science and technology and train a large number of competent scientists and technicians, no matter what the odds. By acquiring a great deal of advanced scientific and technical knowledge, the Korean scientists in Japan can help the development of science and technology in the homeland and work for their development when they return to the homeland at some time in the future.

This is the age of electronics. The development of electronics is the prerequisite to automation, and automation means the completion of the technical revolution. The difference between mental and physical labour can also be eliminated by means of automation.

The development of electronics is also required in building large ships. Hulls can be built by welding the structural parts according to

the design. The major equipment of a ship consists of automatic steering gear, the compass and some other items, and all of these need electronic components and instruments. The important thing is to make these electronic units and instruments well. Electronic computers can also be made without difficulty if these components and instruments are available.

We can say that progress in all branches of modern technology depends, in the long run, on the development of electronics. For this reason we are making great efforts to develop electronics in the homeland. Universities are increasing the enrolment of students in the field of electronics and they are equipping their laboratories with modern facilities. We intend to establish a new scientific library.

No country is willing to export electronic techniques to other countries. That is why we have to develop this branch of technology by ourselves. At present, our scientists and technicians are working hard to develop electronics and have achieved a certain degree of success. By their own efforts they are making various kinds of electronic components and instruments which are basic to the development of the automation industry. I believe that, because they have the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance as well as a firm resolve to develop their country quickly, they will be able to develop electronics in our country to the advanced level in the near future.

If we are to develop the automation industry, we have to develop the techniques of pure metal production in addition to electronics. The production of metals free from impurities is sophisticated and difficult. In recent years our scientists and technicians have achieved some degree of success in research on the production of pure metal. But they have to make greater efforts, in order to catch up with the developed countries in this field. You comrades must also apply yourselves to research in this field.

Research on herbicides is also necessary.

Herbicides are now widely used in many countries and particularly in Japan. Weeding is the hardest of all farm work, and if we use herbicides, we shall be able to prevent weeds from growing and kill all

of them, without doing the labour-consuming work of weeding. But the problem is whether or not the cereals which are produced by using herbicides contain elements which are toxic to humans. Information which is available says that in a certain country many people have fallen ill after eating such cereals. Therefore, we must confirm scientifically how much poison is contained in these cereals and how it affects the health of the people who have eaten them.

I was told that an initial analysis by our scientists showed that these cereals contained toxic elements. Therefore, we are giving a great deal of consideration to whether to extend the herbicide factory we have built and to continue to produce herbicides or not, although the factory is producing some of them. It is desirable that you should also study the problem of herbicides.

We are continuing to make great efforts to develop Juche-oriented science.

Developing Juche-oriented science means carrying on scientific research mainly on scientific and technical problems arising in developing the economy by using our own raw materials and to suit the specific situation in our country.

Vinalon, which is the product of our scientists' research, is a synthetic fibre which is produced exclusively from raw materials available in our country. Only limestone, anthracite and electricity are needed to produce vinalon, and our country is very rich in these resources. This is precisely why we say that vinalon is good. Vinalon cloth is not, of course, very colourful, but it is very durable. If we continue research on vinalon and work out the method of dyeing it in its liquid state and solve a few other outstanding technical problems, we shall be able to improve its quality.

Of course, it would be cheaper and quicker to develop the petrochemical industry and produce fabric with fibre obtained from petroleum. But it is tantamount to allowing oneself to be seized by the throat by other people to build an industry which depends on other countries for its raw materials. It would be a different matter if our country was producing oil. But it would pose a problem if we put too

much emphasis on the petrochemical industry when we are not yet producing oil. That is why our scientific research must always be oriented to the development of Juche-based industry.

Because we have developed Juche-oriented science and have built a powerful socialist independent national economy, we are able to produce food and clothing by our own efforts and stand firm no matter what economic blockade policy the imperialists may adopt against our country.

By contrast, the south Korean economy is totally dependent on other countries. It cannot maintain itself for a single day without importing raw materials from other countries. South Korea is now making wigs and all kinds of miscellaneous goods and exporting them to import raw materials.

We proposed economic cooperation between the north and the south to the delegate of the south Korean authorities who came to Pyongyang for the recent north-south negotiations.

We proposed, first of all, that the north and the south should cooperate to develop mines. Lacking iron ore, south Korea is importing it from foreign countries. We asked him why south Korea should import expensive iron ore from a far-off country when there are deposits of more than 10,000 million tons of it in the north. We suggested that mines should be developed by joint efforts, that is, by using our equipment and their work hands since a large number of people are out of work in south Korea. This, we said, would solve the problem of ore for south Korea and the problem of unemployment there, and in the course of this, distrust and misunderstanding between the two sides would gradually be dispelled.

We proposed secondly that the north and the south should cooperate in fishing. Our fishing grounds are teeming with fish. Particularly in winter, large shoals of pollack visit there. Nowadays we are catching almost 20,000 tons of pollack every day. But not many shoals are going to south Korean fishing grounds. Since they are cold-water fish, they seldom visit south Korean coastal waters. At present, south Korean fishermen are living in extreme poverty because they are not catching an

adequate amount of fish. So we proposed to the south Korean delegate that south Korean fishermen should be allowed to come to the fishing grounds in the north and fish there freely.

We proposed thirdly that we would build irrigation works in south Korea by using our machines.

The south Korean authorities dared not object to these fair proposals in public. But they are not accepting them, using delaying tactics, as though they were going to consider the matter sooner or later. They are not agreeing to cooperate with us because they are afraid that south Korean people may be influenced ideologically by our people when they mix with each other.

The south Korean authorities are even trying to prevent our just proposals for north-south cooperation from becoming known to the south Korean people, but they will not be successful. If we make speeches on the subject of north-south cooperation and publicize it widely in various forms of the media, then our proposals will be known to the south Korean people. They will then demand to know why the south Korean authorities object to the idea of cooperation between fellow countrymen while selling people as slaves to foreign countries.

If north-south economic cooperation is brought about according to our proposal, a new phase may be opened in our effort to settle the question of national reunification. On your return to Japan, you should, therefore, give wide publicity to our just proposals for north-south economic cooperation amongst our compatriots in Japan and broad sections of the Japanese people.

Next, I shall speak briefly about socialist construction in the homeland.

At present, the Six-Year Plan is being carried out successfully in our country.

This year we have already exceeded the target for the production of chemical fibre which is envisaged for the final year of the Six-Year Plan. Thirty thousand tons of vinalon are to be produced in the final year of this plan, but we are now increasing vinalon production capacity to the 50,000-ton level.

In the production of machine tools, we have already far exceeded the level estimated for the final year of the Six-Year Plan, and this year's tractor and lorry production quotas have been carried out over and above the plan. If we work a little more efficiently from now onwards, I believe that we shall be able to ensure that all sectors of the national economy carry out the Six-Year Plan far ahead of schedule.

We are now making large investments and concentrating our efforts on light and chemical industries which are directly related to the people's standard of living. In particular, we are building a large number of local light-industry factories on a provincial basis and working hard to increase the volume and variety of consumer goods and improve their quality. If we work successfully for two to three years from now, we shall be able to supply the people with greater amounts of high-quality consumer goods and raise their living standards much higher than they are now.

Our main task in heavy industry at the moment is to concentrate on the construction of the metallurgical centre in the Chongjin district and the building of a large chemical-industry centre in the western region. We have undertaken the construction of a large metallurgical centre in Chongjin in order to develop the metallurgical industry quickly, and we are going to concentrate efforts on this project next year. We are also building a large chemical-industry centre in the western region, and we are going to press ahead with the project at full speed from next year and finish it in approximately two years. If you come to visit the homeland again after about two years, you will be able to see these industrial centres.

Next year we shall also accelerate the production of large machines needed for the development of iron-ore mines and nonferrous metal mines and work hard to develop the extractive industries.

The educational sector is making a fine effort to complete the countrywide introduction of universal ten-year compulsory education, which has already been started, during the Six-Year Plan. This education system includes senior middle-school training. We are also

building many universities in order to train 500,000 additional technicians and specialists.

We have suffered from some difficulties in economic construction in the past. Since our small country has had to build the economy and increase its defence capabilities at the same time, it has had to tackle a number of difficult problems. When we had only hydroelectric power stations and no thermal power stations, economic construction was affected by the limitation of power available. But we have now overcome this limitation.

The main shortcoming revealed in the work of our officials is that they are not very careful with the management of the nation's economic life. The state has constructed good houses and has even provided the people with well-furnished flats. But some people do not take good care of them, and they do not look after state and social property as they do their own. The national economy has grown and the working people's living conditions have improved a great deal, but their ideological consciousness is lagging behind economic progress. This is the only shortcoming in building socialism, if there is any at all.

This is, of course, a passing phase. One of the important tasks in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism is precisely to see that all the people look after and take good care of state and social property. If we give priority to the ideological revolution and intensify the education of the people, we shall be able to solve this problem gradually.

In short, the building of socialism in our country is progressing successfully. On your return to Japan, you should tell the workers of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) and other Korean compatriots there about these developments in the homeland.

We have achieved many successes in international relations as well.

This year alone we have established diplomatic relations with nine countries. In the future we shall have diplomatic relations with many more.

Our country firmly maintains independence in its relations with

other countries. Because we maintain independence firmly and advance independently, we are not under pressure from any quarter, and no one dares to try to bring pressure upon us. We have good relations with all the socialist countries, and we have many international friends.

The Chongryon organizations must continue to work well with the Japanese people. Chongryon must, therefore, strengthen solidarity with different sections of the Japanese people and maintain friendly relations with progressive political parties and social organizations in Japan. In this way it will receive active support and assistance from the broad sections of the Japanese people and their progressive political parties and social organizations in its patriotic work.

The south Korean authorities are now plotting to create “two Koreas” and keep the north and the south divided forever. We must thwart this plot absolutely. To this end, the organizations of Chongryon must work well with the Japanese people and strengthen solidarity with the south Korean people so that they will participate actively in the struggle to frustrate the plot to create “two Koreas”.

The only way for the workers of Chongryon and our compatriots in Japan to do their patriotic work successfully is to equip themselves firmly with the Juche idea of our Party. The Chongryon organizations and its workers must continue to explain and propagate the Juche idea well amongst our compatriots in Japan.

In the recent elections to the Fifth Supreme People’s Assembly of our country all the voters participated and all of them cast their ballots in favour of the candidates. This was reported in many socialist countries and also in Japan. At present, some foreigners are curious about the fact that 100 per cent of the voters took part in the elections and that they voted 100 per cent in favour of the candidates. These are people who do not have a clear understanding of the advantages of our socialist system and the correctness of our Party’s policies.

In our country all the people love the socialist system and support the policies of our Party and the Government of our Republic. Even the former small and medium entrepreneurs, to say nothing of the people

who were poor in the past, support the socialist system, and erstwhile landlords and capitalists are not opposed to it in public. In our country the landlords' estates were confiscated, but the landlords themselves were not hanged. We expropriated their land and moved them to different places and opened the way for them to survive by earning a living themselves. At the time when they were deprived of their lands and factories, the landlords and capitalists were very discontented with our system, but now they refrain from working against it in public out of consideration for the future of their sons and daughters who have been educated under our system and are working well in our society. Our Party has treated the children of formerly well-to-do people magnanimously and educated them, without discriminating against them socially. Many of them are now working enthusiastically in state and economic establishments and scientific research institutes. This is because our Party has followed a correct policy towards the different sections of the masses. The fact that all the voters participated in the recent elections to the Supreme People's Assembly and that all the participants voted in favour of the candidates is a great demonstration of the superiority of the socialist system in our country and the correctness of our Party's policies.

Today all the people in our country have equal political rights and live in happiness, working devotedly for the prosperity of their socialist motherland and for the well-being of their fellow countrymen.

If we build socialism faster, our people will be more prosperous, and our country will become literally an earthly paradise.

I hope that on your return to Japan you will work hard for the development of science and technology in our country and carry out Chongryon's patriotic work even better.

**LET US FURTHER STRENGTHEN  
THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM  
OF OUR COUNTRY**

**Speech Made at the First Session of the Fifth  
Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea**

*December 25, 1972*

Comrade Deputies,

Elections to the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were held successfully at a time when all of our people were making a great new revolutionary advance on all fronts of socialist construction, upholding the decision of the historic Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, and when the whole nation was seething with a burning desire for independent, peaceful reunification.

All our citizens, with great pride and a sense of honour as citizens of the DPRK, participated in the elections and expressed their unreserved support for and profound trust in our Party and the Government of the Republic. These elections strengthened our revolutionary power still more, consolidating the revolutionary base of the northern half of Korea.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I should like to express warm thanks to all the people for their unreserved support for and deep trust in our Party and the Government of the Republic as manifested in the recent elections.

Comrades, twenty-four years have passed since the Korean people embarked on the creation of a new society and a new life under the banner of the Republic, with a genuine people's Constitution, the first of its kind in their history. In this period our people, under the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, have made great achievements in the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism. During these years there has been a truly great transformation in this country and epoch-making changes have taken place in the political, economic and cultural spheres of our people's life.

Our situation today urgently demands the establishment of a new Socialist Constitution to give legal force to the tremendous achievements of our people in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism and to lay down the principles of the political, economic and cultural features of socialist society. Therefore, we formed a Commission for the Drafting of the Socialist Constitution of the DPRK and have prepared a draft Socialist Constitution. The draft Socialist Constitution of the DPRK was discussed at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and considered by the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea before it was submitted to the Supreme People's Assembly.

The adoption of the Socialist Constitution of the DPRK at the current session of the Supreme People's Assembly will be a historic event in our people's revolutionary struggle and work of construction.

## **1. THE STRUGGLE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND BUILDING OF SOCIALISM**

Comrades,

The socialist revolution is the most complete social transformation in the history of mankind for the abolition of the exploitation of man by

man once and for all and for opening up a new path of social progress.

If the working class and the Marxist-Leninist party that fight to liberate the masses of the people from exploitation and oppression and ensure them a happy life are to fulfil their historic mission, they must lead the people in carrying out the socialist revolution. Only when the people who have extricated themselves from the colonial enslavement of imperialism take the road to socialism, can they be completely liberated from class exploitation and national oppression, and enjoy a free and happy life and achieve their country's sovereignty and independence and national prosperity.

In our country the socialist revolution began after the carrying out of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution in the northern half of Korea following liberation. It is a logical process of revolutionary development that the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution led by the working class changes to the socialist revolution.

After the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution had been carried out, our country had a socialist economic sector consisting mainly of the state-run economy, alongside a small-commodity sector consisting of the individual peasant economy in the country areas and an urban handicraft economy, and a capitalist economic sector of capitalist trade and manufacturing in towns and the rich peasant economy in rural areas.

As long as the capitalist and small-commodity sectors were left intact, it was impossible to eradicate the sources of exploitation and poverty completely and free the productive forces of society entirely from the shackles of old production relations, and develop the nation's economy as a whole speedily and in a planned way. Therefore, in order to free our people completely from all sorts of exploitation and oppression and develop the country's productive forces rapidly, we had to carry out the socialist revolution upon the completion of the democratic revolution.

Furthermore, we had to do this in order to strengthen the unity and solidarity of all the people based on the worker-peasant alliance on a

new socialist foundation, wipe out the strongholds of the reactionaries and the breeding ground of old ideas, and augment the political basis of the revolution.

Our people thus entered the period of transition to socialism immediately following the democratic revolution. However, in the days of peaceful construction our socialist revolution was only partially started; it was still in the preparatory stage. Because of the war forced on us by the US imperialists, the socialist transformation in the northern half of Korea had to be interrupted temporarily, and our socialist revolution could virtually start only after the war.

Postwar socio-economic conditions in the northern half of Korea urgently demanded the full-scale acceleration of the socialist revolution.

The war badly damaged the material and technological foundations of agriculture and brought extreme poverty not only to the poor peasants but also to the middle and rich peasants. After the war our country areas were very short of draught cattle, farm implements and manpower, and there was also an acute shortage of food and clothing. Since agriculture had been so severely damaged, the continuation of the individual peasant economy would have made it impossible to restore the productive forces of agriculture speedily and solve the postwar food problem, which had become very serious. Unless the devastated productive forces of agriculture were rapidly restored and the food problem solved promptly, there was the danger that the development of industry and the national economy in general would be held back and that a serious disparity would arise between industry, which was then being reconstructed and developed quickly in a planned way, and agriculture, which was being rehabilitated slowly. In addition, if the small peasant economy had been left intact, we would not have been able to improve the living conditions of our impoverished peasants rapidly and, in particular, to solve the problem of the poor peasants whose number had increased during the war. In short, the limitations of the individual peasant economy in our country manifested themselves most strikingly in the postwar years and we

could not allow this situation to exist any longer. The only way to overcome these difficulties was to go over to a cooperative form of agriculture.

The war also greatly depleted individual trade and manufacturing in the towns. The capitalist traders and manufacturers suffered such severe losses that they were reduced to straitened circumstances just as the handicraftsmen and small merchants were. After the war the entrepreneurs and merchants were unable to recover their previous economic positions or eke out a living by themselves. The only way out for these impoverished entrepreneurs and merchants was to work collectively, pooling their efforts and funds with the assistance of the state, that is, to take the socialist path. It was not only the demand of our revolution but also an objective necessity arising from the conditions facing the capitalist traders and manufacturers, that they had to be led to follow the road to socialism after the war.

The full-scale acceleration of the socialist revolution after the war was also necessary in order to strengthen the revolutionary base of the northern half of Korea. Only by continuing to accelerate the revolution in the north was it possible to turn it into a strong base to eventually guarantee national reunification and the nationwide victory of the revolution. Therefore, the continued and vigorous acceleration of the revolution in the north was not only needed for the revolutionary development of the north itself but it was also essential for the advancement of the Korean revolution as a whole.

On the basis of a scientific analysis of the revolutionary situation created in our country after the war, our Party considered the postwar period the most appropriate stage for the socialist revolution, and in its April 1955 Theses, set forth the policy of stepping up the socialist revolution on a full scale.

The most important thing in transforming the old production relations in town and country and establishing the unchallenged supremacy of socialist production relations is the cooperativization of the individual peasant economy.

In the light of the specific postwar situation in our country our Party

and the Government of the Republic advanced a policy to transform the economic forms along socialist lines prior to the technological reform of agriculture, and enterprisingly launched an agricultural cooperative movement.

Since the socialist transformation of agriculture was urgently demanded by the revolution after the war, we could not postpone agricultural cooperativization simply because the economy had been damaged and our technological development was still at a low level. The decisive condition for agricultural cooperativization does not lie in whether agriculture is equipped with modern technology but in whether this step is a vital demand of the peasants themselves, whether the revolutionary forces are prepared to carry it out. As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, even a collective economy which merely pools the peasants' land and farm implements can achieve an improvement in the economy which would, otherwise, be impossible in the individual small peasant economy, and, at the same time, can raise the productivity of labour several times over. Thus, our Party waged a struggle to transform economic forms first in order to meet the urgent need of social development, instead of waiting until industrialization was carried out. As a result, we were able to restore and develop the productive forces of agriculture, which had been severely damaged by the war, rapidly, and to press ahead with the technical revolution in the country areas in step with industrial development.

In guiding the agricultural cooperative movement, our Party and the Government of the Republic strictly observed the voluntary principle.

Our Party categorically rejected coercive methods in this movement and adopted a number of correct policies to persuade the peasants to join the cooperative economy voluntarily.

An object lesson in the cooperative movement is the best way of persuading the peasants engaged in centuries-old methods of individual farming to join cooperative farming voluntarily. We intensified the ideological education of the peasants, and at the same time, established a pilot stage and worked to show them the advantages

of the cooperative economy by practical example.

Taking into consideration the fact that the land remained the private property of the peasants and that their property status and ideological awareness varied, we laid down three forms of agricultural cooperative economy and encouraged the peasants to choose the form they considered most appropriate for them. In pooling the peasants' means of production, we saw to it that according to their desire, draught cattle and farm implements were pooled or were left under private ownership for a certain period while being used collectively, and when they were pooled, due compensation was made without fail. These measures taken by our Party helped the peasants of different levels to accept the policy of cooperativization readily and made it possible to prevent some deviations which, otherwise, might have appeared in the course of the cooperative movement.

In drawing the peasants of various levels into cooperative farming according to the voluntary principle, our Party followed the class policy of relying firmly on the poor peasants, strengthening the alliance with the middle peasants, and restricting and gradually reforming the rich peasants.

Our Party first organized a few agricultural cooperatives in each county on a trial basis with the poor peasants and the hard core of people in the rural areas who had most actively supported agricultural cooperativization, consolidated them and, on this basis, developed the cooperative movement. Meanwhile, the poor peasants were encouraged to play the leading role in all the agricultural cooperatives. It also made sure that cooperatives were not organized exclusively with well-to-do peasants and that the rich peasants were not allowed to influence the work of the agricultural cooperatives. At the same time, it strictly guarded against the tendency to force the middle peasants into the cooperative economy or infringe upon their interests and so weaken the alliance with them, and demonstrated the superiority of the cooperative economy to the middle peasants through competition between individual and cooperative farming. As for the rich peasants, we did not expropriate and eliminate them but encouraged them to join

cooperatives voluntarily, restricting their ability to exploit others.

Throughout the period of the agricultural cooperative movement our Party and the Government of the Republic persistently carried out organizational and political work amongst the peasants, and, relying on socialist industry, gave enormous material and technical assistance in diverse forms to the agricultural cooperatives and helped them in terms of manpower. This guidance and assistance played a decisive role, both in shoring up the weak agricultural cooperatives organized with poor peasants in the early stage to show their advantages over the individual economy, and in consolidating the cooperative economic system politically and economically.

Thanks to these intelligent and creative policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic, our agricultural cooperative movement proceeded quite smoothly and was successfully completed in only four or five years.

To establish the unchallenged dominance of socialist production relations in town and country, it is necessary to carry out a socialist reorganization of individual trade and manufacturing as well as agricultural cooperativization.

In the early days of the transition period, our Party began to set up handicraft cooperatives on a trial basis, and in the postwar period, pressed ahead with this programme, carrying it out successfully in a short period.

In the socialist reorganization of individual trade and manufacturing, our Party and the Government of the Republic devoted particular attention to the transformation of capitalist trade and manufacturing. Taking into account their characteristic features in our country, our Party adopted the line of reforming the capitalist traders and manufacturers along socialist lines, instead of expropriating them.

The national capitalists in a colonial, semi-feudal society, although inconsistent, have some revolutionary spirit and are keenly interested in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution. In the light of these capitalists' characteristics, we won them over to the side of the revolution and carried out the national-liberation struggle and the

democratic revolution with their participation. From the beginning our policy with regard to the national capitalists was not only to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution with them, but also to take them along with us to a socialist, communist society. Therefore, we could not expropriate the entrepreneurs and traders in the stage of socialist revolution just because the capitalist traders and manufacturers were the targets of the revolution. Moreover, we had no need to expropriate them because capitalist trade and manufacturing were totally destroyed in the war and the entrepreneurs and traders supported the Party's line of socialist revolution. And they had nothing, so we could not expropriate them.

Therefore, our Party adopted the line of transforming capitalist trade and manufacturing along socialist lines and ensured that capitalist traders and manufacturers were drawn into various forms of cooperative economy in strict observance of the voluntary principle as all requisite conditions for this were ripe after the war.

We first strengthened producers' cooperatives, formed of handicraftsmen, and then gradually drew entrepreneurs into the cooperative economy; we organized marketing cooperatives or production-and-marketing cooperatives with individual traders and progressively increased the proportion of production in those cooperatives so as to reorganize them into cooperatives entirely engaged in production. Under the Party's wise guidance, our socialist transformation of capitalist trade and manufacturing progressed at a very high speed and was completed in 1958 at almost the same time as agricultural cooperativization.

With the successful accomplishment of the historic task of the socialist transformation of the old production relations in town and country, an advanced socialist system free from exploitation and oppression was established in the northern half of our country. The victory of the socialist system in the north opened up a broad path for the further promotion of socialist construction and the radical improvement of the people's material and cultural welfare.

Comrades, our Party and the Government of the Republic pressed

ahead with the struggle for socialist construction relying on the triumphant socialist system.

In socialist construction our Party held fast to the principle of carrying on energetically both the work of laying the material and technological foundations for socialism and the work of educating and reforming people along communist lines, that is, the struggles to seize the material and ideological fortresses for the building of communism.

Socialist economic construction is one of the most important revolutionary tasks facing the working-class party and state. It is only when socialist economic construction is carried out successfully that it is possible to attain a high level of development of the productive forces commensurate with a socialist society, to improve the people's material and cultural standards systematically, and to secure the political independence and independence of the country.

Our people's struggle for socialist economic construction went through three stages—the stage of postwar reconstruction, the stage of laying the basis of industrialization and the stage of completing industrialization. At every stage of socialist economic construction our Party and the Government of the Republic set forth correct lines and policies which suited our specific conditions and organized and mobilized all the Party members and the working people for a powerful struggle for their implementation.

Over the whole period of socialist economic construction our Party has consistently adhered to the basic line of socialist economic construction on giving priority to the growth of heavy industry at the same time as developing light industry and agriculture.

This basic line is a correct line built on an accurate analysis of the requirements of the law of our postwar economic development and our actual potential. It is also a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory on extended reproduction in conformity with our specific conditions; it is a correct line which renders it possible to guarantee the balance between different branches of the national economy and attain a high rate of production growth.

In implementing this line our Party and the Government of the

Republic gave priority to the creation of heavy industry with the machine industry at its core.

Our Party's line in the building of heavy industry was to create our own solid bases which would be able to produce most of the raw materials, fuel, power, machines and equipment needed for the development of the national economy by relying on the rich natural resources and sources of raw materials in our country. In order to build solid heavy industry bases we rebuilt and expanded the existing factories in this field and, at the same time, built new industrial branches and a number of factories and other enterprises. In building heavy industry, we ensured that this industry was not built as an end in itself, but to serve the development of light industry and agriculture and the improvement of the people's living standards more effectively. This policy of our Party has enabled us to build a powerful heavy industry of our own with a comparatively small capital investment, thereby developing light industry and agriculture rapidly.

Today we have a powerful heavy industry with all its key branches, and its capacity has increased considerably. Our machine industry, in particular, has made rapid progress. It has reached such a level that it is now able to produce different kinds of large, precision machines and complete sets of equipment for modern factories.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have devoted considerable effort to the growth of light industry as well.

In this regard, our Party pursued a policy of simultaneously developing large-scale, centrally-run industries as well as medium- and small-scale local industries. Our Party and the Government of the Republic ensured that large, modern factories of the centrally-run light industry were established, and at the same time, that many local industry factories were set up by using local reserves extensively and that the technological reconstruction of local industry was increased.

The policy of developing central and local industries simultaneously has helped to increase the production of consumer goods rapidly, with no major capital investment from the state, and to guarantee a high rate of development of the national economy as a

whole by concentrating state funds on heavy and central light industries. The growth of local industry has also made it possible to purchase and process, in season, farm produce and the peasants' sideline products raising their living standards rapidly and improving the supply of consumer goods for urban dwellers as well.

As a result of the successful implementation of our Party's policy in the development of light industry, large, modern factories of central light industry and thousands of local factories have now come into being, and their technological equipment has been improved to a marked extent. Our light industry has now grown into a firm base for the production of a variety of consumer goods, capable of meeting the working people's needs.

The rational distribution of the productive forces is of great importance for the further development of the national economy as a whole and for carrying out the long-term programme of socialist and communist construction successfully.

In distributing the country's productive forces, our Party and the Government of the Republic followed the principle of bringing factories and other enterprises closer to the sources of raw materials and the consumer areas, of guaranteeing the balanced development of different branches of the national economy and all regions of the country, and rapidly narrowing the difference between town and country. In rebuilding the national economy after the war, we, in accordance with this principle, located new factories and enterprises in different areas, while rebuilding many factories and enterprises where they already existed in order to guarantee the speeding up of rehabilitation and to save funds. As a result, new industrial towns came into being all over the country, the integrated bases for industrial production were built in localities and the previous defects and irrationalities in the distribution of industries were completely eliminated.

The rational distribution of industries enabled us to use our nation's natural resources and manpower effectively to speed up socialist economic construction and develop all the areas of the country equally.

It also helped to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance by strengthening the political, economic and cultural ties between the working class and the peasantry, to eliminate the backwardness of the countryside and drastically reduce the difference between town and country, and class differences between the workers and peasants, by increasing the assistance of industry to agriculture and the support of towns for the rural areas. Moreover, it prevented excessive concentration of factories and population in a few cities as well as environmental pollution, which is a great social problem in capitalist countries today.

One of the main tasks in socialist economic construction is that of developing agriculture rapidly. Our Party and the Government of the Republic strove to consolidate the material and technological foundations of agriculture and increase its production while cooperativizing the individual peasant economy. In particular, we gave top priority to the ideological revolution in the countryside, in accordance with our Party's programme of socialist rural construction, *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*, and, at the same time, vigorously carried out the technical and cultural revolutions.

Irrigation was a primary task in the technical revolution in our country areas. In the years that followed the armistice the Government of the Republic implemented many irrigation projects in step with the agricultural cooperative movement and, with the completion of cooperativization, pushed ahead with the irrigation programme in a nationwide movement. In our country the irrigation of paddy fields has now been completed and a large portion of non-paddy fields has been irrigated, and drainage projects have been completed in our major rice-producing areas. Thus our peasants' centuries-old desire to farm free from the threat of drought and floods has been met.

The Government of the Republic ensured that many medium and small power stations were built in addition to large ones and thus successfully completed the task of rural electrification. Every ri in this country now has electricity and every farmhouse has electric light. In

the country areas, electricity is used extensively not only for the cultural home lives of the peasants but also as a source of power for machines and heat in agricultural production.

The Government of the Republic has also devoted a great deal of effort to developing mechanization and encouraging the use of chemicals in agriculture. Our Party and the Government of the Republic have guaranteed that tractors, lorries and various kinds of efficient farm machines, chemical fertilizers and agricultural chemicals were produced in large quantities for the country areas. As a result, the level of mechanization and the use of chemicals in agriculture has risen greatly and our peasants are gradually being freed from hard and backbreaking work.

Agricultural production has increased rapidly with the progress of the rural technical revolution. Our rural areas, where poverty and ignorance prevailed in the past, have now become rich modern socialist communities.

Training our own cadres was a matter of vital importance in this country which was once a backward colony. Immediately following liberation, our nation had very few cadres, and this was a serious drawback in running the state and building our economy and culture. Therefore, our Party and the Government of the Republic devoted great efforts to the training of our own cadres and, in particular, took steps to train a large army of technicians capable of carrying out socialist construction which was proceeding on a large scale after the war. We developed a regular system of higher education as well as various programmes offering higher education for those who were already working, and firmly established comprehensive cadre-training bases in the localities. Consequently, our country now has a large army of some 500,000 technicians and specialists. They are managing state and economic organizations and cultural institutions, and modern factories, enterprises and cooperative farms very well.

Our people's struggle for the socialist revolution and the building of socialism was carried on under the very difficult conditions of the enemy's constant hostile actions. In order to defend the country and the

people and protect the gains of the revolution in the face of the enemy's aggression, our Party and the Government of the Republic paid great attention to increasing our defence capabilities throughout the whole course of the revolution and construction work. In particular, we advanced the new line of carrying on economic and defence construction simultaneously in the light of the intensified aggressive actions of the US imperialists. We reorganized the whole work of socialist construction in a revolutionary way and paid more attention to building up our defence capabilities. In order to perfect our national defence we diverted a large amount of manpower and material resources to this purpose, even though this to a certain extent proved detrimental to economic construction, and organized and mobilized all the people to implement the Party's military line. As a result, our People's Army has now become an invincible revolutionary armed force; all our people have been armed and the whole country has been fortified. We can confidently say that we have defence capabilities which are powerful enough to repulse invasion by any and all enemies, defend our country and people, and protect our revolutionary gains.

Educating and transforming people along communist lines is one of the most important tasks of socialist and communist construction.

Man is the master of nature and society and the main factor that decides everything. The masses of the people are the masters of a socialist society, and they are also the ones who are able to promote the revolution and construction work. Therefore, if we are to build socialism and communism, we must not only lay the country's firm material and technological foundations, but also educate and reform people, the masters of society, along communist lines and bring their creative wisdom and revolutionary enthusiasm into full play.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic advanced a correct line and policy to educate and reform the people at every stage of the revolution and construction, and worked hard to implement this. In the period of socialist revolution we strove to turn all members of society into socialist working people through a close linking of the transformation of economic forms with the reformation of people.

After the triumph of the socialist system, we pressed ahead with the re-education of the people along communist lines, on the basis of the line of revolutionizing and working-classizing the whole of society.

In educating and reforming people, our Party and the Government of the Republic have always kept to the principle of raising the ideological preparedness, the sense of organization and the cultural level of the working class and of educating and reforming the peasants and intellectuals on the working-class model.

We increased the class awareness of the workers, first of all, by strengthening political and ideological work amongst them, constantly tempered them in actual production and carried out a strong campaign for the organizational and ideological consolidation of the ranks of the working class. This greatly increased the vanguard role of the working class in the revolution and construction, and strengthened their revolutionary influence on the working people. Our working class has now become the most advanced and revolutionary class which, instead of working for a few pence, works with complete devotion for the prosperity and progress of the country and the freedom and happiness of the people. It is discharging its duties admirably as the leading class of the Korean revolution.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic also paid great attention to educating and reforming the peasantry, one of the main forces of the revolution. By intensifying the working-class guidance and assistance to the country areas we have accelerated the technical and cultural revolutions there and have, at the same time, pressed ahead with the ideological revolution. As a result, the peasants' level of ideological consciousness has risen markedly and they have adopted a revolutionary and communist way of life. As reliable builders of socialism our peasants are today working faithfully for society and the collective, and are striving to supply more food to the workers and all other working people and to produce sufficient raw materials for light industry.

The working class which has assumed power must build up the ranks of the intellectuals. This is essential for the rapid development of

science and technology, literature and art and for the successful building of socialism and communism. In the whole course of the revolution and construction, our Party and the Government of the Republic have perseveringly carried on the education of intellectuals and, in particular, directed great efforts to the education and reformation of old intellectuals. With the implementation of the Party's policy on the education and reformation of our intellectuals, they have become transformed into socialist working intellectuals and are confidently advancing along the road indicated by the Party. Our intellectuals are not working for fame or glory, but for the Party and the revolution, for the country and the people with all their knowledge and talents, and are fighting vigorously side by side with the workers and peasants in the same revolutionary ranks to consolidate and develop our socialist system.

The education and reformation of the working people are tasks designed to eliminate all outdated ideas which remain in their minds and overcome their old habits and arm them with the revolutionary ideas of the working class, communist ideology. Our Party and the Government of the Republic, therefore, have conducted the work of educating and reforming people by means of explanation and persuasion with the main emphasis on ideological education. We intensified the education of the working people in Party policy and, at the same time, patiently carried on communist education with class education as its main content, so that all the working people have been firmly armed with the advanced revolutionary ideas of the working class, communist ideology.

Strengthening revolutionary organizational life is one of the important ways to educate and reform people along communist lines. Our Party and the Government of the Republic have paid particular attention to encouraging all the working people to take an active part in organizational life, observe organizational discipline voluntarily and conduct their lives under the guidance and supervision of their organizations. In particular, we have carried on the ideological struggle by the method of criticism and have tempered the working people in a

revolutionary spirit through the ideological struggle.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic closely combined practical activities with the work of educating and reforming people through the Chollima Workteam Movement, and guaranteed that this work became the work of the masses themselves.

With the successful progress of the education and reformation of the working people in a communist way, a great change has taken place in the political and ideological life of our people and our revolutionary ranks have been strengthened and developed into an invincible force.

Under our Party's wise guidance the Government of the Republic has achieved great successes in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction in the past years. It has established the most advanced socialist system in this land where exploitation and oppression prevailed before, and converted our backward colonial agrarian country in a very short time into a socialist power with its solid independent national economy and enormous defence capacities. It has brought about a brilliant flowering and development of science and culture and achieved great success also in the work of revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society. We have won great victories in the socialist revolution and building of socialism and risen to a new peak which lies on our way to socialism and communism.

## **2. THE SUPERIORITY OF OUR SOCIALIST SYSTEM**

Comrades,

The outstanding success achieved in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture since the triumph of our socialist revolution is graphic evidence of the superiority and indestructible vitality of our socialist system.

Our socialist system is the most advanced social system where the working masses are masters of everything and where everything in

society serves the working masses.

The working masses transform nature and society and make history. The creative labour and struggle of the working masses produce all the material riches of society and bring about social change and progress. That is why the working masses should become masters of society and enjoy all its material wealth.

The working masses are not, however, masters of their society in every society. People's position in society is determined by whether or not they hold state power and the means of production in their hands. Only those who have both can be the masters of society.

In an exploiting society, the toiling masses are not the masters of society but victims of exploitation and oppression, suffering all kinds of humiliations and insults to their dignity, because they hold no state power and own no means of production. In a capitalist society where money is everything, even the dignity of a man is determined by the amount of money he has; poor people are treated like commodities.

Only in a socialist society can the working masses enjoy an independent and creative life as real masters of society. Today all our government policies are geared to the interests and happiness of the workers, peasants and other working people; all the wealth of society is dedicated to the promotion of their welfare. In our society the working masses are valued highly and they and their rights are respected. In this country, especially, the rising generation who represent the future of society are treasured more than anyone else; every effort is made to bring them up to be happy, free from the social evils inherent in an exploiting society.

The fact that the working masses in a socialist society are the masters of society and that they and their rights are respected to the utmost is explained precisely by their being masters of state power and the means of production. This is the basis of all the advantages and indestructible vitality of the socialist system.

Our socialist system is a genuinely democratic system which guarantees in practice the political rights and liberties of the workers, peasants and other working people.

Regardless of sex, occupation, property status, education and party affiliation, all our working people have the right to elect and to be elected and are guaranteed all rights to and freedom of social and political activities such as speech, the press, assembly and demonstration. The workers, peasants and other working people, who were formerly held in bondage without any rights, now participate directly in state administration and politics as masters of state power and conduct free social and political activities as members of political parties and social organizations. Our working people today enjoy a dignified and fruitful life with genuine political rights and liberties under the socialist system.

By contrast, in a capitalist society where state power is in the hands of the small minority of exploiting classes, the working masses have no political rights or freedoms. The working people do not even have the most elementary right and freedom to express their political views, to say nothing of the right to participate in state power; they only have the obligation to obey the exploiting classes. The so-called “liberties” and “rights” loudly advertised by capitalists are confined exclusively to the rulers and exploiting classes to oppress and exploit the masses of the people; the “democracy” they advocate is nothing but a means of camouflage to cover up the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The superiority of our socialist system also lies in the fact that the state takes full responsibility for the material and cultural well-being of the workers, peasants and other working people.

Providing an equally prosperous life for the people and systematically improving their material and cultural standards is one of the intrinsic characteristics of the socialist system. In a socialist society the state serves the interests of the people and is responsible for ensuring the material and cultural well-being of the working people, whereas the state in an exploiting society serves as a tool of oppression and exploitation against the workers and peasants.

Today everyone of working age in our country is provided with a job by the state, according to his ability and aptitude, and is rewarded according to the quantity and quality of work done. The working

people also benefit from labour protection, an eight-hour workday, paid holidays, and accommodation at holiday homes and sanatoria; they are provided with safe working conditions and adequate leisure time. In particular, the working mothers enjoy tremendous benefits from the state. Besides providing jobs for all who can work, our state also assumes responsibility for those who cannot work because of old age, injuries arising from work or ill health, and for old people and children who have no other means of support. Therefore, in our country no one roams about searching for work or resorts to begging; all our people, young and old, are leading a happy life under the care of the state and society.

All our working people are provided with adequate food, clothing and housing by the state. Everyone in this land is given the right to be fed the moment he is born; all children and students, from those in creches and kindergartens to students in colleges and universities, are supplied with clothing by the state. The state provides our workers and office employees with good living quarters, and the peasants also live in modern houses built by the state.

Universal free medical care has also been introduced in this country, so that all working people are free from worries about this. There are medical institutions and medical workers in both urban and rural areas, wherever people work and live. Through the section doctor system, an advanced system of medical services, the state looks after the health of the working people in a responsible way. Our mortality rate has now been reduced by half, and the average life span of the people increased by 26 years, compared with the pre-liberation years. Our people's age-old desire to eradicate all sorts of diseases has been realized only under our social system.

Everyone in this country is provided with adequate conditions for education and development. All our students, from primary school children to university students, now receive free education, and preschool children are growing up happily in creches and kindergartens at state and public expense. In particular, with the introduction of universal compulsory ten-year education which gives

ten years of schooling, plus one year of compulsory preschool training, our younger generation are receiving eleven years of excellent general education provided by the state. This is virtually an eleven-year compulsory education, which means that the most advanced compulsory education in the world is given in this country.

The socialist state also offers opportunities of learning for the adults who were previously deprived of the right to study in the exploiting society and left far behind in terms of social culture. All our working people are learning to the best of their ability in accordance with their desire and aptitude, in working people's middle schools, factory higher technical schools, factory colleges and other educational institutions where they study while on the job. Indeed, our country is a "land of education", a "land of learning", where everyone studies at the expense of the state.

Although they do not live in luxury like the landlords and capitalists, all our people are now living an equally good life and studying according to their wishes, without having to worry about work, food, clothing and housing. This clearly shows that our socialist system is a system truly for the workers, farmers and all the other people.

The socialist system is the best social system, not only providing the people with a happy life today but also promising them a brighter future. Since all the fruits of labour in socialist society are used for social progress and for improving the welfare of the working people, increasing social wealth brings the people ever greater abundance and an ever higher level of cultural life.

However, in a capitalist society the handful of exploiters grow richer with each passing day, whereas the working people making up the overwhelming majority of the population become more and more impoverished and miserable. A capitalist society is a society where "the rich get ever richer and the poor get ever poorer," the gulf between the exploiting and the exploited classes growing daily; it is a living hell where the working masses are impoverished and starved.

All these facts make us take great pride in our socialist system, a

people's social system which is truly for the workers, peasants and working intellectuals.

In our country the economy, culture, science and technology are making steady rapid progress. This is one of the great advantages of our socialist system.

A socialist society provides every opportunity and possibility for the rapid and continuous development of the economy. In this society a planned and balanced economic development is guaranteed by the state through a planned mobilization and use of all the nation's manpower and material resources and through a coordinated control and guidance of production, distribution, accumulation and consumption. In this society the working people also display a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative in their productive activities, since they work for their society and collective and for their own welfare as masters of the country.

As the functions of the state as an economic organizer increase and the ideological consciousness of the working people grows in our country, the economy develops steadily at a high rate. Our industrial production grew at a high rate—an annual average of 19.1 per cent—throughout the period of industrialization from 1957 to 1970, and the difficult and complex task of socialist industrialization was creditably accomplished in a very short time, in only 14 years.

In a socialist society literature and art flower brilliantly. The socialist system has placed not only state power and the means of production but also literature and art in the hands of the people, and thus opened up a highway for the development of literature and art and made them true literature and art which serve the working masses.

Today broad sections of our working people are taking an active part in literary and artistic activities and enjoy them to their heart's content. Because of their popular and revolutionary character our literature and art are developed into full bloom, enjoying the boundless affection of the people.

It is one of the essential advantages of the socialist system that the politico-ideological unity of the masses of the people is strengthened

and the relationship of comradely cooperation between the working people develops day by day.

The elimination of the exploiting classes and all kinds of exploiting systems has fundamentally changed the position and social status of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. The establishment of the socialist system has made all our people socialist working people and wrought a radical change in their mental and moral qualities. Because of their common socio-economic status and their common goals and interests, our working class, cooperative farmers and working intellectuals are firmly united politically and ideologically and cooperate closely with each other as comrades.

In a capitalist society which is built on rabid selfishness and where the law of the jungle prevails, fraud and swindling are rampant and people are antagonistic and hostile to each other, and it is a common practice for them to sacrifice others for their own fame and career, comfort and pleasure. In our society, however, all its members are imbued with true comradeship, respecting, trusting and cooperating with each other on the principle of collectivism. Our working people are fully displaying the fine communist spirit of moving ahead together, the informed teaching the less informed and the advanced leading the less advanced forward.

Today our society has been turned into a great, harmonious Red family where all the people are closely united as a political force; in this great family everyone is working and living filled with revolutionary enthusiasm and optimism. All the people are united politically and ideologically and working with revolutionary zeal. This is precisely the basis of the solidity of our society and the source of our indestructible strength.

Our socialist system is displaying its superiority and unbreakable vitality more fully with every passing day.

Through their own experience our people are convinced that only the socialist system can guarantee genuine liberties and rights to the working masses and provide them with a most bountiful and happy life; they regard it as the greatest honour and pleasure to live and make

revolution under this system. The people in the northern half of Korea will not surrender to anyone our socialist system which they themselves have chosen and whose superiority and great vitality have been unequivocally proved, and they are all aglow with a determination to fight on staunchly to consolidate and develop this system.

### **3. THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

Comrades,

The current session of the Supreme People's Assembly is going to adopt the Socialist Constitution of the DPRK with a view to consolidating the socialist system established in the northern half of Korea and intensifying the struggle for the complete victory of socialism.

The new Socialist Constitution correctly reflects the achievements made in the socialist revolution and in building socialism in our country, defines the principles to be followed in governing activities in the political, economic and cultural fields in a socialist society and the basic rights and duties of citizens, and stipulates the composition and functions of the state organs and the principles of their activities. Its purpose is to give legal protection to the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat established in the northern half of Korea and to serve the revolutionary cause of the working class.

The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK legislatively affirms the political victories and successes attained by our people in the revolutionary struggle in past years and defines the character and functions of our state and the principles of its activity to meet the needs of our revolutionary development.

It proclaims the Democratic People's Republic of Korea an independent socialist state. In our country the socialist system has been established, the political and ideological unity of the all the people resting on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class strengthened with this system as its basis and the historic task of socialist industrialization creditably accomplished. As a result, the Government of the Republic has been strengthened and developed into a socialist power on a new socialist basis and a firm political foundation.

The sovereignty of the DPRK belongs to the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals. The Supreme People's Assembly and local people's assemblies at all levels are composed of deputies representing the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals, and they manage and operate the state organs. Our state is a genuine state of the workers and peasants in which the working masses are the masters of the country and all the people exercise power. Therefore, our state regards it as its supreme duty to protect the interests of the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals freed from exploitation and oppression for ever.

The Government of our Republic which has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of our people is guided in its activity by the Juche idea which is a creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of our country, and strives to execute the lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea.

It is the fundamental revolutionary task of the Government of the Republic to attain the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea, expel foreign forces on a nationwide scale and achieve the reunification and independence of the country on a democratic basis. For the successful implementation of this task we must, first of all, strengthen the function and role of our Government to intensify the struggle against the hostile elements at home and abroad who are opposed to our socialist system, and accelerate the ideological revolution to revolutionize and working-classize all the members of society.

The Socialist Constitution makes it clear that in its activities the Government of our Republic must always carry through the class and mass lines, give priority to political work, work with people in all matters as required by the Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method to rouse the voluntary enthusiasm of the masses, and persistently keep up the Chollima Movement, our Party's general line in socialist construction, thus pressing ahead with communist education and the reformation of the working people and economic construction.

It also clearly stipulates the duties of the armed forces of the DPRK and the national defence policy based on the principle of self-defence as well as the foreign policy of the Republic based on the principles of complete equality and independence, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK legally affirms the achievements attained by our people in the building of an independent national economy and clarifies the principles governing our socio-economic life.

The socialist ownership of the means of production is the economic foundation of the DPRK. All the economic activities of our state and the socio-economic life of the working people are thoroughly based on the principles of socialism, and the nation's economy is steadily developing at a very high rate, on the basis of the socialist relations of production which have held undivided sway in town and country. The economic power of the DPRK is firmly guaranteed by the great superiority of socialist production relations and the solid foundations of an independent national economy.

Labour is one of the most important elements which form the basis of socio-economic life in a socialist society. The Socialist Constitution gives a clear definition of the character of labour, the principles governing the working life of the working people and the socialist principle of distribution in our society.

Socialism and communism can only be built by the creative labour of the working millions. It is a solemn duty and the greatest honour of the working people in a socialist society to love work and participate

conscientiously in the communal labour for the building of socialism and communism. All our working people take part in labour, and work for the sake of their country and people and for their own welfare, displaying voluntary enthusiasm and creativity.

The fruits of labour in our country are allocated entirely for national prosperity and progress and the promotion of the well-being of the working people. It is an immutable socialist principle that all the working people work according to their ability and take their share according to the quantity and quality of work done. Our state regards the steady improvement of the people's material and cultural life as its primary duty, as the supreme principle guiding its activities.

The Socialist Constitution stipulates the socialist form of economic management and the principle of state guidance of the economy in our country.

The Tsaean work system, under which the economy is managed in a scientific and rational way on the basis of the collective strength of the producer masses, and the new system of agricultural guidance, under which agriculture is directed by industrial methods, are the best socialist forms of economic management, whose superiority has been clearly proved in practice. In addition, unified and detailed planning constitute the socialist system and method of planning, which make it possible to tighten the discipline of democratic centralism in economic management and ensure a high rate of growth in production and the balanced development of the national economy. The decisive guarantee for the successful building of the socialist economy is to give full rein to the superiority of the socialist economic management systems created by our Party and guide and manage the economy to meet the requirements of these systems.

The Socialist Constitution also sets forth the economic tasks of laying firmer material and technological foundations of socialism, emancipating the working people once and for all from heavy labour, gradually turning cooperative property into all-people's property and eliminating the differences between town and country and the class

distinction between workers and peasants.

The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK, on the basis of the shining achievements made by our people in the development of culture, makes clear the direction to be taken in carrying out the cultural revolution thoroughly and accelerating the building of a socialist national culture, as well as the principles which must be observed by the state in this sphere.

The basic aim of the cultural revolution in a socialist society is to train all the working people to be competent builders of socialism and communism with a profound knowledge of nature and society and a high level of technology, and make our culture a true people's revolutionary culture which serves the socialist working people. To attain this aim of the cultural revolution, we must resolutely combat cultural infiltration by imperialism and any tendency to return to the past and rapidly develop education, science, literature and art and all other domains of socialist cultural construction on a sound basis.

The Socialist Constitution specifically explains the state's educational policy of carrying through the principles of socialist education and combining general education closely with technical education, and education with productive labour, as well as vital people's education programmes such as the introduction of compulsory ten-year education for all our young people under working age. The Constitution also elucidates our state's revolutionary policies for developing science, literature and art, physical culture and sports and the public health service.

The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK explicitly provides for the basic rights and duties of citizens in keeping with the intrinsic nature of a socialist society. In this country where there is no exploitation or oppression and where social and individual interests are in full accord, the citizens' rights and duties are based on the collectivist principle of "One for all and all for one". The basic rights of citizens laid down in the Socialist Constitution are legal confirmation of the democratic rights and liberties enjoyed by our people in their daily social life. The duties of citizens as stipulated in the Constitution are honourable duties

which must be fulfilled by the people, as the masters of their country, in consolidating and developing the socialist system and in making their homeland richer and stronger.

The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK contains new provisions concerning the composition and functions of the state organs, and the principles of their activity to suit the existing conditions of revolutionary development.

The new state structure instituted under the Socialist Constitution will allow the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals to take a more active part in state affairs and state administration and enable state organs to serve the people's interests better and push ahead more vigorously with the revolutionary struggle and work of construction by improving their functions and role.

Our organs of power are composed of representatives of the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals; they protect the interests of the working people and fight for the people's freedom and welfare. The new state structure is built in such a way that the activities of administrative bodies are always supervised and controlled by the masses of the people. Under the new state structure, unlike the old one, the people's committees are separated from administrative bodies, and the former which are composed of representatives of the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals are to perform the function of exercising day-to-day supervision and control over the latter's activities, so that officials of the administrative bodies will be able to do away with bureaucracy in their work and serve the people better.

The Socialist Constitution defines the principles of democratic centralism as the basic principle of organization and activity for all state organs. Democratic centralism in their organization and activity makes it possible for them to carry out Party lines and policies in a coordinated way throughout the country and organize and mobilize the entire population for the work of building socialism and communism. Since they are based on democratic centralism, the organs of people's power are able to perform their functions and role

satisfactorily as a powerful tool for the building of socialism and communism.

The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK is a most popular constitution for the benefit of the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals. The new Constitution fully reflects their will and desire and thoroughly defends the working people's interests. The new Constitution also gives all the people genuine freedoms and rights in all spheres of social life and legally guarantees all conditions to make them viable.

The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK is a most revolutionary constitution. Unlike those constitutions which refer mainly to the state structure, our Socialist Constitution, which lays down all the principles governing the political, economic and cultural activities in a socialist society, will serve as a sharp weapon of the proletarian dictatorship to protect the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic and firmly defend the gains of the socialist revolution, as a powerful means for giving a strong impetus to socialist economic construction and for revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society by intensifying the ideological and cultural revolutions and establishing a socialist way of life.

With the institution of the Socialist Constitution, the Government of the Republic will have a new weapon of the proletarian dictatorship and our people will be provided with a dependable legal guarantee in the struggle to achieve the complete victory of socialism and the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. The coming into force of the Socialist Constitution in the northern half of Korea will greatly encourage the people in south Korea who are fighting for the democratization of society and the country's independent, peaceful reunification.

With the Socialist Constitution coming into force a change will take place in the political, economic and cultural life of our people and they will advance with redoubled strength along the path of socialism and communism, deeply convinced of the justness of their cause.

#### **4. OUR TASKS IN THE CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM**

Comrades,

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and our people are confronted today with the historic task of consolidating and developing the socialist system and attaining the complete victory of socialism, by promoting the revolutionary struggle and construction unflinchingly, on the basis of the brilliant achievements gained in building a new society.

In order to achieve the complete victory of socialism we must eliminate the differences between towns and the country areas and the class distinction between the workers and the peasants, reinforce the material and technical foundations of socialism, markedly improve the material and cultural standards of the people, smash the insidious schemes of hostile classes and do away with the corrosive influence of old ideas once and for all.

The struggle for the complete victory of socialism is a battle for the final liquidation of the vestiges of the old society from all spheres of social life; it is a battle to transform society on the pattern of the working class in all realms of the economy and culture, ideology and morality. To attain the complete victory of socialism, therefore, the working-class party and state must press ahead with the fight to occupy two fortresses, the material and the ideological, on the way to the building of communism. We must continue to promote the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions to consolidate the socialist system and achieve the complete victory of socialism.

The basic goal of the technical revolution at the present stage is to carry out successfully its three major tasks as set out at the Fifth

Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea.

These three tasks which aim to narrow the disparity between heavy and light labour and between agricultural and industrial labour considerably and to free women from the heavy burden of household chores, are an honourable undertaking to guarantee the complete victory of socialism; they are a strategic task facing us in socialist construction after socialist industrialization. To fulfil these three major tasks is the basic way to release the working people from arduous labour, provide them fully with equal working conditions and speed up the technological reconstruction of the national economy and the development of the productive forces. Furthermore, only when these tasks are carried out, will it be possible to succeed in solving the questions of raising the technical and cultural standards of the working people, reforming their ideological consciousness and eliminating the difference between town and country and the class distinction between workers and peasants.

Holding the three major tasks of the technical revolution set forth by the Party as the paramount question in socialist economic construction at present, the Government of the Republic will strive for their successful implementation.

In order to reduce the distinction between heavy and light labour and eliminate work in excessive heat or under other harmful conditions, we must raise the general level of mechanization, semi-automation and full-scale automation where these work conditions exist. We must also introduce the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture and the greater use of chemicals on a wide scale to reduce the difference between agricultural and industrial labour. At the same time, in order to free our women from the heavy burden of household drudgery, we must provide them with adequate conditions to do kitchen and other household work quickly and easily. In order to reach these three major targets a vigorous mass movement for technological innovation must be started in all fields of the national economy, bringing about a new advance in production.

We must first make an effort to develop the machine industry and

bring about an improvement in this branch.

The technical revolution is essentially a mechanical revolution. Machinery is the determining factor in alleviating people's arduous labour, and the productive forces are also developed by the improvement of machinery. The successful carrying out of the three major tasks of the technical revolution depends, in the final analysis, on whether or not various kinds of modern machinery and equipment are produced satisfactorily through the rapid development of the machine industry.

To advance the machine industry, priority must be given to increasing the production of machine tools rapidly and steadily. True to the Party's call, the heroic workers in this industry have recently brought about an innovation in the production of machine tools and admirably attained the production goal of 30,000 units per annum, thus opening up bright prospects for the victorious implementation of the three major tasks of the technical revolution. Workers in the machine industry, not resting content with this victory, must work hard to continue increasing the production of machine tools while consolidating the success already achieved and, in particular, must work hard to increase the variety and improve the quality.

A rapid increase in the production of tractors and lorries is urgently needed for the fulfilment of the three major tasks of the technical revolution and this is one of the most important tasks confronting the machine industry. To carry out the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture successfully, our Party advanced a policy of providing 6-7 tractors and one lorry for every 100 hectares of fields in the near future. So that this policy can be thoroughly implemented, the tractor- and lorry-manufacturing centres must be expanded and consolidated and a new innovation be effected in their production. If this is done, we should attain an annual production level of 30,000 tractors and 15,000-30,000 lorries in a year or two.

An important task now facing the machine industry is to increase the production of heavy machines and especially-ordered plant. We must expand and consolidate the heavy-machine production centres to

manufacture greater quantities of universal drilling machines, large bulldozers and excavators and various other kinds of heavy machines needed for the extractive industries and large projects to harness nature, as well as large ships, and improvements must be made in the production of especially-ordered plant.

In order to introduce semi-automation and complete automation extensively in all fields of the national economy we must develop the electronics and automation industries rapidly. Different kinds of automation components, gauges and instruments must be mass-produced by making the best use of the existing foundation of the electronics and automation industries and, at the same time, many small and medium branch factories must be developed to produce automation parts, gauges and instruments.

In order to develop the machine industry quickly and fully guarantee huge construction work we must increase the production of different kinds of iron and steel materials and nonferrous metals significantly by concentrating on the improvement of the metal industry. Projects now under way to reconstruct and enlarge the Kim Chaek Iron Works, the Kangson Steel Plant and other metallurgical plants on up-to-date lines must be completed quickly to bring about a radical growth of production and, at the same time, we must work hard to build another large modern metallurgical base. In addition, the production of various nonferrous metals must be drastically increased through the consolidation of their production centres and the maximum use of the production capacities of the smelters.

To give priority to the extractive and power industries is an important guarantee for the successful fulfilment of the three major tasks of the technical revolution and for swift progress in all realms of the national economy. In the extractive industries, geological prospecting must always be given priority and the level of mechanization and automation at coal and ore mines must be raised determinedly through a dynamic technical innovation movement and, as a result, new innovations will be made in production. In the power industry, production should be raised to the maximum by taking good

care of the equipment of the existing power stations and, simultaneously, the construction of new projects must be speeded up to hasten their commissioning.

An important task of the chemical industry is to expand and consolidate the raw material base for light industry and steadily augment the production of chemical fertilizers and agricultural chemicals needed for the technical revolution in country areas. The workers in the chemical industry have already scored great achievements in the fight to fulfil the Six-Year Plan. In particular, the production of vinalon and vinyl chloride this year has already exceeded the level envisaged for the end of the Six-Year Plan. In the chemical industry we must work, from now onwards, to make better use of the existing production capacities and, at the same time, strive to create up-to-date chemical industrial centres. We must also normalize the production of ammonia through gasification and markedly raise the proportion of phosphatic and microelement fertilizers in the production of chemical fertilizers. In addition, we have to build up the paper-making centres to supply sufficient paper needed for both universal compulsory ten-year education and the cultural revolution.

We must carry out enormous construction work for the successful implementation of the three major tasks of the technical revolution and for further progress in the national economy. In capital construction we have to concentrate our efforts on major projects which are of primary significance in national economic development and the improvement of the people's living conditions, in accordance with our Party's policy of concentrated construction, and thus hasten their commissioning as much as we can.

We must make every effort to develop the building-materials and timber industries, so that the demands for different construction materials are fully met.

The rapid development of light industry is extremely important in radically improving the people's living standards and freeing women from the heavy burden of household chores. The Government of the Republic must pay particular attention to the development of the textile

and garment industries and, in particular, strive to modernize the daily necessities and food-processing industries. In order to streamline these latter, the machine industry must produce large quantities of different single-purpose machines. We must modernize the daily necessities and food-processing industries as soon as possible through a mass campaign for one machine to make another and for one factory to build another, and thus bring about a great change in the production of consumer goods and food.

The main task in narrowing the differences between agricultural and industrial labour and freeing the peasants from arduous work is to effect the overall, comprehensive mechanization of agriculture. In farming, we have to raise the level of mechanization radically and concentrate our efforts particularly on the introduction of mechanization in intermediary areas, in keeping with the rapid growth in the production of tractors and lorries. We must carry out the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture successfully; this can be done by making maximum use of tractors through the enlargement of tractor repair bases and tractor implement production centres and the extensive levelling and realigning of fields. In addition, we must increase the use of agricultural chemicals and widely introduce advanced methods of farming and so bring about a fresh advance in agricultural production.

Transport plays a vital part in carrying out the three major tasks of the technical revolution. In this branch we must continue to speed up railway electrification and press ahead with the construction of new railway lines and harbours, so that the material and technical transport base is further strengthened. We must also improve the organization of transport and mechanize loading and unloading operations. In this way, we shall be able to carry the rapidly increasing goods traffic.

The Government of the Republic must continue with the simultaneous development of the cultural and technical revolution.

The urgent task facing us today in the development of culture is to train large numbers of technical personnel to meet the demands of socialist construction, and raise the working people's general cultural

level and technical skills to a considerable extent.

We must improve the work of universities and colleges, build more universities and improve the work of night schools and correspondence courses. By doing this we must determinedly carry out the decision of our Party's Fifth Congress on increasing the number of technicians and specialists to more than a million in the next few years.

If we are to raise the working people's cultural level and technical skills we must achieve universal compulsory ten-year education of a high quality. In order to guarantee this fully the Government of the Republic must provide all the necessary material conditions and improve teachers' training to produce large numbers of good teachers. In the field of education, we must apply the principles of socialist education thoroughly, so as to train all our students to be dependable builders of socialism and communism, firmly armed with our Party's revolutionary ideology and equipped with ample knowledge, high morality and strong bodies.

In order to raise the general cultural and technical levels of the working people, we must continue to develop the part-time educational system which includes the working people's middle school, factory higher technical school and other schools, thus enrolling all the working people in some educational establishments, so that they can study on a regular basis.

In this way, we shall ensure that all working people attain the level of a senior middle school graduate and master more than one technical skill.

The Government of the Republic must pursue the ideological revolution vigorously and so achieve the revolutionization and working-classization of the whole of society in accordance with the Party's consistent policy.

In revolutionizing and working-classing the whole of society it is most important to equip the working people firmly with our Party's monolithic idea, the Juche idea. Our Party's Juche idea is the only correct ideological guide to the successful carrying out of the Korean revolution. It is only when the working people are firmly armed with

this idea that they can have a genuine revolutionary world outlook and worthily discharge the tasks assigned to them in the revolution and construction. We must intensify the education of the working people in our Party policies and the revolutionary traditions so as to arm them firmly with our Party's monolithic idea, the Juche idea, thereby training all of them to be true Red fighters of the Party, communist revolutionaries, who adhere to revolutionary principles under any adversity and carry through the Party's lines and policies.

We have to intensify communist education, with class education as its main content, among the working people, while arming them with the Juche idea, so that all of them are firmly armed with working-class consciousness and collectivism, ardently cherish our socialist system and work devotedly for its consolidation and development.

Steady improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people is the supreme principle governing all activities of the Government of the Republic. As in the past, the Government of the Republic will continue to make every effort to raise the people's material and cultural standards.

We must firmly adhere to the principle of ensuring equal improvement of all the working people's living conditions while systematically promoting the people's welfare. The Government of the Republic must, in particular, endeavour to eliminate differences between the living standards of the workers and the peasants, and between the living conditions of the urban and the rural population, while improving the lives of the people as a whole, in accordance with the policy set forth at the Fifth Congress of our Party.

We must strengthen the organs of power and improve their functions and role in order to implement the revolutionary tasks confronting us at present and consolidate and develop the socialist system successfully.

To strengthen the government of the workers and peasants, which is a powerful weapon of the revolution and construction, is an important guarantee for winning the complete victory of socialism and accomplishing the historic cause of the working class. We must make

untiring efforts to strengthen the organs of power at all levels and improve their functions and role in the revolution and construction.

The organs of power from top to bottom must radically increase their role as defenders of the political rights and interests of the workers, peasants and other working people and as masters responsible for their lives. They must strive to champion the working people's political rights in every way, protect their lives and property and see to it that the people all live well. The organs of power at all levels must manage commerce, town administration, education, public health services and production and construction which are directly related to the people's life, and strengthen their leadership over them to provide better living conditions for the people. They must protect and take good care of state and communal property and fight resolutely against its misappropriation and waste.

For our Government to be a genuine government of the workers and peasants which serves the interests of the revolution and the people faithfully, we must ensure that the monolithic ideological system of the Party is thoroughly established, above all, amongst the officials of the government bodies. The government officials at all levels must arm themselves more firmly with our Party's monolithic ideology, always base all their activities strictly on the Party's lines and policies, and defend and carry them through to the end under whatever difficult conditions. At the same time, they must constantly improve their method and style of work. Bureaucratism is one of the major defects that may often manifest itself in the method and style of work after the seizure of power by the working class. The government officials' bureaucratism stems from subjectivism as well as from the mistaken idea of equating their posts with old-time government offices. It alienates the Party from the masses and makes it impossible to carry out revolutionary tasks successfully. We must completely do away with the bureaucratic work method of the officials of government bodies and strictly adhere to the Chongsanri method which is our Party's revolutionary method of work.

The Government of the Republic must continue to work hard to

increase the nation's defence capabilities.

Since we are building socialism in direct confrontation with US imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism, we must not neglect the work of increasing the nation's defence capabilities for even a moment. The Government of the Republic must always exercise vigilance against the war policy and hostile actions of the imperialists and augment the nation's defence capabilities in every way in accordance with the revolutionary principle of self-defence. We must continue to implement the Party's military line thoroughly, the main content of which is to turn the entire army into an army of cadres, modernize it, arm all the people and fortify the whole country, and make the nation's defences impregnable so as to crush, at once, any aggressive acts of the imperialists and firmly defend the security of the country and the people and our socialist gains.

In order to consolidate and develop the socialist system and hasten the final victory of our revolution, we must strengthen our solidarity with the revolutionary forces of the world while increasing our own revolutionary forces.

The principle consistently followed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its foreign policy is to develop friendship and cooperation with all countries which are friendly towards our country, on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. In the future, too, we shall continue to maintain this principle in our foreign policy.

The Government of the Republic will do its best to achieve the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and promote friendship and cooperation with them on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

It will work to expand and strengthen its diplomatic relations with the Asian, African and Latin-American countries which are fighting for freedom and national independence and to establish and promote friendly relations with more countries. We will also endeavour to establish diplomatic as well as political, economic and cultural relations, on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, with those capitalist countries which wish to have good relations with our country

and which pursue unbiased policies which show no aggression against the north and south of the Korean peninsula.

The consistent policy followed by the Government of the Republic in its external activities is to fight against the US-led imperialists' policy of aggression and war and for world peace and security.

The US-led imperialists are still craftily pursuing their policy of aggression and war under the ostensible slogans of "peace" and "negotiations". Holding aloft the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, we shall fight on resolutely to check and frustrate the imperialists' policy of aggression and war and defend the peace of the world. Furthermore, we shall give active support and encouragement to the fight of all peoples of the world against imperialism and work hard to strengthen solidarity with all the anti-imperialist forces.

The Government of the DPRK and the Korean people will always stand firmly on the side of the peoples who are fighting for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

In the recent past the Korean citizens in Japan have achieved tremendous successes in their battle to defend their democratic, national rights, facilitate the independent, peaceful reunification of the homeland and strengthen international solidarity with the Japanese people and other progressive peoples of the world.

In the future, too, they should continue to fight resolutely to develop national education and achieve the right to return home and visit their country, united closely around Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), under the unfurled banner of the Juche idea. They should also make an active contribution to hastening the country's reunification, the supreme national task of our people, upholding our Party's policy of independent, peaceful reunification, and strengthen internationalist friendship with the Japanese people and other peoples of the world.

The Government of the DPRK regards it as its solemn duty to protect our nationals in Japan and all other Korean citizens abroad. The Government of the Republic will continue to fight staunchly against all

unjustified acts of infringement on the interests and national rights of our overseas citizens, and do all it can to support and encourage their just struggle.

Comrade Deputies,

Our people have achieved great victories and successes in the struggle for the socialist revolution and socialist construction under the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, courageously overcoming many difficulties and harsh trials. All these brilliant victories and achievements testify to the correctness and indestructible vitality of our Party's Juche idea and demonstrate our people's inexhaustible might.

Our people are faced today with the important task of achieving the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea and the independent, peaceful reunification of the country by promoting the revolution and construction. In order to carry out this task, we must continue our vigorous struggle with unabated energy and devotion, and advance more quickly, overcoming all difficulties.

We must thoroughly embody the new Socialist Constitution, which we are going to adopt here, in all fields of state and social life, and press ahead more determinedly with the revolution and construction. All our citizens must observe the Socialist Constitution voluntarily and thus bring about a great change in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction.

Our revolutionary cause is a just one, and victory is definitely ours.

No force can block the way of the Korean people who are marching forward under our Party's leadership, with state power firmly in their hands.

Let us all unite closely around the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic and advance valiantly towards the bright future of socialism and communism, holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea.

# **SOCIALIST CONSTITUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

*December 27, 1972*

## **CHAPTER I. POLITICS**

**Article 1.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is an independent socialist State representing the interests of all the Korean people.

**Article 2.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea rests on the politico-ideological unity of all the people based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class, on the socialist relations of production and the foundation of an independent national economy.

**Article 3.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a revolutionary power which has inherited the brilliant traditions formed during the glorious revolutionary struggle against the imperialist aggressors and for the liberation of the homeland and for the freedom and well-being of the people.

**Article 4.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is guided in its activities by the Juche idea of the Workers' Party of Korea, a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of our country.

**Article 5.** 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.

**Article 6.** In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea class antagonisms and all forms of exploitation and oppression of man by man have been eliminated for ever.

The State defends and protects the interests of the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals who have been freed from exploitation and oppression.

**Article 7.** The sovereignty of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea rests with the workers, peasants, soldiers and working intellectuals.

The working people exercise power through their representative organs—the Supreme People's Assembly and local People's Assemblies at all levels.

**Article 8.** The organs of State power at all levels from the county People's Assembly to the Supreme People's Assembly are elected on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Deputies to the organs of State power at all levels are accountable to the electors for their actions.

**Article 9.** All State organs in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are formed and function in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

**Article 10.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat and follows class and mass lines.

**Article 11.** The State defends the socialist system against the subversive activities of hostile elements at home and abroad and revolutionizes and working-classizes the whole of society by intensifying the ideological revolution.

**Article 12.** The State applies the great Chongsanri spirit and Chongsanri method in all its activities to guarantee that the higher

bodies help the lower, the masses' opinions are respected and their conscious enthusiasm is roused by giving priority to political work, work with people.

**Article 13.** The Chollima Movement in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the general line in the building of socialism.

The State hastens socialist construction to the maximum by constantly developing the Chollima Movement in depth and scope.

**Article 14.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is based on an all-people, nationwide system of defence and follows a self-defensive military line.

It is the duty of the armed forces of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to protect the interests of the workers, peasants and other working people, defend the socialist system and revolutionary gains and safeguard the freedom and independence of the country and peace.

**Article 15.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea upholds the democratic, national rights of Koreans overseas and their legal rights in terms of international law.

**Article 16.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is completely equal and independent in its relations with foreign countries.

The State establishes diplomatic as well as political, economic and cultural relations with all friendly countries, on the principles of complete equality, independence, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit.

The State, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, unites with the socialist countries, unites with all peoples of the world opposed to imperialism and resolutely supports and encourages their national-liberation and revolutionary struggles.

**Article 17.** The law of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea reflects the wishes and interests of the workers, peasants and other working people, and it is willingly observed by all State organs, enterprises, social cooperative organizations and citizens.

## CHAPTER II. THE ECONOMY

**Article 18.** In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the means of production are owned by the State and cooperative organizations.

**Article 19.** The property of the State belongs to all the people. There is no limit to the property which the State can own.

All natural resources of the country, major factories and enterprises, ports, banks, transport and communications establishments are owned solely by the State.

State property plays the leading role in the economic development of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

**Article 20.** The property of cooperative organizations is collectively owned by the working people involved in the cooperative economy.

Land, draught animals, farm implements, fishing boats, buildings, as well as small and medium-scale factories and enterprises may be owned by cooperative organizations.

The State protects the property of cooperative organizations by law.

**Article 21.** The State consolidates and develops the socialist cooperative economic system and gradually transforms the property of cooperative organizations into the property of all the people on the basis of the voluntary will of all the members.

**Article 22.** Personal property is property for the personal use of the working people.

The personal property of the working people is derived from socialist distribution according to work done and from additional benefits granted by the State and society.

The products of individual sideline activities including those from

the small plots of cooperative farmers are also regarded as personal property.

The State protects the working people's personal property by law and guarantees their right to inherit it.

**Article 23.** The State regards it as the supreme principle of its activities to steadily improve the material and cultural standards of the people.

The constantly increasing material wealth of society in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is used entirely to promote the well-being of the working people.

**Article 24.** The foundation of an independent national economy in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the material guarantee of the prosperity and development of the country and the improvement of the people's well-being.

In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the historic task of industrialization has been successfully carried out.

The State strives to consolidate and develop the successes in industrialization and to strengthen the material and technical foundations of socialism still further.

**Article 25.** The State accelerates the technical revolution to eliminate the distinctions between heavy and light labour and between agricultural and industrial labour, free the working people from backbreaking toil and gradually narrow the difference between physical and mental labour.

**Article 26.** The State increases the role of the county, and its guidance and assistance to the rural areas in order to eliminate the difference between town and country and class distinction between workers and peasants.

The State undertakes, at its own expense, the building of production facilities for the cooperative farms and modern houses in the countryside.

**Article 27.** The working masses are the makers of history. Socialism and communism are built by the creative labour of millions of working people.

All the working people of the country take part in labour, and work for the country and the people and for their own benefit by showing conscious enthusiasm and creativity.

The State correctly applies the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done, while constantly raising the political and ideological consciousness of the working people.

**Article 28.** The working day is eight hours. The State reduces the length of the working day for arduous trades and other special categories of work.

The State guarantees that working hours are fully utilized through the proper organization of labour and the enforcement of labour discipline.

**Article 29.** In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the minimum working age is 16 years.

The State prohibits the employment of children under the minimum working age.

**Article 30.** The State directs and manages the nation's economy through the Taean work system, an advanced socialist form of economic management whereby the economy is operated and managed scientifically and rationally on the basis of the collective strength of the producer masses, and through the newly-established system of agricultural guidance whereby agricultural management is done by industrial methods.

**Article 31.** The national economy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a planned economy.

In accordance with the laws of socialist economic development, the State draws up and implements the plans for the development of the national economy so that the balance of accumulation and consumption can be maintained correctly, economic construction accelerated, the people's living standards steadily raised and the nation's defence capability strengthened.

The State ensures a high rate of growth in production and the even development of the national economy by implementing a policy of unified and detailed planning.

**Article 32.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea compiles and implements the State budget according to the national economic development plan.

The State systematically increases its accumulation and expands and develops socialist property by intensifying the campaign for increased production and greater economy, and by exercising strict financial control in all fields.

**Article 33.** The State abolishes taxation, a vestige of the overthrown society.

**Article 34.** In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea foreign trade is conducted by the State or under its supervision.

The State develops foreign trade on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

The State pursues a tariff policy in order to protect the independent national economy.

### CHAPTER III CULTURE

**Article 35.** In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea everyone studies and a socialist national culture is flourishing and developing.

**Article 36.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, by carrying out the cultural revolution thoroughly, trains all the working people to be builders of socialism and communism who are equipped with a profound knowledge of nature and society and a high level of culture and technology.

**Article 37.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is building a true people's revolutionary culture which serves the socialist working people.

In building a socialist national culture, the State opposes the cultural infiltration of imperialism and any tendency to return to the past and it protects the national cultural heritage, taking it over and

developing it in keeping with the existing socialist situation.

**Article 38.** The State is eliminating the way of life inherited from the former society and is establishing the new socialist way of life in every sphere.

**Article 39.** The State is putting into practice the principles of socialist education and is raising the new generation to be steadfast revolutionaries who fight for society and the people, to be men of a new communist mould who are knowledgeable, of high moral calibre and healthy.

**Article 40.** The State is giving precedence to public education and the training of cadres for the nation and is combining general education with technological education, and education with productive labour.

**Article 41.** The State provides universal compulsory ten-year education which includes senior middle school training for all young people under working age.

The State provides education to all pupils and students free of charge.

**Article 42.** The State trains competent technicians and experts by developing the regular educational system as well as different forms of studying while working.

Students of universities and colleges are granted allowances.

**Article 43.** The State provides all children with a compulsory one-year preschool education.

The State maintains all children of preschool age in creches and kindergartens at State and public expense.

**Article 44.** The State accelerates the nation's scientific and technological progress by establishing Juche in scientific research and by strengthening creative cooperation between scientists and producers.

**Article 45.** The State is developing a Juche-oriented, revolutionary literature and art, national in form and socialist in content.

The State encourages the creative activities of writers and artists and draws the broad masses of workers, farmers and other working people into literary and artistic activities.

**Article 46.** The State safeguards our language from the destructive intentions of the imperialists and their stooges, and is developing it to meet present-day needs.

**Article 47.** The State is steadily improving the physical fitness of the working people.

The State prepares all the people fully for work and national defence by popularizing physical culture and sports and by developing physical training for national defence.

**Article 48.** The State is consolidating and developing the universal free medical service and it promotes a policy of preventive medical care so as to preserve people's lives and improve the health of the working people.

#### **CHAPTER IV. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS**

**Article 49.** In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the rights and duties of citizens are based on the collectivist principle, "One for all and all for one".

**Article 50.** The State effectively guarantees genuine democratic rights and liberties as well as the material and cultural well-being of all its citizens.

In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the rights and freedoms of citizens are amplified with the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

**Article 51.** Citizens all enjoy equal rights in the political, economic and cultural and all other spheres of State and public activity.

**Article 52.** All citizens who have reached the age of 17 have the right to elect and to be elected, irrespective of sex, race, occupation, length of residence, property status, education, party affiliation, political views and religion.

Citizens serving in the armed forces also have the right to elect and to be elected.

Anyone who has been disenfranchised by a Court decision and insane persons do not have the right to elect or to be elected.

**Article 53.** Citizens are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association and of demonstration.

The State guarantees conditions for the free activity of democratic political parties and social organizations.

**Article 54.** Citizens have freedom of religious belief and freedom to conduct anti-religious information work.

**Article 55.** Citizens are entitled to submit complaints and petitions.

**Article 56.** Citizens have the right to work.

All able-bodied citizens choose occupations according to their wishes and skills and are provided with stable jobs and working conditions.

Citizens work according to their ability and receive remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work they perform.

**Article 57.** Citizens have the right to relaxation. This right is ensured by the provision of an eight-hour working day, paid leave, accommodation at health resorts and holiday homes at State expense and by a growing network of cultural facilities.

**Article 58.** Citizens are entitled to free medical care, and all persons who are no longer able to work because of old age, illness or a physical disability, the old and children who have no means of support are entitled to material assistance. This right is guaranteed by free medical care, an expanding network of hospitals, sanatoria and other medical institutions, State social insurance and other social security systems.

**Article 59.** Citizens have the right to education. This right is ensured by an advanced educational system, free compulsory education and other educational measures enacted by the State for the benefit of the people.

**Article 60.** Citizens are free to engage in scientific, literary and artistic pursuits.

The State grants benefits to innovators and inventors.

Copyright and patent rights are protected by law.

**Article 61.** Revolutionary fighters, the families of revolutionary and patriotic martyrs, the families of People's Army soldiers, and disabled soldiers enjoy the special protection of the State and society.

**Article 62.** Women are accorded equal social status and rights with men.

The State affords special protection to mothers and children by providing maternity leave, reduced working hours for mothers of large families, a wide network of maternity hospitals, creches and kindergartens and other measures.

The State frees women from the heavy burden of household chores and provides every opportunity for them to participate in public life.

**Article 63.** Marriage and the family are protected by the State.

The State pays great attention to consolidating the family, the cell of society.

**Article 64.** Citizens are guaranteed inviolability of the person and the home and privacy of correspondence.

No citizen can be placed under arrest except by due process of law.

**Article 65.** All Korean citizens in foreign lands are entitled to the legal protection of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

**Article 66.** The Democratic People's Republic of Korea grants the right of asylum to foreign nationals who are persecuted for struggling for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism, or for the freedom of scientific and cultural pursuits.

**Article 67.** Citizens must strictly observe the laws of the State, the socialist standards of life and the socialist code of conduct.

**Article 68.** Citizens must display a high degree of collectivist spirit.

Citizens must cherish their collective and organization and develop the revolutionary trait of working devotedly for the good of society and the people and in the interests of the homeland and the revolution.

**Article 69.** It is the highest duty and honour of citizens to work.

Citizens must voluntarily and conscientiously participate in work and observe labour discipline and working hours strictly.

**Article 70.** Citizens must take good care of State and communal property, combat all forms of misappropriation and waste and manage the nation's economy diligently with the attitude of masters.

The property of the State and social cooperative organizations is inviolable.

**Article 71.** Citizens must increase their revolutionary vigilance against the actions of the imperialists and all hostile elements opposed to our country's socialist system, and must strictly guard State secrets.

**Article 72.** National defence is the supreme duty and honour for citizens.

Citizens must defend the country and serve in the army as required by law.

Treason against the country and the people is the most heinous of crimes.

Those who betray the country and the people are punishable with all the force of the law.

## **CHAPTER V. THE SUPREME PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY**

**Article 73.** The Supreme People's Assembly is the highest organ of State power in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Legislative power is exercised exclusively by the Supreme People's Assembly.

**Article 74.** The Supreme People's Assembly is composed of deputies elected on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

**Article 75.** The Supreme People's Assembly is elected for a term of four years.

A new Supreme People's Assembly is elected according to the decision of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly prior to the expiry of its term of office. When unavoidable

circumstances render the election impossible, the term of office is prolonged until the election.

**Article 76.** The Supreme People's Assembly has the authority to:

1. adopt or amend the Constitution, laws and ordinances;
2. establish the basic principles of the State's domestic and foreign policies;
3. elect the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;
4. elect or transfer the Vice-Presidents of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the Secretary and members of the Central People's Committee on the recommendation of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;
5. elect or transfer members of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly;
6. elect or transfer the Premier of the Administration Council on the recommendation of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;
7. elect or transfer the Vice-Chairmen of the National Defence Commission on the recommendation of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;
8. elect or transfer the President of the Central Court and appoint or remove the Public Prosecutor General of the Central Public Prosecutors Office;
9. approve the State plan for the development of the national economy;
10. approve the State budget;
11. decide on questions of war and peace.

**Article 77.** The Supreme People's Assembly holds regular and extraordinary sessions.

Regular sessions are convened once or twice a year by the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Extraordinary sessions are convened when the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly deems these necessary, or at the request of a minimum of one-third of the total number of deputies.

**Article 78.** The Supreme People's Assembly requires a quorum of

more than half the total number of deputies to meet.

**Article 79.** The Supreme People's Assembly elects its Chairman and Vice-Chairmen.

The Chairman presides over the sessions.

**Article 80.** Items to be considered at the Supreme People's Assembly are submitted by the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Central People's Committee, the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly and the Administration Council. Items can also be presented by deputies.

**Article 81.** The first session of the Supreme People's Assembly elects a Credentials Committee and, on hearing the Committee's report, adopts a decision confirming the credentials of deputies.

**Article 82.** Laws, ordinances and decisions of the Supreme People's Assembly are adopted when more than half of the deputies present signify approval by a show of hands.

The Constitution is adopted or amended with the approval of more than two-thirds of the total number of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly.

**Article 83.** The Supreme People's Assembly is empowered to appoint a Budget Committee, Legislation Committee and other Committees it deems necessary.

The Committees of the Supreme People's Assembly assist in the work of the Supreme People's Assembly.

**Article 84.** Deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly are guaranteed immunity.

No deputy to the Supreme People's Assembly can be arrested without the consent of the Supreme People's Assembly or, when it is not in session, without the consent of its Standing Committee.

**Article 85.** The Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly is a permanent body of the Supreme People's Assembly.

**Article 86.** The Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly consists of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Supreme People's

Assembly are ipso facto the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of its Standing Committee.

**Article 87.** The Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly has the duties and authority to:

1. examine and decide on bills in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme People's Assembly and obtain the approval of the next session of the Supreme People's Assembly;

2. amend current laws and ordinances when the Supreme People's Assembly is not in session and obtain the approval of the next session of the Supreme People's Assembly;

3. interpret current laws and ordinances;

4. convene sessions of the Supreme People's Assembly;

5. conduct the election of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly;

6. work with the deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly;

7. work with the Committees of the Supreme People's Assembly in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme People's Assembly;

8. organize the election of deputies to the local People's Assemblies;

9. elect or transfer the Judges and People's Assessors of the Central Court.

**Article 88.** The Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly adopts decisions.

## **CHAPTER VI. THE PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

**Article 89.** The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the Head of State and represents State power in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

**Article 90.** The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is elected by the Supreme People's Assembly.

The term of office of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is four years.

**Article 91.** The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea directly guides the Central People's Committee.

**Article 92.** The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, when necessary, convenes and presides over meetings of the Administration Council.

**Article 93.** The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the Supreme Commander of all the armed forces of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Chairman of the National Defence Commission, and duly commands all the armed forces of the State.

**Article 94.** The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea promulgates the laws and ordinances of the Supreme People's Assembly, the decrees of the Central People's Committee and the decisions of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly.

The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issues edicts.

**Article 95.** The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is empowered to grant special pardon.

**Article 96.** The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea ratifies or abrogates treaties concluded with other countries.

**Article 97.** The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea receives the credentials and letters of recall of diplomatic representatives accredited by foreign states.

**Article 98.** The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly.

**Article 99.** The Vice-Presidents of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea assist the President in his work.

## **CHAPTER VII. THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE**

**Article 100.** The Central People's Committee is the highest leadership organ of State power in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

**Article 101.** The Central People's Committee is headed by the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

**Article 102.** The Central People's Committee consists of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Secretary and members of the Central People's Committee.

The term of office of the Central People's Committee is four years.

**Article 103.** The Central People's Committee has the duties and authority to:

1. form the domestic and foreign policies of the State;
2. direct the work of the Administration Council and the local People's Assemblies and People's Committees;
3. direct the work of the judicial and procuratorial organs;
4. guide the work of national defence and State security;
5. ensure the observance of the Constitution, the laws and ordinances of the Supreme People's Assembly, the edicts of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the decrees, decisions and directives of the Central People's Committee, and annul the decisions and directives of State organs which contravene them;
6. form or abolish Ministries, which are executive bodies of the Administration Council;
7. appoint or remove Vice-Premiers, Ministers and other members of the Administration Council on the recommendation of the Premier of the Administration Council;

8. appoint or recall ambassadors and ministers;
9. appoint or remove high-ranking officers and confer the military rank of general;
10. institute decorations, titles of honour, military titles and diplomatic ranks and confer decorations and titles of honour;
11. grant general amnesties;
12. establish or alter administrative districts;
13. proclaim a state of war and orders for mobilization in an emergency.

**Article 104.** The Central People's Committee adopts decrees and decisions and issues directives.

**Article 105.** The Central People's Committee establishes a Domestic Policy Commission, a Foreign Policy Commission, a National Defence Commission, a Justice and Security Commission, and other Commissions to assist it in its work.

The members of the Commissions of the Central People's Committee are appointed or removed by the Central People's Committee.

**Article 106.** The Central People's Committee is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly.

## **CHAPTER VIII. THE ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL**

**Article 107.** The Administration Council is the administrative and executive body of the highest organ of State power.

The Administration Council works under the guidance of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Central People's Committee.

**Article 108.** The Administration Council consists of the Premier, Vice-Premiers, Ministers and other members who may be required.

**Article 109.** The Administration Council has the duties and authority to:

1. direct the work of Ministries, organs directly under its authority and local administrative committees;
2. establish or abolish organs directly under its authority;
3. draft the State plan for the development of the national economy and adopt measures to put it into effect;
4. compile the State budget and adopt measures to implement it;
5. organize and execute the work of industry, agriculture, domestic and foreign trade, construction, transport, communications, land administration, municipal administration, science, education, culture, health service, and so on;
6. adopt measures to strengthen the monetary and banking system;
7. conclude treaties with foreign countries and conduct external affairs;
8. develop the people's armed forces;
9. adopt measures to maintain public order, protect the interests of the State, and safeguard the rights of citizens;
10. rescind the decisions and directives of the State administrative organs which run counter to the decisions and directives of the Administration Council.

**Article 110.** The Administration Council convenes Plenary Meetings and meetings of the Standing Committee.

The Plenary Meeting consists of all members of the Administration Council. The Standing Committee consists of the Premier, Vice-Premiers and other members of the Administration Council appointed by the Premier.

**Article 111.** The Plenary Meeting of the Administration Council deliberates and decides on matters of great urgency arising in State administration.

The Standing Committee of the Administration Council deliberates and decides on matters entrusted to it by the Plenary Meeting of the Administration Council.

**Article 112.** The Administration Council adopts decisions and issues directives.

**Article 113.** The Administration Council is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly, the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Central People's Committee.

**Article 114.** A Ministry is a departmental executive body of the Administration Council.

A Ministry issues directives.

## **CHAPTER IX. THE LOCAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY, PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE AND ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE**

**Article 115.** The People's Assembly of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), city (or district) and county is the local organ of State power.

**Article 116.** The local People's Assembly consists of deputies elected on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

**Article 117.** The term of office of the People's Assembly of the province (or municipality directly under central authority) is four years, and that of the People's Assembly of the city (or district) and county is two years.

**Article 118.** The local People's Assembly has the duties and authority to:

1. approve the local plan for the development of the national economy;

2. approve the local budget;

3. elect or transfer the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members of the People's Committee at the corresponding level;

4. elect or transfer the Chairman of the Administrative Committee at the corresponding level;

5. elect or transfer the Judges and People's Assessors of the Court at the corresponding level;

6. rescind unwarranted decisions and directives of the People's Committee at the corresponding level and the People's Assemblies and People's Committees at the lower levels.

**Article 119.** The local People's Assembly convenes regular and extraordinary sessions.

Regular sessions are convened once or twice a year by the People's Committee at the corresponding level.

Extraordinary sessions are convened when the People's Committee at the corresponding level deems these necessary or at the request of a minimum of one-third of the total number of deputies.

**Article 120.** The local People's Assembly requires a quorum of more than half the total number of deputies to meet.

**Article 121.** The local People's Assembly elects its Chairman. The Chairman presides over the sessions.

**Article 122.** The local People's Assembly adopts decisions.

Decisions of the local People's Assembly are announced by the Chairman of the People's Committee at the corresponding level.

**Article 123.** The People's Committee of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), city (or district) and county exercises the function of the local organ of State power when the People's Assembly at the corresponding level is not in session.

**Article 124.** The local People's Committee consists of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members.

The term of office of the local People's Committee is the same as that of the corresponding People's Assembly.

**Article 125.** The local People's Committee has the duties and authority to:

1. convene sessions of the People's Assembly;
2. organize the election of deputies to the People's Assembly;
3. work with the deputies to the People's Assembly;
4. adopt measures to implement the decisions of the corresponding People's Assembly and the People's Committees at higher levels;
5. direct the work of the Administrative Committee at the corresponding level;

6. direct the work of the People's Committees at lower levels;
7. direct the work of the State institutions, enterprises and social cooperative organizations within the defined limits;
8. rescind unwarranted decisions and directives of the Administrative Committee at the corresponding level and the People's Committees and Administrative Committees at lower levels, and suspend the implementation of unwarranted decisions of the People's Assemblies at lower levels;
9. appoint or remove the Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members of the Administrative Committee at the corresponding level.

**Article 126.** The local People's Committee adopts decisions and issues directives.

**Article 127.** The local People's Committee is accountable to the corresponding People's Assembly and the People's Committees at higher levels.

**Article 128.** The Administrative Committee of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), city (or district) and county is the administrative and executive unit of the local organ of State power.

**Article 129.** The local Administrative Committee consists of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and members.

**Article 130.** The local Administrative Committee has the duties and authority to:

1. organize and carry out all administrative affairs in the given area;
2. carry out the decisions and directives of the People's Assembly and People's Committee at the corresponding level and of the organs at higher levels;
3. draft the local plan for the development of the national economy and adopt measures to implement it;
4. compile the local budget and adopt measures for its implementation;
5. adopt measures to maintain public order, protect the interests of the State, and safeguard the rights of citizens in the given area;
6. guide the work of the Administrative Committees at lower levels;

7. rescind unwarranted decisions and directives of the Administrative Committees at lower levels.

**Article 131.** The local Administrative Committee adopts decisions and issues directives.

**Article 132.** The local Administrative Committee is accountable to the People's Assembly and People's Committee at the corresponding level.

The local Administrative Committee is subordinate to the higher Administrative Committees and to the Administration Council.

## **CHAPTER X. THE COURT AND THE PUBLIC PROSECUTORS OFFICE**

**Article 133.** Justice is administered by the Central Court, the court of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), the People's Court and the Special Court.

Verdicts are delivered in the name of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

**Article 134.** The Judges and People's Assessors of the Central Court are elected by the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly.

The Judges and People's Assessors of the Court of the province (or municipality directly under central authority) and the People's Court are elected by the People's Assembly at the corresponding level.

The term of office of Judges and People's Assessors is the same as that of the People's Assembly at the corresponding level.

**Article 135.** The Chairman and Judges of the Special Court are appointed or removed by the Central Court.

The People's Assessors of the Special Court are elected by army personnel and employees at their individual meetings.

**Article 136.** The functions of the Court are to:

1. protect through judicial procedures the power of the workers and peasants and the socialist system established in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the property of the State and social cooperative organizations, personal rights as guaranteed by the Constitution, and the lives and property of citizens against all infringements;

2. ensure that all State institutions, enterprises, social cooperative organizations and citizens strictly observe State laws and staunchly oppose class enemies and all law-breakers;

3. give judgements and findings with regard to property and conduct notarial work.

**Article 137.** Justice is administered by a Court consisting of one Judge and two People's Assessors. In special cases there may be three Judges.

**Article 138.** Court cases are heard in public and the accused is guaranteed the right of defence.

Hearings may be closed to the public as stipulated by law.

**Article 139.** Judicial proceedings are conducted in the Korean language.

Foreign citizens may use their own language during court proceedings.

**Article 140.** In administering justice, the Court is independent, and judicial proceedings are carried out in strict accordance with the law.

**Article 141.** The Central Court is the highest judicial organ of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Central Court supervises the judicial activities of all the courts.

**Article 142.** The Central Court is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly, the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Central People's Committee.

The Court of the province (or municipality directly under central authority) and the People's Court are accountable to their respective People's Assembly.

**Article 143.** Investigation and prosecution are conducted by the Central Public Prosecutors Office, the Public Prosecutors Offices of the province (or municipality directly under central authority), city (or

district) and county and Special Public Prosecutors Office.

**Article 144.** The functions of the Public Prosecutors Office are to:

1. ensure the strict observance of laws by State institutions, enterprises, social cooperative organizations and by citizens;

2. ensure that decisions and directives of State organs conform with the Constitution, the laws and ordinances of the Supreme People's Assembly, the edicts of the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the decrees, decisions and directives of the Central People's Committee, the decisions of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly and with the decisions and directives of the Administration Council;

3. expose and institute legal proceedings against criminals and offenders so as to protect the power of the workers and peasants and the socialist system from all forms of encroachment, and protect the property of the State and social cooperative organizations and personal rights as guaranteed by the Constitution and the lives and property of citizens.

**Article 145.** Investigation and prosecution are conducted and coordinated by the Central Public Prosecutors Office, and all Public Prosecutors Offices are subordinate to their higher offices and the Central Public Prosecutors Office.

Public prosecutors are appointed or removed by the Central Public Prosecutors Office.

**Article 146.** The Central Public Prosecutors Office is accountable to the Supreme People's Assembly, the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Central People's Committee.

## CHAPTER XI. EMBLEM, FLAG AND CAPITAL

**Article 147.** The national emblem of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea bears the design of a grand hydro-electric power

station under the beaming light of a five-pointed red star, with ears of rice forming an oval frame, bound with a red ribbon bearing the inscription “The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea”.

**Article 148.** The national flag of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea consists of a central red panel bordered both above and below by a narrow white stripe and a broad blue stripe. The central red panel bears, in the hoist, a five-pointed red star within a white circle.

The ratio of the width to the length is 1:2.

**Article 149.** The capital of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea is Pyongyang.

