

## Primary sources by Kim Il Sung: North Korea

MI.SE.113 PYONGYANG, 23 April (TASS). Kim Il Sung gave a summary report at the 3rd congress of the Korean Worker's Party which opened in Pyongyang on 23 April. An account of the report is given below.

Eight years have passed since the 3rd Party congress, said Kim Il Sung. Great changes have taken place in the foreign and domestic situation during this period. In the intra-government area the Party has waged a fight for the peaceful reunification of the motherland, and strengthened and developed the popular democratic system established in the northern part of the republic in every possible way.

All our people headed by the working class and under the leadership of our Party have defended their popular democratic system from the armed encroachments of international imperialist reaction with honor and are successfully building the foundations of socialism in the northern part of the country, the material basis for the reunification of the motherland.

In the area of international life the might of the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China grew and strengthened incomparably during this period. The forces of peace and democracy opposed to war and imperialism are growing and strengthening in the entire world and becoming invincible.

Kim Il Sung said, in our era, as Cde. N. S. Khrushchev noted at the 20th CPSU congress, socialism has already gone beyond the bounds of one country and turned into a world system, and there is no power in the world capable of interfering with this process of world historical importance.

Dwelling on the successes of the Soviet people in the building of Communism, Cde. Kim Il Sung noted that the historic 20th CPSU congress had adopted a grandiose fighting program on the basis of which the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union is leading the Soviet people to new successes of world historical importance in the building of Communism. Based on a deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of some principled questions of the contemporary international situation, the congress drew conclusions of enormous practical importance. This boundlessly inspires the struggle of all Communist and worker's Parties and the peoples of the entire world to fight even more actively for peace, happiness, and a bright future.

During the reporting period in Asia the great Chinese people's revolution ended victoriously. The six hundred million people of China, having put a complete end to the

system of imperialist colonial domination, are now confidently traveling the path of the construction of socialism and are very important members of the camp of democracy and socialism.

The might of the socialist camp, Kim Il Sung then said, consists not only of the fact that the socialist relations encompass such a broad territory and such a large population, but primarily consist of the unbreakable friendship, solidarity, and unity of the peoples of this camp. The strength of this unity has found its bright reflection in the active support and aid to the Korean people of the peoples of the camp of democracy and socialism during the just patriotic war of liberation, especially in the invaluable fraternal aid of the Chinese people's volunteers.

Touching on the ongoing collapse of the colonial system, which has held the peoples of Asia in its grip, where half of the population of the entire world lives, Cde. Kim Il Sung noted that the victory won by the Korean people in the three-year patriotic war of liberation was one of the most important victories of the peoples of Asia who are fighting against the colonizers, and it further inspires the peoples of dependent countries to fight for their freedom and independence.

Covering the course of international events in recent years, Kim Il Sung stressed the relaxation of tension in international relations achieved thanks to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, the strengthening of cooperation with the USSR and PRC, with India, Burma, and other Asian countries, the importance of the Bandung Conference of 29 countries and the creation of a broad "zone of peace" which includes both the socialist and non-socialist peace-loving countries of Europe and Asia. He said, about one and a half billion people live in this zone.

We live in an era when the forces of peace, socialism, and democracy are growing and strengthening immeasurably, and the forces of imperialism weaken with each day.

It is a great joy for the Korean people, who are defending their historic achievement, the popular democratic system, and are fighting for their national unity, to be a member of the powerful socialist camp in which it sees a reliable guarantee of their final victory.

Our Party should henceforth continue to take an active part in the struggle for a durable peace and security in the entire world, preserve fraternal friendship and solidarity as one's dearest possession, and strengthen the political, economic, and cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the other countries of people's democracy in every possible way.

At the same time we should firmly hold to the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and devote efforts in order to establish political and business ties with all peace-loving countries of the world based at the same time on mutual respect for sovereignty and equality.

We should vigorously fight the aggression of American imperialism in Asia and a resurgence of Japanese militarism. We should tirelessly strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of India, Burma, Indonesia, and Japan, and actively support the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial countries of Asia to strengthen the common struggle of the Asian peoples against colonialism.

We should also support in every possible way the peace policy of the peace-loving countries of the world headed by the Soviet Union and their struggle for a reduction of arms, the prohibition of the production and use of nuclear weapons, vigilantly keep track of the treacherous intrigues of enemies striving to unleash a new war, further strengthen our defensive might, and firmly preserve the freedom and independence of our country and the peaceful construction in the northern part of the republic.

Speaking of the struggle for the peaceful reunification of Korea, for the strengthening and development of the popular democratic system in the northern part of the republic during the reporting period, Kim Il Sung noted that these events cover three periods, the period of peaceful construction, the period of the patriotic war of liberation, and the period of the postwar recovery and construction.

People's power, created in the northern part of the country after liberation under the leadership of the Party, carried out land reform, the nationalization of industry, and other democratic reforms. Land reform eliminated landowners and feudal production relations in the countryside, and made working peasants owners of the land. The economic base of the Japanese imperialists and the pro-Japanese elements in the country was completely eliminated as a result of the nationalization of industry, the state sector occupied the dominant position in its economy, and socialist industrial relations were established. In the five years after liberation enormous progress has been achieved in the northern part of the republic in all sectors of politics, the economy, and culture. Telling of the course of the three-year patriotic war of liberation Kim Il Sung noted the great feats of the heroic Korean people. Our just war, he pointed out, encountered the enormous aid and support of millions of people of the entire world who opposed the predatory acts of the invaders.

The Soviet Union has devoted every effort for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and has vigorously exposed the aggressive acts and barbarous crimes of the

American imperialists in Korea. It made a great contribution to the cause of the rapid end of the bloody war in Korea.

Cde. Kim Il Sung then said that the historic victory of the Korean people is a brilliant victory of Marxism-Leninism. It convincingly confirmed the inexhaustible vital strength of our popular democratic system and its superiority over the capitalist system, and was a demonstration of the correctness of the line of our Party, directed at the creation and strengthening of a democratic basis.

The Korean War also showed that a people who are vigorously fighting for their national independence and freedom, for peace and against imperialist aggression, will always gain the powerful support from the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism and the peace-loving peoples of the entire world and certainly triumph.

The conclusion of the armistice agreement, Cde. Kim Il Sung then said, put an end to the bloody war in Korea, and our people again moved to peaceful economic construction.

We were faced with enormous tasks: to turn an armistice into a durable peace, further strengthen the support of our revolution, the democratic base in the northern part of the republic, politically, economically, and militarily, and turn it into a powerful material base in the cause of the peaceful reunification of our country.

The Party and government of the republic developed a three-year plan for the revival and development of the economy, the main task of which is the achievement of the prewar level of production in all sectors of the economy.

About two years and four months have passed since the time we began to fulfill the three-year economic plan. During this period under the leadership of the Korean Worker's Party our people overcame all difficulties and obstacles, thanks to their own creative initiative and selfless work and achieved great successes, inspired by the unselfish economic and technical aid of the USSR, PRC, and fraternal countries of people's democracy.

The speaker cited detailed information demonstrating the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the targets of the three-year plan. As of the end of January of this year the level of production of state and cooperative industry had already exceeded the production level provided by the plan for 1956, the last year of the three-year plan. The amount of gross production of state and cooperative industry has risen by 2.3 times compared to 1953 and exceeded the 1949 prewar level by 56%. Our Party has firmly

held to a policy of rapid restoration and development of industry with priority growth of heavy industry. Two hundred and thirty-six large and medium-sized state industrial enterprises had already been fully or partially restored and put in operation by the end of 1955, and 71 new large and medium-sized industrial enterprises were also built. The history of our country has not yet known such a large scale and such high rates of construction and repair work in industry.

Kim Il Sung further characterized the development in the postwar period [of] individual industrial sectors, showing that a considerable increase in the production of consumer goods had taken place along with the rapid improvement of heavy industry. Compared to 1949 in 1955 the textile industry had risen by 2.2 times, the leather and footwear [industry] by 96%, and the food and gustatory [industry] by 20%.

In the postwar years, Kim Il Sung continued, new industrial sectors were created in the industry of our country. This was made possible by the production of a whole series of new types of products, including direct current generators, modern turning lathes, mining machines, drills, and high-quality fabrics. The creation of a series of new industrial sectors and their rapid development has caused a change in the structure of industrial sectors. In the total volume of industrial production the share of the machinebuilding and light industries, the most backward sectors before liberation, has increased considerably. The speaker also dwelt on the growth of labor productivity in the postwar period, the labor competition of the masses, and the introduction in production of numerous innovations and improvement suggestions, and touched on issues of training engineering and technical personnel and labor reserves.

As is evident from the above, he said, in the postwar years our industry has basically treated the serious wounds received in the course of the war, and heavy industry is developing at a rapid rate.

After the war the Party directed all its attention in the area of the restoration and development of agriculture to first of all reaching the prewar level of production of grain crops during the three-year plan and along with this creating a base for the further improvement of the agriculture of our country. Cde. Kim Il Sung noted that in the course of the fulfillment of the three-year plan in the area of agriculture it was found that this plan did not correspond to the real possibilities. The plan was overestimated in the area of agriculture and drafted without proper consideration for the degree of damage caused agriculture by the war and other specific conditions. Kim Il Sung continued, in order to rapidly restore and develop agriculture in the postwar years the Party CC outlined specific ways to rapidly correct the defects which existed in the management of the countryside. The plans for capital investment in agriculture for 1956 were somewhat

increased, large-scale construction of irrigation systems and river dams was carried out, and steps were taken to provide irrigation structures with machines, increase the production of agricultural machines and fertilizer, etc.

In 1954 and 1955 cultivated land was expanded by 37,700 jeongbo, large-scale irrigation construction was carried out, including the construction of an irrigation system in the province of South Pyongan, and 43 new reservoirs and 568 pumping stations were repaired and rebuilt anew. These measures took on an even broader scale in 1956. From 1954 through the present time irrigated fields were expanded by 50,000 jeongbo as a result state capital investments alone, and more than 100,000 jeongbo of fields were protected from floods by the construction of river dams.

In the postwar years the Party and government created 31 new machine rental stations in order to increase the peasants' labor productivity and also to solve the problem of the shortage of labor and draft animals in the countryside. In 1955 the number of machine rental stations tripled compared to 1953, and the number of tractors (converted to 15-hp equivalents) by 3.9 times.

The most important event in the development of agriculture after the conclusion of the armistice is the fact that the movement to cooperate agriculture with the goal of socialist reform is rapidly developing in the countryside. As of the end of February 1956 there were more than 14,650 agricultural cooperatives in our countryside encompassing 65.6% of the total peasant households and 62.1% of all cultivated land. Almost all the agricultural cooperatives are cooperatives of the highest type. The speaker then told about the successes of the cooperatives in the expansion and improvement of cultivated areas, and the introduction of advanced agrotechnology and subsidiary industries, noting that along with the aid to the agricultural cooperatives the state also gives comprehensive aid to individual peasants, who compose a large part of the peasant households of the country. He pointed to the serious backwardness of animal husbandry.

Characterizing the improvement of transportation and communications in the postwar years, and the expansion of trade turnover, Cde. Kim Il Sung moved to the government's work to improve the material and cultural level of the people's lives. He said, the national income rose considerably in the first two years of the three-year plan. In 1955 the national income was 160% of that of 1953, and 111% that of 1949. Prices for consumer goods have been reduced four times in the postwar period. In 1955 the level of prices for goods in state and consumer trade were reduced by 40%, as a result of which the population received a benefit of about 30 billion won during this time. The real wages of manual laborers and office workers rose. The state gave much aid to the

peasants with monetary loans, seeds, and fertilizer, and released many of them from repaying debts of taxes in kind and monetary loans. Not long ago the law about the agricultural tax in kind was changed, as a result of which its amount was reduced.

The Party and government have devoted constant attention to the repair and construction of residential buildings and educational institutions. Residential buildings with a total area of more than 3,500 m<sup>2</sup>, 1,285 schools, and 182 hospitals were built at state expense since the armistice to the end of 1955. The number of cultural institutions and healthcare network was considerably increased.

As is obvious from the above, our work to revive and build the economy is going well.

Our popular democratic system is becoming increasingly stronger based on an strengthened alliance.

During the reporting period, and especially in the postwar period, the socialist sector has grown even further thanks to the successes achieved in all sectors of our economy.

Whereas the share of state and cooperative industry in the total amount of industrial production comprising the socialist sector, was 90.7% in 1949, in 1955 it had risen to 98.3%.

In 1949 in agriculture, when there were no agricultural cooperatives yet, the share of the socialist sector, which encompassed state agricultural animal husbandry farms and machine rental stations at that time, was only 3.2% of the total volume of agricultural production. In 1955 the share of the socialist sector became dominant in all agricultural production of our country.

Thus, the socialist sector has already occupied the dominant and leading position in all sectors of the economy of our country and become a reliable material basis of the socialist reformation of the entire economy in the future.

Great changes have also occurred in the social class structure of the population. All these facts show that we have achieved considerable economic and social progress in the struggle to build socialism in our country.

Then Kim Il Sung touched on the problem of the construction of a socialist economy in the northern part of the republic. He noted that the majority of the targets of the three-year plan have already been met. There is no doubt that this plan will be fulfilled and overfulfilled on the scheduled deadlines.

The successful conclusion of the program of the three-year plan will create even broader prospects for the development of the country's economy and allow a new scientifically-based plan to be developed in the field of economic and cultural policy for a long period, namely a first five-year economic plan. It is necessary to make a big step forward on the path of the construction of the foundations of socialism in the northern part of the republic in the first five-year plan, the achievement of which will begin next year.

The main role is given first of all to heavy industry in the development of the economy in this five-year plan, that is, the production of means of production. Relying on the preferential development of heavy industry, on the basis of this we should sharply raise agricultural production and light industry even further, and improve the material welfare of the people. In the development of the economy we should devote special significance to the further expansion of economic ties and the strengthening of mutual aid among the socialist countries.

The most important task in the area of metallurgy is the continuation of work to repair and build blast, open-hearth, electric, and Bessemer furnaces and a coke-oven battery. It is necessary to apply efforts in order to meet the country's needs in rolled steel by expanding the construction of rolling-mill equipment. The production of cast iron needs to be increased by 2.8 times, of steel by 3-3.5 times, and rolled products by 3,5-4 times in 1961 compared to the current year.

The machinebuilding industry is faced with the task of increasing the production of metal-cutting machines; electrical, agricultural, mining, and construction machines; motors; and ships even further.

It is necessary to complete the repair of existing electric power stations and put the network of electrical transmission and electrical distribution points in order. Then it is necessary to resume the construction of the [Tokrogan] and [Kange] hydroelectric power stations, which was halted as a result of the war. The production of electric power should reach 8,500 million kilowatt-hours in 1961.

The speaker continued, in the coal industry the most important task is the elimination of an impermissible phenomenon when we, sitting on coal, annually import it from the outside in enormous quantity. During the years of the first five-year plan it is necessary to increase the extraction of coal by more than 1.7 times compared to 1956.



The main task of the chemical industry is an increase of the production of fertilizer in 1961 to 400,000 tons a year. Dwelling on the tasks in the area of the industries of construction materials and forestry, Kim Il Sung said that it is necessary to seek a considerable increase in the development of light industry, putting the main emphasis on the production of textiles and the food industry. The production of fabrics in 1961 needs to be raised by one and a half to two times compared to the current year. The report also raises specific tasks in the fields of transportation and communications.

Kim Il Sung then said, whereas the years of the three-year plan were basically a period of repairing existing enterprises the five-year plan will be period of the reconstruction and expansion of enterprises, and furnishing them with new equipment for the construction and operation of new plants and mills. To accomplish these tasks it is necessary to deeply master and introduce new technology into production, actively mobilize and use all the reserves harbored in the industry itself, considerably improve the use of equipment, increase labor productivity, save raw materials and material, and tirelessly lower the prime cost of production.

The main tasks with which agriculture is posed during the first five-year plan are the following: first, the considerable increase of the production of agricultural products, especially grain crops, in order to meet the needs of the economy. Second, the further development of the cooperation of agriculture, and also in the organizational and economic strengthening of agricultural production cooperatives. These measures are directed at completing the cooperation of agriculture.

Kim Il Sung said, considerable work has been done in the postwar period to increase the production of agricultural products. However, the current level of agricultural production still cannot fully meet the needs of our country in food and industrial raw material. During the five-year plan we should reach the production of such a level of grain at which we could basically provide our own needs with our own products and expand the cultivation of various technical and oil-seed crops on this basis, and develop animal husbandry even further.

We are faced with the task of opening up and restoring virgin and neglected lands to solve the problem of grain farming and industrial crops. Along with this we should carefully protect the land being worked. It is necessary to continue the construction of a number of large irrigation structures, including in the region of [Edidon].

The issue of increasing the yield of grain crops in waterless fields, which compose  $\frac{3}{4}$  of total cultivated land, is of decisive importance in the matter of increasing grain production.

During the first five-year plan we should definitely increase the area planted for corn and increase it to no less than 500,000 jeongbo. [We] ought to encourage the growing of corn not only as the main crop in every way, but also as the last crop before the harvesting of barley from a given field.

Cde. Kim Il Sung then said that industrial workers should improve construction and produce more agricultural machines and implements based on the actual needs of agriculture.

The main task facing animal husbandry is to eliminate the shortage of draft animals in agriculture and to considerably increase the production of livestock products. To do this the main emphasis needs to be made on the creation of fodder resources in agricultural cooperatives.

Switching to issues of the socialist transformation of agriculture, Kim Il Sung said that the movement for the cooperation of agriculture is developing at a growing rate. He continued, without being satisfied with what has been achieved, we should continue to stimulate the growing movement of the peasants for cooperation, and strengthen the cooperatives already created even further in the organizational and economic sense. In the movement for the cooperation of agriculture it is quite important that the enlistment of peasant farm owners into the ranks of the cooperatives should go gradually, without haste, in conformance with the peasants' readiness and with strict observation of the principle of voluntary participation.

Kim Il Sung said further, our Party should strengthen the management of agricultural cooperatives still further to successfully ensure the socialist transformation of agriculture and to continue to help them.

We should ensure the correct management and be in the avant garde of the mass movement when launching a determined campaign with certain excesses which might be manifested in the course of the cooperation of agriculture.

Cde. Kim Il Sung also stressed the enormous role of the state agricultural and animal husbandry farms and machine rental stations.

Then Cde. Kim Il Sung switched to the tasks of capital construction. He said, the main directions of capital investments during the five-year plan are the assignment of a considerable role of capital investments to production construction and ensuring higher rates of production construction. It is also necessary to continue the investment of a

certain amount of money in agricultural construction, ensuring a sharp improvement of agriculture. The scattering of materials and manpower at numerous sites cannot be allowed in capital construction. It is necessary to strictly calculate construction priorities, and direct serious attention to preparatory work. The introduction of standard designs, the standardization of structural elements, the broad application of the prefabrication method in construction, the mechanization of construction work, and the industrialization of the production of construction materials are extremely important questions.

Noting that work on urban construction is still not at the level of the requirements presented by the Party, Kim Il Sung dwelt on the tasks in this area and stressed that the building process of cities needs to be carefully thought over, in a planned manner, paying constant attention to the creation of the best conditions for the life of the population. He noted the great importance of the full use of local materials in construction and the broad use of small-scale mechanization.

In the nine years of people's power, said the speaker, our higher educational institutions and specialized secondary schools have trained many specialists. However, the scientific and technical personnel we have lag far behind the rapid pace of the growth of the country's economy. Therefore the Party should adopt a number of measures to train technical personnel, the need for which is growing in connection with the rapid development of the economy. The network of specialized secondary schools was considerably expanded after the armistice, and additional technical training courses were created for people who had graduated incomplete secondary schools, and many high schools were turned into specialized secondary schools, and specialized secondary schools of a higher type were created which accept graduates of high schools. It is necessary to continue to improve this work.

We need not just a large quantity of workers with a secondary technical education right now. The need for workers with a higher technical education is also growing rapidly. It is necessary to provide for the creation of an independent mining and smelting institute during the first five-year plan, assigning the appropriate departments from the Kim [Chak] Polytechnic Institute, and also [to provide for] the creation of a higher transportation institution. We should expand the network of correspondence technical schools still further, and strengthen work for the technical training of workers in factories and enterprises without leaving production. It is necessary to restructure the work of schools, specialized secondary schools, and higher educational institutions in order to bring study close to production, to the needs of living.

The tireless concern about the people's material welfare is the highest principle of the activity of our Party. It was and remains at the center of attention of our Party and government.

Therefore our task is to achieve a sharp improvement of agriculture and a faster development of the light and food industries on the basis of the priority development of heavy industry in the years immediately ahead, and also to carry out a further expansion of social and cultural measures, the network of medical and educational institutions, scientific research institutions, and to expand the housing stock. During the five-year plan the average wage of manual laborers and office workers will increase on the basis of a rapid growth of industrial and agricultural production and an increase of labor productivity, the monetary income and the income in kind of the peasants will grow from a successive lowering of state retail prices, and the real income of manual laborers, office workers, and the working peasantry will increase considerably.

During the first five-year plan the ration card system for the supply of manufactured and food goods will be abolished.

During the five-year plan it is necessary to speed up the rate of housing construction and build residential buildings of over six million square meters from state resources.

In the field of public education it is necessary to create conditions in the cities and villages to gradually carry out universal compulsory incomplete secondary (seven-year) education on the basis of the implementation of universal compulsory primary education. It is necessary to still further improve work in the system of higher education so that the number of students of higher educational institutions reaches more than 28,000 by the end of the five-year plan. Work in the area of public health will be considerably improved: the public health conditions in population centers have been improved, the number of hospitals, clinics, and maternity wards have been increased, and their equipment has been improved.

Such are our immediate tasks in the area of the economy. These are large, difficult tasks. But we are confident that all our people will fulfill them successfully under the leadership of our Party thanks to their patriotic activity and creative work.

Then the speaker dwelt on the tasks in the area of strengthening and developing the political and social systems. He said: we need to constantly increase and develop our political and social systems in order to successfully accomplish the peaceful reunification of the motherland and the building of a socialist economy in the northern part of the country.

In order to do this the Party has to first of all increase the work of the YeDOF and rally all the patriotic forces of the popular masses of our country around it. An increase of the leading role of the working class and a strengthening of the unbreakable union of the working class and the peasantry politically and economically are important conditions in this matter. At the same time we should pursue determined work to strengthen the close ties with members of other parties; believers with middle-sized and petty traders, people of the free professions, that is, with broad strata of the population.

In order to successfully accomplish the gigantic political, economic, cultural, and military tasks facing our Party we need to strengthen and develop people's power, the strongest weapon of our revolution, and increase the role of the organs of internal affairs, the procuracy, and justice. We ought to strive for the popular masses to make maximum use of their democratic rights and create real conditions in which the popular masses can creatively display an inexhaustible collective intellect in order to bring the bodies of people's power closer to the masses and rally the masses around them more strongly.

Cde. Kim Il Sung dwelt on the ruinous consequences of the 10-year dominance of the American imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique in South Korea: the enslavement of the South Korean economy, the ruination of the peasantry, the impoverishment of broad masses of workers, and intensified military preparations.

Kim Il Sung said, the dismemberment of the motherland is a misfortune not only for the population of South Korea but also for the entire Korean people. It is also a great obstacle for the development of our country. The Korean people continue to be left with the national tasks of fighting the aggressive forces of American imperialism and its allies, the landowners, the comprador bourgeoisie, and the pro-American elements of the southern part of the country, a struggle necessary for the liberation of the population of South Korea from the imperialist and feudal yoke and exploitation, and for the reunification of the motherland on a democratic basis and complete national independence. The policy of our Party, directed at the accomplishment of the main task of the Korean revolution at this stage - to achieve the reunification of the motherland on a peaceful democratic basis - is the only possible correct line in the country's current domestic and foreign conditions.

Dwelling on the need to carry out democratic reforms in South Korea, Kim Il Sung then said: we insist on combining the efforts of all political parties, public organizations, and individual leaders of South Korea to achieve a common goal, the peaceful reunification of the motherland. We propose to convene a joint conference of political parties and public organizations of South and North Korea in order to accomplish such a

reunification and create a united front, joining together all patriotic political parties, public organizations, and individuals of South and North Korea with national feelings, and as long as there is no possibility of convening such a conference it is necessary to hold meetings of individual political parties, public organizations, and patriots. Everyone who takes part in this combination of efforts, which pursues the goal of the peaceful reunification of the motherland, ought to forgive their old misdeeds, ensure participation according to their merits and capabilities in a united government which will be established after the reunification of the country, and to keep their property and social status. Stressing the importance of establishing political, economic, and cultural ties between the two parts of the country, the realization of free movement and postal correspondence between South and North Korea, Kim Il Sung said: the government of the DPRK is ready to offer the population of South Korea the electric power, coal, and timber, of which it is feeling an acute need.

We propose to convene a permanent commission which could discuss both the questions of establishing contacts between the South and North of the country as well as the questions of the reunification of Korea and the adoption of specific measures connected with this. Representatives of the governments, higher legislative bodies, political parties, public organizations, and also independent individuals from North and South Korea will take part in this body in identical proportions.

We think that with the creation of the conditions such measures would be the most realistic and if both sides display readiness to fulfill the hopes of the Korean people then this question will be completely solved.

In order to put all our proposals and demands above into effect it is necessary to first of all consolidate the successes of the armistice and turn it into a durable peace. We demand the strict observance of all the conditions of the armistice and the maximum reduction of the number of troops of both sides. Not a single part of Korea should be in a military alliance with other countries. The separate military treaty concluded between the governments of South Korea and the US should be annulled.

All foreign troops need to be withdrawn from Korea, including the American army and the Chinese people's volunteers for a solution of the Korean questions by the Koreans themselves, and no foreign interference in the internal affairs of our country is to be permitted.

At the same time the countries interested in a peaceful settlement of the Korean question should create real conditions for this, convening an international conference with the broad participation of the governments of South and North Korea.

Comrades! Enormous difficulties and obstacles stand in the path of our struggle for independence and reunification of the motherland on a democratic basis. But only this path will bring happiness to our generation and ensure the happiness and prosperity of our descendants.

Therefore, as long as we hold to this fighting line and persistently fight for it we will enjoy the fervent support of the entire Korean people and the active aid and support of the peaceloving forces of the entire world.

The following section of the report is devoted to the Party. Switching to a description of the question of the struggle to strengthen the Party, Cde. Kim Il Sung said: The historic victories won by our Party and the Korean people in the past period are the result of the policy of our Party being unswervingly pursued on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, and the Party organized enormous organizational and mobilization work to accomplish it. At the present time the leading role of our Party has risen incomparably in all areas of state activity and its ties with the popular masses have strengthened immeasurably.

As of the 1st of January 1956 the Korean Worker's Party had 1,164,945 members and 58,259 Party cells (subcells). This is 439,183 people and 28,496 Party cells (subcells - speaker's note) more than were in the Party by the second congress, in spite of the fact that an enormous number of Party members died in the course of the three-year patriotic war of liberation.

Consistently putting the ideas and organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism into practice and creatively adopting the experience of the struggle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal Parties in the conditions of the Korean revolutionary movement, our Party has inherited the glorious traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and strengthened the unity and solidarity of its ranks in every way, the backbone of which are the revolutionary fighters.

Covering the history of the Party Cde. Kim Il Sung dwelt on the Party's struggle against the factionalist group of Pak Heonyeong, the spies of American imperialism. Kim Il Sung said, one of the reasons that the factionalists continued their activity for so long was that before liberation there was no party of the working class and the Party lacked fighting traditions.

The fact that the unprincipled idea of the cult of personality which existed did not provide an opportunity to vigorously fight the factionalists served as one more reason

for this, he continued. Many senior officials and Party members who had fallen under the harmful influence of factionalism were too infatuated with the role of personality and assessed the mind of the personality higher than the collective wisdom and, blindly following the personality, could not recognize the mistakes he had made, and they even saw good in the mistakes, as consequence of which they could not organize a powerful struggle against it.

If Party members and senior officials in South Korea had not been too infatuated with Pak Heonyeong, his clique, and other factional elements after liberation but had organized a powerful struggle against him, then the criminal acts of this band would have been exposed in time and our Party in South Korea would not have ended up ruined to such a degree.

Therefore our Party ought to know full well that it is impossible to strengthen our own ranks, it is impossible to carry out the revolutionary tasks with which the Party is faced, without a merciless fight against factionalism inside our ranks, without its ruthless elimination, and without a complete eradication of the idea of the cult of personality.

The speaker then switched to the question of the organizational and instructional work of the Party. He said that the social composition of the Party is: workers - 22.6%, poor peasants - 56.8%, middle peasants - 3.7%, office workers - 13%, and others - 3.9%. More than half of Party members joined it after the beginning of the patriotic war of liberation.

Kim Il Sung then said that it is necessary to try to raise the level of work by stepping up Party work and to seek an increase of Party seasoning and class self-consciousness of Party members to the level up of the new tasks with which the Party is faced.

Touching on the shortcomings in the organizational work, Kim Il Sung said that in particular it is necessary for senior officials to exhibit an example of strict observance of the norms of Party life. He said, there are many such senior officials who do not take an active part in Party life, considering themselves some sort of privileged people. As a result, in spite of the fact that everyone recognizes in word that the Party cannot have two disciplines, one for leaders and another for ordinary [members], in fact in individual Party organizations two disciplines secretly exist, and a different approach is permitted.

We should even more strictly observe the Leninist principle according to which active participation in Party life and the faithful implementation of Party directives should be the duty of all Party members regardless of their merits and the posts they hold. It is necessary to increase intra-Party democracy still higher, to increase criticism and



self-criticism, and especially criticism from below, and to strictly observe the principle of collective leadership in all the activity of Party organizations at all levels to strengthen Party life, and to thereby increase the activity and initiative of Party members.

Kim Il Sung said that up to now some Party members have not realized that they are servants of the people and not exhibit a readiness to selflessly fight for the interests of the masses. He noted further that Party organizations should strictly keep to the Party principle of the selection and placement of personnel and when doing so ensure conditions under which they could devote all their abilities and knowledge to the cause of the revolution.

Then the speaker stressed the great importance in organizational party work of the management of the Party and public organizations - trade unions, the union of democratic youth, and women's and youth organizations.

Then Cde. Kim Il Sung noted that in the past period the Party had achieved many successes in ideological work; however it still has many shortcomings, the chief of which are that formalism and doctrinaire attitudes, which cause it much harm, have still not been eliminated in ideological work. Ideological work should be set up so that its main goals, the direction, and the content are dictated by the revolutionary goals which are being advanced at a certain period of the development of the revolution.

Kim Il Sung continued, to master Marxism-Leninism does not mean to blindly learn individual provisions of Marxist-Leninist theory by heart. It means to be able to understand the revolutionary essence of this theory and on its basis to scientifically summarize the experience of revolutionary struggle and the questions raised by reality, to draw correct conclusions from them, and employ them in practical work.

The task of mass political work is to raise the socialist consciousness in the working masses so that they consciously fight for the accomplishment of the political and economic tasks with which the Party and people are faced.

Then Kim Il Sung noted that all agitprop work should be closely connected with economic work and its results should find their reflection in economic policy.

The report raises tasks in the area of propaganda, publishing, school and educational work, science and culture, and literature and art.

In conclusion Cde. Kim Il Sung said that in the past the Korean Worker's Party had done enormous work in the name of the victory of the revolution and had traveled a brilliant victorious path of glorious struggle.

However, the victories we have won in the past can be characterized as only a beginning in the face of those grandiose tasks which will henceforth be turned into reality.

We should correctly lead all the Korean people, realize the great cause of democratic reunification and the achievement of the independence of the motherland, and victoriously advance the building of socialism in the name of the further strengthening of the revolutionary democratic base in the northern part of the country. Here where the main task of our Party lies at this stage.

We have a Korean Worker's Party, the headquarters of the revolution, the steel ranks of which have been tempered and forged together in battle with internal and external enemies, and the united, inexhaustible revolutionary forces of our hardworking, steadfast people. We have foreign friends who give us active aid in our just struggle and fight with us hand in hand....

We are immeasurably gladdened by the broad prospects for a boundlessly happy future of our motherland and our people which should be created. The all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism lights the broad path forward for us with a bright light, and gives us who travel along this path the courage and steadfastness in struggle. Victory and glory will always be on the side of those who go forward under this banner.

Bearing the banner of Marxism-Leninism high, under the leadership of the organizer and inspirer of all the victories of the Korean people, the Korean Worker's Party, more boldly forward to the final victory of the revolution!

The summary report about the work of the CC of the Korean Worker's Party was repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause.

# **On eliminating dogmatism and formalism and establishing Juche in ideological work**

**Speech to Party Propagandists and Agitators**

**December 28, 1955**

Today I want to address a few remarks to you on the shortcomings in our Party's ideological work and on how to eliminate them in the future.

As you learned at yesterday's session, there have been serious ideological errors on the literary front. It is obvious, then, that our propaganda work also cannot have been faultless.

It is to be regretted that our propaganda work suffers in many respects from dogmatism and formalism.

The principal shortcomings in ideological work are the failure to delve deeply into all matters and the lack of *Juche*. It may not be proper to say *Juche* is lacking, but, in fact, it has not yet been firmly established. This is a serious matter. We must thoroughly rectify this shortcoming. Unless this problem is solved, we cannot hope for good results in ideological work.

Why does our ideological work suffer from dogmatism and formalism? And why do our propagandists and agitators fail to go deeply into matters, only embellishing the façade, and why do they merely copy and memorize foreign things, instead of working creatively? This offers us food for serious reflection.

What is *Juche* in our Party's ideological work? What are we doing? We are not engaged in any other country's revolution, but precisely in the Korean revolution. This, the Korean revolution, constitutes *Juche* in the ideological work of our Party. Therefore, all ideological work must be subordinated to the interests of the Korean revolution. When we study the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the history of the Chinese revolution, or the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, it is all for the purpose of correctly carrying out our own revolution.

By saying that the ideological work of our Party lacks in *Juche*, I do not mean, of course, that we have not made the revolution or that our revolutionary work was undertaken by passers-by. Nonetheless, *Juche* has not been firmly established in ideological work, which leads to dogmatic and formalistic errors and does much harm to our revolutionary cause.

To make revolution in Korea we must know Korean history and geography and know the customs of the Korean people. Only then is it possible to educate our people in a way that suits them and to inspire in them an ardent love for their native place and their motherland.

It is of paramount importance to study, and widely publicize among the working people, the history of our country and of our people's struggle, before anything else.

This is not the first time we have raised this question. As far back as the autumn of 1945, that is, immediately after liberation, we

emphasized the need to study the history of our nation's struggle and to inherit its fine traditions. Only when our people are educated in the history of their own struggle and its traditions, can their national pride be stimulated and the broad masses be aroused to the revolutionary struggle.

Yet, many of our functionaries are ignorant of our country's history, and so do not strive to discover and carry forward its fine traditions. Unless this is corrected, it will lead, in the long run, to the negation of Korean history.

The mistakes made recently by Pak Chang Ok and his kind, too, may be attributed to their negation of the history of the Korean literary movement. They closed their eyes to the struggle of the fine writers of the "KAPF" — Korean (Corean) Artiste Proletarienne Federation—and to the splendid works of Pak Yon Am, Chong Da San and other progressive scholars and writers of our country. We told them to make a profound study of those things and give them wide publicity, but they did not do so.

Today, ten years after liberation, we have all the conditions for collecting materials on our literary legacy and turning it to full use. Nevertheless, the propaganda workers remain wholly indifferent to this.

As the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee it was decided to actively publicize the history of our people's struggle and valuable cultural heritage, but workers in the field of propaganda failed to do so. They went so far as to forbid the newspapers to carry articles on the anti-Japanese struggle of the Korean people.

The Kwangju Student Incident, for example, was a mass struggle in which tens of thousands of Korean youths and students rose against Japanese imperialism; it played a big part in inspiring the

anti-Japanese spirit in broad sections of the Korean youth. As a matter of course, we should publicize this movement widely and educate youth and students in the brave fighting spirit displayed by their forerunners. Our propaganda workers have failed to do so. Instead, Syngman Rhee has been making propaganda of this movement in his favour. This has created a false impression that the Communists disregard national traditions. What a dangerous thing! It will be impossible for us to win over the south Korean youth if we go on working in this way.

So far propaganda work in this respect has all been dropped and laid aside, though no one has ever given instructions to. Newspapers do not write about it, nor is any meeting held to commemorate it. Things like the Kwangju Student Incident ought to be taken up by the Democratic Youth League. The Kwangju Student Incident is an excellent example of the struggle of youth and students of our country against imperialism.

The same must be said of the June Tenth Independence Movement. This was another mass struggle in which the Korean people rose against Japanese imperialism. It is true that the struggle was greatly hampered by the factionalists who had slipped into it. Considering that even after liberation, the Pak Hon Yong-Li Sung Yop spy clique crept into our ranks and wrought mischief, it goes without saying that in those days the factionalists could carry on subversive activities more easily. But, even so, was the struggle itself wrong? No, it was not. Although the struggle ended in failure because of a few bad elements who had wormed their way into the leadership of the organization, we cannot deny its revolutionary character; we should learn a lesson from that failure.

No publicity has been given even to the March First Movement. If you work in this way, you cannot expect to lead along the right path

the progressive people who have a national conscientiousness, let alone the Communists. The lack of leadership by a Communist Party was the principal cause of the failure of the March First Movement. But who can ever deny the fact that the March First Movement was a nation-wide resistance movement against Japanese imperialism? We ought to explain to the people the historic significance of this movement and educate them by its lessons.

Many past revolutionary movements ended in failure in our country because of the scoundrels who managed to install themselves in the leadership of those movements, but there can be no denying the struggles waged by the people on those occasions. The popular masses always fought well with courage. Pak Chang Ok may have denied this arbitrarily. But no true Marxist-Leninist dare deny the people's exploits in their struggles.

When I asked Pak Chang Ok and his followers why they rejected the "KAPF," they answered that they did so because some renegades were involved in it. Then, did they mean to say that the "KAPF," in which Comrade Li Gi Yong and other prominent proletarian writers of our country worked as its very core, was an organization of no importance? We must highly value the fighting achievements of those people, and develop our literature around them.

What assets do we have for carrying on the revolution if the history of our people's struggle is denied? If we cast aside all these things, it would mean that our people did nothing. There are many things to be proud of in our country's peasant movements of the past. In recent years, however, no articles dealing with them have appeared in our newspapers.

In schools, too, there is a tendency to neglect lectures on Korean history. During the war the curricula of the Central Party School

allotted 160 hours a year to the study of world history, but very few hours were given to Korean history. This is how things were done in the Party school, and so it quite natural that our functionaries are ignorant of their own country's history.

In our propaganda and agitation work, there are numerous examples of extolling only foreign things, while slighting our own.

Once I visited a People's Army vacation home, where a picture of the Siberian steppe was hung. That landscape probably pleases the Russians. But the Korean people prefer the beautiful scenery of our own country. There are beautiful mountains such as Mts. Kumgang-san and Myohyang-san in our country; there are clear streams, the blue sea with its rolling waves and the fields with ripening crops. If we are to inspire in our People's Army men a love for their native place and their country, we must show them many pictures of such landscapes of our country.

One day this summer when I dropped in at a local democratic publicity hall, I saw diagrams of the Soviet Union's Five-Year Plan shown there, but not a single diagram illustrating the Three-Year Plan of our country. Moreover, there were pictures of huge factories in foreign countries, but there was not a single one of the factories we were rehabilitating or building. They do not even put up any diagrams and pictures of our economic construction, let alone study the history of our country.

I noticed in a primary school that all the portraits hanging on the walls were of foreigners such as Mayakovsky, Pushkin, etc., and there were none of Koreans. If children are educated in this way, how can they be expected to have national pride?

Here is a ridiculous example. Even in attaching a table of contents to a booklet, foreign ways are aped and it is put in the back. We



should learn, as a matter of course, from the good experience of socialist construction, but what on earth is the need of putting the table of contents in the back of a booklet in foreign style? This does not suit the taste of Koreans. As a matter of course, we should put it in the front of a book, shouldn't we?

In compelling schoolbooks, too, materials are not taken from our literary works but from foreign ones. All this is due to the lack of *Juche*.

The lack of *Juche* in propaganda work has done much harm to Party work.

For the same reason, many comrades do not respect our revolutionaries. At present more than 100 comrades who took part in revolutionary struggles in the past are attending the Central Party School; until recently they had been buried in obscurity.

We sent many revolutionaries to the Ministry of the Interior, but many of them were dismissed on the ground that they were incompetent. At the Central Party School, I once met a comrade who had formerly taken part in revolutionary activities; he had been left in his post as chief of a county interior service station for eight years. This is quite an improper attitude toward revolutionaries.

Today our functionaries have become so insolent that they show no respect for their seniors. They have been allowed to fall into such a habit, whereas Communists naturally have a higher moral sense than any other people, and hold their revolutionary seniors in high esteem.

In our People's Army a vigorous struggle has been waged to uphold the revolutionary traditions and, as a result, most of the people who had taken part in revolutionary activities have become either regimental or divisional commanders.

If we had not organized the People's Army with old revolutionary cadres as its core, what would have been the outcome of the last war? It would have been impossible for us to defeat the enemy and win a great victory under such difficult conditions.

During our retreat certain foreigners predicted that most of our army units, trapped by enemy encirclement, would not be able to get back. But we were firmly convinced that all of them would manage to come back. In fact, they all did return, with the exception of the dead. The foreigners were greatly impressed at this and said there were few armies like ours in the world. How did this come about? The explanation is that our army cadres were comrades who in the past had taken part in guerrilla warfare or in local revolutionary movements. That is precisely why our army is strong.

Ten years have passed now since our Party was founded. Therefore, the Party members should naturally be educated in the history of our Party. If our functionaries are not educated in the revolutionary history of our country, they will be unable to carry forward our fine revolutionary traditions, nor will they be able to realize which direction to take in their revolutionary activities.

We should study our own things in earnest and be versed in them. Otherwise, we shall be unable to solve creatively in keeping with our actual conditions the new problems that confront us one after another in practice.

As a matter of fact, the form of our government should also be fitted to the specific conditions of our country. Does our people's power have exactly the same form as in other socialist countries? No, it does not. They are alike in that they are based on Marxist-Leninist principles, but their forms are different. No doubt, our platform, too, is in keeping with the realities of our country. Our 20-Point Platform

is the development of the Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland. As you all know, the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland existed before our country was liberated.

Our functionaries often commit errors due to lack of a clear understanding of these matters.

Some people even think it strange that the agricultural co-operative movement is progressing rapidly in our country. There is nothing strange about this. In the very past, the economic foundation of the Korean peasantry was very weak and the land was barren. Under Japanese imperialism, the peasant movement developed and the revolutionary spirit of the peasantry ran very high. What is more, the peasants were tempered politically through the democratic construction after liberation and during the bitter war. So, it is natural that the agricultural co-operative movement should be making rapid progress in our country today.

Comrade Pak Yong Bin, on returning from the Soviet Union, said that since the Soviet Union was following the line of easing international tension, we should also drop our slogan against U.S. imperialism. Such an assertion has nothing to do with revolutionary vigilance. The U.S. imperialists scorched our land, slaughtered our innocent people en masse, and are still occupying the southern half of our country. They are our sworn enemy, aren't they?

It is utterly ridiculous to think that our people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists conflicts with the efforts of the Soviet people to ease international conflicts with the efforts of the Soviet people to ease international tension. Our people's condemnation and struggle against the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists towards Korea are not contradictory, but conducive to the struggle of the people of

the world for lessening international tension and for defending peace. At the same time, the struggle of the peace-loving people the world over, including the Soviet people, to ease tension creates more favourable conditions for the anti-imperialists struggle of our people.

Pak Chang Ok was ideologically linked to the reactionary bourgeois writer Li Tae Jun in that he did not try to study the history of our country and our realities. Besides the remnants of bourgeois ideology in his mind, he had the conceited idea that he knew everything without even studying the realities of our country. Consequently, things went wrong. The harm he did to our ideological work is very serious.

After liberation he and his ilk said that Li Gwang Su was a talented man, and that, therefore, it would be advisable to give him prominence. But I pointed out it would be a wrong to do so. Li Gwang Su wrote a novel, *The Wife of a Revolutionary*, in which he insulted the revolutionaries discharged from prison. Li Gwang Su was a villain who used to rave that the Korean people and the Japanese imperialists came of "one and the same ancestry and roots." Therefore, I told them that it was totally unthinkable to give prominence to such a man, and never allowed them to do so.

Some comrades working in the Propaganda Department of the Party tried to copy mechanically from the Soviet Union in all their work. This was also because they had no intention to study our realities and lacked the true Marxist-Leninist spirit of educating the people in our own merits and in the traditions of our revolution. Many comrades swallow Marxism-Leninism whole, instead of digesting and assimilating it. It is therefore self-evident that they are unable to display revolutionary initiative.

We have so far failed to take measures for a systematic study of our country's history and our national culture. It has been ten years since liberation. And yet, we have failed to tackle the matter energetically; we have conducted it only in a hit-or-miss way. We had few cadres before, but now we have scholars, funds and materials, and have sufficient conditions for conducting it. This is quite possible if only you make a good study and organize the work. Every effort should be made to unearth our national legacies and carry them forward. True, we should be active in learning from what is progressive internationally. But we should develop fine things of our own while introducing advanced culture. Otherwise, our people will lose faith in their own ability and become a spineless people who only try to copy from others.

Hearing us say that it is necessary to establish *Juche*, some comrades might take it simply and form a wrong idea that we need not learn from foreign countries. That would be quite wrong. We must learn from the good experiences of socialist countries.

The important thing is to know what we are learning from. The aim we pursue in learning is to turn the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to good account in our Korean revolution.

During the war, Ho Ga I, Kim Jae Uk and Pak Il U once quarrelled stupidly among themselves over the problems of how to carry on political work in the army. Those from the Soviet Union insisted upon the Soviet method and those from China stuck to the Chinese method. So they quarrelled, some advocating the Soviet fashion and others the Chinese way. That was sheer nonsense.

It does not matter whether you use the right hand or the left, whether you use a spoon or chopsticks at the table. No matter how

you eat, it is all the same insofar as food is put into your mouth, isn't it? What is the need of being particular about "fashion" in wartime? When we carry on political work to strengthen our People's Army and win battles, any method will do so long as our aim is achieved. Yet Ho Ga I and Pak Il U squabbled about such a trifle. This only weakens discipline within the Party. At that time the Party centre maintained that we should learn all the good things from both the Soviet Union and China and, on this basis, work out a method of political work suitable to the actual conditions of our country.

It is important in our work to grasp revolutionary truth, Marxist-Leninist truth, and apply it correctly to the actual conditions of our country. There can be no set principle that we must follow the Soviet pattern. Some advocate the Soviet way and others the Chinese, but it is not high time to work out our own?

The point is that we should not mechanically copy forms and methods of the Soviet Union, but should learn from its experience in struggle and Marxist-Leninist truth. So, while learning from the experience of the Soviet Union, we must put stress not on the forms but on learning the essence of its experience.

In learning from the experience of the Soviet Union there is a marked tendency just to model after the external forms. Once *Pravda* puts out a headline "A Day in Our Country," our *Rodong Sinmun* carries the same title: "A Day in Our Country." What of the use of copying even this sort of thing? The same is true of clothing. When there are very graceful Korean costumes for our women, what is the use of discarding them and putting on dresses which are unbecoming of them? There is no need to do this. I suggested to Comrade Pak Jon Ae to see that our women dress in Korean costumes as far as possible.

Just copying the forms used by others instead of learning Marxist-Leninist truth brings us no good, only harm.

Both in revolutionary struggle and in construction work, we should firmly adhere to Marxist-Leninist principles, applying them in a creative manner to suit the specific conditions of our country and our national characteristics.

If we mechanically apply foreign experience, disregarding the history of our country and the traditions of our people and without taking account of our own realities and level of preparedness of our people, dogmatic errors will result and much harm will be done to the revolutionary cause. To do so is not fidelity to Marxism-Leninism nor to internationalism; it runs counter to them.

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, it is a guide to action and a creative theory. So, Marxism-Leninism can display its indestructible vitality only when it is applied creatively to suit the specific conditions of each country. The same applies to the experience of the fraternal parties. It will prove valuable to us only when we make a study of it, grasp its essence and properly apply it to our realities. Instead, if we just gulp it down and spoil our work, it will not only harm our work but also lead to discrediting the valuable experience of the fraternal parties.

In connection with the problem of establishing *Juche* I think it necessary to touch on internationalism and patriotism.

Internationalism and patriotism are inseparably linked with each other. You must know that the love of Korean Communists for their country does not go against the internationalism of the working class but conforms fully with it. To love Korea is just as good as to love the Soviet Union and the socialist camp and, likewise, to love the Soviet Union and the socialist camp means precisely loving Korea. They

constitute a complete whole. For the great cause of the working class has no frontiers and our revolutionary cause is a part of the international revolutionary cause of the working class throughout the world. The one supreme goal of the working class of all countries is to build a communist society. The difference, if any, lies only in the fact that certain countries do this earlier and others later.

It would be wrong to advocate patriotism alone and neglect internationalist solidarity. For the victory of the Korean revolution and for the great cause of the international working class, we should strengthen solidarity with the Soviet people, our liberator and helper, and with the peoples of all the socialist countries. This is our sacred internationalist duty. The Soviet people, on their part, are doing all they can to consolidate solidarity not only with the countries of the socialist camp but also with the working class of the whole world both for communist construction in their country and for the victory of world revolution.

Thus, patriotism and internationalism are inseparable. He who does not love his own country cannot be loyal to internationalism, and he who is unfaithful to internationalism cannot be faithful to his own country and people. A true patriot is precisely an internationalist and vice versa.

If we cast aside all that is good in our country and only copy and memorize foreign things in ideological work, it will certainly bring losses to our revolution, and thereby prevent us from properly carrying out our internationalist obligations to the international revolutionary cause.

In the report to the Second Party Congress, I quoted the following passage from the statement of the Commander of the Soviet army published on the first day of its entry into our country : "Korean



people!...You have happiness in your own hands....Koreans must make themselves the creators of their own happiness." This statement is perfectly correct, and if we fail to act accordingly, we may lose broad segments of the masses.

The formalism of our propaganda workers also finds expression in exaggerating things in propaganda work. For example, such bombastic expressions as "all have risen," "all have been mobilized," etc., have long been in fashion in speeches and articles.

We advised Pak Chong Ok more than once against it. Pak Chang Ok made mistakes because he could not break away from "all" type of bombast he had created. Later, he took a fancy to the superlative of the Chinese ideograph "great," and abused the adjective "great." I do not know whether this practice was due to his ignorance of Chinese ideographs or to his erroneous ideological viewpoint.

When propaganda work is conducted with such exaggeration without any substance to it, it will lead people to be carried away by victory and to become easy-going. This bad practice is also responsible for the false reports handed in by junior officials.

The use of an adjective may seem a simple matter, but when wrongly used it may cause our work to fail. In future, such a practice should be discontinued thoroughly.

Now, I should like to refer to a few other immediate problems in ideological work.

The Party Central Committee has issued written material on the character and tasks of our revolution to help study the documents of its April Plenary Meeting. So, I will not make any further comment on this.

I would like to stress once more the prospects of the revolution in our country. Our revolution has two prospects. One is the peaceful reunification of our country, and the other its reunification under the conditions in which the forces of imperialism are sharply weakened by a big war.

We, of course, have been striving with all our might to bring about the first prospect.

Our struggle for the peaceful reunification of our country boils down to two points — to carry on construction successfully in the northern half and to conduct effective political work towards the southern half. If we fortify the democratic base by promoting socialist construction in the northern half and arouse the people in the southern half to the liberation struggle through effective political work directed to the southern half, the peaceful reunification of our country can be realized.

Political work towards the southern half means strengthening the influence of the northern half and inducing its broad popular masses to support us. To this end, socialist construction in the northern half should be carried on successfully. The living standard of the people should be raised and the economic foundation strengthened in the northern half through successful economic construction, and the entire people should be rallied around our Party. Then, no matter how desperately Syngman Rhee may try, he will never be able to dampen the fighting spirit of the people in the southern half who are constantly inspired by the socialist construction in the northern half.

A man who came over from the southern half some time ago said: "Syngman Rhee says in his propaganda that the northern half has a population of only 3 million and there is nothing left in Pyongyang but heaps of ashes. But I have seen here that the bridge over the River

Taedong-gang has been restored to its former state and Pyongyang is being built into a much more beautiful city than ever before. Syngman Rhee has told a whopping lie." This is what will happen when we carry on construction successfully.

In 1948 when a joint conference of political parties and social organizations from north and south Korea was held, we did not have much to our credit in construction in the northern half. But all the Right-wing personalities of south Korea came to us with the exception of Syngman Rhee and Kim Song Su. The joint conference was of very great significance. Many of those who came to the northern half at that time remained here.

This is what Kim Gu said: "I have found north Korea to my liking. I have seen many Communists both in Shanghai and in south Korea (if he met any, they must have been those of the Tuesday group or the M-L group), but north Korean Communists are different. I thought before that Communists were narrow-minded and wicked people, but as I have found here this time, you are broad-minded and generous people with whom I can fully co-operate. I will co-operate with you by all means. I am old now, and have no ambition for power. If I do not go back to south Korea, Syngman Rhee will certainly clamour that I have been detained. And it is my desire to go back and give publicity to the fine things I have seen here. So I must go back at any rate. Do not think that I am going to collaborate with the Yankees. When I return here later, please give me an apple orchard, as I want to live in peace in the countryside for the rest of my life." Kim Gyu Sik, too, spoke in the same vein. After that, Kim Gu fought against the Yankees.

As you all know, Kim Gu was a nationalist. From the beginning he was against both imperialism and communism, and came to us with the intention of negotiating with Communists. In view of the fact that

even Kim Gu who had regarded communism as an inveterate enemy changed his view of our endeavours to build up the country, it is quite easy to imagine what the workers, peasants, and the public figures with a national conscience in south Korea will think once they come and see the northern half.

Before liberation, the mere words that in the Soviet Union the working class held power and was building socialism made us yearn boundlessly for the Soviet Union where we had never been. How then can the people in the southern half possibly help yearning for the socialist construction of our people in the northern half who are of the same ethnical stock with them?

That is why successful construction in the northern half is more important than anything else.

As can be seen from the above, when the people in the southern half are roused to action against U.S. imperialism and the Syngman Rhee regime by successful socialist construction in the northern half and through effective political work directed towards the southern half, the peaceful reunification of our country can be materialized.

This is the internal factor making it possible to achieve peaceful reunification.

The external factor conducive to the country's peaceful reunification should likewise be taken into consideration. If we succeed in maintaining peace for a five to ten years period, China, with her more than 600 million population, will grow incomparably in might, not to mention the Soviet Union, and the power of the whole socialist camp will be further strengthened.

Parallel with the growth of the might of the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement of the peoples in the colonial and

dependent countries has been ever more intensified, and many countries have been achieved national independence. The peoples of India, Indonesia, Burma and other independent states in Asia and the peoples of the Arab countries are fighting for peace against imperialist aggression.

All this is a telling blow to imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. When the forces of peace, democracy and socialism grow stronger, the U.S. imperialists will finally be compelled to withdrawn from Korea.

Of course, the struggle for the country's peaceful reunification is an arduous and protracted one. But when we grow stronger and the forces of peace, democracy and socialism are further strengthened internationally, we will be able to achieve peaceful reunification. This is one prospect of the development of the revolution in Korea and of the country's reunification.

The problem of the country's reunification might also be solved not by peaceful means but by war. If the imperialists were to unleash a war on a world-wide scale, we would have no alternative but to fight, and then it would be quite possible for us to fight and defeat the U.S. imperialists in Korea by our own strength. Although it would be somewhat hard for us to fight against U.S. imperialism single-handed, we should be able to defeat it rather easily when it is compelled to disperse its forces all over the world. In that case, we shall sweep the forces of U.S. imperialism from Korea and achieve the reunification of the country. This is the other prospect of the development of the Korean revolution and the reunification of the country.

We, however, do not want this prospect. We desire the first prospect, that is, reunification by peaceful means, and we are struggling for its realization.

No matter what the prospects of the country's reunification may be, it is more important than anything else to strengthen our Party and steel the Party spirit of its members.

In case negotiations start between the north and south, and then the barriers between them are torn down and we come to work among south Koreans, will it not be able necessary for our Party to be strong? Only when our Party is strong, can it take advantage of such a favourable situation.

The proportion of our Party membership to the population is now one to ten, the membership being one million out of a population of 10 million. Indeed, this is not a small proportion. But, when compared with the total population of Korea, 30 million, one million is by no means large.

In south Korea the growth of the Party's force cannot help but be seriously limited, because the underground movement is conducted there in extremely difficult circumstances.

After reunification, it will be difficult to carry on our work with a small number of Party members, although the number will grow in south Korea, too. What is wrong with our training a large number of Party members in the far northern half from now on and assigning them evenly to work in the north and south after reunification? There is nothing wrong in this. Yet, at the time of the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee Ho Ga I insisted that the Party close its doors in spite of the fact that it had a membership of no more than 600,000. Then the Party criticized his view and has since continued to increase its membership.

The point now is to give a good education to our one million Party members. Among our members there can sometimes be found those who even lag behind the non-Party masses. But even so, these people

must not be expelled from the Party. They must be kept in the Party and educated; if they were expelled, our Party's strength might be weakened. This is all the more so since ours is not the only party.

It is our invariable organizational line to train the nuclei of the cells constantly while building up a mass party. By the nuclei we mean those Party members who are aware of communist truth and are capable of holding to the road of revolution without vacillating. It is difficult to arm the one million Party members overnight with an equal degree of communist consciousness. We must follow the line of training the nuclei first and then gradually raising the level of consciousness of all Party members.

Our line is to educate Party members with the help of core members. So, since the Fourth Plenary Meeting the Party has put special emphasis on the question of training the core members of the cells. It will be all the more gratifying if their number increases from five today to ten tomorrow and thus all Party members become core element, and even if not all but only 50 per cent of the Party membership does so, it will be a good thing.

In the development of our Party into a mass political party, the merging of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party was of great significance. As a result of our correct organizational line and energetic struggle to win over the broad working masses, our Party has now developed into a mass political party embracing one million members. This success has by no means been easy to gain, but has been achieved through extremely hard struggles.

We demand and fight for democratic rights and liberties in south Korea — freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association—which are perquisites for the peaceful reunification of the country. We aim at securing conditions for our own free activities in

the southern half while allowing political parties of south Korea to conduct political activities freely in the northern half.

When a situation is thus created for free political struggle in the north and the south, whoever wins over more of the masses will win the day. Therefore, it is of the greatest importance to strengthen our Party and the Party spirit of its members.

In order to steel the Party spirit of our members, we should have all of them make a constant and deep study of the documents of the Fourth and Fifth Plenary Meetings of the Party Central Committee.

Our comrades must direct more efforts to the organizational and propaganda work of the Party, instead of being engrossed only in economic campaigns. Party cells must be built up well and Party members educated through the nuclei of the cells. It is particularly necessary to temper the Party spirit of those members who hold leading posts — ministers, vice-ministers and bureau directors. Vigorous educational measures should be taken to fortify the Party spirit of the entire membership.

Our Party's composition is very complex. All sorts of people have joined our Party — those who once belonged to the Tuesday group and the M-L group, those who were affiliated with the Toiling People's Party after liberation, and others. Many were under the influence of the fractional elements in the past. These people are to be found both among responsible cadres in the central organs and among the members of the Party Central Committee.

Not all of the people are worthless. Education will make them all useful. But this education must not be conducted through a short-term campaign. Long, persistent education and criticism are needed.



A determined struggle must be fought to arm every Party member firmly with our Party's ideology and eliminate all remnants of bourgeois ideology persisting in the minds of Party members and working people. The Party spirit of our members should be tempered thoroughly, until their shortcomings and ideological maladies are completely remedied.

We were too late in criticizing Pak Chang Ok and Ki Sok Bok. If they had been criticized at the time of the Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, things would not have gone so far. Therefore, it is especially important to remould the ideas of those leading cadres who have been influenced by Ho Ga I or Pak Il U and help them establish the Party's ideological system. This work must be undertaken by the Department of Organizational Leadership and the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Party.

What is important in the education of Party members is to make them, especially the cadres, establish a mass viewpoint. Because this is lacking, bureaucracy continues to manifest itself. This is a grave shortcoming in our Party work.

In order to achieve our lofty aims of reunifying the country and building socialism and communism, we must win over the masses. We must clearly know what great losses bureaucracy can cause to the revolution.

Listening to the voices of the masses and championing their interests is an entirely different matter from basing one's work on misleading opinions current in the streets. The latter has nothing in common with the revolutionary mass viewpoint. By the masses we mean the main masses we are relying on — the workers and peasants, and our allies who support and follow us. We should listen to them and defend their interests. Everyone, whether a Party worker, an

administrative official or a functionary in a social organization, must work consistently in the interests of the revolution and the masses.

How was it possible for the anti-Japanese guerrillas to hold out for a long time? Why was it that the Japs failed to destroy us although they had a formidable armed force? Because the guerrillas had the correct mass viewpoint and the support of the masses. When we were wounded and entered a village, the peasants took care of us as though we were their own sons; they would manage to get rice, which they could hardly afford themselves, and boil it for us. Even the peasants living inside the earthen walls of the concentrated villages set up by the Japs, managed to send food to us outside the walls.

The masses supported and protected us in this way, because we had always defended their interests and fought for them at the risk of our own lives. All Party members have to learn from the attitude of the guerrillas towards the masses.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule everything was imposed upon us by force — compulsory military service, compulsory labour draft, compulsory delivery of farm produce, etc. We are resolutely opposed to such practices.

A party divorced from the masses is like a fish out of water. With whom can the party carry out the revolution if not with the masses? Such a party will not only be unable to win in the revolution, but also will eventually find its very existence endangered.

It is solely for the purpose of protecting the interests of the masses that the party puts forward its programme and seizes state power. Therefore, would it not be against the aims of the party and the revolution to encroach on the interests of the masses?

Our laws and decisions are indisputably excellent. But all this will come to nothing if, in the course of putting them into effect, our functionaries impinge on the interests of the masses. You must bear this in mind and further strengthen educational work among Party members so that they can liquidate bureaucracy and acquire a correct mass viewpoint. If at least 50 per cent of all Party members acquire a correct mass viewpoint, it will mean a great change for our Party.

At present quite a few Party members are not firmly equipped with a correct mass viewpoint. The situation is especially worse among the cadres. Whether a Party member has a correct mass viewpoint or not also depends on his Party spirit. So tempering Party spirit is also of decisive importance in this respect.

Further, it is important to cultivate faith and optimism regarding the prospects of the revolution in the minds of the Party members. Without firm faith in the final victory of our cause and without optimism regarding the future of the revolution, under any and all circumstances, it would be impossible to overcome the difficulties one inevitably encounters in the course of the revolutionary struggle.

In order to make our Party members indomitable fighters who are always optimistic about the future of the revolution, it is necessary to intensify their Marxist-Leninist education. Without a clear understanding of the laws of social development and the inevitability of the triumph of socialism and communism, one can neither have faith in victory nor have the high-toned spirit and combativeness to withstand any difficult.

Let me take an example of vacillation and defection in the ranks of the revolutionaries that was caused by a lack of knowledge of the laws of social development and of clear understanding of the trend of developments in a complex situation.

When the defeat of Japanese imperialism was near in sight, some people in the guerrilla detachments lost faith and deserted. This was partly because of certain formalistic defects in our propaganda work at that time. In those days propaganda about the Soviet Union was of special importance, and this is how we propagandized: "A big clash will certainly occur some day between the Soviet Union and the imperialist states, because fundamental contradictions exist between them. Then, Japanese imperialism will perish and our country will be able to achieve independence." That was wrong. Though we were right in our propaganda about the contradictions between the socialist state and the imperialist countries, we failed to propagandize the truth about the developments. As a result, when in 1941 a treaty of neutrality was concluded between the Soviet Union and Japan and a non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Hitler Germany was signed, some elements in the ranks of the guerrillas lost hope for the future and faltered. These waverers deserted our ranks, saying that after 10 years with the guerrillas, they had a dark future, uncertain whether they would have to spend there another 10 or 20 years. So we explained the revolutionary situation and the truth of revolution fully to the guerrillas. After that, there were no more deserters.

There is no doubt that sooner or later we shall see a great revolutionary event. That event, as I have already said, may either occur peacefully or non-peacefully. Whatever form the event may take, we must always be prepared to meet it.

In order to meet this great revolutionary event, the Party spirit of the Party members should be steeled; they should be educated to have a correct mass viewpoint and to have faith in victory and optimism regarding the future of the revolution.

Another important thing is to struggle properly against all sorts of anti-Party tendencies. If we had not had the experience of fighting the *Minsaengdan* in Kando before, we would not have been able to give appropriate leadership to the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries in Korea, especially during the war.

The Japs organized a counter-revolutionary espionage organization called *Mingsaengdan* and smuggled it into the revolutionary districts in Kando. Then they resorted to the vile trick of alienating the Koreans from the Chinese and inciting strife among the Koreans. For some time those in the revolutionary camp fell victim to the enemy's crafty scheme, going the length of killing one another. As a result, many people lost their lives without any justification.

This experience proved very useful when we dealt with the case of the Pak Hon Yong clique. We adhered strictly to the principle of drawing a sharp distinction between spies and non-spies. We emphasized this many times in the Political Committee. There was a danger that we might possibly play into the hands of the Yankees and ruin many persons.

Of course, there must be a relentless struggle. Otherwise, some spies may escape punishment. But the struggle must always be carried on as an ideological struggle.

Those who were influenced by Pak Hon Yong cannot all be his ilk or spies. But his ideological influence still remains in the minds of these people. We must fight against this.

The experience acquired in the course of the struggle against the Park Hon Yong clique and in the counter-espionage campaigns should be made fully known to the Party members so that they may wage a rigorous struggle against espionage agents and correctly distinguish

the spies from others. If you do not do so and suspect everybody, in the end you will find yourselves suspicious of your own shadow.

The enemy always plots to make people distrust one another and set them at odds with each other to disintegrate our ranks from within. You must learn to discern clearly and to combat such plots and slanders by the counter-revolutionaries. Party members should be educated in such a way that they can distinguish spies, waverers, nepotists, parochialists and factionalists.

Such a struggle can be conducted properly only when the cadres and all the members of the Party are on a high level. Without attaining a high level of Marxist-Leninist knowledge, Party members cannot properly carry out such a difficult duty. In order to enable them to fight skillfully against the counter-revolutionaries, it is necessary to intensify their Marxist-Leninist education and, at the same time, to acquaint them extensively with the experience of the fight against the counter-revolutionaries.

Further, the work of propaganda and agitation should be stepped up among the broad masses. Education of the masses of the people in socialist ideology should be the main content of the work of propaganda and agitation. What is most important in this connection is to give the workers and peasants, especially the workers, a clear understanding that they are masters of power. When they have such intense consciousness, the workers will do everything as masters—take good care of their places of work, machines and equipment, work hard, maintain good discipline, and effectively combat counter-revolutionaries.

The same is true of the peasants. If they realize that the working class is not only their ally but also their leader, and that they too are

masters of power, the peasants will work their land well, take good care of their implements and willingly pay the tax in kind.

Everyone will show enthusiasm when he realizes that he is master. When we were engaged in revolutionary activities in the past, who could ever have got us to do so for money? We fought without sleep, forgetting hunger, because we had realized that by making a revolution we could not only improve our own lot but also save our country. The workers will likewise throw all their energy and zeal into their work when they become clearly aware that their labour is for their own happiness and for the prosperity of society.

Long, persistent education is needed to get all the working people to have such consciousness. We must patiently educate the masses and unite them around our Party still more closely.

In conclusion, I should like to make a few remarks about our newspapers. Our papers still fail to discharge their duties fully.

The central task of *Rodong Sinmun*, our Party organ, is to educate the Party members through day-to-day explanation of the Party's lines and policies and their fighting tasks; the central task of *Minju Choson* is to mobilize the masses to implement the policies of the state by explaining to them and giving them a full understanding of the laws and regulations of the people's power and the policies of the state. The organs of the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Democratic Youth League, and other organizations should likewise be edited in accordance with their respective characteristics and tasks.

Our newspapers have no specific features to distinguish one from another. This is a big failing. Whether this is because they are all furnished with material by the Korean Central News Agency or because some of them are limited in space, I do not know.

Here too, much formalism and dogmatism are noted. I think it necessary for you to look into this matter seriously.

I have so far touched upon some problems arising in the ideological work of our Party. I hope you will take account of them, eliminating the shortcomings hitherto revealed and strive to raise our Party's ideological work to a higher level.

Comrades!

At the invitation of the Governments of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, Poland, and the Mongolian People's Republic a DPRK Government delegation made a friendly visit to these countries between 1 June and 19 July 1956.

The purpose of this friendly visit of our government delegation was to strengthen the solidarity and develop the traditional international friendship which has been established between our people and the peoples of these countries, pass them greetings, and also to express gratitude to them for the enormous material and moral aid they have and are giving us both during the war and in the postwar period. The purpose of this friendly visit was also familiarization with the brilliant successes of these countries in the building of socialism and Communism, the study of their valuable experience, and also an exchange of opinions with the government and Party leaders of these countries on a number of international problems of common interest to us and to thereby promote the great cause of peace in the entire world.

I note with satisfaction that our Government delegation successfully fulfilled this honorable task which was entrusted to it.



We encountered a warm reception in the fraternal countries and the joyous hospitality of the peoples.

The meeting of our delegation was noted by the peoples like their national holiday, and in the cities and villages and at the factories and enterprises which we visited the voices of friendship and of the limitless joy of thousands and hundreds of thousands of people who welcomed our delegation rang out.

All our comrades and friends with whom we had occasion to meet passed the warmest and most fraternal greeting to the Korean people through our delegation, and with their whole hearts wished them new and ever-greater successes in their just cause.

These warm welcomes and greetings given our Government delegation beautifully tell how firm is the international friendship between the peoples of the fraternal countries and the Korean people and how unbreakable is their solidarity.

During this visit to the fraternal countries our Government delegation discussed all the issues of interest to it with the leaders of these countries. This discussion occurred in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and friendship, a unity of views was found, which is demonstrated by the published joint statements, communiqués, and other agreements.

Complete agreement about the further strengthening and development of friendly relations and cooperation which are based on the ideas of proletarian internationalism was reached in the course of the discussions. Based on this, our delegation concluded agreements about cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation with the governments of the fraternal countries. In addition, understanding was reached about the conclusion of further similar agreements, and also trade agreements.

It is completely obvious that these agreements will to a considerable degree promote the further expansion and development of cooperation between our peoples in political, economic, cultural, and other fields, that it will accelerate our socialist construction, and even further strengthen the international solidarity of our peoples.

During our visit we were gladly and with our own eyes convinced how deep was the interest of the governments of the fraternal countries in the lives of our people.

By the example of the enormous moral and material aid which was given us during the days of the patriotic war of liberation and is being given right now after the war, we know quite well how great is the interest, sympathy, and support of the peoples of the Soviet

Union, the PRC, and the other countries of people's democracy in the great cause of our people.

And this time the fraternal countries decided to give us aid again. It is huge and is directed at the revival and development of our economy, and the increase of the population's standard of living.

The total amount of aid from the Soviet Union will reach 470 million rubles, of which 300 million rubles will be sent in the form of aid free of charge, and 170 million rubles in the form of trade turnover.

Thus, we will get iron, ironware, fabrics, raw cotton, cotton yarn, rice, butter, sugar, cable, vehicles, tractors, timber, etc. from the Soviet Union. Besides this, the Soviet government has given us the opportunity to cut timber in the Far East in any quantity to meet the extreme need of timber.

The Soviet government also promised to give us direct aid in the winter fishing catch and send agricultural, fishing, scientific and technical, and a technical commission to us in Korea to help repair the Hungnam chemical fertilizer plant. In addition, the Soviet government has released us from the repayment of 570 million rubles from the amount of previous credits. As regards the remaining credits, the amount of which is 362 million rubles, the deadline for their repayment has been extended.

This new enormous aid of the Soviet Government has again shown that the great Soviet Union is a reliable defender of the interests of the workers of the entire world, and that it will concern itself about the freedom and happiness of the Korean people in every way.

The German Democratic Republic has promised to build us a diesel engine factory by way of aid. However, at our request, instead of the aforementioned factory, it has promised to supply us with consumer goods worth 54 million rubles.

Of the total amount of aid designated for the construction of the city of Hamhung funds will be allocated to provide equipment for the metallurgical plant being repaired in Hwanghae and the [Kansen] foundry, and only 18 million rubles will be invested in the construction of a printing and publishing integrated works.

Romania decided to give us new aid of 25 million rubles, and Hungary, 15 million rubles. Czechoslovakia promises to help us revive our economy in the future and give us help in training scientific and technical personnel. It has extended the repayment of the credit due starting in 1957 for five years without interest.

In addition, the government of Czechoslovakia has also decided to supply us with consumer goods, the total amount of which will be about 40-50 million rubles of the total amount of aid of 102 million rubles earmarked for the construction of a plant in [Pkhnenhenri].

The free aid newly given to our country by Bulgaria will be 30 million rubles. Albania has decided to supply our country with 10,000 tons of asphalt delivered to our country, and Mongolia will give us 80,000 head of sheep; 2,000 head of cattle; and 5,000 tons of wheat, which they will ship in themselves. Such aid will be one more demonstration of the warm international friendship which exists only between the closest friends traveling to the same goal, sharing joy and sorrow, joined by the single great family of the socialist camp.

This aid being given to our country will to a considerable degree promote the rapid revival and development of our economy. It will raise the standard of living of our people and inspire them to new victories.

We again express heartfelt gratitude to the governments and peoples of the fraternal countries which have sent ardent love to the Korean people via our Government delegation and given us new invaluable material aid.

Making use of this visit of friendship to the fraternal countries we exchanged opinions about the most important international problems with the leaders of these countries. In the course of these discussions the sides above all welcomed the considerable lessening of international tension achieved as a result of the energetic efforts of the Soviet Union, the PRC, and all peace-loving countries, welcomed the further relaxation of international tension, and declared their readiness to devote every effort in the future to improve the international situation and support a durable peace.

In joint statements the sides again expressed their support of the well-known principles of international cooperation, the reliable basis for the peaceful coexistence of countries, consisting of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, of non-aggression, of non-interference in internal affairs, of equality, of mutual advantage, and of the peaceful coexistence of countries. They expressed hope for the establishment and expansion of personal contacts between the leaders of all countries, for the establishment of close cooperation between the countries, and also for the establishment and the further expansion of diplomatic, economic, and cultural ties between the countries.

We insist that all contentious issues should and can be settled by negotiations on a peaceful basis, and vigorously demanded the unconditional prohibition on the production and use of atomic and nuclear weapons and other kinds of weapons of mass destruction.

At the same time we expressed a common will that no more delay be permitted in the solution of the issue of disarmament which is already overdue, and that the agreement of governments on this problem promote a further relaxation of international tension, a strengthening of peace, and a peaceful settlement of all unresolved international issues, including the Korean question.

Together with us the governments of these countries noted that the achievement of an armistice in Korea played an important role in lessening international tension in Asia and in the entire world, and declared that they would tirelessly exert every effort in the future for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question in accordance with the national interests of the Korean people and the interests of peace in the Far East, and to turn the armistice achieved in Korea into a durable peace.

The Parties and governments of the fraternal countries entirely support our position and point of view that the Korean question ought to be solved by the Korean people themselves and by peaceful means on a democratic basis without outside interference, that to do this it is necessary to remove the artificially-created wall between South and North Korea, to establish free contact and achieve mutual agreement between both sides, and to withdraw all foreign troops from Korea and turn the armistice in Korea into a durable peace. They heartily supported our point of view about the need for an international conference on a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

The active support which the Parties and governments of the fraternal countries have given us in our consistent efforts directed at the accomplishment of a peaceful reunification of the motherland and the maintenance of and the securing of peace in the Far East was an enormous incentive for us and has strengthened our faith even more that the Korean people's desire for the peaceful reunification of the motherland will certainly be achieved.

Our Government delegation visited many cities, factories, enterprises, villages, and cultural institutions while in the Soviet Union and the other popular democratic countries.

Now the Soviet people under the wise leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are directing all their efforts at the accomplishment of the sixth five-year plan, the

fulfillment of which will be a great step forward on the path to building Communism. Great successes have already been achieved in this.

Industrial production based on modern science and technology is growing at a rapid rate, and an opening up of virgin lands on a scale unprecedented in human history is proceeding successfully.

Now the Soviet Union has all the conditions necessary to solve an important economic task in a very short time, to catch up to and surpass the developed capitalist countries in the level of industrial production per capita.

The constant growth of the might of the Soviet Union and the brilliant successes which the Soviet people are achieving in the building of Communism are a great contribution to the great cause of peace in the whole world and inspire all progressive humanity to fight for peace, for a bright future.

In recent years the peoples of the European popular democratic countries liberated by the Soviet Union have also achieved great successes in the building of socialism in their countries.

Here economic backwardness was overcome and a powerful industry was created in a short period.

The popular democratic countries have considerably surpassed the rates of the capitalist countries in the growth rate of industrial production. For example, now the level of industrial production exceeds the prewar level by several times.

Some European popular democratic countries have already caught up to such capitalist countries as France and Britain in the production of a number of the most important kinds of industries.

As a result of this today the fraternal popular democratic countries have been turned into powerful industrial or agroindustrial countries.

The economic foundation of the countries of the socialist camp is being strengthened even more; the economic might of the world socialist system grows from year to year.

Agriculture, too, has developed rapidly in the European popular democratic countries. Work on the socialist transformation of the countryside is developing successfully.

The standard of living of the workers is increasing with the development of industry and agriculture, and the national culture, science, and technology are also developing and thriving.

Relations of mutual assistance and cooperation based on complete equality and mutual advantage have been established between the countries of the socialist camp; trade, an exchange of technical expertise, and an effective mutual adjustment of economic plans are being done successfully.

Such close economic cooperation of the countries of the socialist camp provides an opportunity to use the industrial and raw material resources in the best way and closely combine the interests of each individual country with the common interests of the camp of socialism.

The might of the socialist camp is not only in its economic basis, which grows with each day, but also that the countries of this camp are firmly united by the same goal and the common interests of peace and the building of socialism and Communism.

The Communist and worker's Parties, guided by the great Marxist-Leninist teachings, are confidently leading the peoples along the path of the achievement of this common goal.

The Communist and worker's Parties of our fraternal countries have grown and strengthened in the struggle for freedom, for peace, for the genuine interests, and a bright future for the workers, and today have enormous authority and decisive influence among the popular masses.

In spite of all sorts of attempts by domestic and foreign enemies to split the Party ranks, the Parties of these countries are firmly maintaining their unity.

Devotion to the scientific ideas of Marxism and proletarian internationalism, and selfless service to the interests of the popular masses unites the Communist and worker's Parties.

These Parties proceed in their activity from the national features and conditions of each country individually, from the common great cause of the entire international proletariat, and are strengthening the mutual ties and cooperation among themselves.

This then is the firm pledge of the world historical progressive movement forward, to Communism.

Comrades!

The visit of our Government delegation to the fraternal countries has great historical importance.

Thanks to this we have further strengthened and developed relations of friendship, solidarity, and mutual cooperation between our country and the fraternal countries, and further strengthened the socialist camp, and have thereby made a great contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and security in Asia and Europe. The visit of our Government delegation to the fraternal countries has further raised the international authority and strengthened the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Today the existence of the Korean people and their international authority are permanent. And not only our friends, but also those who do not love us, cannot fail to reckon with this.

This is because our people are confidently traveling along the path of the peaceful reunification of the motherland and construction and, having raised high the banner of the struggle against colonialism, are vigorously championing the cause of peace in Asia.

We should travel even more energetically along this path and achieve our final victory.

Having visited the fraternal countries we have had the opportunity to become further convinced that the Korean people are not alone in our just struggle - in the camp of socialism are a multitude of strong and reliable fighting friends.

Today as never before the friendship and unity of the peoples who have rallied together in a single camp under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and have set the same goal for themselves, peace and socialism, are strengthening and developing.

International solidarity is the workers' weapon in the battle for peace and socialism, in the struggle against the anti-popular forces trying to suppress the revolutionary and progressive movement.

Based on their own experience, our people, know full well that the strengthening of proletarian internationalism is a reliable guarantee of their victory.

Remembering that the greatest joy for us is our reliable friends, who are actively helping our just struggle and waging it together with us, we should apply all our efforts in the

future to further strengthen and develop the international friendship and solidarity with the fraternal peoples.

## II.

Having visited the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, we have seen the successes achieved by these countries in economic development, and are deeply convinced that we need to actively adopt their valuable experience and advanced technology.

After the war our Party directed its main efforts at the rapid development of light industry and agriculture for the rapid revival of the economy. which had suffered brutally in the course of the war. and to improve the people's lives, while keeping the priority growth of heavy industry.

Thus, the three-year plan for gross industrial production was on the whole completed by 15 August of this year, that is, four and a half months before the set deadline. However, the sectors of electric power, chemical production, and metallurgy have still not reached the prewar level. The coal industry has reached the prewar level to some degree, but it still cannot completely meet the needs of the people in view of the increased needs of the economy.

Many production enterprises have been repaired in the sector of light industry, as a result of which the textile industry has tripled compared to the prewar level, the leather and footwear industry by 5.2 times, the paper industry by 1.6 times, the food and gustatory industry by 1.2 times, and the pharmaceutical industry by 2.7 times.

In the agricultural sector the cultivated area has been expanded by 37,000 jeongbo, and state capital investment has provided the construction of numerous irrigation systems and river dams, beginning with the construction of irrigation structures in the province of South Pyongan. As a consequence of this the area of irrigated fields has increased by over 90,000 jeongbo and more than 100,000 jeongbo of cultivated land have been protected from flooding.

Nevertheless, the lives of our people are still not completely freed from needs which were caused by the war. The production of grain, the primary food products, and manufactured consumer articles lags behind demand and there is a great shortage of housing. By virtue of this our Party has to exert a maximum of effort for the rapid stabilization of the people's lives through a further revival and development of the economy.



To do this we have to draw up a first five-year economic plan, based on the decisions of the 3rd congress of our Party, completely taking into account the experience obtained during our friendly visit throughout the popular democratic countries.

First of all it necessary to take into consideration the current economic situation of our country in order to correctly draw up the five-year economic plan.

The main task of the three-year economic plan, inasmuch as it set itself the goal of reviving all sectors of the economy to the prewar level, was chiefly the restoration of the enterprises which had previously existed.

In addition, as regards the financial aspect of the matter, in the three-year plan we relied to a considerable degree on the colossal economic aid of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and other countries of people's democracy.

However, during the period of the first five-year plan, which we ought to accomplish, it is necessary to reconstruct and expand existing enterprises, furnish them with new equipment, and build new factories and put them into operation. We need to overcome great difficulties to accomplish this important goal. We should solve the problem with resources, relying mainly on the domestic resources of our country. Therefore, when drafting the five-year plan we need to pay serious attention to consolidating the successes achieved in various sectors of the economy and to concentrate our efforts accordingly without dissipating them.

During the years of five-year plan it is necessary to conduct a careful engineering and economic accounting, strictly distinguish the priority of capital investments and, above all, to concentrate capital investments in sectors and facilities which could rapidly go into production, and to invest resources in the remaining sectors and facilities as much as possible insofar as the economic situation of the country allows, that is, it is necessary to temporary abandon complex projects requiring extraordinarily large capital investments and great expenses for construction and concentrate resources on the construction of facilities which do not take much time and are to begin production right away.

In the course of the five-year plan we should provide for extensive construction to improve the people's lives and simultaneously with them create a solid material basis of the economy of our country, relying on the successes achieved during the fulfillment of the three-year plan and the material aid of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries.

One more important issue during the drafting of the five-year plan is the maximum use of existing equipment in all sectors of the economy, an increase of labor productivity, and strict adherence to a policy of economy in order to mobilize all domestic resources.

We should fight the tendency which is to demand new equipment and not use existing equipment rationally; it is necessary to make maximum use of existing production capability.

When drafting the five-year economic plan we should take serious note of the fact that economic ties and cooperation between the socialist countries are strengthening. We need to develop industrial sectors on the basis of the international division of labor in the socialist camp in which the extremely favorable natural and economic conditions of our country can be used and decline those which are unsustainable and for which there is no great need. At the same time as this we should draft a plan to strengthen economic ties with these countries in terms of expanding the sources of the accumulation of foreign currency and use it more rationally.

Bearing the above in mind, we should correctly take into account the real forces (our own labor force, capital investments, the capital fund, technical capabilities, etc.) and the relative importance of the various work, and determine the speed of development and the scale of all the remaining sectors of the economy.

In the field of industry it is first of all necessary to make concentrated capital investments: in the metallurgical industry - in the metallurgical plant in the Hwanghae, and the [Kansen] and [Sondin] foundries; in the chemical industry - firstly, in enterprises producing mineral fertilizers, with the expectation of meeting the demand for fertilizer inside the country in the next year or two.

Then it is necessary to prepare the ground to develop the industry of organic chemistry.

When repairing and building electric power stations it is necessary to place main reliance on improving the existing equipment, and begin construction first of all with a hydroelectric station on the river [Tokongan].

Then the existing thermal electric power stations at all factories and mills ought to be brought in order and used to supply electric power.

In the sector of light industry it is necessary to restore the [Chendin] textile mill in a short time to produce our own artificial fiber, which is needed in the textile industry. It is

necessary to complete the construction of the dyeing mill and silk weaving mill more quickly to supply the population with a large amount of colored fabric.

Then it is necessary to make preparations to produce flax fiber. In addition, it is necessary to increase the capital investment and capital construction in the coal industry in order to meet the population's growing demand for coal.

The main task which awaits [us] in the sector of agriculture is first of all to increase the harvest of agricultural crops per unit of land.

Agriculture is well developed in the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. In Germany the villages, fields, water conservation structures, and roads are built according to a standard in exemplary fashion; agrotechnology is also considerably developed there. The majority of field work has been mechanized and the amount of mineral fertilizer spread on each jeongbo reaches 500-600 kg, the harvest per jeongbo considerably exceeds the harvest gathered in our country. In Germany they get 2.4 tons of wheat per jeongbo.

In Romania corn is cultivated in large quantities and, as a rule, over two tons of grain are harvested per jeongbo.

We should take every step in order to increase the harvest of grains per jeongbo by introducing best practices.

At the same time as an expansion of cultivated land for a high-yielding crop, rice, it is necessary to ensure a high proportion of farmland for corn, a high-yielding cereal, and expand the land for potatoes.

In parallel with this, in order to satisfy the rapidly-developing light industry with raw material it is necessary to develop the cultivation of tobacco, flax, cotton, and other industrial crops more widely, guided by the principle: the appropriate crop for the appropriate soil.

One of the main issues for increasing the harvest per unit of land is an increase of work in seed-growing and breeding, considered the main factors in the production and distribution of the best kinds of seeds.

Considering the climate and soil conditions we should systematically distribute seed orchards, and give technical and material aid to agricultural cooperatives in order that each cooperative provide itself with seed orchards beginning next year. Meanwhile, it is

necessary to increase work at state seed-production farms and breeding stations in every possible way.

Then we should take all possible steps to rapidly increase the production of various kinds of fertilizers in the chemical industry in order to achieve such a level of production in two or three years that would provide the possibility of spreading over 200 kg of mineral fertilizer on each jeongbo.

In field work it is necessary to widely introduce improved agricultural machines and it is necessary to try for all the peasants to use agricultural machines for hauling, and highly-productive equipment, and to fight the use of old agricultural tools in work.

Then, one of the most important tasks in the countryside in the conditions of the cooperation of agriculture is taking steps to put the field boundaries in order which were ruined or irrationally placed when there was private farming, and also the large and small reservoirs.

In the area of the construction of irrigation systems and river dams it is necessary to devote even more attention to the construction of medium-sized and small structures which can be accomplished with less expenditure of materials and money than the construction of large irrigation facilities for river dams, which require enormous state capital investments.

To do this we should offer the peasants the necessary loans in money and materials, relying on the agricultural cooperatives; at the same time as an intensified expansion of the land watered by civil irrigation structures, broadly launch measures to put medium-sized and small rivers in order, and to build dams with the efforts of the peasants themselves.

At the same time it is necessary to increase the implementation of measures to preserve the existing irrigation systems and river dams and manage them.

One more important task in the improvement of agriculture is the question of the study and proliferation of agrotechnology. Both agrotechnical science directed at an increase of the harvest and soil research are widespread and popularized in the European countries of people's democracy on the basis of a correct accounting for the climate and natural conditions, which differ in each region.

We ought to rapidly undertake the study of the experience of the leading countries and adopt it, and to increase work to identify and manage highly-productive crops through the tireless development of agrotechnical science in our country.

To successfully accomplish the aforementioned tasks we need to draw up long-range plans for longer periods and henceforth develop our agriculture farsightedly.

Then, with the goal of increasing the peasants' interest in production we should increase their real income and successively lighten their obligations to the state. First of all, simultaneously with a reduction of the payment for the use of irrigation structures, it is necessary to take steps directed at a reduction of the size of the tax in kind, repayment of the grain loan, etc. With respect to the poorest peasants, invalids of the patriotic war of liberation, the families of servicemen, patriots who have died, and single mothers, whose living conditions are still difficult [Translator's note: SIC - no verb; probably intended as part of the next sentence]. These privileges are to be extended to them, regardless of whether they are members of cooperatives or run private farms.

With respect to the purchase of crops it is necessary to improve the purchase methods, the purchasing system, and the work to set the purchase prices, in particular it is necessary to correctly set the purchase prices for industrial crops.

We should also seek the rapid development of the fishing industry to improve the population's standard of living.

Our country is surrounded by the sea on three sides and has rich fishing resources. It has all the information for the development of the fishing industry. Therefore we need to give the fishermen fishing boats and gear appropriate to the industry for a sharper improvement of this sector of the economy, in particular to pay attention to an improvement of the fishing industry on our west coast.

Along with the seasonal catch, the main task in the development of the fishing industry is the wide-scale development of coastal fishing without waiting for the fishing season, and the development of various medium-sized and small industries.

To do this the sectors of the state fishing industry ought to concern themselves about increasing the necessary workforce, provide fishing cooperatives, fishing field [polevodchesko-rybolovetskie] cooperatives, and professional fishermen with ships and tackle, at the same time using all possible measures to raise the fishermen's interest in catching fish.

At the same time as an increase of the catch we should considerably improve the quality of the processing of the fish and create conveniences in the population's supply with fish products by an expansion of refrigeration plants.

Then we need to pay attention to the stabilization of the lives of petty traders, craftsmen, mid-sized and small businessmen, and people of the free professions, and provide them with the conditions for their activity.

The policy of our Party with respect to private traders and mid-sized and small businessmen sets as its goal that they do not aspire to large illegal profits, for them, while holding to the principle of appropriate profit, pursue not just the stabilization of their personal lives, but to also bring benefit to the cause of building socialism, and to gradually involve them in the socialist sector of the economy. We should thereby stabilize the lives of the traders and mid-sized and small businessmen, create all the conditions for them for free trade and the operation of enterprises with the purpose of expanding the production of consumer goods and providing the population with a large quantity of goods.

In places where there are few stores of the state and cooperative commercial network it is necessary to organize the commission sale of state goods, using some private traders for this.

Therefore it is necessary to reexamine the norms of their taxation, reduce the taxes on private traders and industrialist-businessmen, and encourage them so that they produce various common household objects and consumer goods with their own resources, using local materials and the waste of state enterprises.

Then, strictly holding to the voluntary principle, it is necessary to enlist them in production cooperatives, and offer the production cooperatives long-term credits for goods for which a high income tax has been set, reduce the size of the tax, and ensure the state supply of some materials and raw materials so that they can calmly ensure production.

Further, we need to take urgent steps to offer work to those numerous people who live in the cities and do not have definite work. The network of production cooperatives and consumer service institutions needs to be expanded in the cities and to involve these people in them, exhibiting full attention to the matter of supporting their productive activity.

In addition, part of these people need to be sent to state arable and livestock farms, part to economically established agricultural cooperatives or to state fishing enterprises and fishing crews and to give them state and public aid so they can work in production.

We have to devote great attention to training technical personnel in order to develop industry and agriculture and build socialism later on.

As we have become convinced during this trip the fraternal European countries pay special attention to technical education and have a large number of technical workers. At the present time a considerable number of specialists in the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy are engaged in industry, agriculture, and other sectors of the economy. They told us that in Germany seven or eight agricultural technicians who have graduated agricultural technical institutes work in each agricultural cooperative. The technical level is also very high in Czechoslovakia and other countries.

With respect to the technical level our country is in an extremely backward position compared to these countries. Right now our industry is experiencing an acute shortage of specialists, and there are almost none in agricultural cooperatives. Therefore we need to comprehensively reexamine the system of training technical personnel, take long-range measures, and master and disseminate the advanced science and technology of the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries.

First of all it is necessary to radically improve the operation of technical educational institutions at all levels and raise the quality of instruction.

Above all, it is necessary to pursue long-term work with respect to students studying abroad, probationers, and tourists, reconsider the disciplines and specialties of the students who are already studying in fraternal countries and war orphans, and take steps to redistribute them.

It would be good if we teach technology to the students who have graduated incomplete secondary or primary schools and have not entered higher-level schools, organizing a broad network of various technical training institutions. This would give great help in the training of technical personnel and the education of reliable labor reserves.

It is necessary to improve the work of state social support and social insurance work to increase the material and cultural level of the lives of the population. It is necessary to display concern for the support of single elderly people, to improve support to invalids of the patriotic war of liberation with appropriate work, and to increase measures to give state and nationwide aid to families of servicemen in every way.

At the same time it is necessary to take steps to increase part of the pensions and subsidies that are set low, and introduce a system of supply of some manufactured goods to people who have moved to social security in order to give them material aid.

It is necessary to increase the size of the subsidy after birth and the subsidy for funerals paid according to social security and social insurance, launch and increase the operation of rest homes and sanatoria operating according to social insurance.

It is necessary to direct main efforts at the construction of residential buildings in order to improve the housing conditions of the population. To do this it is necessary to increase capital investment in the construction of houses and switch the construction of residential buildings to industrial methods, using prefabricated construction. It is necessary to direct the main capital investments to Pyongyang, [Songnim], Hungnam, and other important industrial regions and build a large quantity of residential housing in villages and district centers.

The construction of residential housing needs to be accomplished not only by the state's efforts but to also enlist private citizens. It is necessary to give state aid to the population so that they build houses in the cities and villages with their own resources. To do this it is necessary to sell the population cement, lumber, nails and other construction materials, and carpentry instruments, and grant private citizens the monetary loans needed for the construction of housing.

The state should concern itself at the same time that residents use the rich natural resources and their own efforts to make adobe, brick, tile, and other construction materials.

Then we should increase the work of foreign trade and thereby facilitate a sharp improvement of the people's lives.

It is necessary to also develop trade with capitalist countries based on the firm ties between the countries of the camp of socialism, in particular, to expand trade relations with the countries of Southeast Asia and Japan. To do this it is necessary to actively research sources of exports in the country, and organize a nationwide movement to produce a large quantity of various types of goods for export.

Comrades!



I have touched on those important issues which are associated with an increase of the standard of the material and cultural lives of the population and should be taken into consideration when drafting the first five-year economic plan with all seriousness.

The successful solution of these important tasks will promote a sharp rise of the entire economy, multiply our material, food, and financial reserves, and strengthen the economic might of our country even more.

Our Party, for which a constant improvement of the lives of the people is the highest law of [its] activity, will henceforth systematically reduce the prices for goods and increase the wages of the workers and thereby raise the material and cultural standard of the population even higher.

We should use the different equipment in all sectors of the economy somewhat better, raise labor productivity, reduce the prime cost of production and, together with the active mobilization and use of all the reserves of the economy which have not been identified, launch a struggle against all possible occurrences of squandering, observe a strict regime of economy, and thereby increase our socialist accumulations.

Only in such a way will we be able to create material and financial reserves and, based on them, take new vigorous steps directed at the improvement of the material and cultural lives of the people.

### III.

Comrades!

During our friendly visit to the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy our Government delegation also had an opportunity to become directly familiar with the achievements of the fraternal Parties in the area of Party work.

At the same time as this the Government delegation exchanged experiences with the leaders of these countries on issues touching on Party policy and Party life.

As is well-known, the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was a crucial event not only in the life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, but also served as a new factor for the further improvement and development of the international and worker's movement. The 20th CPSU congress is exerting an enormous influence on the entire course of contemporary international life.

Having given a deep Marxist-Leninist analysis and drawn conclusions on a number of questions of principle which were raised in contemporary international developments, the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union marked a new stage in the creative development of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and showed once more the invincible vital force of the ideas of Marxist-Leninism.

The 20th CPSU congress again explained the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different sociopolitical systems and scientifically substantiated the real possibilities of averting new wars in the modern era, and also various forms of the transition to socialism. The 20th CPSU congress thereby opened new prospects before the world Communist and worker's movement and inspired and armed the progressive forces of the world who favor a peaceful settlement of international problems even further.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, boldly criticizing and correcting the mistakes and shortcomings manifested in connection with the cult of personality, embarked upon the path of a comprehensive restoration of the Leninist norms of Party life.

The measures of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union directed at overcoming the cult of personality and its consequences arouse the inexhaustible creative initiative and political and labor enthusiasm of Party members and the popular masses, and they strengthen the Soviet socialist system even more and accelerate its forward movement.

Now the Soviet people, having firmly rallied around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as never before, are putting the decisions of the 20th Party congress into effect and actively pursuing the grandiose building of Communism.

The collective leadership of the Party is also being strengthened in the fraternal countries of people's democracy as a result of the improvement and increase of Party work based on the decisions of the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and democracy in Party and government life is increasingly expanding and strengthening.

Thus, the creative initiative and activity of the Party masses is increasing; the popular masses are displaying high political enthusiasm in the building of socialism and show examples of constructive work.

All this could not have failed to appear a great blow to the enemies of peace and socialism. Therefore our enemies are trying to keep silent about the main issues

discussed at the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and those outstanding successes which are being achieved in their implementation. They are attacking and slandering the socialist system, using the issue of the cult of personality of Stalin in order to draw the attention of world public opinion away.

Through such a path they have been counting on undermining the authority of the Soviet Union, the powerful citadel of peace in the entire world, and the enormous trust of progressive mankind of the entire world in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the Soviet people, to sow hostility and strife between the Soviet Union and the peoples of the camp of socialism, and splits and disorganizes the camp of socialism and the ranks of the international worker's movement.

In launching an anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaign enemies are desperately trying to use some unhealthy phenomena in the countries of the camp of socialism for their vile purposes.

On 30 June of this year the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted a historic Decree "Overcoming the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences". In this Decree the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, summing up the results of the enormous successes achieved after the 20th Party congress in international and domestic life, gave a deeply substantiated Marxist-Leninist explanation of a number of pressing theoretical and political issues of modern times, in particular the subjective and objective causes and conditions which gave rise to the cult of personality, and gave a decisive rebuttal to all sorts of provocative schemes and intrigues of bourgeois reactionary circles around the issue of the cult of personality.

In no event did the cult of personality occur from the very nature of the socialist system and is not an expression of its weak sides, as enemies love to assert. On the contrary, the fact that in spite of the mistakes and shortcomings which arose because of the cult of personality, the Soviet Union has withstood innumerable difficulties and serious tests in the course of the building of socialism and during the years of the Great Patriotic War, and today is winning victories of worldwide importance in the great building of Communism and is showing in historic facts the strength and invincible vital strengthen of the Soviet socialist system.

In spite of the expectations of enemies, today the international prestige of the Soviet Union and its influence on the peoples of the entire world has not only not weakened but, on the contrary, has grown even further, and the bonds of friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the camp of socialism are becoming stronger and firmer.

No schemes and intrigues of the imperialists are able to undermine these unbreakable bonds of friendship and the alliance based on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to slow the strengthening and development of the powerful socialist system headed by the Soviet Union, or to bar the path to its victorious forward movement.

In its recent Decree the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its CC consistently defend the principled nature and purity of Marxism-Leninism, and again express their whole-hearted devotion to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Korean Worker's Party, fully supporting the Decree of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "Overcoming the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences", welcomes the outstanding successes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which it has achieved in the principled struggle to overcome the consequences of the cult of personality with all its heart.

The decisions of the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the measures of the CPSU CC directed at overcoming the consequences of the cult of personality serves as a great lesson and example for the Marxist-Leninist Parties of all the countries of the world.

The cult of personality, which led to ignoring the role of the Party and the popular masses, the creator of history, to a slowing of the collective leadership, the highest principle of governance of a Marxist-Leninist Party, and to a weakening of the creative initiative of the masses, not only does not have anything in common with a Marxist-Leninist world view, but is completely contrary to it.

Only a vigorous rooting out of the cult of personality provides an opportunity to display the maximum collective wisdom in the Party's leadership of the revolutionary struggle, raise the activity and creative initiative of the Party members and the working masses to a high degree, strengthen the combat forces of the Party, and strengthen the combat forces of the Party and ensure the revolutionary goals are successfully made a reality.

Comrades!

As was already pointed out to us at the March plenum, the cult of personality also occurred in our country to some degree.

This mainly found its expression in an excessive praise of the role and merits of individuals in the field of our Party ideological work.

As a result of this, formalist exclamations "*manse*" [Translator's note: "long live"] and the sending of foolish messages occurred. As regards instruction and a description of the subject, "The Struggle of the Korean Worker's Party for the Reunification and Independence of the Motherland and Democratic Building of the Country", excessive glorification about the role of personality was permitted because of a mechanical attitude toward the method of describing the Short Course of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

However this could not have exerted a negative influence on the collective leadership, to which the Party CC consistently adhered as the highest principle of Party governance, and also the line and policy of our Party.

As became known, in recent years the Party CC paid great attention to the correction of phenomena connected with the cult of personality.

At the March plenum of this year the Party CC, having heard the report of the delegation of our Party to the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, completely approved and supported the decisions of the 20th CPSU congress and at the same time, having noted the phenomena associated with the cult of personality in our country, took serious steps to immediately and successively eliminate them. For example, in the area of ideological work we subjected the works and textbooks on history to a new edition, removed senseless glorification and the exclamation "*manse*", and at the present time are waging a persistent struggle to eliminate doctrinarism and formalism.

At the same time we pursued educational work with respect to the comrades who, unscrupulously following and listening to the bands of Pak Heonyeong and Ri [Syn Yeb], were used in its factionalist activity or fell under its influence, in order that they correct their mistakes and their faulty views through serious criticism and self-criticism.

These measures led to the further ideological and organizational strengthening of our party, and to an even greater strengthening of its combat forces.

However, the Party should not be satisfied with this. Learning a lesson from the bitter experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union associated with the cult of personality of Stalin we should henceforth persistently pursue educational work among Party members and the popular masses, seeking a complete eradication of the cult of personality in our country.

In view of the fact that our Party is young and that many Party officials still have unsatisfactory experience in Party work, and that their revolutionary seasoning is still insufficient, we still have many shortcomings.

The serious and difficult task of the revolution with which we are faced demands that we work even more and better.

We should henceforth exert enormous efforts in order to successively accomplish the important tasks in the area of Party building assigned by the 3rd Party congress, and stubbornly uphold Leninist principles in Party leadership.

It is important that the principle of collective leadership penetrates still deeper, beginning with the CC right down to the primary Party organizations, so that the Party masses can even more actively participate in the management of the Party and state with their opinions and constructive suggestions.

Therefore at the present time in the matter of the further strengthening of collective leadership of the Party and a still greater increase of the leading role of the Party it is necessary to further develop intra-Party democracy as a first-priority task and continue to wage a consistent struggle against bureaucratism. As the great Lenin pointed out, the authority of the Party is contained in the trust and love of the masses for it.

We should well realize that if we ignore the masses and do not listen their impartial voice, then we will thereby only insult our Party and depreciate its authority.

We think that ignoring and derogating the constructive creative suggestions and undertakings of the Party masses in the interests of the Party and revolution not only leads to trampling on intra-Party democracy, but also is a criminal act foreign to the essence of our Party activity and should be decisively eradicated.

We should tirelessly strive to get through to the masses, to live with the very thought with them, to listen to their voices, and to be their close adviser, faithful disciple, and reliable guide.

As everyone knows, the joint meeting of officials of Party organizations and government bodies in February 1952, which condemned the bureaucratic style of work among some Party officials and officials of government bodies during the war, and also the April Party CC plenum in 1955 vigorously condemned the bureaucratic style of work, developed intra-Party democracy even further, and served as a decisive factor in strengthening the collective leadership of the Party.

However, as a consequence of the fact that Party organizations at all levels have insufficiently explained and introduced these CC measures of the Party CC among Party officials and Party members, due to the fact that they have not studied and not looked into them in close connection with their own Party life and style of work, in many cases the task of improving the methods of work of our Party has been carried out formally.

Party officials should deal with the masses candidly, loving them, and educating them daily, seek their complete trust in the Party so that they follow it; they should tirelessly improve the style of leadership work so that neither in their work nor in their lives do the masses experience the slightest fear and worry.

Besides the fact that Party organizations at all levels should not engage in just issuing unprincipled reprimands to comrades to make a particular mistake, but should offer them an opportunity to realize their mistakes and correct them, they should help them so that they could overcome these mistakes faster; they are obligated to constantly pursue educational work so that there are no cases when a Party member cannot cope with the work which he could handle well because of a fear of making a mistake.

One of the important tasks with which we are faced in the matter of strengthening the leading role of the Party is a still greater increase of the function of Party committees at all levels and an even fuller support of the creative activity of government bodies, scientific and cultural institutions, public organizations, and local institutions.

Subordinate Party organizations should put an end to the tendency which consists of awaiting decisions and instructions from above or mechanically adopting decisions and orders from above. They should constantly educate officials in such a spirit thanks to which they are able to organize and do their work creatively, in accordance with the measures and instructions of higher Party bodies, taking the specific situation into consideration.

At the same time we should still more thoroughly study and reconsider the matter of the improvement of the leadership of local bodies, and give them more rights in order that they can display their independent initiative in full measure.

We also consider it necessary to seriously study and check the organization structure of our state institutions in such a direction that the state organizations can increase their functions yet more in order that headquarters organizations are closer to the primary ones and so they can solve problems which arise quickly and in a timely manner.

In the popular democratic countries it made a deep impression on us that enormous attention is devoted there to the best traditions of the national culture and the preservation of national originality in all areas without exception.

In our country in the period before liberation, during the long colonial domination of the Japanese imperialists in Korea they strived in every way to stifle the traditions of our national culture and all specific national features. After liberation we pursued work quite unsatisfactorily to root out these ruinous consequences.

Therefore one of the most important tasks at this stage is to preserve the heritage of the best traditions of the national culture, creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the specific reality of our country, and thereby strengthen our ideological work.

The question of the creative mastery and creative development of Marxism-Leninism is quite important in this connection.

The development of the revolution in our country and the practical activity of our Party raise a mass of questions and they require that they be explained to the Party masses theoretically.

The Party has always stressed that the unity and solidarity of the Party ranks is a required conditions for the successful conclusion of our revolution and in past years it achieved great successes in this area.

However, the current international and domestic situation shows that we should not content ourselves with what has been achieved but should as before devote the main attention to the matter of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the Party.

As the camp of socialism strengthens and develops further and the prestige of the Communist and worker's Parties rises in various countries and the international cohesion and solidarity between them strengthens, the enemies of Communism are trying in every way to cause dissension between the Marxist-Leninist Parties and disorganize them from within.

We cannot forget for a minute that our enemies right next to us, striving to disrupt our Party, are not only sending all sorts of saboteurs to us but are trying in every way to find our Achilles heel in order to use it for their cunning designs.



In particular, the question of the cohesion and solidarity of the Party ranks remains as before the most important question in the intra-Party life of our Party, especially since our Party is still a young Party and still has vestiges of factionalism in it.

These are very important issues raised by the Korean revolution and our Marxist-Leninists should solve [them] creatively.

Workers of the ideological front should put an end to dogmatism and formal approaches to the matter, a characteristic feature of which is in the mechanical imitation of the foreign, and display greater boldness and initiative in the study and development of Marxist-Leninist theory in connection with the reality of our country.

Workers of science, literature, and the arts should exhibit greater activity and creative initiative and creative activity in their research.

But our scientific workers need to express their views and results more boldly in the area of their research activity and promote the development of scientific theory through free open discussion and polemics.

Our writers and workers of the arts should create more works which correctly and deeply reflect all the aspects of the lives of our people in the most diverse form, and literary critics are obligated to launch well thought-out and substantiated criticism in a careful analysis which could give practical assistance to writers and workers of the arts in their creative activity.

We should always remember the bitter lesson when factionalism caused us enormous damage in the revolutionary movement in our country before liberation and in the revolutionary movement in South Korea after liberation.

Striving to even more stoutly uphold the unity and solidarity of the Party we should as before wage a struggle for the elimination of the vestiges of factionalist ideology which still exists in our Party and maintain high political vigilance with respect to all and every phenomena which might cause even the slightest harm to the unity of our Party.

As stated above, in the future we should strengthen the collective leadership, develop intra-Party democracy in every way, and strengthen intra-Party criticism, especially criticism from below.

As is evident from the experience of other Parties, in a Marxist-Leninist Party actions are impermissible which allegedly are to serve to develop democracy and strengthen criticism, but in essence are directed only at weakening Party discipline and Party unity.

Concerning intra-Party democracy, in the charter of our Party it is said, "The subordination of a Party member [is] to the Party organization, the minority to the majority, of lower bodies to higher bodies of the Party and of all Party organizations to the Central Committee of the Party". For a Marxist-Leninist Party intra-Party democracy is democracy with the presence of centralism, which ensures the unity of will and action of all Party members, and centralism can be correctly maintained only on the basis of a democracy which supports the creative initiative of the Party masses.

While upholding iron discipline inside the Party we should vigorously fight the vestiges of any hostile ideology and its manifestations, and at the same time as this try to create in Party life such an atmosphere in which there is mutual trust, solidarity, and mutual support among comrades. Party unity is first of all ensured by the high ideological commitment of the Party masses.

Therefore the Party should arm its members with Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the revolutionary movement in our country and increase work to educate them in the spirit of selfless devotion and selfless service to the Party, and an ardent love for the motherland, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

In conditions when we are directly confronted by the aggressive forces of imperialism, which seized the southern part of our motherland, we should always maintain high political vigilance, performing majestic and difficult tasks in the cause of the peaceful reunification of the motherland and the building of socialism in the northern part of the republic, and thereby firmly defend the unity of our Party, and strengthen it still further into a united cohesive combat detachment which can successfully perform its leading and directing role in any difficult situation.

The translation was received from the Korean friends, and checked with the original by  
Rozanov and Suvorov.

Strictly secret.

I report about the frame of mind expressed by Kim Il Sung during a luncheon at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the DPRK. On January 17 the minister of foreign affairs of the DPRK Pak Heon-yeong [Pak Hon Yong] held a lunch attended by a small circle of persons, on the occasion of the departure of the Korean ambassador Ri Ju-yeon to the

Chinese Peoples Republic. At the luncheon from the Korean side were Kim Du-bong [Kim Tu Phong], Kim Il Sung, Pak Heon-yeong, deputy minister of foreign affairs Pak Jeong-jo [Pak Jung Jo], Ri Ju-yeon [Ri Ju Yon]. The trade representative of the PRC Wen Shizhen attended the luncheon. On our side in attendance were myself and the advisers of the embassy Ignatiev and Pelishenko. The luncheon took place in a friendly, warm atmosphere. Kim Il Sung, Pak Heon-yeong and also the Chinese trade representative in their toasts expressed a feeling of love and gratitude toward the Soviet Union and personally toward Comrade Stalin for the liberation [of Korea from Japanese rule] and for the selfless assistance to both the Korean and Chinese people.

Kim Du-bong shared his impressions of his trip to the USSR for the 70th birthday of Comrade Stalin. In his account he repeatedly underscored the great interest of the Soviet people in Korea and the numerous wishes for quick unification of the country.

During the luncheon Kim Il Sung and the Chinese trade representative, who was sitting next to him, many times enthusiastically conversed with each other in Chinese. From individual phrases it was possible to understand that they were speaking about the victory in China and about the situation in Korea. After the luncheon, in the reception room Kim Il Sung gave advice and orders to his ambassador to China Ri Ju-yeon about his work in China, and moreover, while speaking in Korean, Kim several times said phrases in Russian about how Ri would act boldly in China, since Mao Zedong is his friend and will always help Korea.

Then, after Ri Ju-yeon left, Kim, addressing the advisers Ignatiev and Pelishenko in an excited manner, began to speak about how now, when China is completing its liberation, the liberation of the Korean people in the south of the country is next in line. In connection with this he said:

“The people of the southern portion of Korea trust me and rely on our armed might. Partisans will not decide the question. The people of the south know that we have a good army. Lately I do not sleep at night, thinking about how to resolve the question of the unification of the whole country. If the matter of the liberation of the people of the southern portion of Korea and the unification of the country is drawn out, then I can lose the trust of the people of Korea.”

Further Kim stated that when he was in Moscow, Comrade Stalin said to him that it was not necessary to attack the south, in case of an attack on the north of the country by the army of Rhee Syngmann, then it is possible to go on the counteroffensive to the south of Korea. But since Rhee Syngmann is still not instigating an attack, it means that the liberation of the people of the southern part of the country and the unification of the

country are being drawn out, that he (Kim Il Sung) thinks that he needs again to visit Comrade Stalin and receive an order and permission for offensive action by the Peoples' Army for the purpose of the liberation of the people of Southern Korea. Further Kim said that he himself cannot begin an attack, because he is a communist, a disciplined person and for him the order of Comrade Stalin is law. Then he stated that if it is now possible to meet with Comrade Stalin, then he will try to meet with Mao Zedong, after his return from Moscow. Kim underscored that Mao Zedong promised to render him assistance after the conclusion of the war in China. (Apparently Kim Il Sung has in mind the conversation of his representative Kim Il with Mao Zedong in June 1949, about which I reported by ciphered telegram.) Kim said that he also has other questions for Mao Zedong, in particular the question of the possibility of the creation of an eastern bureau of the Cominform. He further stated that on all these questions he will try to meet with Comrade Shtykov and to secure through him a meeting with Comrade Stalin.

The advisers of the embassy Ignatiev and Pelishenko, avoiding discussing these questions, tried to switch the discussion to a general theme, then Kim Il Sung came toward me, took me aside and began the following conversation: can he meet with Comrade Stalin and discuss the question of the position in the south and the question of aggressive actions against the army of Rhee Syngmann, that their people's army now is significantly stronger than the army of Rhee Syngmann. Here he stated that if it is impossible to meet with Comrade Stalin, then he wants to meet with Mao Zedong, since Mao after his visit to Moscow will have orders on all questions. Then Kim Il Sung placed before me the question, why don't I allow him to attack the Ongjin peninsula, which the People's Army could take in three days, and with a general attack the People's Army could be in Seoul in several days. I answered Kim that he has not raised the question of a meeting with Comrade Stalin and if he raises such a question, then it is possible that Comrade Stalin will receive him. On the question of an attack on the Ongjin peninsula I answered him that it is impossible to do this. Then I tried to conclude the conversation on these questions and, alluding to a later time, proposed to go home. With that the conversation was concluded. After the luncheon Kim Il Sung was in a mood of some intoxication. It was obvious that he began this conversation not accidentally, but had thought it out earlier, with the goal of laying out his frame of mind and elucidating our attitude to these questions.

In the process of this conversation Kim Il Sung repeatedly underscored his wish to get the advice of Comrade Stalin on the question of the situation in the south of Korea, since [Kim Il Sung] is constantly nurturing his idea about an attack.

## THE REPORT OF KIM IL SUNG AT THE 3rd CONGRESS OF THE KOREAN WORKER'S PARTY

MI.SE.113 PYONGYANG, 23 April (TASS). Kim Il Sung gave a summary report at the 3rd congress of the Korean Worker's Party which opened in Pyongyang on 23 April. An account of the report is given below.

Eight years have passed since the 3rd Party congress, said Kim Il Sung. Great changes have taken place in the foreign and domestic situation during this period. In the intra-government area the Party has waged a fight for the peaceful reunification of the motherland, and strengthened and developed the popular democratic system established in the northern part of the republic in every possible way.

All our people headed by the working class and under the leadership of our Party have defended their popular democratic system from the armed encroachments of international imperialist reaction with honor and are successfully building the foundations of socialism in the northern part of the country, the material basis for the reunification of the motherland.

In the area of international life the might of the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China grew and strengthened incomparably during this period. The forces of peace and democracy opposed to war and imperialism are growing and strengthening in the entire world and becoming invincible.

Kim Il Sung said, in our era, as Cde. N. S. Khrushchev noted at the 20th CPSU congress, socialism has already gone beyond the bounds of one country and turned into a world system, and there is no power in the world capable of interfering with this process of world historical importance.

Dwelling on the successes of the Soviet people in the building of Communism, Cde. Kim Il Sung noted that the historic 20th CPSU congress had adopted a grandiose fighting program on the basis of which the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union is leading the Soviet people to new successes of world historical importance in the building of Communism. Based on a deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of some principled questions of the contemporary international situation, the congress drew conclusions of enormous practical importance. This boundlessly inspires the struggle of all Communist and worker's Parties and the peoples of the entire world to fight even more actively for peace, happiness, and a bright future.

During the reporting period in Asia the great Chinese people's revolution ended victoriously. The six hundred million people of China, having put a complete end to the system of imperialist colonial domination, are now confidently traveling the path of the construction of socialism and are very important members of the camp of democracy and socialism.

The might of the socialist camp, Kim Il Sung then said, consists not only of the fact that the socialist relations encompass such a broad territory and such a large population, but primarily consist of the unbreakable friendship, solidarity, and unity of the peoples of this camp. The strength of this unity has found its bright reflection in the active support and aid to the Korean people of the peoples of the camp of democracy and socialism during the just patriotic war of liberation, especially in the invaluable fraternal aid of the Chinese people's volunteers.

Touching on the ongoing collapse of the colonial system, which has held the peoples of Asia in its grip, where half of the population of the entire world lives, Cde. Kim Il Sung noted that the victory won by the Korean people in the three-year patriotic war of liberation was one of the most important victories of the peoples of Asia who are fighting against the colonizers, and it further inspires the peoples of dependent countries to fight for their freedom and independence.

Covering the course of international events in recent years, Kim Il Sung stressed the relaxation of tension in international relations achieved thanks to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, the strengthening of cooperation with the USSR and PRC, with India, Burma, and other Asian countries, the importance of the Bandung Conference of 29 countries and the creation of a broad "zone of peace" which includes both the socialist and non-socialist peace-loving countries of Europe and Asia. He said, about one and a half billion people live in this zone.

We live in an era when the forces of peace, socialism, and democracy are growing and strengthening immeasurably, and the forces of imperialism weaken with each day.

It is a great joy for the Korean people, who are defending their historic achievement, the popular democratic system, and are fighting for their national unity, to be a member of the powerful socialist camp in which it sees a reliable guarantee of their final victory.

Our Party should henceforth continue to take an active part in the struggle for a durable peace and security in the entire world, preserve fraternal friendship and solidarity as one's dearest possession, and strengthen the political, economic, and cultural

cooperation with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the other countries of people's democracy in every possible way.

At the same time we should firmly hold to the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and devote efforts in order to establish political and business ties with all peace-loving countries of the world based at the same time on mutual respect for sovereignty and equality.

We should vigorously fight the aggression of American imperialism in Asia and a resurgence of Japanese militarism. We should tirelessly strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of India, Burma, Indonesia, and Japan, and actively support the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial countries of Asia to strengthen the common struggle of the Asian peoples against colonialism.

We should also support in every possible way the peace policy of the peace-loving countries of the world headed by the Soviet Union and their struggle for a reduction of arms, the prohibition of the production and use of nuclear weapons, vigilantly keep track of the treacherous intrigues of enemies striving to unleash a new war, further strengthen our defensive might, and firmly preserve the freedom and independence of our country and the peaceful construction in the northern part of the republic.

Speaking of the struggle for the peaceful reunification of Korea, for the strengthening and development of the popular democratic system in the northern part of the republic during the reporting period, Kim Il Sung noted that these events cover three periods, the period of peaceful construction, the period of the patriotic war of liberation, and the period of the postwar recovery and construction.

People's power, created in the northern part of the country after liberation under the leadership of the Party, carried out land reform, the nationalization of industry, and other democratic reforms. Land reform eliminated landowners and feudal production relations in the countryside, and made working peasants owners of the land. The economic base of the Japanese imperialists and the pro-Japanese elements in the country was completely eliminated as a result of the nationalization of industry, the state sector occupied the dominant position in its economy, and socialist industrial relations were established. In the five years after liberation enormous progress has been achieved in the northern part of the republic in all sectors of politics, the economy, and culture. Telling of the course of the three-year patriotic war of liberation Kim Il Sung noted the great feats of the heroic Korean people. Our just war, he pointed out, encountered the enormous aid and support of millions of people of the entire world who opposed the predatory acts of the invaders.

The Soviet Union has devoted every effort for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and has vigorously exposed the aggressive acts and barbarous crimes of the American imperialists in Korea. It made a great contribution to the cause of the rapid end of the bloody war in Korea.

Cde. Kim Il Sung then said that the historic victory of the Korean people is a brilliant victory of Marxism-Leninism. It convincingly confirmed the inexhaustible vital strength of our popular democratic system and its superiority over the capitalist system, and was a demonstration of the correctness of the line of our Party, directed at the creation and strengthening of a democratic basis.

The Korean War also showed that a people who are vigorously fighting for their national independence and freedom, for peace and against imperialist aggression, will always gain the powerful support from the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism and the peace-loving peoples of the entire world and certainly triumph.

The conclusion of the armistice agreement, Cde. Kim Il Sung then said, put an end to the bloody war in Korea, and our people again moved to peaceful economic construction.

We were faced with enormous tasks: to turn an armistice into a durable peace, further strengthen the support of our revolution, the democratic base in the northern part of the republic, politically, economically, and militarily, and turn it into a powerful material base in the cause of the peaceful reunification of our country.

The Party and government of the republic developed a three-year plan for the revival and development of the economy, the main task of which is the achievement of the prewar level of production in all sectors of the economy.

About two years and four months have passed since the time we began to fulfill the three-year economic plan. During this period under the leadership of the Korean Worker's Party our people overcame all difficulties and obstacles, thanks to their own creative initiative and selfless work and achieved great successes, inspired by the unselfish economic and technical aid of the USSR, PRC, and fraternal countries of people's democracy.

The speaker cited detailed information demonstrating the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the targets of the three-year plan. As of the end of January of this year the level of production of state and cooperative industry had already exceeded the



production level provided by the plan for 1956, the last year of the three-year plan. The amount of gross production of state and cooperative industry has risen by 2.3 times compared to 1953 and exceeded the 1949 prewar level by 56%. Our Party has firmly held to a policy of rapid restoration and development of industry with priority growth of heavy industry. Two hundred and thirty-six large and medium-sized state industrial enterprises had already been fully or partially restored and put in operation by the end of 1955, and 71 new large and medium-sized industrial enterprises were also built. The history of our country has not yet known such a large scale and such high rates of construction and repair work in industry.

Kim Il Sung further characterized the development in the postwar period [of] individual industrial sectors, showing that a considerable increase in the production of consumer goods had taken place along with the rapid improvement of heavy industry. Compared to 1949 in 1955 the textile industry had risen by 2.2 times, the leather and footwear [industry] by 96%, and the food and gustatory [industry] by 20%.

In the postwar years, Kim Il Sung continued, new industrial sectors were created in the industry of our country. This was made possible by the production of a whole series of new types of products, including direct current generators, modern turning lathes, mining machines, drills, and high-quality fabrics. The creation of a series of new industrial sectors and their rapid development has caused a change in the structure of industrial sectors. In the total volume of industrial production the share of the machinebuilding and light industries, the most backward sectors before liberation, has increased considerably. The speaker also dwelt on the growth of labor productivity in the postwar period, the labor competition of the masses, and the introduction in production of numerous innovations and improvement suggestions, and touched on issues of training engineering and technical personnel and labor reserves.

As is evident from the above, he said, in the postwar years our industry has basically treated the serious wounds received in the course of the war, and heavy industry is developing at a rapid rate.

After the war the Party directed all its attention in the area of the restoration and development of agriculture to first of all reaching the prewar level of production of grain crops during the three-year plan and along with this creating a base for the further improvement of the agriculture of our country. Cde. Kim Il Sung noted that in the course of the fulfillment of the three-year plan in the area of agriculture it was found that this plan did not correspond to the real possibilities. The plan was overestimated in the area of agriculture and drafted without proper consideration for the degree of damage caused agriculture by the war and other specific conditions. Kim Il Sung continued, in order to

rapidly restore and develop agriculture in the postwar years the Party CC outlined specific ways to rapidly correct the defects which existed in the management of the countryside. The plans for capital investment in agriculture for 1956 were somewhat increased, large-scale construction of irrigation systems and river dams was carried out, and steps were taken to provide irrigation structures with machines, increase the production of agricultural machines and fertilizer, etc.

In 1954 and 1955 cultivated land was expanded by 37,700 jeongbo, large-scale irrigation construction was carried out, including the construction of an irrigation system in the province of South Pyongan, and 43 new reservoirs and 568 pumping stations were repaired and rebuilt anew. These measures took on an even broader scale in 1956. From 1954 through the present time irrigated fields were expanded by 50,000 jeongbo as a result state capital investments alone, and more than 100,000 jeongbo of fields were protected from floods by the construction of river dams.

In the postwar years the Party and government created 31 new machine rental stations in order to increase the peasants' labor productivity and also to solve the problem of the shortage of labor and draft animals in the countryside. In 1955 the number of machine rental stations tripled compared to 1953, and the number of tractors (converted to 15-hp equivalents) by 3.9 times.

The most important event in the development of agriculture after the conclusion of the armistice is the fact that the movement to cooperate agriculture with the goal of socialist reform is rapidly developing in the countryside. As of the end of February 1956 there were more than 14,650 agricultural cooperatives in our countryside encompassing 65.6% of the total peasant households and 62.1% of all cultivated land. Almost all the agricultural cooperatives are cooperatives of the highest type. The speaker then told about the successes of the cooperatives in the expansion and improvement of cultivated areas, and the introduction of advanced agrotechnology and subsidiary industries, noting that along with the aid to the agricultural cooperatives the state also gives comprehensive aid to individual peasants, who compose a large part of the peasant households of the country. He pointed to the serious backwardness of animal husbandry.

Characterizing the improvement of transportation and communications in the postwar years, and the expansion of trade turnover, Cde. Kim Il Sung moved to the government's work to improve the material and cultural level of the people's lives. He said, the national income rose considerably in the first two years of the three-year plan. In 1955 the national income was 160% of that of 1953, and 111% that of 1949. Prices for consumer goods have been reduced four times in the postwar period. In 1955 the

level of prices for goods in state and consumer trade were reduced by 40%, as a result of which the population received a benefit of about 30 billion won during this time. The real wages of manual laborers and office workers rose. The state gave much aid to the peasants with monetary loans, seeds, and fertilizer, and released many of them from repaying debts of taxes in kind and monetary loans. Not long ago the law about the agricultural tax in kind was changed, as a result of which its amount was reduced.

The Party and government have devoted constant attention to the repair and construction of residential buildings and educational institutions. Residential buildings with a total area of more than 3,500 m<sup>2</sup>, 1,285 schools, and 182 hospitals were built at state expense since the armistice to the end of 1955. The number of cultural institutions and healthcare network was considerably increased.

As is obvious from the above, our work to revive and build the economy is going well.

Our popular democratic system is becoming increasingly stronger based on an strengthened alliance.

During the reporting period, and especially in the postwar period, the socialist sector has grown even further thanks to the successes achieved in all sectors of our economy.

Whereas the share of state and cooperative industry in the total amount of industrial production comprising the socialist sector, was 90.7% in 1949, in 1955 it had risen to 98.3%.

In 1949 in agriculture, when there were no agricultural cooperatives yet, the share of the socialist sector, which encompassed state agricultural animal husbandry farms and machine rental stations at that time, was only 3.2% of the total volume of agricultural production. In 1955 the share of the socialist sector became dominant in all agricultural production of our country.

Thus, the socialist sector has already occupied the dominant and leading position in all sectors of the economy of our country and become a reliable material basis of the socialist reformation of the entire economy in the future.

Great changes have also occurred in the social class structure of the population. All these facts show that we have achieved considerable economic and social progress in the struggle to build socialism in our country.

Then Kim Il Sung touched on the problem of the construction of a socialist economy in the northern part of the republic. He noted that the majority of the targets of the three-year plan have already been met. There is no doubt that this plan will be fulfilled and overfulfilled on the scheduled deadlines.

The successful conclusion of the program of the three-year plan will create even broader prospects for the development of the country's economy and allow a new scientifically-based plan to be developed in the field of economic and cultural policy for a long period, namely a first five-year economic plan. It is necessary to make a big step forward on the path of the construction of the foundations of socialism in the northern part of the republic in the first five-year plan, the achievement of which will begin next year.

The main role is given first of all to heavy industry in the development of the economy in this five-year plan, that is, the production of means of production. Relying on the preferential development of heavy industry, on the basis of this we should sharply raise agricultural production and light industry even further, and improve the material welfare of the people. In the development of the economy we should devote special significance to the further expansion of economic ties and the strengthening of mutual aid among the socialist countries.

The most important task in the area of metallurgy is the continuation of work to repair and build blast, open-hearth, electric, and Bessemer furnaces and a coke-oven battery. It is necessary to apply efforts in order to meet the country's needs in rolled steel by expanding the construction of rolling-mill equipment. The production of cast iron needs to be increased by 2.8 times, of steel by 3-3.5 times, and rolled products by 3,5-4 times in 1961 compared to the current year.

The machinebuilding industry is faced with the task of increasing the production of metal-cutting machines; electrical, agricultural, mining, and construction machines; motors; and ships even further.

It is necessary to complete the repair of existing electric power stations and put the network of electrical transmission and electrical distribution points in order. Then it is necessary to resume the construction of the [Tokrogan] and [Kange] hydroelectric power stations, which was halted as a result of the war. The production of electric power should reach 8,500 million kilowatt-hours in 1961.

The speaker continued, in the coal industry the most important task is the elimination of an impermissible phenomenon when we, sitting on coal, annually import it from the

outside in enormous quantity. During the years of the first five-year plan it is necessary to increase the extraction of coal by more than 1.7 times compared to 1956.

The main task of the chemical industry is an increase of the production of fertilizer in 1961 to 400,000 tons a year. Dwelling on the tasks in the area of the industries of construction materials and forestry, Kim Il Sung said that it is necessary to seek a considerable increase in the development of light industry, putting the main emphasis on the production of textiles and the food industry. The production of fabrics in 1961 needs to be raised by one and a half to two times compared to the current year. The report also raises specific tasks in the fields of transportation and communications.

Kim Il Sung then said, whereas the years of the three-year plan were basically a period of repairing existing enterprises the five-year plan will be period of the reconstruction and expansion of enterprises, and furnishing them with new equipment for the construction and operation of new plants and mills. To accomplish these tasks it is necessary to deeply master and introduce new technology into production, actively mobilize and use all the reserves harbored in the industry itself, considerably improve the use of equipment, increase labor productivity, save raw materials and material, and tirelessly lower the prime cost of production.

The main tasks with which agriculture is posed during the first five-year plan are the following: first, the considerable increase of the production of agricultural products, especially grain crops, in order to meet the needs of the economy. Second, the further development of the cooperation of agriculture, and also in the organizational and economic strengthening of agricultural production cooperatives. These measures are directed at completing the cooperation of agriculture.

Kim Il Sung said, considerable work has been done in the postwar period to increase the production of agricultural products. However, the current level of agricultural production still cannot fully meet the needs of our country in food and industrial raw material. During the five-year plan we should reach the production of such a level of grain at which we could basically provide our own needs with our own products and expand the cultivation of various technical and oil-seed crops on this basis, and develop animal husbandry even further.

We are faced with the task of opening up and restoring virgin and neglected lands to solve the problem of grain farming and industrial crops. Along with this we should carefully protect the land being worked. It is necessary to continue the construction of a number of large irrigation structures, including in the region of [Edidon].

The issue of increasing the yield of grain crops in waterless fields, which compose  $\frac{3}{4}$  of total cultivated land, is of decisive importance in the matter of increasing grain production.

During the first five-year plan we should definitely increase the area planted for corn and increase it to no less than 500,000 jeongbo. [We] ought to encourage the growing of corn not only as the main crop in every way, but also as the last crop before the harvesting of barley from a given field.

Cde. Kim Il Sung then said that industrial workers should improve construction and produce more agricultural machines and implements based on the actual needs of agriculture.

The main task facing animal husbandry is to eliminate the shortage of draft animals in agriculture and to considerably increase the production of livestock products. To do this the main emphasis needs to be made on the creation of fodder resources in agricultural cooperatives.

Switching to issues of the socialist transformation of agriculture, Kim Il Sung said that the movement for the cooperation of agriculture is developing at a growing rate. He continued, without being satisfied with what has been achieved, we should continue to stimulate the growing movement of the peasants for cooperation, and strengthen the cooperatives already created even further in the organizational and economic sense. In the movement for the cooperation of agriculture it is quite important that the enlistment of peasant farm owners into the ranks of the cooperatives should go gradually, without haste, in conformance with the peasants' readiness and with strict observation of the principle of voluntary participation.

Kim Il Sung said further, our Party should strengthen the management of agricultural cooperatives still further to successfully ensure the socialist transformation of agriculture and to continue to help them.

We should ensure the correct management and be in the avant garde of the mass movement when launching a determined campaign with certain excesses which might be manifested in the course of the cooperation of agriculture.

Cde. Kim Il Sung also stressed the enormous role of the state agricultural and animal husbandry farms and machine rental stations.

Then Cde. Kim Il Sung switched to the tasks of capital construction. He said, the main directions of capital investments during the five-year plan are the assignment of a considerable role of capital investments to production construction and ensuring higher rates of production construction. It is also necessary to continue the investment of a certain amount of money in agricultural construction, ensuring a sharp improvement of agriculture. The scattering of materials and manpower at numerous sites cannot be allowed in capital construction. It is necessary to strictly calculate construction priorities, and direct serious attention to preparatory work. The introduction of standard designs, the standardization of structural elements, the broad application of the prefabrication method in construction, the mechanization of construction work, and the industrialization of the production of construction materials are extremely important questions.

Noting that work on urban construction is still not at the level of the requirements presented by the Party, Kim Il Sung dwelt on the tasks in this area and stressed that the building process of cities needs to be carefully thought over, in a planned manner, paying constant attention to the creation of the best conditions for the life of the population. He noted the great importance of the full use of local materials in construction and the broad use of small-scale mechanization.

In the nine years of people's power, said the speaker, our higher educational institutions and specialized secondary schools have trained many specialists. However, the scientific and technical personnel we have lag far behind the rapid pace of the growth of the country's economy. Therefore the Party should adopt a number of measures to train technical personnel, the need for which is growing in connection with the rapid development of the economy. The network of specialized secondary schools was considerably expanded after the armistice, and additional technical training courses were created for people who had graduated incomplete secondary schools, and many high schools were turned into specialized secondary schools, and specialized secondary schools of a higher type were created which accept graduates of high schools. It is necessary to continue to improve this work.

We need not just a large quantity of workers with a secondary technical education right now. The need for workers with a higher technical education is also growing rapidly. It is necessary to provide for the creation of an independent mining and smelting institute during the first five-year plan, assigning the appropriate departments from the Kim [Chak] Polytechnic Institute, and also [to provide for] the creation of a higher transportation institution. We should expand the network of correspondence technical schools still further, and strengthen work for the technical training of workers in factories and enterprises without leaving production. It is necessary to restructure the work of

schools, specialized secondary schools, and higher educational institutions in order to bring study close to production, to the needs of living.

The tireless concern about the people's material welfare is the highest principle of the activity of our Party. It was and remains at the center of attention of our Party and government.

Therefore our task is to achieve a sharp improvement of agriculture and a faster development of the light and food industries on the basis of the priority development of heavy industry in the years immediately ahead, and also to carry out a further expansion of social and cultural measures, the network of medical and educational institutions, scientific research institutions, and to expand the housing stock. During the five-year plan the average wage of manual laborers and office workers will increase on the basis of a rapid growth of industrial and agricultural production and an increase of labor productivity, the monetary income and the income in kind of the peasants will grow from a successive lowering of state retail prices, and the real income of manual laborers, office workers, and the working peasantry will increase considerably.

During the first five-year plan the ration card system for the supply of manufactured and food goods will be abolished.

During the five-year plan it is necessary to speed up the rate of housing construction and build residential buildings of over six million square meters from state resources.

In the field of public education it is necessary to create conditions in the cities and villages to gradually carry out universal compulsory incomplete secondary (seven-year) education on the basis of the implementation of universal compulsory primary education. It is necessary to still further improve work in the system of higher education so that the number of students of higher educational institutions reaches more than 28,000 by the end of the five-year plan. Work in the area of public health will be considerably improved: the public health conditions in population centers have been improved, the number of hospitals, clinics, and maternity wards have been increased, and their equipment has been improved.

Such are our immediate tasks in the area of the economy. These are large, difficult tasks. But we are confident that all our people will fulfill them successfully under the leadership of our Party thanks to their patriotic activity and creative work.

Then the speaker dwelt on the tasks in the area of strengthening and developing the political and social systems. He said: we need to constantly increase and develop our



political and social systems in order to successfully accomplish the peaceful reunification of the motherland and the building of a socialist economy in the northern part of the country.

In order to do this the Party has to first of all increase the work of the YeDOF and rally all the patriotic forces of the popular masses of our country around it. An increase of the leading role of the working class and a strengthening of the unbreakable union of the working class and the peasantry politically and economically are important conditions in this matter. At the same time we should pursue determined work to strengthen the close ties with members of other parties; believers with middle-sized and petty traders, people of the free professions, that is, with broad strata of the population.

In order to successfully accomplish the gigantic political, economic, cultural, and military tasks facing our Party we need to strengthen and develop people's power, the strongest weapon of our revolution, and increase the role of the organs of internal affairs, the procuracy, and justice. We ought to strive for the popular masses to make maximum use of their democratic rights and create real conditions in which the popular masses can creatively display an inexhaustible collective intellect in order to bring the bodies of people's power closer to the masses and rally the masses around them more strongly.

Cde. Kim Il Sung dwelt on the ruinous consequences of the 10-year dominance of the American imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique in South Korea: the enslavement of the South Korean economy, the ruination of the peasantry, the impoverishment of broad masses of workers, and intensified military preparations.

Kim Il Sung said, the dismemberment of the motherland is a misfortune not only for the population of South Korea but also for the entire Korean people. It is also a great obstacle for the development of our country. The Korean people continue to be left with the national tasks of fighting the aggressive forces of American imperialism and its allies, the landowners, the comprador bourgeoisie, and the pro-American elements of the southern part of the country, a struggle necessary for the liberation of the population of South Korea from the imperialist and feudal yoke and exploitation, and for the reunification of the motherland on a democratic basis and complete national independence. The policy of our Party, directed at the accomplishment of the main task of the Korean revolution at this stage - to achieve the reunification of the motherland on a peaceful democratic basis - is the only possible correct line in the country's current domestic and foreign conditions.

Dwelling on the need to carry out democratic reforms in South Korea, Kim Il Sung then said: we insist on combining the efforts of all political parties, public organizations, and

individual leaders of South Korea to achieve a common goal, the peaceful reunification of the motherland. We propose to convene a joint conference of political parties and public organizations of South and North Korea in order to accomplish such a reunification and create a united front, joining together all patriotic political parties, public organizations, and individuals of South and North Korea with national feelings, and as long as there is no possibility of convening such a conference it is necessary to hold meetings of individual political parties, public organizations, and patriots. Everyone who takes part in this combination of efforts, which pursues the goal of the peaceful reunification of the motherland, ought to forgive their old misdeeds, ensure participation according to their merits and capabilities in a united government which will be established after the reunification of the country, and to keep their property and social status. Stressing the importance of establishing political, economic, and cultural ties between the two parts of the country, the realization of free movement and postal correspondence between South and North Korea, Kim Il Sung said: the government of the DPRK is ready to offer the population of South Korea the electric power, coal, and timber, of which it is feeling an acute need.

We propose to convene a permanent commission which could discuss both the questions of establishing contacts between the South and North of the country as well as the questions of the reunification of Korea and the adoption of specific measures connected with this. Representatives of the governments, higher legislative bodies, political parties, public organizations, and also independent individuals from North and South Korea will take part in this body in identical proportions.

We think that with the creation of the conditions such measures would be the most realistic and if both sides display readiness to fulfill the hopes of the Korean people then this question will be completely solved.

In order to put all our proposals and demands above into effect it is necessary to first of all consolidate the successes of the armistice and turn it into a durable peace. We demand the strict observance of all the conditions of the armistice and the maximum reduction of the number of troops of both sides. Not a single part of Korea should be in a military alliance with other countries. The separate military treaty concluded between the governments of South Korea and the US should be annulled.

All foreign troops need to be withdrawn from Korea, including the American army and the Chinese people's volunteers for a solution of the Korean questions by the Koreans themselves, and no foreign interference in the internal affairs of our country is to be permitted.

At the same time the countries interested in a peaceful settlement of the Korean question should create real conditions for this, convening an international conference with the broad participation of the governments of South and North Korea.

Comrades! Enormous difficulties and obstacles stand in the path of our struggle for independence and reunification of the motherland on a democratic basis. But only this path will bring happiness to our generation and ensure the happiness and prosperity of our descendants.

Therefore, as long as we hold to this fighting line and persistently fight for it we will enjoy the fervent support of the entire Korean people and the active aid and support of the peaceloving forces of the entire world.

The following section of the report is devoted to the Party. Switching to a description of the question of the struggle to strengthen the Party, Cde. Kim Il Sung said: The historic victories won by our Party and the Korean people in the past period are the result of the policy of our Party being unswervingly pursued on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, and the Party organized enormous organizational and mobilization work to accomplish it. At the present time the leading role of our Party has risen incomparably in all areas of state activity and its ties with the popular masses have strengthened immeasurably.

As of the 1st of January 1956 the Korean Worker's Party had 1,164,945 members and 58,259 Party cells (subcells). This is 439,183 people and 28,496 Party cells (subcells - speaker's note) more than were in the Party by the second congress, in spite of the fact that an enormous number of Party members died in the course of the three-year patriotic war of liberation.

Consistently putting the ideas and organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism into practice and creatively adopting the experience of the struggle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal Parties in the conditions of the Korean revolutionary movement, our Party has inherited the glorious traditions of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and strengthened the unity and solidarity of its ranks in every way, the backbone of which are the revolutionary fighters.

Covering the history of the Party Cde. Kim Il Sung dwelt on the Party's struggle against the factionalist group of Pak Heonyeong, the spies of American imperialism. Kim Il Sung said, one of the reasons that the factionalists continued their activity for so long was that before liberation there was no party of the working class and the Party lacked fighting traditions.

The fact that the unprincipled idea of the cult of personality which existed did not provide an opportunity to vigorously fight the factionalists served as one more reason for this, he continued. Many senior officials and Party members who had fallen under the harmful influence of factionalism were too infatuated with the role of personality and assessed the mind of the personality higher than the collective wisdom and, blindly following the personality, could not recognize the mistakes he had made, and they even saw good in the mistakes, as consequence of which they could not organize a powerful struggle against it.

If Party members and senior officials in South Korea had not been too infatuated with Pak Heonyeong, his clique, and other factional elements after liberation but had organized a powerful struggle against him, then the criminal acts of this band would have been exposed in time and our Party in South Korea would not have ended up ruined to such a degree.

Therefore our Party ought to know full well that it is impossible to strengthen our own ranks, it is impossible to carry out the revolutionary tasks with which the Party is faced, without a merciless fight against factionalism inside our ranks, without its ruthless elimination, and without a complete eradication of the idea of the cult of personality.

The speaker then switched to the question of the organizational and instructional work of the Party. He said that the social composition of the Party is: workers - 22.6%, poor peasants - 56.8%, middle peasants - 3.7%, office workers - 13%, and others - 3.9%. More than half of Party members joined it after the beginning of the patriotic war of liberation.

Kim Il Sung then said that it is necessary to try to raise the level of work by stepping up Party work and to seek an increase of Party seasoning and class self-consciousness of Party members to the level up of the new tasks with which the Party is faced.

Touching on the shortcomings in the organizational work, Kim Il Sung said that in particular it is necessary for senior officials to exhibit an example of strict observance of the norms of Party life. He said, there are many such senior officials who do not take an active part in Party life, considering themselves some sort of privileged people. As a result, in spite of the fact that everyone recognizes in word that the Party cannot have two disciplines, one for leaders and another for ordinary [members], in fact in individual Party organizations two disciplines secretly exist, and a different approach is permitted.

We should even more strictly observe the Leninist principle according to which active participation in Party life and the faithful implementation of Party directives should be the duty of all Party members regardless of their merits and the posts they hold. It is necessary to increase intra-Party democracy still higher, to increase criticism and self-criticism, and especially criticism from below, and to strictly observe the principle of collective leadership in all the activity of Party organizations at all levels to strengthen Party life, and to thereby increase the activity and initiative of Party members.

Kim Il Sung said that up to now some Party members have not realized that they are servants of the people and not exhibit a readiness to selflessly fight for the interests of the masses. He noted further that Party organizations should strictly keep to the Party principle of the selection and placement of personnel and when doing so ensure conditions under which they could devote all their abilities and knowledge to the cause of the revolution.

Then the speaker stressed the great importance in organizational party work of the management of the Party and public organizations - trade unions, the union of democratic youth, and women's and youth organizations.

Then Cde. Kim Il Sung noted that in the past period the Party had achieved many successes in ideological work; however it still has many shortcomings, the chief of which are that formalism and doctrinaire attitudes, which cause it much harm, have still not been eliminated in ideological work. Ideological work should be set up so that its main goals, the direction, and the content are dictated by the revolutionary goals which are being advanced at a certain period of the development of the revolution.

Kim Il Sung continued, to master Marxism-Leninism does not mean to blindly learn individual provisions of Marxist-Leninist theory by heart. It means to be able to understand the revolutionary essence of this theory and on its basis to scientifically summarize the experience of revolutionary struggle and the questions raised by reality, to draw correct conclusions from them, and employ them in practical work.

The task of mass political work is to raise the socialist consciousness in the working masses so that they consciously fight for the accomplishment of the political and economic tasks with which the Party and people are faced.

Then Kim Il Sung noted that all agitprop work should be closely connected with economic work and its results should find their reflection in economic policy.

The report raises tasks in the area of propaganda, publishing, school and educational work, science and culture, and literature and art.

In conclusion Cde. Kim Il Sung said that in the past the Korean Worker's Party had done enormous work in the name of the victory of the revolution and had traveled a brilliant victorious path of glorious struggle.

However, the victories we have won in the past can be characterized as only a beginning in the face of those grandiose tasks which will henceforth be turned into reality.

We should correctly lead all the Korean people, realize the great cause of democratic reunification and the achievement of the independence of the motherland, and victoriously advance the building of socialism in the name of the further strengthening of the revolutionary democratic base in the northern part of the country. Here where the main task of our Party lies at this stage.

We have a Korean Worker's Party, the headquarters of the revolution, the steel ranks of which have been tempered and forged together in battle with internal and external enemies, and the united, inexhaustible revolutionary forces of our hardworking, steadfast people. We have foreign friends who give us active aid in our just struggle and fight with us hand in hand....

We are immeasurably gladdened by the broad prospects for a boundlessly happy future of our motherland and our people which should be created. The all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism lights the broad path forward for us with a bright light, and gives us who travel along this path the courage and steadfastness in struggle. Victory and glory will always be on the side of those who go forward under this banner.

Bearing the banner of Marxism-Leninism high, under the leadership of the organizer and inspirer of all the victories of the Korean people, the Korean Worker's Party, more boldly forward to the final victory of the revolution!

Kim Il Sung turns to Cde. Stalin and says that the approved 2-year plan for development of the Korean economy ends this year. In this regard the question arises about drawing up a new plan. In connection with a new plan several questions have arisen which we would like to discuss with you.

1. About industrial engineering [*mashinostroyeniye*]. In the near future we will have no possibility of broadly developing industrial engineering. Therefore we would like to

develop the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy required for industrial engineering. We want to somehow receive from the Soviet Union production for industrial engineering of automobiles, tractors, locomotives, instruments, etc.

As is known, in the earth of Korea there are many minerals which constitute the main hard-currency reserve [*fond*] of Korea.

Cde. Stalin asks by way of clarification asks: what minerals?

Kim Il Sung explains that in the earth of Korea there is much gold, silver, tungsten, lead, and other minerals.

Cde. Stalin: That's good.

Kim Il Sung further explains that they would like to agree with the Soviet government what is better to develop in Korea and what the Soviet Union is interested in.

Replying to the question of Kim Il Sung, Cde. Stalin explains that the Soviet Union is interested in receiving lead, tungsten, tin, and gold from Korea. These we will buy for many years.

Further Kim Il Sung indicates that in Korea besides anthracite there is no other coal. The prices for rail shipments are very high. In Korea there is much hydroelectric power. Therefore we would like to electrify the railroads. In this matter we need the aid of the Soviet government in the form of electromechanical equipment, electric locomotives, transformers, etc.

Cde. Stalin says that the Soviet Union makes this equipment and we will help you.

Kim Il Sung further raised the question of the development of shipbuilding in Korea, pointing out that in Korea there are the conditions for developing shipbuilding, there are shipyards, a workforce, but no experienced technical personnel or drawings from which ships could be built. We request that the Soviet government help us in this matter.

Cde. Stalin said that if you have repair shops then they need to be developed where you have such shipyards.

Kim Il Sung explains that there are such shipyards in Sensin [Wonsan], Geltsun [Galcheon], and Tsenasin [Cheongjin].

Cde. Stalin: We are a position to help you in developing shipbuilding.

Further Kim Il Sung appealed to Cde. Stalin, saying: we would like to ask you, Cde. Stalin, to permit us to send a large group of workers to the Soviet Union for practical production experience, in order that they can master production of rail cars, mechanical picks, rubber articles, housing construction, etc.

We sent 29 people last year.

Cde. Stalin asks: But where are they working and are they not complaining about anything?

Kim Il Sung says that they are working at Soviet factories and are very satisfied with their working conditions.

Cde. Stalin says that we can take [them] in the [Far] East; we have such concerns.

Kim Il Sung says that up to the present time, excluding military advisers and instructors at higher educational schools institutions 136 Soviet specialists are working in Korea; of them, 73 (have finished) their service and will return to the USSR. We would like to ask [you] to send additional Soviet specialists for which we will present an additional request.

Stalin: Good. Since part will leave then [they] can be sent. Just send a request [naming] who is needed.

Kim Il Sung: The next question we would like to raise is about land development in Korea. After land reform we will considerably raise the standard of living of the peasants, [although] some part of the peasants could turn into kulaks. We would like to consult [with you] and receive instructions from you.

Cde. Stalin asks: Do you want to organize collective farms?

Kim Il Sung explains that for now the question has not come up in as much as the country has not been unified, but we should provide for [this] in our future plan.

Cde. Stalin, replying to a question of Kim Il Sung, points out that it's not necessary to be hasty in such a matter. If you do not have collective/state farms [*khozy*], evidently you have little land.

Kim Il Sung explains that they have state collective/state farms [*gos khozy*], but not many.



Cde. Stalin asks if [you] know how much arable land there is in Korea.

Kim Il Sung gives the figure.

Cde. Stalin says that is little land and asks if you have swampland.

Kim Il Sung explains that they do not have swampland, but they have lands which during tidal surges [*priliva*] are flooded with salty sea water and they want to reclaim about 300 thousand hectares by building a dam.

Cde. Stalin asks how far the mountain range goes into the distance of the country from north to south.

Kim Il Sung explains that the mountain range goes from the border with Manchuria to the south.

Cde. Stalin, turning to Kim Il Sung, points out that they have little land.

Kim Il Sung explains that they want to begin construction of a dam in order to reclaim a large territory from the sea and as Korean specialists confirm that this does not require great resources. They want to create state farms [*gos khozyaystva*] on this land.

Cde. Stalin Yes, this is possible. Half of the Netherlands is in dykes. You needn't be in a hurry with collective farms. We will give you tractors and you need to develop the state farms.

Further Kim Il Sung raises the question of Mortrans. When the Mortrans company [*obshchestvo*] was created the Koreans agreed to transfer to the company a port belonging to a metallurgical plant. Now it has been decided to restore the plant. Consequently, the plant needs the port. Perhaps the port could be returned to the plant so that the Koreans could somehow be compensated for this port.

Cde. Stalin: Of course, this is possible. [They] can be compensated.

Kim Il Sung explains the need to transfer the port to the plant.

Cde. Stalin replies: What you want can be done. It's possible to liquidate the company. Whatever you want, so it will be.

Kim Il Sung No, the company is needed; just transfer the plant's port to the plant.

Further Kim Il Sung turns to Cde. Stalin with a request to help with personnel, instructors for a military academy. They want to create a military academy and they need 7-8 instructors.

Cde. Stalin, turning to Cde. Bulganin, asks: What do you think, can [we] help?

Cde. Bulganin replies that [they] can help.

Further Kim Il Sung turns to Cde. Stalin with a question: do they consider it possible to create a Cominform bureau of Eastern Communist parties and workers' parties? This would help coordinate the actions of these parties.

Cde. Stalin indicates that it's necessary to hold off on this question. It's not clear to us how the Japanese Communist Party [is doing] there, it's not clear to us in the Philippines. In India there's a Communist Party, but its situation is not clear.

So you and we can understand one another. You, we, and the Chinese can agree and understand one another.

Kim Il Sung replies that it's good. Now it is clear to him.

Kim Il Sung, turning to Cde. Stalin further, says that 5 years have passed since the liberation of Korea by the Soviet Army and that a great deal has been done in that time. Regarding the rebirth of national culture and art what we want is to send a group of 75-100 artists to the Soviet Union to exhibit the achievements of Korean art.

Cde. Stalin replies that it is possible to send [them] but it should be in summer.

Kim Il Sung: Yes, we want to send [them] in May-June of this year, about 75-100 people.

Cde. Stalin asks whether you plant cotton.

Kim Il Sung replies that yes they plant cotton.

Further, Cde. Stalin asks: but are there textile mills?

