

KIM IL SUNG

WORKS

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

W O R K S

4

January–December 1948

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
PYONGYANG, KOREA

1981

CONTENTS

NEW YEAR ADDRESS

January 1, 1948 1

ON IMPROVING AND STRENGTHENING THE WORK OF THE TEACHERS TRAINING COLLEGES

Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium of the Central
Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, *January 5, 1948* 5

TALK TO MEMBERS OF THE PARTY CELL IN SINMAL, ANCHAN-DONG, KANGGYE COUNTY

January 12, 1948 12

WHAT SHOULD WE DO AND HOW SHOULD WE WORK THIS YEAR?

Speech at a Meeting of Activists of All the Political Parties and Social
Organizations in Kanggye County, *January 12, 1948* 19

ON LAUNCHING THE PEOPLE'S ARMY PAPER AND EDITING IT PROPERLY

Talk to Workers Concerned with the People's Army
Paper, *January 21, 1948* 34

ON THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Speech at a Conference of the Organization of the Workers' Party
of North Korea, in Suncheon County, South Phyongan
Province, *January 24, 1948*..... 40

**HOW TO DEVELOP STATE-RUN INDUSTRY AND
MANAGE ENTERPRISES?**

Talk to Managers and Technicians of State-Run
Enterprises, *January 25, 1948*..... 56

**ON THE REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
PLAN FOR 1947 AND ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR 1948**

Report to the Fourth Session of the People’s Assembly
of North Korea, *February 6, 1948* 63

1. On the Review of the Implementation of the Plan for Rehabilitation
and Development of the National Economy for 1947 63

2. On the National Economic Development Plan for 1948..... 73

 Industrial Development 74

 Development of Agriculture, Forestry and the Fisheries 78

 Transport and Communications..... 80

 Trade and Urban Management 81

 Progress in Education, Culture and the Public Health Service 83

**ON THE OCCASION OF THE FOUNDING
OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE’S ARMY**

Speech at a Review of the Korean People’s Army, *February 8, 1948*..... 87

**LET OUR NATIONAL DANCES ACCORD WITH OUR
PEOPLE’S FEELINGS AND DEMANDS**

Instructions to Teachers and Students of the Dance
Studio, *February 8, 1948*..... 95

**TASKS BEFORE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE STRUGGLE
TO CARRY OUT THIS YEAR’S NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN**

Report at the 12th Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers’
Party of North Korea, *February 9, 1948*..... 99

LET US TRAIN SOLDIERS TO BE MASTER GUNNERS

Speech to Officers of the Artillery Sub-Unit of Unit 395
of the Korean People’s Army, *February 20, 1948* 109

ON THE WORK OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Report at the Second Conference of the Organizations of the Workers' Party of North Korea in South Hamgyong Province, <i>February 21, 1948</i>	116
--	-----

CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH HAMGYONG PROVINCE

<i>February 21, 1948</i>	141
--------------------------------	-----

ON LAYING THE FIRM ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE COUNTRY

Speech at the People's Factory in the Hungnam District, <i>February 22, 1948</i>	146
---	-----

AGAINST THE ELECTIONS OF A REACTIONARY SEPARATE GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH KOREA AND FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF KOREA'S REUNIFICATION AND INDEPENDENCE

Speech at the 25th Meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea, <i>March 9, 1948</i>	151
1. Who Has Frustrated the Implementation of the Decision of the Moscow Conference on the Establishment of a Unified, Democratic Government of Korea and How?.....	152
2. US Imperialism and the Korean Question in the United Nations.....	155
3. Korea Will Become a Unified, Independent Democratic State	160

ON SOME TASKS OF IMPROVING THE HEALTH SERVICE AND HYGIENE WORK

Concluding Speech at the 62nd Session of the People's Committee of North Korea, <i>March 19, 1948</i>	163
--	-----

REPORT TO THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF NORTH KOREA ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

<i>March 28, 1948</i>	169
-----------------------------	-----

I. The International Situation.....	169
1. Changes in the Alignment of International Political Forces since the War.....	169
2. The Struggle between the Democratic and Reactionary Forces in the International Arena.....	172
II. The Internal Situation	179
1. The Political Situation in Korea and the Struggle for the Country's Reunification.....	179
2. Establishment of People's Power of a New Type and Enforcement of Democratic Reforms	187
3. The Economic Policy of Our Party and Economic Construction.....	194
III. The Party.....	201
1. The Struggle for Party Consolidation	201
2. The Growth of Party Ranks and the Work of Organizational Leadership.....	206
3. Party Information Work and Ideological Education	214

**EVERY EFFORT FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE
DEMOCRATIC BASE AND THE REUNIFICATION
AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNTRY**

Concluding Speech at the Second Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea, <i>March 29, 1948</i>	221
---	-----

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NORTH KOREA

Report at the Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea, <i>April 21, 1948</i>	232
1. The Situation in North Korea	235
2. The Struggle against US Imperialist Manoeuvres to Divide Korea	246
3. The Korean People's Struggle for a Unified, Democratic Government	251

TALK TO A PRESS CORPS FROM SOUTH KOREA

<i>April 29, 1948</i>	255
-----------------------------	-----

TALK WITH KIM KU

<i>May 3, 1948</i>	260
--------------------------	-----

TALK WITH HONG MYONG HUI

<i>May 6, 1948</i>	270
--------------------------	-----

**YOU MUST BE A POWERFUL PEOPLE'S ARMED
FORCE THAT DEFENDS THE INTERESTS OF THE
COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE**

Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Officers of the Independent
Security Brigade under the Interior Bureau, *May 11, 1948* 279

**LET US FURTHER CONSOLIDATE AND DEVELOP
THE SUCCESSES ACHIEVED IN THE CAMPAIGN
AGAINST ILLITERACY**

Talk with Officials of the Central Anti-Illiteracy Exhibition, *May 22, 1948* 285

**LET US MAKE THE MUSAN MINE A DEPENDABLE
IRON-ORE CENTRE**

Instructions to Officials of the Musan Mine, *June 7, 1948*..... 290

**DUTIES OF THE CHAIRMAN OF A COUNTY
PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE**

Instructions to the Participants in the National Training Course
for the Chairmen of City and County People's Committees, *June 18, 1948*..... 295

**LET US STRENGTHEN FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY
WITH THE WORKING YOUTH OF THE WORLD**

Instructions to the Delegates of the Korean Working Youth
to the International Conference of Working Youth, *June 20, 1948*..... 303

**ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY AFTER
THE SEPARATE ELECTIONS IN SOUTH KOREA AND
MEASURES TO WIN NATIONAL REUNIFICATION**

Report Delivered at the Conference of Leaders of Political Parties
and Public Organizations of North and South Korea, *June 29, 1948* 309

ON DEVELOPING THE FISHING INDUSTRY ON A NEW BASIS

Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium of the Central
Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea, *July 8, 1948*..... 316

**ON THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

Report Delivered at the Fifth Session of the People’s Assembly
of North Korea, *July 9, 1948* 322

1. Two Lines of the Country’s Development 322

2. The Political Situation in Our Country after the Separate
Elections in South Korea 327

3. Our People’s Immediate Tasks 333

**CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE 71ST SESSION
OF THE PEOPLE’S COMMITTEE OF NORTH KOREA**

July 26, 1948..... 341

1. On Some Measures to Rectify Shortcomings in Fulfilling the National
Economic Plan for the First Half of 1948 341

2. On Simplifying Office Work 346

3. On Properly Mapping Out the Two-Year National Economic Plan..... 348

DUTY OF THE SECURITY FORCES ON THE 38TH PARALLEL

Instructions to the Third Security Brigade Commander
under the Security Department of the Interior Bureau
on His Appointment, *August 7, 1948* 350

**REPORT DELIVERED AT THE PYONGYANG
CELEBRATION OF THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY
OF AUGUST 15 LIBERATION**

August 14, 1948 356

1. Success in Building Democracy in North Korea in the Three
Years since Liberation 357

2. The Outcome of the Three-Year Rule of South Korea by the Pro-Japanese
Elements, Traitors to the Nation, and Other Reactionaries
and the US Military Government 363

3. Our Tasks 368

**ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE SUPREME
PEOPLE’S ASSEMBLY OF KOREA**

Speech to Voters in the Sungho Electoral District of Kangdong County, South Phyongan Province, <i>August 23, 1948</i>	372
--	-----

STATEMENT ON THE TRANSFER OF POWER

Made at the First Session of the Supreme People’s Assembly of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, <i>September 8, 1948</i>	381
--	-----

**THE POLITICAL PROGRAMME OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC
PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

Announced at the First Session of the Supreme People’s Assembly of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, <i>September 10, 1948</i>	384
--	-----

**LET US ALL UNITE FIRMLY AROUND THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE REPUBLIC AND MARCH FORWARD TO BUILD
A DEMOCRATIC KOREA**

Speech at the Pyongyang Mass Rally to Celebrate the Establishment of the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, <i>September 12, 1948</i>	390
---	-----

**YOU MUST BE INTERIOR WORKERS FAITHFUL
TO THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE**

Congratulatory Speech Delivered at the First Graduation Ceremony of the Central Security Officers School under the Ministry of the Interior, <i>September 19, 1948</i>	393
--	-----

LET US TRAIN MORE COMPETENT NATIONAL CADRES

Speech at the Ceremony for the Completion of the New Building of Kim Il Sung University, <i>October 10, 1948</i>	397
---	-----

**OFFICERS MUST PLAY THE CENTRAL ROLE IN
INCREASING THE COMBAT ABILITY OF THEIR UNITS**

Speech at the Graduation Banquet to Celebrate the Second Term of the First Central Military Academy, <i>October 14, 1948</i>	401
---	-----

TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY POLITICAL WORK IN THE UNITS

Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Cultural Service Personnel
of the Security Forces, *October 21, 1948*..... 405

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH IS THE BASIC
TASK OF THE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE ORGANIZATIONS

Speech at the Third Congress of the Democratic Youth League
of North Korea, *November 13, 1948*..... 421

SOME TASKS TO IMPROVE THE PEOPLE’S MATERIAL
AND CULTURAL STANDARDS

Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium of the Central
Committee of the Workers’ Party of North Korea, *November 22, 1948*..... 432

ON THE MAJOR TASKS OF THE TWO-YEAR NATIONAL
ECONOMIC PLAN

Concluding Speech at the 10th Plenary Meeting of the Cabinet
of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, *November 25, 1948*..... 437

BE THE COUNTRY’S FINEST WORKERS FOLLOWING
THE WILL OF OUR REVOLUTIONARY FORERUNNERS

Speech Delivered before the Teachers and Pupils
of the Mangyongdae School for Bereaved Families
of Revolutionaries, *December 11, 1948*..... 444

NEW YEAR ADDRESS

January 1, 1948

Seeing out the year 1947 in which we advanced triumphantly to build our liberated homeland into a prosperous, fully independent and sovereign democratic state and ushering in 1948, I would like, on behalf of the People's Committee of North Korea, to congratulate all the Korean people, and wish them further brilliant successes and glory in the new year.

1947 was a year in which the Korean people registered great successes. The people in north Korea made every effort to consolidate and develop the success of the democratic reforms, build up the economic foundation of the country by turning all possible conditions to good account, and draw up and carry out the national economic plan for raising the people's material and cultural standard of living.

Thanks to the patriotic ardour of all the people and the combined strength of the democratic forces, the national economic plan for 1947, the first of its kind in our history, was crowned with success. With the successful implementation of the plan the country's economic foundation was further strengthened, the people's material and cultural standard of living were improved substantially, and they now have greater national pride and complete confidence that they can transform their country into a thriving, independent and sovereign state by themselves.

Our people have rehabilitated on their own the factories, mines and rail transport facilities damaged by the Japanese imperialists and,

in spite of shortage of materials and many other difficulties, have been able to operate large enterprises such as the People's Factory in the Hungnam District, the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Songjin Steel Plant and the Suphung Power Station by their own technology and efforts. This is something our nation can be really proud of, that helps all the people to have great confidence.

These successes and achievements could be attained last year only because political power is in the hands of the people, all the country's resources and industrial establishments belong to the people, and the people have worked enthusiastically, displaying creative initiative.

The experience of north Korea has shown that our nation can definitely build a people's government, a national economy and a prosperous, independent and sovereign state by themselves. It has also proved with greater clarity that the complete independence and sovereignty of our Korea will not be granted by any imperialists or the UN Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCK) and the like which are manipulated by the fraudulent means and dollars of the imperialists but that it must be won by our nation itself. The UNTCK can in no way solve the Korean question. Being rulers who themselves are subordinated to foreign countries, and are unable to cope with the problems of their own nations, how can they be so cheeky as to try to deal with the Korean question? They have nothing to offer the Korean people. If there is anything they can do, it is only to put into effect the heinous colonial policy of the US imperialists to invade our country. Therefore, the Korean question can be solved only when all the foreign troops withdraw from Korea and our people advance along the road of building a fully independent and sovereign state by themselves.

Greeting the New Year of 1948, I would like to call on all my fellow countrymen once again to strive for establishing a unified Democratic People's Republic as soon as possible with greater national pride and with the confidence that our people are fully capable of building a prosperous, independent and sovereign state.

In 1948 all the Korean people should do their best to further

consolidate and develop the democratic successes already achieved.

On the basis of the present successes in the building of democracy, we should make every effort to enact and enforce a new, democratic and people-oriented Constitution demanded by all the Korean people and, in accordance with it, create a new life and build a unified, democratic state.

On the experience gained in fulfilling the national economic plan for 1947, we should work out the one for 1948 and carry it out in order to bring about a marked improvement in the people's material and cultural standard of living and reinforce the foundation of the national economy.

This year industrial production should be more than doubled as against last year and daily necessities for the people turned out in greater quantities.

In the rural economic sector grain production should be increased and stockbreeding developed, and in fisheries the output of seafood boosted.

Thus the people's vital requirements should be satisfied, prices of commodities reduced and their material and cultural standard of living raised still further.

We should not become content and drunk with the victory already won, but work with a higher degree of patriotic zeal.

All the officials should organize manpower efficiently, arrange and fulfil their assignments in detail and show initiative in work.

Everybody should have the true attitude of master to his work. Today our people are the masters of government and of their work. All the people should work with the patriotic idea that they are discharging their duties to build their own state and with enthusiasm and a fighting will worthy of masters of a new country.

All the people should discard all the old customs belonging to the days of Japanese imperialism and become men and women of a new type living in a new Korea. All unpatriotic and insincere practices—neglecting to value and economize state property, seeking a lazy life, and having no interest in state affairs and so on—must be

rooted out from within our ranks. Thus all efforts must be devoted to the building of a new country and everything subordinated to the construction of an independent and sovereign state.

We must struggle against the plots of the reactionaries who sell out the country in collaboration with the imperialists to satisfy personal ambitions and must always maintain sharp vigilance to detect and smash the reactionaries promptly so that they cannot lie hidden among the masses of the people for a single moment even.

Welcoming the New Year, I extend hearty greetings to our fellow countrymen in south Korea, the other half of our territory, who are suffering from US imperialist rule, and pay my high respects to all patriotic people for their heroic struggle.

It is my firm belief that the people of south Korea, too, like those in north Korea, will be able to enjoy a happy life in the not too distant future.

With all their efforts and sincerity, the people of north Korea will always give active support and encouragement to the people of south Korea struggling to free themselves from the yoke of US imperialist rule. The building of democracy by the north Korean people instils greater confidence in the people of south Korea and, at the same time, serves as their only hope and a reliable prop.

All the democratic forces and people of Korea should remain united and push ahead to build a completely independent and sovereign state as soon as possible.

Victory is always on the side of democracy and belongs to our people.

ON IMPROVING AND STRENGTHENING THE WORK OF THE TEACHERS TRAINING COLLEGES

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium of the Central
Committee of the Workers' Party of North Korea**

January 5, 1948

At the current meeting we have summed up the review of the work of the Pyongyang Teachers Training College made by the Party Central Committee and discussed measures how to improve and strengthen the training of teachers.

The report on the review and speeches pointed to shortcomings in the work of this college and the numerous steps that should be taken to eliminate them, so I shall dwell on a few matters only regarding improvement in the work of teachers training colleges.

Upholding the Party's educational policy, the Pyongyang Teachers Training College has so far attained no small success in training teachers to work in the forefront of democratic education in the future. It detected and purged the impure and alien elements among the teaching staff and students, ensuring the purity of their ranks, and strove to increase the students' zeal for study and the percentage of attendance. In particular, it played a vanguard role after calling on colleges across the country to launch an emulation drive to further the students' scholarly attainments and strengthen campus discipline. It also conducted well the work of safeguarding itself by organizing a student self-defence corps.

However, these are only the initial successes. The satisfactory fulfilment of the responsible duties devolving upon the college necessitates a radical improvement in its work.

Improvement in the work of the teachers training college is a prerequisite for progress in school education. Only when this college trains many competent teachers with political and practical qualifications, will it be possible to accurately fulfil our Party's educational policy and bring up the rising generation to be efficient workers. Improvement in this work is a matter of urgency that must be tackled to ensure the success of universal compulsory primary education. Since we are planning to introduce this measure within a few years, teachers training colleges will have to intensify the training of large numbers of qualified teachers.

The Party organizations and their officials at all levels should clearly understand the aim and significance of improving college work and pay serious Party attention to it.

The most important aspect of improving college work is to fully ensure political and ideological content and scientific accuracy of teaching.

This is an important matter that stems from the educational objective of our Party.

All along our Party's educational objective has been to train the younger generation so well that they can serve the country and the people with devotion. If this objective is to be realized, political and ideological content and scientific accuracy must be fully guaranteed in education so that all students are thoroughly equipped with progressive thought and a wealth of scientific knowledge.

As was pointed out in the report, the Pyongyang Teachers Training College has failed so far to ensure sufficient political and ideological content and scientific accuracy in education. The college has had no uniform teaching programme and organized no scientific research work to raise the teaching staff's political and practical qualifications. As a consequence, there has been a serious inclination among teachers to use textbooks devoid of ideological content and even

those with a reactionary content when conducting lessons. Some teachers have used as a textbook on Korean literature the novel *Heartlessness* of Ri Kwang Su, a traitor to the nation. What is more, this college has given scarcely any lectures since last September on the history of the revolution, an important political subject.

We should draw a serious lesson from these facts and fully ensure political and ideological content and scientific accuracy in college education.

The Education Bureau should see to it that the educational work at the college is carried out in keeping with the line, decisions and directives of the Party, and that the teaching of political subjects in particular is strengthened. And the teachers themselves should undertake tireless research to guarantee the political and ideological content and scientific accuracy of education.

To improve the work of the teachers training college the teaching staff need to be built up.

Unless the teachers training college is staffed with excellent people, it will be impossible to improve the quality of education and, accordingly, train the students to be able educationists with progressive thought and a great fund of knowledge. Nevertheless, senior officials of the Education Bureau make little effort to build up the staffs at teachers' training colleges.

In the present situation the building up of college teaching staff is a matter of the utmost urgency and, at the same time, one of the most difficult problems to solve. Owing to the baneful effects in the past of Japanese imperialist colonial rule for 36 long years, our country now has very few cadres of its own. In the days of Japanese imperialism the Koreans had a hard job getting into primary school, let alone college. That is why very few Koreans have a college education.

At the present time our country is short of cadres for administering the state and has very few technicians and specialists in the economy and culture. There are still fewer qualified people suitable for college teachers. In these circumstances, if we do not strive to resolve the problem of college teachers, the building up of their ranks will remain

on paper and we shall be led to believe that the management of colleges is out of the question.

I think that even under the present conditions the problem of college teaching staff can be solved for certain by ourselves, if only officials make an intensive study of the situation and put their shoulder to the wheel. It all depends on how vigorously our officials set about the task of building up the ranks of college teachers.

Party organizations at all levels and the Education Bureau should take concrete steps to build up the teachers' ranks and settle this problem come what may.

With a view to solving the problem of college teaching staff, those who are capable of giving lectures at colleges should be selected from among Party and government officials and engineers active at factories and enterprises. If they are provided with necessary teaching materials and syllabuses for self-study, and discussions on teaching methods and such like are organized frequently, they will be able to acquire the political and practical qualifications necessary for college teachers within a short time and will be able to lecture at college.

Steps should be taken to radically raise the standards of teachers now in employment.

Since the college teachers' standards are low, they cannot conduct teaching properly. If they are to educate students, they should have a wealth of knowledge.

Party organizations should do extensive work to raise the political and practical ability of college teaching staff.

To raise this ability it is important to enhance their level of ideological consciousness.

Party organizations should intensify education to eliminate the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism lingering among teachers and to equip them with progressive, democratic thought. They should be brought to understand fully our Party's line, decisions and directives and informed of the internal and external situation in good time.

Further, close attention should be paid so that college teachers will

be well posted in educational practice. If their level of educational practice is low, they cannot admirably fulfil their duty as an educator, no matter how high their level of political and ideological consciousness. Therefore, they should be encouraged to study further and acquire educational theories and methods and possess a professional and many-sided knowledge.

In order to improve their political and practical qualifications, it is imperative to thoroughly establish the habit of study among them. Party organizations should provide them with reference books and other conditions for study and frequently organize short courses for teachers, discussions about teaching methods and the like.

If we make efforts in this way, we will not only be able to solve the problem of a dearth of teachers but also to give instruction on all subjects ourselves. Some people say that the teachers we have trained cannot give instruction in social science subjects, but they are gravely mistaken. They are fully able to do so and should be encouraged to do so without fail.

The question of teaching materials must be solved.

We must make our own teaching materials in keeping with our actual conditions. Then we can ensure ideological content, scientific accuracy and coordination in education and raise its qualitative level.

There is nothing mysterious about writing textbooks. If college teachers and specialists are properly mobilized for this, textbooks and reference books to conform with our actual conditions can easily be made. The Education Bureau should assign them the task of compiling texts and, when finished, check them carefully before having them printed.

As for textbooks on natural science subjects, translations of foreign ones should be used for the time being. To translate textbooks, the necessary steps must be taken such as organizing a translation committee.

It is essential to supply printing equipment, too, for the publication of schoolbooks.

The enrolment of college students must be conducted well.

The teachers training college is responsible for bringing up people who in the future will be charged with the education of the younger generation. Efficient student enrolment is essential for ensuring the purity of teachers' ranks and for having the education of the younger generation make sound progress.

In the past the Education Bureau and the college took on students at random to fill up vacancies, with the result that the student body became very complicated, and even impure elements had slipped into their ranks. Those elements slackened school discipline and conducted reactionary propaganda among the students. Nobody should be enrolled indiscriminately in a sacred democratic college.

The Education Bureau and the college should get rid of this tendency to mechanically fill up the set number of vacancies and admit the sons and daughters of workers, peasants and other working people who will faithfully serve their country and people.

Not only should the selection of new students be handled with care, but the ranks of college students should be reexamined so that those from the middle class can be won over through education and the reactionary ones expelled without compunction.

Party organizations should strengthen their guidance of college work.

At present Party organizations in colleges fail to play their role properly. The shortcomings in college work, too, are chiefly due to the fact that they are unable to give it proper guidance and assistance.

Few of the chairmen of college Party committees and cells are experienced in Party work, and their qualifications for such work are very low. People who took the floor criticized the Party organization of the Pyongyang Teachers Training College for having acted like a "censorship station" which proves that primary officials of this organization, although they make efforts, are not well acquainted as yet with the methods of Party work.

Therefore, the Party committees of South Phyongan Province and the city of Pyongyang should give effective guidance and assistance to the college Party organizations. The Pyongyang Municipal Party

Committee should not leave Party work at the college entirely to its Party organizations but should give them direct guidance.

The Cultural Workers Department and the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee, too, should plan round-table conferences and lectures on politics and current topics for college teachers and intensify their political and ideological education. Thus all the teachers should be encouraged to equip themselves thoroughly with Marxism-Leninism and our Party's policies and steadily bring to perfection the content and methods of education to suit the democratic education system.

**TALK TO MEMBERS OF THE PARTY
CELL IN SINMAL, ANCHAN-DONG,
KANGGYE COUNTY**

January 12, 1948

I am going to talk to you about a few questions today.

Since the agrarian reform, agriculture in our country has made remarkable progress and the peasants' material and cultural well-being has improved rapidly. The living standards of the peasants in this village, too, have improved beyond comparison since liberation. In the main, they are self-sufficient with regard to food and their houses are in fairly good condition.

I am very gratified to see the peasants here, the formerly ill-clad and starved sharecroppers, living in happiness now free from worry about their livelihood thanks to the agrarian reform. Indeed, it is a matter of pride that in this mountain area, not in flatland, such success has been achieved in a brief period of only two years since the reform.

But you should not be content or self-complacent with the success. No matter how great your achievement, it is no more than a basis for a better life in the future. You should not feel self-satisfied with your results but should work harder to consolidate the victory of the democratic reforms and build a happier and more plentiful life.

You should first strive to increase grain production. Rice is grown on a small scale in this part of the country. If you are to raise the grain output, you must take the line of drastically increasing rice

cultivation. Rice paddies are far more productive than non-paddy fields. You can cultivate rice here on a broad scale by building irrigation works and using water from the river. So you should build many irrigation works to bring the rain-dependent rice paddies under irrigation and turn many non-paddy fields into rice paddies. Then, the peasants here, too, will be able to live on rice like those in the flatland.

You should grow plenty of oil-bearing crops to solve the problem of edible oil. In the old days when they had no land of their own, the peasants had no way of providing oil for themselves however much they wanted to, but now they can solve this problem quite easily, if only they try. Sesame and wild sesame must be planted along the edges and between the furrows of fields for the production of much edible oil.

You should make efforts to develop stockbreeding. This is the way to satisfy the people's meat requirements and provide hides and wool to promote light industry. That is not all the good that can be got out of developing animal husbandry. Domestic animals, if raised by every peasant family, will provide much manure to fertilize farm land and result in a marked increase of the grain yield. Each farmhouse, therefore, should raise many domestic animals such as oxen, pigs and sheep. It would be a good idea, if possible, for each farm family to raise two pigs or the like every year.

You should also plant many fruit trees. They say that the pear grows well over here. So, if every family plants pear trees and looks after them well, they will have a large crop of delicious pears. Well stored, this fruit will come in handy when they have a guest or will be refreshing if they eat a few when suffering from a headache. Pears can be stored in their frozen state in winter. Frozen pears have an exceptional taste. Peasants will earn much money if they sell their rich crop of pears to the shops of consumers' cooperatives or at the markets. You should plant lots of pear trees on hillocks and around houses and also plum and other fruit trees, as well as vines suited to the climate here. Then, the village will be a mass of blossom in

springtime and a mass of fruit of all kinds in autumn—a beautiful and bountiful place good to live in.

One of the problems that must be solved for the welfare of the peasants here is the matter of clothing. For this, you should raise plenty of silkworms. How nice it will be, if you produce enough silk in this way to make silk clothes for holidays or for visiting! Mulberry fields must be laid out here on a large scale so that large supplies of silkworms can be bred.

Mountains should be exploited extensively as a sideline. Mountains in this region have inexhaustible supplies of timber, a variety of wild fruits, and plenty of medicinal herbs and wild vegetables. At present, however, they are simply left to rot. If they are gathered for sale to the state, it will be beneficial both to the peasants and the state; the former will earn a large income and the latter will use them to provide the people with furniture, foodstuffs and herb medicine. So you should cut trees and gather wild fruits, medicinal herbs and wild vegetables to be sold as a sideline. And, instead of only exploiting the mountains, you should plant many trees of economic value there.

The peasants should cultivate in every way the commendable trait of helping each other and, in particular, thoroughly live up to the principle of being self-supporting. This is very important. Needless to say, in the future the state will give a great deal of material support and assistance. Nevertheless, the peasants should not rely on the state alone. They should tackle farming and stockbreeding, fruit growing and silkworm breeding in a spirit of shaping their lives under all circumstances by their own efforts and strength.

The peasants are still wasteful. Unless they stop being wasteful once and for all and acquire the habit of economizing, it will be of no avail however hard they work to raise good crops. So you must make an effort to avoid uneconomic customs and habits. You should not give lavish birthday parties nor should you arrange extravagant weddings, funerals and other ceremonies. You must be sparing in your living, doing away with the bad habit of pretending to be rich.

An immediate task for the peasants is to make good preparations for farming this year. To all appearances the peasants here are not tackling it very well. Most of them are lazing away their time at home, doing nothing in particular. Worse still, a group of Party members who should be an example in everything are using the daytime to write up the minutes of the Party cell's general review meeting. This is no good at all. Important as it is, you can do it in the evening. The peasants imagine there is not much work to do in winter, but this is not the case. They have a great deal of work to do in this season. They have to prepare farm implements, seed, manure, and firewood as well. That is why you should not idle away your time even in the cold season; you should use the time to make thorough preparations for farming. Party members should be an example in this respect, by showing the masses the way forward.

The work of the Party cell should be strengthened.

The basic task of the Party cell is to explain the Party's line and policies to its members and non-Party masses, implement them correctly, and ensure success in the building of democracy through the education of Party members.

Judging by the minutes of the Party cell's general review meeting, I can say that by and large the Party cell here has so far discharged its duty properly. It has definite results to its credit in carrying out Party policies by activating Party members and non-Party people and also properly educating its members. Party members have a high level of political and class consciousness. All of them are firmly resolved, even at the cost of their lives, to protect the results of the agrarian reform from the enemy's encroachment. They also have a correct idea of the acts of the US imperialists who have rigged up the UN Temporary Commission on Korea. This proves that the Party cell has given its members a sound ideological education.

There are, however, not a few shortcomings in the work of the Party cell which must be rectified at once. The most serious of these is the attitude towards meticulous planning in its work and in carrying out the plan. The Party cell planned to collect several thousand

bundles of firewood for sale by the end of January as a winter sideline and took necessary steps. I think this was a good idea of course, because it would have increased the peasants' income and provided firewood for factory and office workers. But, as we found out on our way here and at this village, not much firewood has been collected. You have only 20 days now to the end of January. Do you think you can cope by that time as planned? I think it is quite impossible. In drawing up the plan, the Party cell did not bother to find out how much firewood or manpower was available, how many draught animals there were or the distance to be covered by the transport. As a consequence, you now find it impossible to carry out the task as planned. From this fact alone, we can see that the Party cell is not planning its work in detail.

In order to do its work well, the Party cell should begin by making a detailed plan. Only then can it set about its work to the purpose. A work plan must be feasible and concrete. Just as an army carefully estimates the enemy's strength and his dispositions as well as friendly forces in planning a battle, so the Party cell should scientifically weigh up the work to be done, the workforce available and given conditions and possibilities and on this basis draw up a work plan to suit the specific conditions. Let us suppose the Party cell is planning farming preparations. It should work out the plan in concrete terms—reckon up the manpower and draught animals, assess in detail how much seed and fertilizer is available and, on this basis, determine how much more new land should be broken, how to secure seed and fertilizer, how to re-allocate draught animals, and so on.

The Party cell should not limit itself to working out a plan. Once it has framed a plan, it should carry it out by all means, without dropping it halfway.

The Party cell should give its members the right assignments according to plan. Assignments should be given to every member without exception rather than heaped upon a few members. And then, their implementation should be properly guided, instead of being left to the member concerned whether or not they are fulfilled. In other

words, the cell should regularly check on the fulfilment of Party assignments by its members and give them adequate help to carry them out.

It is important in the work of the Party cell to hold general membership meetings at regular intervals to encourage criticism. Without criticism the Party cell cannot be expected to make sound progress. It should encourage self-criticism and mutual criticism among its members to actively combat all manner of negative practices.

A basic task of the Party cell is the education of its members. Not for one moment should it neglect education so that its members are equipped with our Party's line and policies and their class consciousness is increased. Otherwise, they will be ignorant of the Party's line and policies and their class awareness will be blunted. In that case, they will be unable to be an example for the masses in the fulfilment of the Party's line and policies. The Party cell should pay primary attention to the ideological education of its members and do this work effectively. It should hold regular study sessions and arrange newspaper reading sessions, lectures on current events and the like according to plan.

In its work the Party cell should always rely on its members and non-Party people, get to know their requirements and satisfy them promptly. The rural Party cell would do well to give better consideration to the opinions of elders with much experience in farming.

The united front work should be conducted efficiently. I have been told that both Democrats and members of the Chongu Party live in this village. There should be no tendency to give a wide berth to members of friendly parties. The Party cell and members should establish close ties with the organizations and members of friendly parties and exert a good influence on them. This will help in strengthening the Democratic National United Front.

To reinforce the Party cell many Party hard cores should be trained. The Party cell should take in hand its hard cores, educate and

train them systematically, and enhance their role.

In carrying out the tasks facing the Party cell, it is important for its chairman to be an example. Only when he is exemplary in all his work can he lead the Party members and non-Party people correctly and carry out the cell's tasks successfully. He should become a model for them not only in implementing the Party's line and policies but in farming, raising domestic animals, planting fruit trees and breeding silkworms as well.

You say it is difficult to read newspapers because there are too many Chinese characters in them. I will see to it that they are published totally in our letters.

I trust that in the period ahead you will do the rural work better and make fresh progress in the work of the Party cell.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO AND HOW SHOULD WE WORK THIS YEAR?

**Speech at a Meeting of Activists of All the Political Parties
and Social Organizations in Kanggye County**

January 12, 1948

I extend my warm congratulations to you for your enthusiastic participation in the struggle to carry out the democratic reforms after liberation and particularly for your victory in fulfilling last year's national economic plan, the first of its kind in the history of our country, and I present my wholehearted respects to you for your firm determination to score greater victories in this year of 1948.

As all of you know, our people's achievements in north Korea are indeed tremendous. We were highly successful especially in economic construction in 1947. In order to consolidate the victories of the democratic reforms and lay the foundations for an independent national economy, last year we drew up a national economic plan for the first time, successfully fulfilled it, and are now making continued headway towards new successes.

In the short period of slightly over two years since liberation, our people have done what other countries have failed to do in scores of years. Our people's victories in democratic reforms and their brilliant successes in building a new life in north Korea are widely known in the world, and they constitute an inspiring example to the peoples of many Eastern countries. We have thus demonstrated at home and abroad that Korea is a nation quite capable of building by its own

efforts a rich and strong, politically and economically independent country with a brilliant culture and of advancing proudly shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of all the progressive countries of the world.

This proves that the Korean nation was not dead but alive, that its people did not forget their country or abandon their history even during the 36 years of the tyrannical rule of Japanese imperialism. It also shows that our nation, with such patriotism and fine national traits, is entirely capable of attaining its independence and sovereignty and will never be overrun by another aggressor if it wages an all-out struggle.

How well we know the cruel rule of the Japanese imperialists! They oppressed and robbed the Korean people as they pleased, and tried to obliterate our history and exterminate our culture and language, even going so far as to force the Korean people to change their surnames, thus profaning our ancestors. They deprived Koreans of education, particularly in science and technology. Another nation might have perished under such persecution and oppression.

The Korean people, however, did not give in. They carefully preserved their history and their national spirit, loved their culture and did not abandon their language. They did not waste a single opportunity to learn things and fought through all difficulties for the day of national regeneration. That is why, from the first days of liberation, our people set about building a genuinely independent and democratic state in north Korea with absolute clarity of mind. Today we use our own language in radio broadcasting, newspapers, books and textbooks, and we manage very well. We teach Korean history to the younger generation, and even run institutions of higher learning on our own, training large numbers of native cadres.

When they were driven out of Korea, the Japanese imperialists cynically declared that Korea's industry and transport would be paralysed without them. But we quickly set factories and trains running. The 17 to 18-year-old stokers, barely able to shovel coal under the rule of Japanese imperialism, have become the engine

drivers running our express trains. Big factories and enterprises such as the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, the Nampho Smeltery, the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Songjin Steel Plant and the Suphung Power Station have been rehabilitated and are in normal operation, and all of them fulfilled their plans brilliantly last year.

Needless to say, all this did not fall from heaven. These successes were entirely due to the united strength of our liberated people, their lofty patriotic zeal, their indomitable perseverance in overcoming all difficulties, their will to go into things deeply and their creative initiative.

The reactionaries mocked our plan as an idle dream, and among us, too, there were some who had no confidence that we could carry it out. But with great patriotic zeal and creativity, our people have accomplished very well the things they set out to do. This is truly something of which we can boast. It is the strongest answer and serves as a counterblow to US imperialists, such as Hoover, and their lackeys who prattled that the Korean people were incapable of self-government and should therefore be placed under an international trusteeship for 25 years. It has given us boundless national pride and convinced us more deeply that the Koreans are a very able people, that no aggressor can ever conquer our nation again and that we can not only win independence but also build a rich, strong and advanced democratic Korea.

In spite of all this, however, the US imperialists still think they can enslave our nation again because the Korean people were colonial slaves chained to Japanese imperialism for so long in the past. We must show them clearly what an absurd delusion this is.

The Korean people of today are not the Korean people of the old feudal era of the Ri dynasty. They are a people who did not succumb to the tyranny of Japanese imperialism, but waged a tireless struggle against foreign aggressors, and a people who after liberation, in particular, became the masters of their country and are now unshakeable in the path they are following. Moreover, the success in democratic reforms and economic construction in north Korea has

given the Korean people solid assets for winning the independence and sovereignty of the country. It has given them a proud national consciousness that they can solve their own problems perfectly well and firm confidence in victory. No force on earth can destroy such a nation.

This sense of national dignity and confidence is highly precious in the people's liberation struggle. A nation without it may be ruined, but a nation with national pride and confidence in victory is invincible.

How is it that we suffered from Japanese imperialist aggression and failed to repulse it by ourselves? Above all, because we lacked a sense of national dignity and confidence, and our people had a low political level and were not united.

In the two years or so since liberation, however, the Korean people have awakened and been tempered, their strength has incomparably increased and their sense of national dignity and confidence grown as never before. Our national pride and self-respect, long repressed and trampled on under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, has begun to revive, and is soaring higher with each passing day in the struggle to create a new life after liberation. This is a most precious thing, which cannot be bought or bartered away. It is the sure guarantee that our nation will advance, prosper and grow stronger.

Our nation will never again be humiliated. It has already climbed out of that position and is struggling indomitably for the independence, sovereignty and prosperity of the country. Should any aggressor turn on Korea and try to swallow it up again, we are powerful and confident enough to repulse him and safeguard the honour of the country with the united strength of the whole nation.

Today we are a nation conscious of its ability and mission, a stout nation which no force can bring to its knees and trample underfoot. The north Korean people in particular have become the masters of the country who decide and handle everything by themselves, the masters of their new, free and happy life. They have not only taken over the ownership of the major industries and the land but are rapidly developing the economy through able management, and everyone is

devoting his talents and energy to building a rich, strong, advanced independent state.

But the situation in south Korea is completely different. Members of the ruling class of dependent countries who are not even the masters in their own lands but who work for foreigners, have been brought into south Korea by the US imperialists, and are now clamouring that they are going to make our Korea “independent.” They are none other than the so-called UN Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCK). What on earth are they going to do in Korea, these fellows who cannot even run their own countries properly and who are enslaved by others while forcing their own peoples into a wretched plight?

The Korean question can only be solved by the Koreans themselves, and no one but the Korean people has the competence and right to solve it. It is utterly impossible for such a gang as the UNTCK to solve the Korean question. Not the United States or India or Syria, but only the Korean people themselves can solve it. The Korean people, and the Korean people alone, should solve the Korean question, for only we are fully capable of solving it.

In actual fact, the UNTCK did not come to Korea to solve the Korean question. It came simply as a creature of the US imperialists who want to colonize Korea. In other words, it came to help rig up a separate government in south Korea designed to consolidate and perpetuate there, but in another form, the rule of the US governor-general, Hodge.

What is the difference between the Japanese imperialist governor-general and Hodge? The difference, if any, is only that now the people’s livelihood has worsened and suppression is harsher. Indeed, all manner of evil has increased to an astounding extent. The number of prisons has shot up, patriots and democrats are persecuted more harshly and savagely than in the years of Japanese imperialist rule. Forcible deliveries of farm produce have been pushed up. In the days of Japanese imperialism there were the police to force the delivery of farm produce, but now terrorists accompany the police.

More factories are closed, unemployment has increased, and the number of children denied schooling and students expelled from school has grown. Traitors to the nation and quislings have increased in number and so have the profiteers.

So, the people are shivering from fear, hunger and cold, and suffering from lack of rights and poverty. Not content with this, the US imperialists, with the help of the UN, have brought in the UNTCK for the purpose of carrying out their colonial enslavement policy more rigorously because the military government alone is not strong enough to do it.

However, the south Korean people, to say nothing of the people in north Korea, are not taken in by this and are filled with the resolve to fight it to the very end. Only a handful of reactionary elements such as Syngman Rhee, who fear the judgment of the people, welcome and support the UNTCK under the shameless slogan of being against the withdrawal of foreign troops. This only arouses the indignation of all the Korean people.

The statement of General Stikov, representative of the USSR, in which he suggested that the Soviet and US troops withdraw from Korea simultaneously to open the way for the Korean nation to decide its own destiny, is just and reasonable, for it indicates the most direct shortcut to Korean independence and sovereignty. Why then is the reactionary clique dead against it? Because they want to prolong their days by tagging along with the US imperialists, for the moment the US army, their master and patron, pulls out, the game will be up. In the meantime, they welcome the UNTCK, a tool of US imperialist aggression on Korea, in their desire to serve US imperialism by selling out at least south Korea for dollars and subordinating it to US imperialism for good.

But all the manoeuvres of the US imperialists and the UNTCK, their agent, and all the plots of the domestic reactionaries will collapse in the end. For the Korean people, who have already proved themselves a fine nation and are confidently advancing along the road of independence and sovereignty, are not fooled by such things but

are waging a resolute and united struggle against the enemy.

Today the liberated people of north Korea are enjoying a happy and worthwhile life, and our standard of living is rising daily. But we cannot forget for a moment the cruel reality that half of our land of 3,000 *ri* has been seized by the US imperialists and that our fellow countrymen and blood brothers are groaning under oppression and with hunger. Under these circumstances it is natural that the north Korean people should feel deep sympathy for the bloody struggle their south Korean brothers are waging and give them their most enthusiastic support.

We are confident that in the year now beginning the south Korean people will continue to fight valiantly to smash the aggressive machinations of US imperialism and realize their long-cherished aspirations.

In order to bring about the complete independence and sovereignty and reunification of the country, the north Korean people must reinforce the democratic base and score greater successes in building the economy.

What then are the specific tasks that should be carried out in north Korea this year? I have already mentioned them in my New Year Address, but I should like to stress them again.

First, it is important to increase production and raise the people's standard of living. It is true that our national economy has already been rehabilitated rapidly and the people's livelihood improved markedly. But we cannot, and must not, rest content with this.

We have only made a beginning when we consider the boundless prosperity and progress and the abundant, civilized life that we will achieve in the future in our country, where the people have taken power and hold the levers of control in the economy. As you all know, the democratic reforms have been successfully completed in north Korea, but this has only provided us with the favourable conditions necessary for making our society a better and finer one to live in. Big successes have also been achieved in economic construction in 1947. But this, too, represents no more than the first step in developing the

national economy and improving the people's standard of living. Some say, "Now that the Twenty-Point Platform has all been translated into reality in north Korea, it is no longer necessary." This is an erroneous view. True, each article of the platform has been passed as a law and is being put into effect, but not all practices running counter to them have been wiped out. We should continue to consolidate and further the successes achieved in implementing the platform and wage an unyielding struggle to carry it into effect on a nationwide scale.

In a word, though they are tremendous, the victories we have already scored do not signify the completion of social reform and of construction. They only mean that still broader vistas have been opened up before us for building democracy. We must continue to advance with full confidence towards a still brighter future along the road of unlimited development and improve the quality of all our work.

For example, the agrarian reform has already been carried out successfully in north Korea. But this does not mean that the agricultural question has been completely solved in our country. Our agriculture should be developed, and the problems should be solved promptly to ensure progress. From now on we should improve farming methods, increase the number of draught oxen, improve farm implements and produce them in larger quantities and undertake irrigation projects on a wider scale. I take every opportunity to emphasize that irrigation projects should be pushed forward energetically so that we do not let the rivers flow into the sea uselessly, but draw their water into the paddy fields. This is a very urgent task. Our country is rich in water resources and electric power. We can now also manufacture our own motors. If we make the effort, these circumstances make it possible for us to convert extensive areas of dry fields into paddies, thus trebling the crop.

The same applies to the nationalization of industry. The law put the major industries, once monopolized by the Japanese imperialists, into the hands of the people, but this does not mean that the question

of industry has been completely solved. We must increase production rapidly by rehabilitating dilapidated factories, building new ones and skilfully managing and operating them. Only then will our people be able to go ahead well with creating a new life, transforming our country into a wealthy and powerful, independent and sovereign democratic state and making it possible for all to lead a happier and more abundant life.

Today the life of the north Korean people is indeed being improved remarkably. It is beyond comparison either with the life of the Korean working people in the days of Japanese imperialism or with the miserable life of the south Korean people today. We cannot rest content, however. Our people are the masters of the country. They can and should enjoy a more affluent and cultured life. It is our aim to liberate the people and bring all of them a happy and comfortable life. Only when this is attained can we say that the revolution has triumphed completely.

We can earn the support of the people only when we provide them with a good life. The people always support a government that guarantees them freedom and happiness and actually improves their life. Only when our democracy secures the people's well-being in reality will it be proved to be fundamentally different from the "democracy" of the capitalist countries. Only then will all Korean people say, "Our democracy is really good!" and rally closely under the banner of our democracy.

We must not just talk about democracy, we must give effect to it. We can say that herein lies the very point which distinguishes us from the reactionaries. The reactionary clique in south Korea gives the people nothing. It only robs them while noisily talking about democracy.

What has the reactionary clique done in the two years or so since liberation, a period in which we have undertaken great things for the people and the country? What else have they done except sell out the country for dollars and make the people tremble with cold, hunger and fear by exploiting, suppressing and slaughtering them? That is

why the south Korean people, far from being hoodwinked, grow more indignant and hate them and are rising against them.

What we do, however, is the opposite of what they do. We have brought freedom and happiness to the people, not in words but in deeds, and are steadily improving their life. We are zealously putting things into practice and speeding up construction and production. Practice is our best publicity and our best politics. For us, the most valuable thing is practice, and it is precisely through practice that we win the people over to our side and will bring the revolution to victory.

This year, too, we should continue to increase production, improve the people's livelihood markedly and strengthen our democratic base through practical struggle.

Our ultimate goal is to build the whole of Korea into a rich and strong, independent and sovereign democratic state. To realize this, the economic base must be consolidated and the people's livelihood secured and improved by rapidly developing the national economy in north Korea. The day for our country to achieve complete independence and sovereignty can be hastened only if the south Korean people are shown more clearly how good life is in north Korea where democracy has triumphed and only if the democratic base is decisively strengthened.

Along what lines, then, should we rehabilitate and develop the national economy in order to consolidate the economic base and improve the people's livelihood in a short space of time?

Some people only stress heavy industry, taking the wrong position that heavy-industrialism should be followed right away. It is important, of course, to rehabilitate and develop heavy industry, for only when this is done can the foundations be built for an independent national industry and the material conditions created for improving the people's standard of living.

But present conditions do not permit us to expand heavy industry immediately in a big way or devote our efforts only to it. For the time being we should direct our efforts to rehabilitating and reorganizing

the existing heavy industrial plants, and to turning out raw and other materials needed for the development of the national economy. At the same time, we should build light industry, and we have to do this from scratch to create a balance with heavy industry, and energetically push ahead in agriculture. This is the only way we can rapidly stabilize and improve our people's life and raise the enthusiasm of the masses and stimulate their creativity for economic construction.

From this it follows that it is wrong to neglect the rehabilitation of heavy industry and the consolidation of the economic base, but it is also wrong to place stress on heavy industry alone and not to build light industry for the improvement of the people's life.

To improve the people's living standards, production as a whole should be increased rapidly, daily necessities turned out in larger quantity and prices reduced systematically. The struggle to increase production should be intensified everywhere—in towns, mining areas and farm and fishing villages. Only when production is boosted and good quality products are turned out in large quantities, can we use them to expand production, improve the working people's life and export some of them so that we can buy goods we badly need. In all branches of the economy, every factory and every working man should overfulfil production assignments and increase production.

First, economic plans should be worked out correctly. Without a correct plan nothing can be done properly, much less can the industries which have come under the people's ownership be developed. Each branch and each enterprise should draw up correct and feasible plans on the basis of carefully investigated and studied data.

A weakness of the officials here is that they are not good at planning their work and do not know how to prepare the economic plans well. Planlessness is particularly glaring in the work of the consumers' cooperatives. Because many officials know little about the actual conditions in their field and are not experienced in their work, they can neither work out a plan properly nor do their work in a farsighted way.

In times of old, people said that the day's plan should be made in the morning and the year's plan in the spring. The spring mentioned here means the beginning of the year, of course. Half a month has already passed since we rang in the New Year and yet this year's plan has not been drawn up correctly. I think this is a serious matter. The plan for 1948 should be worked out correctly on the basis of carefully examining the lessons, merits and shortcomings revealed in carrying out the plan for 1947, and each person, not to speak of each institution and enterprise, should always work according to concrete plans.

The economic plans should be coordinated, and should be realistic plans based on a careful calculation of all conditions made from a national standpoint. At the same time, the plans should always be progressive and enterprising. A passive plan confined to maintaining the status quo is of no use to us, it hinders our advance.

Take Kanggye County for example. You have no end of timber here. Why do you not make a plan to increase timber output and use it to turn out larger quantities of various wood products? You could produce, say, containers and furniture, or writing tables, desks, chairs and blackboards for offices and schools. It would be good to produce such things in large quantities and sell them at reasonable prices, because the people's demands will be met, enterprises will increase their profits and the workers will get more income. Nevertheless, the county people's committee neither sees to it that the state-run enterprises turn out such products in large quantities nor encourages the individual entrepreneurs to do so. Such simple consumer goods could be produced either by the consumers' cooperatives or by individuals who could pool their efforts and funds to run a suitable enterprise. It is high time that individual traders and entrepreneurs conducted trade or ran enterprises honestly, instead of only trying to engage in speculation.

Why do you not draw up a plan to expand stockbreeding and sericulture in this fine area? You can raise as many pigs and sheep and silkworms as you want, to say nothing of cattle. There are many

advantages in doing this because it would increase the number of draught animals, supply a large quantity of highly nutritive non-staple foods, furnish more raw materials for daily necessities, including hides, and produce plenty of raw silk for the people. Why not do such a good thing?

This year, every farm household should farm and carry on sidelines according to clear-cut plans as to what kinds of crops should be planted and how, what kinds and how much grain should be produced, how many domestic animals should be raised and how, and how many more metres of cotton cloth should be woven. Each village should also draw up detailed plans as to how much more land should be reclaimed, how irrigation projects should be undertaken, when and how much fertilizer should be procured through barter, how seeds should be obtained through mutual help and how draught animals should be used.

It is necessary for all the ri, sub-county and county people's committees, political parties, social organizations and other institutions to shape proper work plans and push ahead with all their work methodically. If all institutions, enterprises, and individuals from top to bottom draw up correct plans in this manner and display a high degree of patriotic zeal and creativity in overfulfilling them, we are certain to win new victories.

Nothing is impossible for us. If we work with confidence and energy, the results will be still more remarkable. Let the reactionary clique make as much noise as they please. Some day stock will be taken of who has done what. Then the world will be startled once again by the great achievements of our people and the heinous crimes of the enemy.

Our important task this year is to practise economy while we are increasing production. No matter how much we may increase production, it will be useless if we keep on wasting materials. In the light of the specific situation in our country where there is not yet enough of everything, it is of great national importance to practise economy and lead a frugal life. We should thoroughly establish the

habit of practising economy and leading a frugal life everywhere, from the state institutions down to the family.

It is necessary not only to protect and take good care of state property and wage a resolute struggle against all needless expenditures and wasteful practices, but also to eliminate spending on useless things in private life. From now on, institutions and organizations should refrain from giving frequent banquets. We should end once and for all the practice of giving feasts on every possible pretext and particularly of excessive extravagance at funerals and celebrations in private homes.

You should also learn how to use state funds effectively. We started construction not long ago, and we can say that really large-scale construction work will be undertaken from now on. Nevertheless, there are still many instances where money belonging to the state and the people is squandered on useless things. A monument of one kind or another is built costing hundreds of thousands of *won*, and then a carousing inaugural or other such “ceremony” is held. This evil practice should be eliminated as soon as possible and a system established under which all funds are used effectively and economically in the interests of the state and the people.

Some Koreans still have the habit of pretending to know what they do not know and to have what they do not have, and this is a big vice with them. In present conditions homespun cotton clothes and straw sandals are not bad. Yet even primary school children think they cannot go to school without Western clothes and rubber shoes. There are many bars everywhere and their number should be somewhat reduced.

We have ample room for increasing production and improving the working people’s life at a faster pace by practising economy. We should use even pennies and small amounts of materials sparingly and turn what we save into building a rich and powerful country. This is our sacred duty, and this is precisely our idea on national construction. Only when all the people are armed with this idea and

tap all reserves and potentialities for national construction is it possible to consolidate our democratic base in north Korea and realize as soon as possible complete independence, sovereignty and the reunification of the country on democratic lines, the long-cherished desire of our nation.

While carrying on economic construction successfully in north Korea, we should fight to bring democracy such as we have in north Korea to all of Korea by giving active support to the south Korean people. Only by unfolding a heroic struggle in firm unity can all the people in north and south Korea defeat the US imperialists and the domestic reactionaries and win ultimate victory.

We are now engaged in work of great significance for realizing this cause—that is the framing of a Provisional Constitution of Korea. Everyone should come out to make this Constitution, which reflects the new, democratic life of the north Korean people, the Constitution of all the Korean people and to build in the end an independent democratic country where the people are the true masters.

Victory belongs to our people. Today we are provided with every condition for victory. We have united democratic forces and an organ of genuine people's power. We have great national pride, ardent patriotism and firm faith in victory. We have accumulated a wealth of experience in carrying out the democratic reforms and economic construction and have already trained a large number of cadres. Moreover, we have the powerful support and selfless aid of the great Soviet Union. No one can bring such a people to their knees, and neither the US imperialists nor their tool, the UNTCK, or the domestic reactionaries will ever be able to block the way of the Korean people, no matter how desperately they attempt to. The day will certainly come when the aggressors are driven out of Korea, the reactionary traitorous clique is brought to judgment before the people and Korea is reunified, independent and sovereign.

Let us all unite our strength and march forward vigorously to new victories!

ON LAUNCHING THE PEOPLE'S ARMY PAPER AND EDITING IT PROPERLY

Talk to Workers Concerned with the People's Army Paper

January 21, 1948

To make our country completely independent and sovereign we must create a regular people's army at the earliest possible moment. This task is all the more urgent because our country is divided into north and south with the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists.

We can build such an army by our own efforts on the basis we have laid. After liberation we founded the Party, established a people's government and carried out the agrarian and other democratic reforms. We have planned the national economy and have a developing and flourishing national culture. Indeed, our people have made enormous strides in all fields of politics, the economy and culture.

Based on these achievements in the building of a new country, we will soon found the Korean People's Army, a genuinely people's armed force, with the veterans of the anti-Japanese armed struggle as its backbone and with the sons and daughters of the liberated workers and peasants. This army is to fight in defence of the democratic base established in the northern half and the gains of the democratic reforms from enemy encroachment and for the reunification of the divided country and complete independence and sovereignty of the nation.

Our People's Army, as an army of a full-fledged independent state, must have its own newspaper and educate the soldiers by this medium.

The army paper, as a paper for the men guarding the security of the country, must play the role of information, motivation and organizing worker for the education of soldiers in the ideas of the Workers' Party and Marxist-Leninist ideology. It must be a true friend and educator of the servicemen as well as a powerful weapon for smashing all reactionary forces and their propaganda.

If the army paper is to carry out its important mission properly, it must be edited well in conformity with the character and mission of the People's Army and to suit the immediate tasks of military and political training.

First of all, it must explain painstakingly to servicemen the character and mission of the People's Army. In our country at present there are the Workers' Party and also the Democratic Party and Chongu Party. But the People's Army we are going to create is the army of the Workers' Party—our Party's revolutionary armed force which will uphold the complete independence and sovereignty of the country, the freedom and happiness of the people and fight against the imperialist forces of aggression and domestic reactionaries. The People's Army should be infinitely loyal to the Workers' Party and carry out the revolutionary tasks set it by the Party. For this reason, the Workers' Party's ideas, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, alone should permeate the People's Army. The army paper must always adhere strictly to this principle.

It must strive to arm the servicemen with the brilliant revolutionary traditions of our Party. We have the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas who fought a long-drawn-out, bloody armed battle against predatory Japanese imperialism. The guerrillas fought countless brave battles during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, but we were unable to make all their good experience widely known among the people through the press because at that time we had no state power of our own. If we recall

historical events and write about them widely in the army paper now, it will become an excellent textbook for the education of soldiers.

It is also important to imbue the army men with national pride and confidence. If Koreans lack a high sense of pride and confidence in their own nation it is because they were oppressed for 36 years under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. Unless the people of a sovereign state possess these traits, they will be unable to maintain national independence. Much more, if an army lacks national pride, the country will perish in the end. The army paper should, therefore, present educational material in many different forms and ways so as to implant national pride and confidence deep in the minds of soldiers.

The newspaper must teach the army men to respect and love the people anywhere at all times.

Ours is a genuinely people's army serving the interests of the motherland and people. The People's Army must always love and respect the people and help them actively, and thus win the profound love and trust of the people. An army disliked by the people can never be called a genuinely people's army nor can it defeat the enemy.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we educated the men under the slogan: "As fish cannot live without water, so guerrillas cannot live without the people." Even in those difficult conditions the anti-Japanese guerrillas were able to defeat the Japanese imperialist army of aggressors because they fought for the people and enjoyed the active support and assistance of the people. The army paper must rear the soldiers to remember at all times that our army is an army serving the interests of the people.

Moreover, the army paper must make widely known and propagate every fine example shown by the men. Many of our soldiers were exploited and oppressed, and even had no proper names of their own before liberation. If they see their photos and names conspicuous in the paper, they will feel encouraged to love their motherland more ardently and perform military service more faithfully, resolved to lay down their lives for their country and people.

The army paper should pay much attention to the education of officers as well.

At present, some officers are inclined to throw their weight about, assuming an air of superior officers just because they are in uniform with starred epaulettes. A revolutionary army must not behave like that. Formerly in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, commanders made much of their men and loved them like real brothers, and there was close solidarity between men and officers. This was one of the important factors contributing to their victory over Japanese imperialism.

Following these traditional noble traits of solidarity between superiors and inferiors of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, officers and men of the People's Army should stand close together as revolutionary comrades, and the former, in particular, should be simple and modest and have a warm affection for the latter. While educating men and noncommissioned officers, the army paper should systematically carry materials that will educate officers in this spirit.

Like the newspapers we published in Mt Paektu in the past, the People's Army paper must be revolutionary and militant. To this end, it must learn from the revolutionary press activities during the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Articles in the People's Army paper should be concise but rich in content, to suit the specific character of soldiers. And they should be easy to read so that every serviceman can understand them.

In order to edit the paper well, its reporters and editors must be well-qualified from political and ideological, military and technological viewpoints. The ranks of reporters and editors must be closed up with those who are loyal to the country and the people and firm in class spirit. It will be a good idea to select promising ones from the units as pressmen. And they should be given proper guidance. They may find it a bit difficult for a time at the beginning, but they will make fine journalists if they are given effective guidance.

Sufficient facilities should be offered for reporters from the army paper to gather news in the units.

The servicemen are now probably waiting eagerly for the appearance of their own newspaper. You must hurry up with the arrangements and put out the newspaper quickly.

How delighted the soldiers of the People's Army and the Security Forces will be when they get their own newspaper in the barracks or trenches! When the People's Army, the first of its kind in Korea, issues its own paper and they read it, the army men will be overjoyed and absorb ideological sustenance from it and score greater success in the military and political training.

Even in such difficult conditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle in the past, we published a guerrilla army paper *Jongsori* to educate the men. Can you imagine the joy of the guerrillas when they got the paper, just mimeographed, not off the printing press? They were wild with delight whenever they got a copy of it. Of course, at that time paper was scarce and other conditions were unfavourable. So a copy passed from hand to hand unavoidably until the letters were rubbed off.

Today when we are in power, things are different. So we must issue a large number of copies so that the paper can reach every soldier.

Since it is a central-level paper, it would be good for the People's Army paper to be published in a four-page rather than a two-page edition. You should begin with a small edition issued every other day, and then gradually go over to a large-edition daily as you gain experience. The need for a large edition is not urgent.

The paper should be attractive and well-printed since it is a powerful means of educating soldiers.

Joson Inmingun (Korean People's Army) would be a good name for the paper, which will also be the name of the army to be founded. Thus, one glance at the name will inspire the soldiers with a high sense of honour and responsibility that they are a genuinely people's army defending the country and the nation from enemy invasion and dedicated wholly to the interests of the country and the people.

The Korean people have never had a regular army of their own

before, have they? In the past they saw only the Japanese army. The proposed name of the paper, *Joson Inmingun* will be appropriate also because all Koreans need to be encouraged to have national pride and confidence in their own army and to understand better that our People's Army is a genuinely people's army consisting of the sons and daughters of workers and peasants who in the past were exploited and oppressed, and that as such it will staunchly defend the interests of the country and the people and safeguard them with their lives.

I hope you will publish our People's Army paper as early as possible, in keeping with the Party's intention.

ON THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

**Speech at a Conference of the Organization
of the Workers' Party of North Korea in Suncheon
County, South Phyongan Province**

January 24, 1948

Comrades,

As many comrades have said in their speeches, the Workers' Party of North Korea has now become a great, strong political party leading our people to freedom and national independence, with the destiny of the country and of posterity on its shoulders.

Our Party was founded not long ago. It is only a year and a half if we count since the merger of the Communist Party, the predecessor of our Party, and the New Democratic Party to form the Workers' Party of North Korea. In this short span of time, however, our Party has scored brilliant achievements for the country and the people and performed great exploits which will shine for ever in history.

Though it is not long since our Party was founded, the struggle waged by the Korean communists for the restoration of our motherland and the happiness of our people has a very long history. The Korean communists are genuine patriots who shed their blood and gave their lives in fighting for the honour of the country and nation, when they were under Japanese imperialist rule. In the days of harsh Japanese imperialist oppression when our nation found itself in indescribably dire distress, the Korean communists, weapons in hand,

waged an indomitable struggle against Japanese imperialism, despite all difficulties and hardships. Our Party is a party that has inherited the revolutionary traditions of those communists who struggled most devotedly for the country and the people. It is a glorious party which is heir to the history of the heroic liberation struggle waged by the Korean people. It is therefore the most patriotic, progressive and powerful party in Korea.

The Workers' Party is the organized vanguard of the Korean working masses, made up of fine advanced elements from among the workers, peasants and working intellectuals, with the working class, the main force of our nation, as its core. That is why our Party defends the interests of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals, has a bond of kinship with them and has from the day of its founding striven for the happiness of the Korean people and a bright future for the country.

Our Party has sprung from the roots of the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle which imbued the Korean people with hope and confidence in victory in the darkest days of Japanese imperialist rule. It is our Party that has led the Korean people along the road of building a new, rich and strong democratic country since liberation, bearing the destiny of the country and the nation on its shoulders. Had it not been for our Party, what would have become of our country today, and who, if not our Party, could have pointed to the bright road of victory for our nation?

The democratic socio-economic reforms successfully carried out in north Korea were a great accomplishment which laid the basis for building a democratic country and served as a beacon light showing the south Korean people the road to follow. Had it not been for our Party, who else would have taken the initiative to put forward those great democratic reforms and ensured their triumph? Our historic victory in the great cause of transforming society along democratic lines is solely due to the fact that our Party, working hand in hand with the friendly parties and drawing firmly on the united front, extensively mobilized the patriotic, democratic forces and always

played the leading role among the people from all walks of life.

In the light of its exploits in the revolutionary struggle, its high prestige among the masses and its own organizational strength, our Party has become strong and influential enough to rank among the best of the Communist and Workers' parties in the world.

Whereas its membership at the time of the merger was only about 370,000, our Party has now grown into a mass party of over 700,000. It is composed of fine sons and daughters of the working people, ready to fight most gallantly and sacrifice themselves for the country and the people.

In the early days of the Party, there were many instances of alien elements of various shades who had sneaked into the Party damaging its prestige in flagrant violation of Party discipline, because some Party organizations did not faithfully abide by organizational principles. In addition, the factionalists manoeuvred to undermine the unity of the Party. However, as a result of the decisive inner-Party struggle against the alien elements and factionalists, our Party has now grown into a militant, spirited organization, the purity of whose ranks is assured and in which iron discipline is established.

Thus, since the merger, our Party has grown not only in size but in quality and has become a genuine Marxist-Leninist party with firmly established organizational principles and ideological unity from the centre down to the lowest units. Today, with the Second Party Congress in the offing, we can say that this is the greatest success we have scored in Party building.

Worthy of particular mention among the successes achieved in Party building is the growth and consolidation of the cells. Previously, many of our Party members did not have a clear understanding of the cell, its work or its role. However, from the results of the checkup in the autumn of 1947 on the work of the cells of the Party organizations under the provincial Party committees, from my recent study of the work of the Party cells in districts such as Kanggye and Kaecheon, and from my analysis of many of the speeches at this meeting today, it is possible to draw the conclusion

that the work of our Party cells has qualitatively improved, the political consciousness of the Party members has risen and their Party life has been strengthened.

Even though our Party has achieved organizational unity and is consolidated politically and ideologically, we should not in the least rest content nor should we be carried away by victory. More difficult and complex tasks now confront our Party which carries the destiny of the country on its shoulders and leads the Korean people. The duties devolving on each of us Party members are really great.

Though the successes achieved since liberation by our Party and people in building a new life are tremendous, they represent as yet no more than the initial step in building a rich and strong democratic country. The triumph of the democratic reforms in north Korea has only created conditions for democratic advance in our country, and it by no means signifies the complete realization of our cause. We must develop our economy and culture, improve the people's livelihood and reinforce our democratic base by steadily advancing along the road of genuine people's democracy on the basis of the success of the democratic reforms. We must mobilize the united strength of all the Korean people to introduce democratic reforms in south Korea, the other half of the country, as in north Korea and achieve the complete independence, sovereignty and reunification of the country.

To reinforce the democratic base in this way and then turn the whole of Korea into a genuine democratic state of the people is the sacred national task facing us. In order to carry out this task we must first build up our strength and wage a relentless struggle against the internal and external reactionary forces that are seeking to encroach upon the freedom and independence of our nation.

What is the most important factor in building up our strength? It is to strengthen the people's power set up by our own hands in every way and rapidly develop the national economy in a planned way to lay the base for an independent national economy. If we have a strong people's power and the firm base of an independent economy, nothing will be impossible.

Last year was the first time we ran the national economy in a planned way. When the national economic plan for 1947 was announced, a tremendous hue and cry was raised. Our enemy mockingly called it an unattainable dream and even some of our cadres doubted the feasibility of the plan and wavered. But the people in north Korea, particularly our working class and peasantry, boldly set out under the leadership of our Party to carry out this first national economic plan in the factories, enterprises and farm and fishing villages. At first, they sized up the plan, then tried their hand at implementing it little by little and gradually became confident that they were quite capable of carrying it out. Then all the working people turned out as one in the struggle to overfulfil the plan. As you know, the result was that the national economic plan for 1947 was fulfilled in an all-round way ahead of schedule.

Our most valuable gain in successfully carrying out the first national economic plan was that our Workers' Party members and other working people became confident that they could build up the country. Our workers and peasants, who overfulfilled the difficult plan which seemed beyond their power at first, came to have faith in their own strength and became convinced that they were capable of doing anything by their own efforts.

In battle it is true that an army without confidence in victory is defeated and an army with high morale and firm confidence in victory beats the enemy every time. Likewise, the most important factor in revolutionary struggle or economic construction is that the masses of the people are conscious of their own strength and have confidence in victory. Therefore, the principal result of last year's work and our greatest political victory in carrying out the first economic plan was that, through practice, our Party members and other working people became deeply convinced of the correctness of what they were doing and became firmly confident that they were fully capable of building an independent and sovereign state by themselves.

Following the road indicated by our Party, our people created in 1946 the fundamental conditions for building an independent and

sovereign state and, on that basis, continued economic construction in 1947 to lay the material base for the prosperity and development of the country. As work proceeded, our people gained confidence in victory, acquired a faith in their ability to do anything by their own efforts and became deeply convinced that the path traversed by north Korea after liberation was indeed the correct path for all the Korean people. No one can deprive our people of their revolutionary gains in north Korea or shake their firm determination to march ahead and their confidence in victory.

Our people have established and are running a genuine people's government according to their own will. The organs of state power we set up are doing their work for the people fairly well. Our people have restored and put into operation the factories and enterprises destroyed by the Japanese imperialists on their withdrawal. Blast furnaces have thus been put back into operation and begun to produce pig iron and the Suphung Power Station, a product of the development of modern technology, has gone into operation and started supplying electricity to all parts of the country. Young workers, who were only locomotive stokers in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, have now become capable engine drivers. Our intellectuals have started research in various fields of science to promote the building of the country. Our people have built and are running establishments of higher learning on their own and also set up public security organs and organized the Public Security Corps.

All these achievements of our people, though still not free from shortcomings, have already made a worthy contribution to the great work of building the country. They also show that our nation is as talented as any and is fully capable of building up its country by itself, and they have boosted our people's national pride and self-confidence.

Our people have taken power into their hands and are administering it themselves. They are running factories, mines, railways and educational and cultural establishments on their own. Who can deprive our people of their right to do these things? Nobody

can take it from them, and there is no force on earth capable of doing so. No matter how desperately he may try, the enemy can never take the land away from our peasants who are freely cultivating the land distributed by their organs of people's power. He can never take the factories away from our workers who have become the masters there and are working with devotion for the prosperity and development of the country and for the improvement of their own lives. He can never take the democratic schools away from our students who are studying hard to fit themselves to help in the construction of an independent national economy and the blossoming of national culture in their country.

If the foreign imperialist plunderers and their stooges—those traitors to the nation—pounce on us to rob us of our power, land, factories and schools, our people will fight to the end at any sacrifice and choose death rather than yield the precious fruits of victory gained over the past two years to anyone.

Many things are still in short supply. Materials and equipment are short, and so are clothes and footwear. But we have increased the production of the things we need by overcoming all difficulties and hardships, and thus have created the objective conditions for reinforcing the economic base of the country and improving the people's lives. Especially, as the result of the successful carrying out of last year's plan, many factories, enterprises and railways have been rehabilitated, and this year we are in a position to produce a variety of equipment, materials and consumer goods on a normal basis and ensure smooth transport.

Meanwhile, our own forces have increased incomparably. In a little more than two years since liberation our Party and people have accumulated a wealth of experience in building a new life, and our Party members have acquired the methods and ability to organize and rouse the masses and enlist their strength in implementing the Party's policies. The elections to the organs of power at various levels held on several occasions and the successful currency changeover at the end of last year clearly show how well our Party organizes and

mobilizes the masses, and also how much the masses support and trust our Party. Our Party smoothly carried out such a complex task as the changeover of old to new currency in only a week by rousing the entire membership to action and drawing on the conscious enthusiasm of the people. This affords striking evidence of how promptly our Party organizations and the organs of people's power can take action in the interests of the masses.

Life has already proved to the full the correctness of our Party line and policy. Our Party has achieved organizational and ideological unity and has become more tempered and seasoned politically in the struggle for the freedom, independence and democratization of the country.

There is, therefore, no difficulty which our Party cannot surmount, and there is no enemy our Party and people cannot defeat by fighting in monolithic unity. The people themselves have been convinced through practical experience that if, united around our Party, they march forward along the road it points out, they can triumphantly accomplish any task however difficult.

Our Party will ensure the success of the national economic plan for 1948 by mobilizing all the patriotic, democratic forces, and it will realize without fail the cause of building a unified, independent democratic state by repulsing all enemy manoeuvres.

Comrades, this does not mean, however, that we are free of shortcomings. Our Party work has shortcomings and drawbacks which must be quickly rectified.

First, the Party members and cadres lack political training, and Marxist-Leninist ideological education within the Party is still weak.

Our Party is the militant vanguard of the labouring masses of Korea. It should above all arm itself firmly with progressive ideology and scientific revolutionary theory in order that, as the vanguard of the working people, it may lead the struggle for the liberation of the Korean nation and the emancipation of the labouring masses to victory.

If company, battalion, regimental and other high army commanders are ignorant of strategy and tactics, the army cannot win

a battle. Likewise, if our Party, the vanguard of the working people, fails to arm itself with revolutionary theory, it will not be able to guide the people's struggle correctly. Especially in the light of the actual conditions, in which we are faced with difficult and complex tasks, we even more urgently need a theory that gives us our course like a compass and brightly illumines the road ahead like a beacon light. Such a theory is undoubtedly Marxist-Leninist theory, the only scientific theory for revolution in modern society.

Marxism-Leninism is all-conquering theory, which has been tested and whose vitality has been confirmed through the revolutionary practice of the advanced working class in many countries of the world. What our Party must study, study and study again is not the Bible or any religious dogma, but Marxist-Leninist theory. The entire Party from the cadres in the centre down to the last rank-and-file member must arm themselves with Marxist-Leninist theory and acquire advanced, scientific knowledge. Only thus can every cadre and Party member become an able political worker, ideologically steeled and theoretically prepared, and lead the masses confidently along the right path.

Second, one of our Party's shortcomings is that the work of the cells is still at a low level. The strengthening of the cells is a question which the Central Committee of our Party has kept stressing since the beginning.

Our Party cells have grown up markedly as compared with the past. They have learned to abide by the organizational principles and discipline of the Party, give assignments to the Party members and check up on them and ensure that the state economic plans are fulfilled. Many cells, however, still fail to do their work satisfactorily.

The central problem in the work of the cell is to foster the cell nucleus. The composition of a cell is not simple in regard to either the social origin of its members or their political and ideological level. A cell has members who are tempered politically and those who are politically and ideologically backward, and members who take an active part in the work of the cell and those who are rather passive.

We, therefore, must build up the nucleus of each cell with Party activists, steadily expand the ranks of the nucleus and get them to exert a decisive influence on all other Party members through their example, so as to raise all members' political and ideological consciousness and awaken them to what Party membership means.

The county and sub-county Party committees in particular must direct profound attention to fostering the cell nucleus. They must select three to four Party activists eligible for the nucleus from every cell, regularly arrange short courses for them and give them day-to-day help and training. The nucleus of each cell should thus be helped to play the leading role in improving the work of the cell and strengthening the Party life of all other members and heightening their Party spirit.

Third, in our Party there are still empty talkers who are more ready to talk than to act and only pay lip service to their work. These members should be taught to rectify their ways.

Party members must become models and pacemakers in work, in economic construction, instead of shouting slogans and only paying lip service to the building of the country. Our Party has no place for glib talkers who do not know how to go about their work, and who shy away from a toilsome job, ever loath to take the lead in tackling it.

All our Party members, without exception, must become able organizers and competent builders. To do this, every one of them should be well versed in Party line and policy and know how to manage and run the economy.

There should be no idle and lazy persons among our Party members. Our Party is the advanced detachment of the labouring masses and so it must see that all its members have an industrious spirit in daily life and work and that love of labour prevails throughout the Party. Thus, everybody should realize that he will find life worth living only when he works, and that he might as well be dead if he has no work to do, and show devotion in all matters.

Our people have a mountain of work to cope with in the future, in order to rid our country of its backwardness and make it rich and

strong. We have to do much complex and difficult work—erecting factories, developing agriculture, advancing culture, strengthening the organs of people’s power, and so on. Our Party members should work with devotion for the country, the people and the Party from morning till night, devoting all their energy and zeal to the historic cause of building a new country. There is no place for lazy or idle persons in our Party.

Now, I should like to dwell on the strengthening of the united front.

This question is one of the most important political questions at the present stage of the development of our country. There are a considerable number of members of the friendly parties in Suncheon County alone, where you are working.

The question lies not in whether there are few or many members of the friendly parties or how these parties admit people into their ranks, but in how our Party maintains close ties with the friendly parties, helps them in their activities and leads their members in exposing and driving out the shady elements who have sneaked into their parties in good time, and how our Party cooperates with them in achieving the common goal of freedom and independence for the country.

To strengthen the united front it is essential to fully understand the importance of the united front and the quintessence of our Party’s policy on the united front.

The basic tasks confronting our Party and the Korean people at the present stage are to crush the colonization manoeuvres of the US imperialists, completely liberate all of Korea and build a unified Democratic People’s Republic. Our Party, therefore, is ready to work hand in hand with any party if it is a democratic party willing to fight for the interests of the country and nation.

What are the conditions, then, that enable our Party to form a united front with the Democratic Party? The Democratic Party consists of men of the small-propertyed classes, entrepreneurs, traders, rich farmers, some petty-bourgeois elements in the towns and persons of other social strata, and it has as its programme to oppose foreign imperialist oppression and build a rich and strong Korea. Should the wild designs

of the US imperialists become reality and our country be reduced to a colonial market for US monopoly capital, the entrepreneurs, traders and rich farmers who belong to the Democratic Party will be ruined and go bankrupt, as was the case under Japanese imperialist rule. Since they are aware of this, the Democratic Party members do not want our country to become a colony of a foreign country and its national economy to be ruined, but want it to become a rich and strong independent country. Besides, they have gradually realized that a system of progressive democracy, not a feudal monarchy or a US-type “democracy,” must be established if our country is to achieve independence and become rich and strong, and that, to attain this goal, they must join hands with the Workers’ Party and cooperate with the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people. This proves that today our Party and the Democratic Party can form a united front and keep in step with each other in the struggle against the colonial enslavement policy of US imperialism, the common enemy, and for establishing a Democratic People’s Republic.

Of course, there are some Democratic Party members who commit reactionary acts. These are a handful of reactionaries who have wormed their way into the Democratic Party, outwardly pretending to support its programme, but actually intending to disrupt it.

These elements who have sneaked into the Democratic Party and are now carrying out reactionary actions belong in general to the following categories:

First, they are pro-American elements who, influenced by US propaganda in the past, worship the United States and harbour illusions about it. The United States long ago sent missionaries to our country under the cloak of religion to build churches in many places and disseminate Christianity and the idea of US worship, and it made preparations for decades to dominate Korea some day. This was an insidious trick of the United States to establish its influence in Korea under the cloak of religion while feigning sympathy with the Koreans.

The US missionaries preached, “Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.” This implies that the

Korean people must not resist but remain submissive, even if the United States encroaches upon their freedom. The Korean patriots and other people, however, were not fooled by this deceptive preaching of the United States. Our people gave this answer to the US scoundrels, “If you slap us once, we will return two slaps” and they did so.

Yet, some pastors and church elders, who were taken in by religious propaganda, are trying to sell out our country for dollars, worshipping the United States like a “God.” It is precisely these reactionary pastors or church elders who have crawled into the Democratic Party and are playing dirty tricks.

Second, reactionary acts are often perpetrated by a handful of speculators and profiteers who have slipped into the Democratic Party. Holding their own interests dearer than the interests of the country and the nation, they are against the democratic reforms carried out in north Korea and are none too pleased with the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, for this constitutes a blow to their profiteering. This being the case, they have desperately set themselves against the progress of our society and the development of the national economy in their desire to continue their speculation and profiteering and to squeeze the working people viciously.

Thus, within the Democratic Party there are a handful of malicious elements who are operating in an underhand way against the democratic development of the country, but the members of our Party and the Democratic Party, with the exception of those elements, can unite forces and, firmly joining hands, march forward towards the common goal of the complete independence and democratic reunification of the country.

Now, let us have a look at the Chongu Party. It consists largely of peasants. We, therefore, can form a united front with it whenever we want.

Yet, among the Chongu Party members, too, some elements are occasionally found committing reactionary acts. They are reactionaries and urban loafers who have wormed their way into the

party in disguise and are engaged in underhand manoeuvres against the progressive personalities in it, while violating its programme and upsetting its policies.

The reactionary elements lurking in the Chongu Party want the peasants to remain backward and ignorant as long as possible, in the hope of fooling them and easily achieving their own ends. But our Party has made the peasants the masters of the land through the democratic reform and is leading them along the road to a new and good life, and it continues to awaken them ideologically and enlighten them culturally. So, hiding themselves behind the signboard of the Chongu Party, these reactionary elements, who are daily losing their foothold among the peasants, indulge in reactionary acts against our Party and the people's power.

We should not be suspicious of the friendly parties or shun them because a handful of malicious elements who have crept into them engage in reactionary activities, but trust them and cooperate more closely with them on the basis of their programmes and policies. This alone will make it possible to implement our Party's united front policy correctly and mobilize all the patriotic, democratic forces to build a rich, strong, independent and sovereign state.

All our Party members and organizations must strengthen unity with the members and organizations of the friendly parties at the lower level, maintain close ties with them, conduct democratic education among their members, raise the political consciousness and cultural level of the backward peasants, help the progressive elements in the friendly parties rid their ranks of the bad elements and launch a struggle in our Party, too, against those elements who seek to disrupt the united front, thereby strengthening our Democratic National United Front in every way.

Our Party must never lose its identity in the united front. Our members must adhere to the progressive stand of our Party and exert ideological influence on the friendly parties and, at the same time, wage an uncompromising struggle against unjust, anti-people tendencies of all shades. Our Party is the vanguard of the Korean

working people, armed with advanced theory and imbued with the brilliant traditions of the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the country. Our Party, therefore, can and should help the friendly parties with its ideology and theory and its rich experience from the struggle for the liberty and independence of the country. We must always be open-minded and modest in our relations with the members of the friendly parties and see to it that they come of their own accord to consult our Party members and ask for our help whenever a knotty problem arises.

The stronger the rank-and-file unity and the closer the mutual ties and cooperation between the organizations and members of our Party and the friendly parties, the stronger our united front will become. Then no force will be able to disrupt it.

While closely cooperating with all the patriotic, democratic parties in this way, our Party must fight to the bitter end against the traitorous clique which is opposed to the nation and to the people. Why is it that we cannot form a united front with the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique? It is because they are the stooges of US imperialism and openly betray the interests of the nation. Those who have joined the Syngman Rhee clique are all pro-Japanese elements who were minions of Japanese imperialism in its day and, now that their old master is gone and a new master has come, are acting as henchmen of US imperialism. Patriots and quislings can in no circumstances join hands nor compromise with each other. The people must duly bring the henchmen of foreign imperialism to justice.

The Workers' Party of North Korea and the Workers' Party of South Korea know well who our enemy is and with whom we can form a united front. The united front is not to be formed with enemies but with friends. We must therefore continue to wage a tenacious struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges by strengthening the united front with the Democratic Party and the Chongu Party, both of which aspire to build a rich, strong, independent and sovereign state, and by mobilizing all the patriotic, democratic forces.

Last, we must further cultivate in the people the patriotic spirit of nation building, the spirit of loving the country and building it more rapidly into a rich and strong one. In all factories, mines, institutions and enterprises we should strive to establish the habit of taking good care of state property, using machines and equipment better, economizing on labour and materials, reducing all unproductive expenditures, producing more and better goods, and undertaking more rapid construction with less funds. It is an important task facing our Party organizations to inspire the working people with the patriotic spirit of building up the state and fight to rid them of the ideological legacy left over from the days of Japanese imperialism, which is manifested in their slipshod ways of working and living.

Before long our people will have their own Constitution and army. We should take due pride in and strictly abide by the Constitution of our country that will legally confirm the people's power established by our own hands and all the rights and liberties won by our own might, and should actively support and assist our People's Army that will be made up of our beloved sons and daughters.

Through the review of the work of the Party organizations at all levels and their elections which are to take place prior to the Second Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea, we should strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically and correctly sum up the precious lessons learned and the rich experience gained in the period under review and make them serve as a guide in the development of our Party work in the future.

We must increase the fighting efficiency of our Party, enhance its prestige among the masses and rally them rock-firm around it by electing to the Party's leading bodies and sending to the Party conferences the best Party members who are fighting with devotion for the country, the people and the Party, and who have been tested and tempered in practical work.

Let us build up our Party ranks ever more firmly and lead the broad sections of the masses united around the Party to march courageously forward to new victories!

HOW TO DEVELOP STATE-RUN INDUSTRY AND MANAGE ENTERPRISES?

**Talk to Managers and Technicians
of State-Run Enterprises**

January 25, 1948

I should like to dwell on how to develop state-run industry and manage enterprises this year, limiting myself primarily to the questions you have raised.

First, we should make every effort to settle the matters which we can cope with ourselves.

Through the experience we gained in the successful fulfilment of the national economic plan for 1947, we have become more confident in our ability to develop national industry independently. Indeed, we have to receive necessary foreign aid in the future, too, but we must have the firm determination to rehabilitate and develop our national economy and build a rich and powerful country by our own efforts, without seeking to rely entirely on others.

This year, the factories should be completely rehabilitated and industrial production raised to the level of the years of Japanese imperialist rule. But we should not be concerned solely with the volume of production, it is also necessary to pay attention to steadily improving the qualitative structure of products. We should not export raw materials which we extract from our abundant resources, as in the bygone days of Japanese imperialist rule, but should proceed in the

direction of processing all of them at home to produce finished goods. The problem of crude oil, one of our biggest snags, should be solved through foreign trade, and we should refine it ourselves by rehabilitating the Wonsan Oil Refinery this year.

The aim of production at the factories which have become the people's property is to fully satisfy the people's demands. We should quickly restore and reorganize the factories and erect new ones to strengthen our country's economic base and turn out more goods essential for improving our people's standard of living. At the same time, our surplus production should be exchanged through foreign trade for the goods we need.

The question of deciding on the order of priorities in construction work is very important. We have a lot to build, for we have taken over a backward and ravaged economy. But everything cannot be built in a day. It is, therefore, imperative to tackle the most urgent jobs first. It will not do if we think of only one aspect and lose sight of the whole, or think only of today and forget tomorrow. A strict order of priorities should be fixed for construction projects, and funds, techniques and labour should be concentrated on the urgent ones, always taking into consideration the development of the national economy as a whole and of the country.

It will not do to be impetuous and to try to build only up-to-date and fine things from the outset. It is wrong to be in a hurry to do now what should be left for a few years. In construction we should combat the tendency to seek only fancy decorations or up-to-date equipment. Economic construction should on every account be undertaken in keeping with our present conditions, and construction work should be done effectively with less funds and materials, beginning with urgent projects.

Production should be put on a normal basis and the plans fulfilled without fail in the factories and other enterprises. To this end, it is important to prepare materials beforehand and organize labour properly, but the most important thing is to check and repair machinery and equipment in good time, operate them efficiently and

thus prevent accidents. To cause an accident or shorten the life of a machine by overworking it in one's over-eagerness to fulfil one's norms is tantamount to destroying state property and seriously harms production.

Now, I should like to deal with effective ways of securing funds.

First, measures should be taken to turn over the floating funds of enterprises more quickly. So far, very little attention has been paid to this matter. We should prevent factories and enterprises from receiving too much material only to keep it idle in storehouses or from not selling their products promptly but stockpiling them, and we should endeavour to turn over funds more quickly so that they can be put to use. We should try to build and produce more with the same amount of funds.

Second, funds should not be allocated solely to heavy industry, but a large amount should be channelled to light industry to bring about a sharp increase in the production of daily necessities. More light industrial factories should be built and latent reserves tapped to the full everywhere to put out consumer goods in greater quantities. This is not only advantageous for the quick return and accumulation of funds but is also essential for meeting in full the daily needs of the working people. According to reports from the localities and to what I have seen for myself, the people's demands in north Korea are growing rapidly day by day. In particular, the peasants who have become the masters of the land and who have had good harvests are demanding a lot of textiles and furniture, improved farm implements, building materials for new houses, etc. We should satisfy their growing demands and thus convince them more firmly of the advantages of the democratic system and, at the same time, we should actively absorb funds for economic construction.

Third, gold and other nonferrous metals should be extracted in large quantities. If we have these metals, we can purchase any kind of equipment or material at any time and from anywhere. When should we use our gold if not now, when we are building a rich, powerful, independent and sovereign state? This is not the time for us to leave

these precious minerals buried underground.

As technical personnel are still scarce in our country, it is important to turn the energy and talent of the technicians at factories and other enterprises to good account. They should not be given cumbersome office work, but should be provided with conditions for study and for making new inventions. They should also not be tied down to administration and management departments, but should work at the point of production and be given active help to develop technique in cooperation with the workers.

Last year, our technicians put forward a good many valuable ideas and made a great contribution to technical development. But, their creative efforts do not suffice yet. I hope they will do better in the future and expect them to make a bigger contribution to the development of industry.

It is necessary to organize technical study and skills transfer well in all factories and enterprises. A proper system of technical education has not yet been instituted and this work is being conducted in a very desultory way in the factories. This shortcoming should be eliminated and a system of technical education should be instituted without delay so that technical standards of the management personnel and skills of the workers can be improved systematically.

One of the most important factors for the fulfilment of the national economic plan is the proper organization of labour. But this is not being tackled satisfactorily in the factories and other enterprises at present.

In an effort to fulfil its production assignments, a certain colliery in North Hamgyong Province merely increased the number of workers without endeavouring to raise labour productivity. In consequence, a tremendous obstacle was placed in the way of lowering the production cost of coal, to say nothing of the work of state labour administration. This matter must not be overlooked at any factory or other enterprise where primary attention should be directed to the rational organization of labour and to increasing labour productivity.

The ratio of office workers to the total number of shop-floor workers at enterprises is still high. Decisive measures should be taken as soon as possible to simplify office work, get rid of the unnecessary staff and divert non-productive labour to productive work. As regards simplifying the system of cumbersome administrative and statistical reports, I will give a separate instruction on this in the future.

Even according to preliminary estimates, if the labour force is allocated in a rational way and the organization of labour is improved on a nationwide scale, production can be increased by some 50 per cent, even with a 10-15 per cent cut in the present number of workers at the state-run enterprises, and the labour force thus released can be diverted to new factories.

The reduction of production costs requires higher labour productivity and, at the same time, a vigorous struggle against the practice of wasting state property and energetic efforts to economize on all materials and funds. It should be made clear to the workers that only by lowering the cost of production will it be possible to increase the earnings of the enterprises and supply the working people with cheaper goods. The cost of production can be lowered and greater successes achieved in production only if the workers, above all, display creative initiative and everyone in the factory taps reserves to the full.

Decision No. 104 adopted recently by the People's Committee of North Korea should be thoroughly carried out and a public welfare service organized well from the state's point of view. One of the most important duties of the manager of an enterprise is to look after the workers with meticulous care, supply them with goods they need in good time and provide them with every convenience. Only when a manager does this job well can he enjoy the deep trust of the workers and ensure the successful fulfilment of production plans by rousing their enthusiasm and creative initiative. But he should not commit such an act as purchasing commodities from profiteers with state money on the plea of supplying factory and office workers with goods they need in daily life.

It is important to get the workers, technicians and office workers to understand that it is they themselves who are the masters of the state and of the enterprises. At certain places, some workers and managing personnel recklessly demand higher wages, oblivious of the fact that they themselves are the masters of the enterprises. It should be brought home to them that this is wrong. In a state-run enterprise, the machinery and equipment, materials and products, etc, belong to our people, to the workers. If all goods produced were appropriated as income for the workers merely to be consumed, it would be impossible to continue production and expand it. That is why the workers receive as wages only part of what they have produced. The expansion of production is also, in the final analysis, for the good of the workers and for the betterment of our people's life in the future. We should, therefore, get the workers to see clearly that they must increase production if they want higher wages, and that they will definitely be better off only if they increase production.

It is wrong to be greedy and to seek to live above our means when conditions in our country are still difficult. When the conditions of the state and enterprises improve, the incomes of workers, technicians and office workers will naturally rise and their livelihood, too, will improve sharply.

Another thing; we must help the workers, technicians and office workers to realize that we are at present building the country amidst a bitter struggle with the enemy and urge them to keep strict vigilance at all times. The enemy is watching for a chance to destroy the people's property and frustrate our economic construction. We must see that order and system are firmly established in the factories and that every official and worker sharpen vigilance to the utmost in order to smash the enemy's frantic intrigues and stoutly defend our enterprises.

In conclusion, I should like to point out that in building up industry the manager of an enterprise should play a role comparable to that of a regimental commander in the army. You are commanders

of the enterprises and bear a heavy responsibility to the state. True, you managers must run the enterprises in close cooperation with the Party and social organizations in the factories, but you should not forget that, in the final analysis, you yourselves are responsible for production.

I hope you managers of state-run enterprises will organize and guide all affairs effectively and responsibly and work with a sense of honour and the conviction that you are laying the foundations for the eternal prosperity of the country.

ON THE REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN FOR 1947 AND ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR 1948

**Report to the Fourth Session of the People's
Assembly of North Korea**
February 6, 1948

1. ON THE REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN FOR REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY FOR 1947

Deputies,

The national economic plan for 1947, the first of its kind in our nation's history, has been splendidly overfulfilled in all respects by the creative efforts of the liberated Korean people.

Success in the implementation of the plan marks the first big stride in laying the foundations of an independent national economy to ensure the freedom and independence of the country and national prosperity. It signifies a great victory for the Korean people in the building of a new life. It is a matter of pride and boundless honour for all the people that we are now reviewing the brilliant initial success in economic construction and examining this year's national economic development plan at the People's Assembly, the highest governing body of our nation.

Last year our people started developing the national economy according to a plan with the aim of laying the foundations of an independent national economy in north Korea on the basis of the democratic reforms and of achieving the independence, sovereignty and reunification of the country as soon as possible. The Plan for Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy for 1947 adopted on February 19 last year at the Congress of the Provincial, City and County People's Committees was successfully carried out by the devoted efforts of the workers, peasants, technicians, office workers and the rest of the working people under the correct leadership of the government bodies at all levels.

In the field of industry, the factories and power stations demolished by the fleeing Japanese imperialists and the flooded coal and ore mines were extensively rebuilt last year. The blast furnaces and coking ovens at the Hwanghae Iron Works were restored and put into operation by our own efforts, though the fleeing Japanese technicians had maintained that the Koreans would be unable to reconstruct them by themselves. The Chongjin Spinning Mill, too, which the Japanese had considered difficult to operate on Korean skill, was excellently rebuilt on our own and is producing the rayon yarn needed by the people.

The notable success in reconstructing the factories and other enterprises put our industrial production onto a normal footing and made possible effective implementation of last year's industrial plan.

In 1947 the state-run industry's total output value exceeded the planned target by 2.5 per cent. Industrial production last year increased more than 70 per cent, and industrial labour productivity 51 per cent, as against the preceding year.

Let us break down the figures by industries. The power and electric engineering industries overfulfilled their assignments by 37 per cent, the coal mining industry 5.2 per cent, the ore mining industry 4.5 per cent, the chemical industry 7.3 per cent, the building-materials industry 9.6 per cent, and light industry 0.4 per cent. In particular, the output of ammonium sulphate which is

essential for the development of agriculture more than doubled as against 1946, and locally-run industry overfulfilled its plan by 25.4 per cent.

The unusually creative efforts of the workers and technicians made it possible to produce many new items of goods such as transformers, rollers, copper wire, carbide alcohol, storage batteries, etc, which were formerly beyond their power.

In addition to the rebuilding of many factories and other enterprises, great headway was also made in overcoming the shortage of technicians and skilled workers, the biggest handicap to industrial progress. We set up a managers' school and taught those managers inexperienced in the management of industrial enterprises how to run them, expanded or newly established various specialized technical schools and factory technical schools, where many technicians were trained in a short period of time. We also trained many skilled workers by introducing the system of imparting technical skills. As a result, we have barely extricated ourselves from the great difficulty in operating factories, a difficulty due to a shortage of technicians and skilled workers, and each industrial establishment is now able to handle modern equipment itself and carry out its production plan.

The success in industrial rehabilitation and development over the past period is a clear indication that our people are fully capable of building an independent industry by their own efforts, if they strive with all their wisdom and talent.

When the national economic plan for 1947 was published, all the peasants who became owners of land turned out as one to carry out the plan.

They participated enthusiastically in the reclamation of land and launched a widespread emulation movement to transplant rice seedlings, making every effort to turn north Korea once short of food into a land of abundant food grain.

Accordingly, the sown area in 1947 exceeded the plan by 0.4 per cent, and the total grain output was nearly 170,000 tons more than in 1946. Had it not been for the flood damage in North Phyongan and

Hwanghae provinces last year, we would have harvested much more grain than we actually did.

In this connection, the people's committees at all levels organized and guided the sowing, rice transplanting and weeding in season and quite correctly. They gave active help in the farm work of the peasants who came out to increase crop yields, by loaning them a large amount of seed grain and also by supplying them in time with the salt needed for seed selection and fertilizer. In addition, even food grain was loaned to the poor peasants so that they could farm without the least worry.

The people's committees also gave much state assistance to irrigation construction. Last year alone, the state completed 55 irrigation projects undertaken with the voluntary participation of the peasants and added more than 20,000 hectares of land to the irrigated area. It also saw to it that the peasants themselves carried out construction work to irrigate an area of over 2,600 hectares.

In animal husbandry, too, the state plan was overfulfilled, and the number of oxen increased 29.3 per cent and pigs 81 per cent over the figures of the preceding year.

In timber production, the tree-cutting plan was overfulfilled by 35 per cent, and the timber-hauling schedule by 2.5 per cent. The amount of marine products increased about 40 per cent as against the previous year.

In 1946 rail transport could not fully meet the demands of the national economy, putting a brake on the progress of industry, agriculture, trade and other branches of the national economy. But in 1947 the railway workers carried out their freight haulage plans satisfactorily by working with great enthusiasm and thus contributed to the fulfilment of the national economic plan as a whole. In particular, they delivered chemical fertilizer in season to different parts of the countryside and greatly helped the peasants to fulfil their farming plan.

The annual plan for railway freight was carried out by the end of September, and an additional plan for hauling two million tons of

goods fulfilled by December 20. Thus, the original state plan was exceeded by 38 per cent. This means 2.5 times more goods hauled by the railways than in 1946. Besides, 13 per cent more passengers were carried over and above the plan, thus greatly promoting convenience for the people.

Great success has also been registered in the field of communications in 1947. In 1946 telephone communications were ineffective and mail was not delivered to remote mountain areas. But in the following year the telephone network was restored and expanded, and mail was quickly delivered even to out-of-the-way villages in the mountains. The completion of work on establishment of telegraph and telephone communications between Pyongyang and Wonsan and between Pyongyang and Hamhung and the success in modifying the telegraphs to print messages in our letters contributed to great progress in telegraph and telephone communications.

The workers engaged in urban management and public works made life more comfortable for urban inhabitants by improving state-owned buildings and repairing and extending water works. They overfulfilled the planning target for road construction by 83 per cent, bridge building by 14 per cent, river improvement projects by 21 per cent and harbour construction by 14 per cent.

In 1947 state and consumers' cooperative trades developed rapidly; as many as 504 new shops were opened and the trade turnover was over nine times greater than in 1946. The state and consumers' cooperative trades played and are playing an important part in raising the living standards of the working people and ensuring smooth exchange of goods between town and countryside by providing the working people with manufactured goods and foodstuffs at cheap prices.

Foreign trade, too, made big strides. In 1947 there was a marked increase in the export of surplus goods and import of raw and other materials and daily necessities in short supply.

Successes scored in the fields of education, culture and health service were also great.

A new democratic education system was established after the outdated one of Japanese imperialism had been completely liquidated and a broad avenue opened for the working people and their children to study to the best of their ability. In 1947 the number of schools was 1.4 times and their enrolment 1.3 times greater than in 1946, and more than 7.5 million copies of our own textbooks were published for the pupils and students. Meantime, such active steps were taken to develop the training of the native cadres as introduction of a scholarship system for tertiary school students, enrolment of more than 6,000 sons and daughters of the working people for higher education, and sending many young people abroad to study advanced science and technology. Further, 840,000 illiterates who had been totally denied access to education because of the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, were taught to read and write the Korean language, and measures were taken to re-educate the teachers to improve their qualifications as new democratic educators.

For the development of national culture and the arts, 17 theatrical and eight musical companies were formed, and a film studio with a total plottage of over 50,000 *phyong* was built, the first of its kind in Korea. And many libraries, museums and democratic information rooms were opened to raise the cultural standards of the working people.

To improve the public health service, 47 hospitals and 294 clinics were set up last year in towns and farm villages, and health facilities in general were better equipped. As a result, last year more than 1,600 beds were added to the existing hospital accommodation and the total number of people treated in state-run medical establishments exceeded 6,075,000.

The introduction of the social insurance system in particular gave the working people wide access to modern medical establishments. In 1947 more than 1.7 million persons received medical assistance under the social insurance system. And, as a result of vigorous sanitation work and stringent actions to prevent the spread of epidemics, the number of infectious cases dropped by more than 60 per cent compared with the preceding year.

With the growth of industrial and agricultural production and through the successful implementation of the economic and cultural policies of the people's government, the welfare of the factory and office workers and peasants showed a marked improvement last year.

The total number of workers and office employees went up by more than 107,000 in 1947 as compared with the previous year, with the productive work force growing by nearly 65,000 persons. All the workers and office employees benefit from the progressive Labour Law and social insurance, and their real wages are rising rapidly thanks to pay increases and price cuts. The market prices of grain, for instance, dropped 27 per cent on the average in the period between January and December 1947. Meanwhile, in the countryside where the agrarian reform had been carried out, the living standards of the peasants are swiftly improving with the increase in agricultural production, and they are satisfying their own requirements on the income derived from their land.

Deputies,

Such are about all our successes achieved last year in implementing the first national economic plan.

When the national economic plan for 1947 was published, our enemies sneered, saying it was a pipe dream, and even some of our own people wavered in doubt. Needless to say, it was not easy by any means to develop the national economy according to a plan, since it was the first attempt in the history of our nation. As a result of the evil colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, we had no first-hand experience in state administration and in the management of the national economy and also we were very short of technicians and specialists in different fields. To make matters worse, we had a deformed colonial industry which was technically backward and heavily damaged at that, when we started to rehabilitate and develop the national economy after liberation.

Nevertheless, all the people in the northern half—in factories, mines, and other enterprises, and farm and fishing villages—worked with might and main and enthusiasm as masters of the country and

overfulfilled the plan for 1947 with credit. Thus, they blasted the reactionary slanders and gained a great initial victory in economic construction.

The success in implementing the national economic plan for 1947 was only possible under the correct leadership of our people's government and through the concerted efforts of all the people rallied behind the Democratic National United Front. All the working people displayed a high degree of ingenuity and fortitude in rebuilding and improving factories and other enterprises and developing production. All the political parties and social organizations strove for the triumphant fulfilment of the plan. The trade unions and the Peasants' Union mobilized all their members in a vigorous emulation movement to increase production, and the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union inspired the young people and women to feats of labour in the struggle to carry out the plan ahead of schedule.

In the triumphant struggle to rehabilitate and develop the national economy, the patriotic, democratic forces in north Korea grew further and became closely united. Our people acquired a high sense of national pride and the firm confidence that they could run their country excellently by their own efforts and independent of anyone else.

In north Korea, industrial and agricultural production is developing quickly, the working people's living standards are improving daily, and all the people are marching confidently forward to a better future. However, in south Korea, the other half of the country, things are quite different.

In south Korea, national industry is totally on the decline, agriculture has become further devastated, and the people are suffering from destitution and starvation, because of the colonial enslavement policy pursued by US imperialism. According to south Korean newspapers, only 30 per cent of industry in the south is now in operation, and unemployment is growing from day to day. Inflation is soaring, prices are rocketing, and the workers' real wages are dropping still further.

What is the reason for this essential difference in the economic

situation and people's living standards in the two parts of Korea? It is because in north Korea a truly people's government was established after the complete elimination of the Japanese imperialist ruling machinery, and under the leadership of the people's government democratic reforms were carried out, and the people have become the masters of the country and their own destiny, whereas in south Korea the Japanese imperialist government-general's rule was replaced by the US imperialist government-general's rule, reaction is rife, and the people are subjected to unprecedentedly harsh oppression and exploitation. The different realities in north and south Korea are a graphic illustration of how proud and happy a people can be when they have broken their imperialist shackles and have won national liberty and democratic rights, and of how humiliated and miserable a people can be when shackled to colonial slavery and dominated by reaction.

The triumphant fulfilment of the national economic plan for 1947 means precisely the victory of the genuinely democratic system in north Korea; it is the fruit of the worthwhile, creative labour of our people who have seized political power in their own hands and become the masters of the factories, mines, railways and land. In south Korea, too, the national economy will pick up and the people will free themselves from today's destitution only when they emerge victorious and democracy triumphs. Boundlessly inspired by the victorious democratic reforms and the success in economic construction in the north, the people in the south will certainly build a truly independent, sovereign and democratic state in solid unity with the north Korean people by determinedly frustrating the moves of the US imperialists and the traitorous clique to make Korea a colony again.

The Korean people are now well aware of the US imperialists' scheme to enslave our nation; they are also clearly aware who are truly helping our nation in their free progress and in the building of an independent and democratic state.

Ever since its entry into north Korea, the Soviet army has tirelessly helped our people to create a new, democratic life by their

own efforts. From the Soviet army and its government we received a good deal of material and technical aid in fulfilling the national economic plan for 1947. The active support of the Soviet Union and its people's selfless aid boundlessly inspired the Korean people in their struggle for freedom, independence and democratization of their country and provided us with favourable conditions for hastening our economic construction.

Deputies,

In spite of the successful fulfilment of the national economic plan for 1947, there were quite a few shortcomings in our work. Allow me to point to the defects in different branches of the national economy in carrying out the plan.

In industry, the self-accounting system was not properly applied. Insufficient efforts to lower production costs systematically and improve the quality of goods prevented enterprises increasing their income. What is more, enterprises often failed to use their equipment to full capacity and apply the piecework system correctly. The struggle to look after state property and to economize on materials was weak, and state control over equipment and materials and checkup on the financial affairs were inadequate.

Because of insufficient progress in prospecting mineral resources, the distribution of different minerals and the size of the deposits were not made clear, and even available resources were not put to full use. Locally-run industry in particular should have been active in tapping sources of locally available raw materials. Because of the failure to take measures in this respect, we were unable to increase the output of daily necessities faster.

In agriculture, land was not used well enough. There were no strenuous efforts to increase per-hectare crop yield, and technical guidance for the cultivation of industrial crops, cotton in particular, was very inadequate. And forest conservation and tree planting were not undertaken with success.

In the field of rail transport, freight cars were not properly allocated, laying undue stress on certain areas. And the work to

prevent the running of empty freight cars and ensure capacity traction of locomotives and punctual operation of trains was not efficient. Besides, the struggle to prevent train accidents was inadequate, and strict order and discipline were not yet established in rail transport. Underdevelopment of water transport is another serious shortcoming in a country like ours with many rivers and long coastal lines.

In the field of trade, improper distribution of goods resulted in their being overstocked in some parts of the country, and hampered their rapid turnover and speedy fund rotation. And proper action was not taken to facilitate commodity exchange between town and countryside. In particular, the role of consumers' cooperative trade was still inadequate in meeting the rural demand for commodities and in making life more convenient for the peasants.

The success in implementing the plan for 1947 will serve as a basis for a further advance of our national economy and especially for its development in the year 1948. We must sustain our vigorous advance, if we are to wipe out the economic and technical backwardness handed down through history and build a rich and strong country. Not even for a moment are we permitted to be indolent or mark time.

By consolidating the success achieved in fulfilling the plan for 1947 and quickly rectifying all the shortcomings and weaknesses, we will register greater success in implementing the national economic plan for 1948.

2. ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR 1948

The notable success in carrying out the plan for 1947 has brought about the rapid reconstruction and development of all branches of the national economy and a marked increase in the material and cultural

well-being of the people. But that was only a first step in the planned development of our national economy. We still have a long way to go to eradicate the evil effects of the long-drawn-out colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and lay the groundwork for an independent national economy.

As you all know, our industry retains an extreme imbalance of a colonial nature, and its technical equipment is far behind the times. Japanese imperialism did not develop industries for the production of finished goods such as engineering and light industries. It built deformed industries—industries mainly for the production of raw materials and semi-finished goods in an attempt to plunder our rich natural resources to the last scrap. Such an industrial heritage is now a great handicap in rapidly developing our national economy and in improving the people's well-being.

In the future, we should rebuild and develop industries in such a way as to eliminate this industrial imbalance and lay the foundations of an independent national economy. In 1948 the main effort should be directed to the production of machines, appliances, spare parts, and daily necessities for the people, while striving for a rapid increase in industrial production in general and for better quality and lower cost of products. At the same time, production of food and industrial raw materials should be further increased by developing agriculture, the freight haulage demands of the national economy satisfied through an improvement in transport, and the people's conveniences promoted and their cultural level quickly raised through the expansion of educational, cultural and health service facilities.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

In 1948 the total industrial output value of state and cooperative organizations is estimated to increase 41 per cent as against 1947. In order to reach this target, we must improve manpower organization, correctly apply the piecework system, give full play to the productive

enthusiasm and creativeness of the working people, further strengthen discipline at work, and boost labour productivity by more than 30 per cent compared with 1947.

In 1948 we should direct more efforts to generating electric power and the production of electrical machinery and raise their output by 25 per cent as compared with 1947. We have decided to build a new electrical machine plant in Kangso to manufacture electric motors for irrigation and elsewhere and other electrical machines, appliances and materials which we could not make before.

Fuel output should be 30 per cent greater than last year; the output of bituminous coal should reach 1.75 million tons, anthracite 2.1 million tons, and briquets 300,000 tons. In order to increase coal output, at least 20 kilometres of tunnel should be constructed, and a powerful drive made to reconstruct pit facilities and construct new dressing plants and expand existing ones.

Ore output should be increased by 31 per cent, with sulfide ore reaching 282,000 tons, graphite 16,600 tons, tungsten 2,000 tons, and iron ore 215,000 tons. For this purpose, 32 mines should be rehabilitated and exploited, the extent of their deposits confirmed, and 53 kilometres of new tunnel constructed.

In the field of nonferrous mining and metallurgy, the production of copper, lead, zinc and gold should be quickly increased, copper wire manufactured, and nickel, bismuth and antimony newly produced.

The output of ferrous metal and machinery should be 93 per cent greater than in 1947. The output of pig iron should reach 90,000 tons, rolled steel 39,100 tons, and metal plates 53,500 tons. This year we will produce silicon steel plate, copper sheet, brass sheet, zinc sheet, tinplate sheet, aluminium sheet, and other important materials for the manufacture of electric machinery. And the output of iron wire for mass production of nails required in construction should be increased at least eight times as compared with 1947. Besides, we will make a wire mill with an annual capacity of 20,000 tons, and 300 tons of rollers for the production of rolled steel. And we should also produce steel pipes.

At the same time, internal combustion engines, machine tools, and a large number of farm implements should be produced, and the shipbuilding industry developed in order to build iron vessels of 500 tonnage and various other ships.

With a view to developing the ferrous metallurgical and machine-building industries, we should reconstruct the Pyongyang Machine Plant, build a new wire mill at the Hwanghae Iron Works and rehabilitate the revolving furnace at the Chongjin Steel Plant.

For the chemical industry a 43 per cent growth of production is envisaged as against the previous year, with the output of chemical fertilizer rising to 332,000 tons. Large amounts of carbide and caustic soda will be produced, and the output of soap will be 3.9 times as high as in the preceding year. In addition, a variety of dye-stuffs and medicines should be produced in large quantities. Next year we will overhaul the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, build a new nitro-lime plant in the Chongsu Chemical Factory, convert the Haeju Gunpowder Factory into a dye-stuff plant, and at the same time strive to increase the production of daily necessities in chemical factories.

The building-materials industry should direct its main effort to the production of cement, bricks and slate and build a new glass factory to produce sheet and plate glass as well. The output value in this industry will be 1.3 times greater than in the previous year.

The total output value of the state light industry should reach 3,260 million *won* in terms of 1946 prices, with the output of cotton fabrics reaching 6.8 million metres, cotton yarn 1,400 tons, rayon yarn 1,440 tons, knitwear more than 970,000 one-dozen packs, paper 11,000 tons, and rubber shoes 1.02 million pairs. For such a rapid development of production in light industry, we must rebuild the Pyongyang Synthetic Fibre Factory, furnish the Kilju Pulp Mill with more paper machines, and equip the Sariwon and Sinuiju Textile Mills with additional spinning machines and looms. Inspection in light industry should be strengthened more than anywhere else so as to improve the quality of goods.

Besides, more tobacco and salt should be produced, and in

particular the output of salt more than doubled as compared with the 1947 figure.

Locally-run industry is estimated to produce daily necessities worth 3,157 million *won* (in terms of 1946 prices) by extensive exploration and use of locally available raw material resources. Among others, the production of rayon fabrics, work clothes, school uniforms, underwear, knitwear and other textiles and ready-made clothes will grow quickly. Rayon fabrics should be produced in larger quantities in Pyongyang and North Phyongan Province, rubber goods and railway air hoses in Pyongyang, acid-proof bottles, flax yarn and marine products in South Hamgyong Province, paper in Hwanghae Province, Kangwon Province, Pyongyang and North Phyongan Province, and pottery in North Hamgyong Province. In particular, nine new factories should be built and six rebuilt and improved for the mass production of school supplies, wooden articles, foodstuffs and precious metalware.

This year the huge sum of 2,230 million *won* will be invested in capital construction, that is, in the rehabilitation, expansion and overall repair of state-run industrial enterprises, of which 1,270 million *won* will be budgeted by the state. And for locally-run industry 80 million *won* will be earmarked from the state budget. In addition, 150 million *won* will be appropriated for the overhauling of the equipment for the production of tobacco and salt.

All factories, mines and collieries should be fitted out well with labour safety equipment, active measures taken for labour protection, and at the same time, close attention paid to stabilization and improvement of the living conditions of workers and office employees and to making their life more convenient. Further, manpower should be allocated rationally, labour discipline strengthened, work norms set correctly, the piecework system applied on a more extensive scale, new techniques continually introduced and the workers' skill levels raised so as to quickly increase labour productivity.

Mastering technology is essential for workers in industry and all other branches of the national economy. This year we must see to it

that 1,275 technicians and 25,400 skilled workers are trained by strengthening technical training centres, on-the-job training schools and the system of skills transfer.

All factories and other enterprises should better apply the self-accounting system in which they gained initial experience last year. Managers and other officials of industrial establishments must learn the method of planned operation of enterprises which have come under the people's ownership, and in particular they should put production on a normal footing and set up a rigid system of economy so as to lower production costs systematically and increase the gains of the enterprises in every way.

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND THE FISHERIES

In agriculture, the sown area should be increased to 2,344,200 hectares through the expansion of cultivated land and improvement in land utilization, and the unit-area yield of crops raised considerably by applying better agro-techniques and farming methods. Stress should be laid on increased grain production to satisfy the people's food requirements, and at the same time the cultivation of industrial crops developed to provide light industry with sufficient raw materials.

As for crop area, it is planned to sow rice, wheat and barley over an area of 739,000 hectares, potatoes 119,280 hectares, and industrial crops 94,427 hectares. And especially the area under cotton cultivation should be 28 per cent larger than in 1947.

What is important in increasing the unit-area yield of rice is to irrigate the crop well. This year 89 new irrigation projects in addition to the three now under way will be actively pushed forward so that 3,167 hectares of non-paddy fields are turned into rice paddies and so that 4,488 hectares of rain-dependent rice fields are brought under irrigation.

The current year envisages the use of 200,000 tons of chemical fertilizer and 22.06 million tons of compost. And close attention should be paid to improving seed and disseminating select seed.

In this way, the total grain output this year will increase 13.5 per cent and that of cotton 2.1 times as against last year.

Quickly increasing the number of domestic animals is a major task for agriculture this year. We must ensure that the number of Korean cows grows to 727,000 head, horses to 12,000 and pigs to 546,000 by the end of the year. This year the death rate among domestic animals should be drastically reduced by securing a source of feed, supplying it rationally, widely disseminating animals of good breed and taking better care of them. And a state livestock farm should be organized in Pyongyang and properly managed.

We need to speed up the planting of trees to increase forest resources and prevent flood damage. This year we should make sure that 143.8 million saplings are grown and that the area of tree planting reaches 56,000 hectares.

In the field of timber production, it is planned to fell 1,328,000 cubic metres of trees and haul 1,237,000 cubic metres. Sawing will increase 5.7 per cent as compared with 1947, and output will reach a minimum of 408,000 cubic metres.

To ensure timber production, forest railway tracks and roads should be built, work efficiency of timber stations further improved, and at the same time special attention paid to forest conservation.

The fisheries should catch 344,000 tons of fish this year and increase the output of different kinds of processed marine products to 85,000 tons by improving their processing.

Agricultural experimental stations, meteorological observatories, and similar research establishments should make a deep study of the scientific and technological problems related to the progress of agriculture, forestry and the fisheries and ensure that the results of their research are quickly applied in production.

In the current year the state will allocate 994,548,000 *won* for the development of agriculture, forestry and the fisheries.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

In 1948 the demand for freight transport is expected to rise quickly with rapid progress in industrial and agricultural production and the development of goods distribution. In order to satisfy the demand, the railways this year should carry 11.6 million tons of goods or 1.4 times the amount last year, and the total volume of freight turnover should reach 2,417 million ton-km, or 1.6 times that of last year.

The technical equipment of railways should be improved, a punctual train service ensured, and the hauling tonnage of locomotives increased. The locomotives and passenger and freight cars which are badly worn out, overworked by the Japanese imperialists, should undergo major repairs, and the construction of new railway tracks and the repair of existing ones should be actively pushed forward. Balanced and flexible allocation of freight cars for all districts and rational organization of transport should be effected to prevent a pile-up of goods caused by the shortage of freight cars in some areas and surplus cars standing idle in other parts of the country and to reduce in every way the running of empty cars and irrational movement of goods. Thus, the turnaround time of a freight car will be reduced at least to 7.3 days.

The coal consumption rate per kilometre of locomotive operation in particular is expected to be lowered to less than 70 kilogrammes on the average to save coal on the railways.

Technical education should be strengthened to raise the level of skills of railway workers and many technical and skilled workers trained in all railway technical schools and technical training centres. And order and discipline should be established in the field of rail transport, the officials' sense of responsibility enhanced and accidents to trains and goods prevented.

In the field of motor transport, a total of 833,000 tons should be carried, and the total volume of goods turnover increased to

29,160,000 ton-km. The bus service should be improved to provide convenience for people to travel in all parts of the country.

The normal development of water transport is important in easing the strain on rail transport, caused by the growth of the national economy. All the existing ships should be repaired and operated at their full capacity to ensure that this year the shipment of cargo reaches at least 815,000 tons.

This year an investment of 200 million *won* in capital construction for transport is estimated, of which the state budgetary appropriation alone will be as much as 140 million *won*. This money should be used effectively on replacing the Kaechon line with standard gauge tracks, repairing the Kanggye line and laying an industrial railway to the Hakpho Coal Mine. In addition, the Wonsan and West Pyongyang railway factories should be enlarged to increase their capacity to repair locomotive engines and to lay the groundwork for the manufacture of rolling stock.

A considerable improvement in communications is also planned for 1948.

Mail delivery time should be cut down considerably, and 2,580 kilometres of new telephone lines laid, including an additional trunk line between Pyongyang and Hamhung and new networks covering 69 sub-counties. The capacity of the communications equipment plant should be augmented to improve the manufacture and repair of telegraph and telephone equipment and increase the production of telecommunications equipment.

Funds for capital construction in the field of communications are estimated at 66,370,000 *won*, of which 33 million *won* will come from the state budget.

TRADE AND URBAN MANAGEMENT

State and consumers' cooperative trades are playing an ever-increasing part in satisfying the working people's requirements

which are growing with the rapid increase in their income.

In the current year, the state and consumers' cooperative commercial networks should provide urban and rural inhabitants with foodstuffs and manufactured goods worth 12,200 million *won* or 58 per cent more than in 1947. For better commodity supply for the people, it is planned to increase the number of state and consumers' cooperative shops to more than 1,600 in 1948. These shops should be promptly set up in the workers' settlements and the remote mountain villages still without shops. A commodity supply system for the working people should be set up, goods distribution quickened to ensure rapid fund rotation, the retail prices of mass consumption goods systematically lowered, and commodities prevented from flowing into the hands of profiteers.

The current year's state budget will appropriate 50 million *won* for capital construction to extend the trade network, and 22.4 million *won* for other activities to develop trade.

Meanwhile, we must develop foreign trade; we must export the goods produced in abundance at home, and import and supply in time the machines, equipment, raw and other materials essential for national economic development and also the indispensable daily necessities so as to ensure the successful implementation of this year's plan and improve the well-being of the people.

This year there are extensive plans also for the public works establishments and urban management.

Damaged roads, bridges and dikes should be restored before the rainy season sets in to ensure traffic safety and prevent flood damage as far as possible. It is planned to repair more than 9,000 metres of bridges and 38,000 metres of roads and build 129,000 metres of dikes, 76,000 metres of embankment and six harbours. 380 million *won* from the state budget will be invested in these projects.

The urban management service will undertake to repair damaged state-owned buildings with a floor space of 249,000 square metres and press forward with the construction of a university and other new buildings. At the same time, it should complete the construction of

industrial water works in South Phyongan Province and Sariwon area, and extend the network of water mains in urban areas and increase their total capacity. 319,000 square metres of urban roads will be paved and repaired, 14,900 metres of sewers laid to improve sanitation and bridges rebuilt or repaired on an extensive scale in towns. More than 660 million *won* will be invested in these projects this year, of which 260 million *won* will come from the state budget.

PROGRESS IN EDUCATION, CULTURE AND THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Educating the younger generation and training our own technical personnel to serve the country and working people is a very important task confronting us.

To complete preparations for the early introduction of compulsory education, we should increase the number of primary schools to 3,236, junior middle schools to 686 and senior middle schools to 134 in 1948. And to train more technical personnel for different branches of the national economy, we should set up more specialized technical schools, provide technical education for more than 20,000 students in 50 specialized schools, establish the Pyongyang Normal College and Chongjin Medical College, and increase the total number of higher educational establishments in north Korea to eight and their enrolment to 10,500 in all.

In 1948 schools of different levels should be better fitted out, plenty of laboratory and sports equipment provided for the students and more than 8.3 million copies of various school textbooks published and distributed by having them compiled much quicker.

Another important task is to quickly wipe out illiteracy caused by the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. This year the number of adult schools should be increased to 1,250 for the education of more than 99,000 working people, adult middle schools to 120 for the enrolment of over 15,000 students, and 33,000 Korean alphabet

schools established to teach one million illiterates how to read and write.

Raising teachers' qualifications is of decisive significance in improving the standard of school education. Further education should be available for teachers already employed by making effective use of teacher training schools of different levels while at the same time training large numbers of new teachers in a short period of time.

We must develop the national culture of the new Korea by carrying forward the excellent cultural traditions of our nation and absorbing advanced foreign culture. The national economic plan for 1948 envisages various measures for the speedy progress of national culture.

This year the number of libraries will increase to 103, museums to five, democratic information rooms to 9,431, theatres to 115, professional theatrical companies and mobile art troupes to 19, and dance studios to two. The North Korean Film Studio which has already been built should be better equipped, and a new gramophone record factory built. Besides, the plan envisages a massive development of publishing work.

The allocations for educational and cultural funds in this year's state budget to be channelled to the Education Bureau amount to 1,323.5 million *won*, and to the Information Bureau 60.21 million *won*.

In 1948 the medical facilities of the existing health centres will be increased, and at the same time six new hospitals for infectious diseases set up, more than 400 beds added, and approximately 100 clinics and dispensaries provided for farm villages in order to eliminate sub-counties without doctors.

Prevention of disease is a top priority for the public health service. The existing epidemic research centres should be better equipped and provided with more preventive medicines, and sanitation and anti-epidemic activities carried out on a wider scale to prevent outbreaks of disease in all parts of north Korea.

In 1948 the state health establishments will be replenished with

more than 700 medical workers. Meantime, all health workers should improve their standards. This year the state budget outlay on the health service will amount to 520.2 million *won*.

Deputies,

This in general is what should be carried out by every branch of the national economy in 1948.

The objective of this year's national economic plan is to consolidate the successes of the democratic reforms in north Korea and the achievements in last year's economic construction, lay the firm foundations for the building of a unified, independent and democratic state and further improve the material and cultural well-being of all the people.

A rapid development of the national economy in north Korea means hastening the formation of a Democratic People's Republic and laying the basis for the prosperity and development of our country and a happy life for the Korean people. This will have the ardent support and encouragement of progressive peoples the world over and be a great inspiration to the liberation struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples especially in the East.

Laying the foundations for the country's independent economy is a hard task, and numerous difficulties and obstacles will again crop up in implementing this year's plan. But the struggle to surmount them will be exhilarating and worthwhile because they are difficulties on our road forward, difficulties we anticipate in carving out a bright future for our country and people. Our people will continue their vigorous advance, overcoming without fail whatever difficulties and obstacles may arise.

We should be aware of the fact that the reactionaries will again resort to all sorts of dirty plots and moves to prevent us carrying out this year's plan. But we have already dealt a telling blow at the enemy by triumphantly carrying out the national economic plan for 1947. We are confident that we can build with credit a rich and strong country by our own efforts, exposing and smashing any hostile subversive plots in good time. This year, too, our awakened and united people

will brush aside all slanders and manoeuvres of the enemies and score a further great success in laying the basis of an independent national economy.

I call on all the people to rally as one in the struggle to overfulfil the plan for 1948 in all branches of the national economy, united closer around the people's government, holding high the banner of founding the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Political parties and social organizations affiliated with the Democratic National United Front of North Korea should mobilize to the full the patriotic forces of the people in all walks of life to ensure the successful fulfilment of this plan. The people's committees at all levels should organize and guide meticulously the correct implementation of the national economic plan by drawing on the inexhaustible, creative powers of the working people. In factories, enterprises, farm and fishing villages, measures for its fulfilment should be discussed with the participation of the masses of the people, and everyone of the working people encouraged to overfulfil his assignment under the plan without fail by working with all his strength and enthusiasm.

I submit the Decision of the PCNK on the Review of the Implementation of the Plan for Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy for 1947 and the National Economic Development Plan for 1948 for deliberation at the Fourth Session of the Peoples Assembly of North Korea.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE FOUNDING OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY

Speech at a Review of the Korean People's Army

February 8, 1948

Comrade officers, noncommissioned officers and men of the Korean People's Army,

Dear fellow countrymen,

In celebrating the second anniversary of the People's Committee of North Korea, the organ of genuine people's power, we today proclaim the founding of the Korean People's Army, the first regular armed forces belonging to the people in the history of Korea. The Korean people, who had been subjected to all manner of persecution and suppression under the bayonets of the Japanese imperialists, took power into their own hands after liberation and set out to create a new, happy life. And now they have their own full-fledged regular army to defend the country and the nation.

Expressing the great national pride and joy of the liberated people of Korea, I wholeheartedly hail the creation of the People's Army.

All the people of north and south Korea can now show their pride before the whole world in having their own modern, regular army to fight for the freedom and honour of the country.

We have founded the People's Army today to promote the complete independence and sovereignty of the country on a democratic basis.

Our people have laid the political, economic and cultural

foundations for building an independent and sovereign democratic state in north Korea in only a little over two years after liberation. With the establishment of people's power and the enforcement of democratic reforms we have brought to realization the age-old, ardent national desire of the broad masses of the people, thus opening up broad new vistas for social advance. Last year, we drew up a national economic plan and fulfilled it successfully, thus making our first great contributions to laying the base of an independent national economy. With the currency changeover, our people now possess their own currency and have consolidated the foundation for our country's financial independence. The draft Provisional Constitution of Korea has been drawn up which will legally validate the results of the democratic reforms and the building of democracy in north Korea and provide the legal foundations for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to be set up in the future.

But until now, we did not have a regular army of the Korean people to defend all these gains by force of arms.

Any independent and sovereign state has its own army. It goes without saying that no state can be completely independent and sovereign without its own army. Our country was occupied by the Japanese imperialists because the Korean people had no army of their own strong enough to defeat the Japanese imperialist aggressor army.

Therefore, if our country is to become a completely independent and sovereign state it is indispensable to have a mighty people's army capable of defending the country and the nation and of repulsing any enemy invasion. The need to create their own army became very urgent and vital for the Korean people, particularly in the serious circumstances whereby our country's reunification, independence and sovereignty have been held back for more than two years since liberation as a result of the vicious manoeuvrings on the part of the US imperialists and their lackeys to split our nation and turn our country once again into a colony.

Our people can neither remain mere onlookers while the US imperialists and their stooges carry out their policy of national

division, nor can we wait for someone to come along and give us independence and organize an army for us. The Korean people must build an independent and sovereign democratic state entirely by their own efforts and must themselves make all preparations for setting up a unified government. They must organize their army on their own, thereby promoting the building of a unified, independent and democratic country.

It is not by chance that a People's Army has been created in north Korea. This is because it is only in north Korea, where the people have become masters of the state, that it has been possible to create a People's Army to defend the country and the nation. It is inconceivable to found a genuine national army of the Korean people in present-day south Korea which is under US military government and where the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation have taken "power" and are training their terrorists.

Our people, who are courageously blazing the path for the whole of Korea to follow by carrying out democratic reforms and successfully building up the economy and making cultural advances in north Korea, will, through the organization of the Korean People's Army today, strengthen the might of the democratic base in north Korea and lay a solid foundation for the armed forces of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to be set up in the not too distant future. The people in south Korea, who are immensely encouraged and inspired by the building of democracy in north Korea, will regard our People's Army founded today as their own army and their own strength. So, the founding of the People's Army will give mighty encouragement to our fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters in south Korea, now groaning under the oppression of the US military government and the reactionary, traitor clique, in their struggle for the reunification and independence of the country along democratic lines.

Furthermore, we have created the People's Army to defend the democratic base of north Korea and the fruits of the democratic reforms—the groundwork for the establishment of a unified Democratic

People's Republic—from enemy encroachment, and to guarantee the security and happiness of the people in north Korea.

As is known to all, the US imperialists, the pro-Japanese elements and the traitors to the nation in south Korea are not only given to slander and false propaganda in their attempt to hamper our democratic development and peaceful construction. They are also making every attempt to destroy our precious state property and throw the life of the north Korean people into confusion by sending in large numbers of terrorists engaged exclusively in murder, arson and subversion. As a matter of course, these enemy activities are fully exposed and frustrated at every step by our people's united strength and high revolutionary vigilance. However, the firmer the democratic base of north Korea and the greater the victories of our people, the more frenzied the US imperialists and the reactionaries in south Korea become and the more viciously the enemy attempts to destroy the fruits of the democratic reforms and economic construction in north Korea.

Therefore, we must found the People's Army to firmly defend the democratic system established in north Korea and the happy life of our people, and prevent any reactionary forces and subversive elements from spoiling in the slightest degree all the precious results gained by the north Korean people in their struggle since liberation for the independence, sovereignty and democratization of the country.

We must remember that only when we are strong and the democratic forces prevail can genuine peace be preserved, freedom of the country and the people guaranteed, and the enemy will not be able to attempt any reckless attack on us. Therefore, far from presenting the threat of fratricidal civil war as stated in the reactionaries' vicious propaganda, the strengthening of the democratic forces and the founding of the People's Army in north Korea will prevent US imperialism and the reactionaries in south Korea from starting civil war.

Comrade officers, noncommissioned officers and men of the Korean People's Army,

Dear fellow countrymen,

The People's Army we have founded today is an army of a new type, fundamentally different from that of a capitalist country.

The army of a capitalist country is organized to defend and maintain by force of arms the system of oppression and exploitation of the working people—the vast majority of the population—in the interests of a handful of capitalists and landlords and to attack other nations and invade the territories of other countries. We saw this kind of army vividly in Hitler Germany and militarist Japan, and we see it now in all capitalist countries. In particular, the US army that after the war entered countries such as China and Greece, which were not defeated nations, and interfered in their internal affairs, and enforced military government in south Korea, refusing to withdraw, has become the prototype of the predatory imperialist army of today.

In contrast, the army we have created today is a genuine people's army made up of the sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other sections of the Korean working people, which fights for the liberation and independence of the Korean nation and for the happiness of the masses against the imperialist aggressive forces from abroad and the reactionary forces at home. Therefore, should any enemy attempt to infringe upon our country's freedom and destroy our people's happy life, our People's Army men will fight to the last drop of their blood to defeat him, and they will defend the country and the people to the bitter end. This is the most important feature of the People's Army we have founded.

Another specific feature of our People's Army is that its backbone is composed of true patriots of Korea who devoted their all in the past to the anti-Japanese armed struggle for the liberation of the country and the people in the face of brutal Japanese imperialist suppression.

After the Japanese imperialists occupied our country, the true patriots took up arms at home and abroad and waged arduous guerrilla warfare against Japanese imperialism. When the pro-Japanese elements, now acting as sycophants of US imperialism in south Korea, were oppressing and exploiting the Korean people in

league with Japanese imperialism and went so far as to drive the young men and women of Korea so dear to us to the battlefield to further Japan's aggressive war, Korean patriots formed anti-Japanese armed units and waged a protracted, bloody struggle against the Japanese imperialist army of aggression which far outnumbered them, thereby stoutly defending the pride and honour of our nation. Our People's Army is created today with these patriotic revolutionaries as its backbone and on the basis of the rich experience they accumulated during the long-drawn anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Therefore, though our People's Army is established today as the regular army of democratic Korea, it is, in reality, an army long rooted in the past. It is a glorious army inheriting the revolutionary traditions of anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare, invaluable battle experience and indomitable patriotic spirit. Our army, thus equipped not only with weapons but also with the combat experience, ardent patriotism and noble revolutionary spirit of our revolutionary forerunners, is an army of iron that will beat back any enemy invasion and always be victorious.

The fact that our people have founded such a superb and glorious People's Army once again demonstrates to the world that the Korean nation is fully capable of building a rich and strong independent country on its own and of raising its country to rank among the advanced states of the world. The fact that we have built such an excellent army by ourselves also shows clearly that we Korean people will not, and cannot, leave our destiny in the hands of the US imperialists and their tool, the UN Temporary Commission on Korea, nor ever recognize a "government" or an "army" rigged up by them.

In proclaiming to the world today on behalf of all the people the founding of the Korean People's Army, I solemnly declare once again that the destiny of the Korean nation can only be shaped by the Korean people themselves, and that the Korean question can never be solved by the US imperialists and their aggressive tool, the UN Temporary Commission on Korea.

Comrades and friends,

The founding of the People's Army fills our people with great pride and signifies another brilliant victory for them. But, although we have the People's Army, we must not allow ourselves to rest content or to be carried away by the victory. The creation of the People's Army is only the first step towards building up the powerful, modern armed forces of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which must be established in the future. It means that only the skeleton has been built. That is why all the people, as well as all military personnel, must do everything in their power to strengthen and develop the People's Army founded today and ensure that its invincible might is demonstrated to the world.

The men, noncommissioned officers and officers must first arm themselves firmly with boundless love for the country and the people and with the spirit of devoting their all to the struggle for the freedom of the country and the happiness of the people.

Our People's Army should not forget for a moment that it has been born of the people and serves the people, and that it can be victorious only when it cherishes the people and enjoys their support and affection. In particular, it must consistently protect the interests of all the working people headed by the working class, the main force in building our country. Only when the army is filled with ardent patriotism and the spirit of serving the working people can it defend the gains of the democratic reforms in north Korea, firmly safeguard our country and people from any enemy invasion and promote the complete independence, sovereignty and reunification of our country.

We must vigorously conduct political and ideological education among the servicemen so that they will emulate the lofty patriotism of their revolutionary forerunners who took part in the anti-Japanese armed struggle, cultivate the spirit of loving, respecting, trusting and uniting with each other, foster the trait of acting bravely and taking the lead in doing things, and build up an iron discipline in the army.

The men, noncommissioned officers and officers must zealously devote themselves to military training and the study of military science. All men and noncommissioned officers must become

proficient in handling weapons and be well versed in their military assignments. Officers must master the art of command and methods of educating and training the men under them.

Our People's Army cannot be strengthened merely by the efforts of the men, noncommissioned officers and officers. The active support and assistance of all the people are required to make our army more efficient and capable of honourably fulfilling the important mission of defending the country and the people. The workers must ensure timely and adequate production and supply of good weapons, uniforms and daily necessities, and the peasants must supply the army with provisions. The people must love their army, hold the officers and men dear and exert themselves to turn our People's Army into a strong and excellent army of which we can be proud before the world.

Dear comrades, men, noncommissioned officers and officers,

Dear fellow countrymen,

By founding today an army which is genuinely our own, our people have registered another historic victory for our nation. All the Korean people greet this happy occasion with boundless emotion and rejoicing, and all our friends the world over extend congratulations on this new victory of the Korean people in their fight for the freedom and independence of their country.

Let us all march vigorously forward, with an unshakeable faith in victory and ever greater national pride, for the establishment of a Democratic People's Republic of Korea, for new victories!

Long live the Korean People's Army, the true armed forces of the Korean people!

For the establishment of a Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

LET OUR NATIONAL DANCES ACCORD WITH OUR PEOPLE'S FEELINGS AND DEMANDS

Instructions to Teachers and Students of the Dance Studio

February 8, 1948

I watched your dances with considerable interest today. All the dances you teachers and students showed us are fine national dances.

Our national dances have their peculiar features and are highly expressive. The movements are graceful and beautiful, tender yet dynamic. Our dances are easy to learn, easy to understand and give the audience the impulse to dance themselves.

Our national dances have long traditions.

From days of old our people were fond of singing and dancing; they produced lots of good songs and dances depicting their lives and aspirations. But in the past the Japanese imperialist aggressors suppressed our national dances with the utmost severity. Because of their policy of stamping out Korean culture our beautiful national dances were losing their renown. The Japanese imperialists banned our people from singing their own songs and dancing their own dances freely. For nearly half a century our people had lived in darkness under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, almost ignorant of their own songs and dances.

The country's liberation, however, has opened up the great vista of developing their national culture and arts. As masters of the nation, masters of culture and the arts they are able to participate in art

activities at will, and artists are able to give free play to their talents and skill. A wealth of themes for artistic creation is being offered by the reality of our life as it advances rapidly along the road to democracy, by the people's patriotic struggle for the building of a new Korea and by their optimistic and happy lives. The state guarantees every possible condition for the advancement of national arts.

Whether our national arts develop quickly or not depends entirely on the artists.

At present our arts are not keeping pace with the country's developing reality and the demands of our people who are creating a new life. Literature and the arts including dances have not been able to put down deep roots among the broad masses of the people and, consequently, they fail to produce many good works of high ideological and artistic value which vividly reflect the advancing reality.

Artists must have a high degree of patriotism and do all they can to create and develop democratic people's arts. You have the responsible task of creating dances to suit the people's ideas and feelings, our national characteristics and the requirements of revolutionary development.

Our arts must become truly popular arts, working-class arts that fully serve the people.

Arts cannot exist apart from politics, and there can be no "pure arts" divorced from the class nature of society. The bourgeoisie clamour for "pure arts"; they do this to cover up the reactionary nature of their arts that serve the interests of the exploiter classes. In any society arts serve the interests of definite classes.

If our arts are to serve the working people's interests, they must never fail to reflect the policies of the Workers' Party. Since the Workers' Party struggles for the interests of the workers, peasants and the rest of the working people, our arts can only become genuine people's arts when they reflect its policies. It can be said that correctly reflecting Party policies is precisely the life of our arts.

Artists should be well acquainted with Party policies if they are to reflect them correctly in their artistic works. They must make a profound study of the Party's line and policies for each period and digest its official newspaper. This will help them to create artistic works in keeping with the Party's demands and to always sing and dance in a way that will satisfy the people's feelings and requirements.

Artists must not only arm themselves with our Party's policies but also keep in close touch with reality. Only when they are an integral part of pulsating reality, can they create excellent arts and inspire the people in their struggle. This is an irrefutable truth. It is the masses of the people who create and stimulate the arts. Therefore, only when artists go among the people and rely on their strength and talent, can our arts flourish as genuine people's arts.

Dancers must discard their outdated petty-bourgeois ideas and professional seclusion and go to factories and farming villages and live and work with the working people to engage in creative activities and give performances for them. This will give them inspiration to produce plenty of fine artistic works and, at the same time, powerfully encourage and inspire the people in their endeavours to build a rich and strong independent, sovereign state.

Dancers must strive to revive the excellent heritage of our national dance. You must seek out the many good dances loved and enjoyed by the people from olden times and arrange them to suit the reality of today.

The Dance Studio must train talented dancers in large numbers from now on.

Because of Japanese imperialist colonial rule our country did not have many dancers before nor had it any foundation for training them. That is why we are still unable to assign many dancers to national and local artistic organizations even though nearly three years have passed since liberation. At factories and farming villages lively amateur art activities cannot be conducted for lack of instructors. Only by training lots of artists can our arts develop

quickly. The Dance Studio must train plenty of dancers to be sent first of all to the artistic groups in the capital and provinces.

With a feeling of lofty pride and confidence as future masters and workers who are to develop our national dances, the students of the Dance Studio must all work hard to be good dancers.

Bearing in mind that our Party and state are pinning very great hopes on the artists, you must conduct artistic activities well and thus make a positive contribution to national culture and arts and to the construction of a democratic state.

TASKS BEFORE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE STRUGGLE TO CARRY OUT THIS YEAR'S NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN

**Report at the 12th Meeting of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of North Korea**

February 9, 1948

Last year our Party organizations and members worked hard to guarantee the fulfilment of the first national economic plan in our country. Without the vanguard role of our Party organizations and the devoted efforts of our Party members, it would have been very difficult indeed to carry out the national economic plan for 1947.

Having ensured a brilliant victory for the democratic reforms in north Korea, our Party successfully led the struggle for the restoration and development of the national economy last year. Through this it clearly showed once more that it is a powerful and authoritative political party capable of leading the masses to victory under any circumstances.

Our Party has grown not only into a tested political party capable of skilfully guiding the Korean people in the revolutionary struggle for the country's freedom and independence, but also into a party of excellent builders which can correctly guarantee the planned development of the national economy. Our Party organizations have gained much valuable experience in economic construction and are now in a position to work correctly in accordance with the Party

Central Committee's line and policies.

In the struggle for economic construction, the work of our Party cells has improved considerably. Now, they can deal with problems related to guaranteeing the fulfilment of the national economic plan in their respective sphere, and are able to rouse the Party members to action and enlist the talents and enthusiasm of the masses for the correct implementation of the Party's policies. For one thing, we have examined the material on the summing-up of the work of some rural cells in Kanggye County and found out that they worked quite well to carry out Party policy. A certain rural Party cell comprising a little over 20 members discussed its immediate concrete tasks such as ensuring the smooth exchange of currency in its village, repairing rural roads, increasing the stocks of manure and opportunely and accurately delivering the tax in kind, and satisfactorily carried out all the tasks by actively mobilizing Party members and the masses of the people. These facts testify that our Party cells have developed into Party organizations that are not only capable of disseminating and making the policies of the Party and people's power known to the masses but also of organizing their accurate implementation and guiding economic construction.

In reviewing the work of all Party organizations prior to the convocation of the Party congress, we must sum up the great successes and valuable experience gained during the period under review, and we also need to clearly analyze the shortcomings which the Party organizations must correct in future. Only when they are clearly aware of the shortcomings and weaknesses in their work and do away with them, will the Party organizations achieve even more splendid successes than last year in ensuring the fulfilment of this year's national economic plan.

One of the major shortcomings revealed in the work of our Party organizations is that they still neglect the dissemination of know-how on economic construction among their members. It must be said that our Party cadres have not been thoroughly equipped with specific knowledge on economic construction. Because they are ignorant

about economic construction, quite frequently the Party workers cannot make up their mind, lack resolution in guidance and waver or hesitate when faced with certain economic or technical problems.

Our Party members are very loyal to the Party and the people's power. However, loyalty alone is not enough to find solutions to questions. Only when Party cadres and members combine boundless loyalty to the Party and the country with technical and economic knowledge and professional ability, can they serve economic construction, an important revolutionary task at present, faithfully in practice. Those Party officials who are ignorant of economic construction and industrial management are unable to give proper Party guidance in seeking solutions to important matters concerning the drawing up of plans, organization of production, introduction of a piecework system or economy; and no matter how faithfully they wish to serve the Party, they cannot carry out the Party's economic tasks in time and with precision.

Next, the Party organizations fail to wage a resolute struggle against the remnants of Japanese imperialist ideas persisting in the minds of some Party members and working people. This defect must also be rectified as soon as possible. If all Party organizations had waged a strong ideological struggle for the protection of state property and economy, we would have eliminated the survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas such as putting personal interests before those of the state and wasting and embezzling state materials and funds. However, in some of our economic organizations and enterprises misappropriation and waste of state property still persist. This proves that our Party organizations' work of political education to eliminate the remnants of Japanese imperialist ideas has been insufficient.

Still another defect in the work of our Party organizations is that they fail to delve deep into the real state of affairs, sticking to formalistic, armchair guidance, and fail to show discretion in dealing with problems. The policies of the Party and people's power can be carried out exactly in practice only when Party cadres refrain from this style of work and go where Party members and the masses are

working, acquaint themselves with reality and give minute and concrete guidance to suit the actual conditions.

I have emphasized the need to do away quickly with the shortcomings in our Party organizations' work for economic construction. Now, I should like to refer to the important tasks facing Party organizations in the struggle to fulfil the national economic plan for 1948.

We envisage a 41 per cent increase in the gross industrial output value this year as against 1947. When this plan is carried out, our industrial output will be more than three times as high as in 1946.

With a view to producing machines, we decided to build a machine factory in Pyongyang and have already invested in it 70 million *won*; we must see to it that the factory starts turning out goods in June. And the electrical machinery plant now under construction in Kangso must also start production in June.

In order to develop the textile industry, the Chongjin Spinning Mill must be completely rebuilt and local industries must be constantly developed to increase the production of daily necessities. Along with this, the Pyongyang Chemical Factory must be reconstructed to produce chemical goods in greater quantities.

What is most important in increasing industrial output rapidly is to raise labour productivity. In the industrial spheres, we must increase labour productivity this year by more than 30 per cent as against last year. Therefore, we must always pay special attention to constantly developing technology, raising the workers' skill, organizing labour rationally and tightening work discipline.

Last year quite a few enterprises, including the coal mines in North Hamgyong Province, tried to raise production by merely increasing the work force instead of raising labour productivity. Some enterprises raised production by increasing the work force at the cost of lowering labour productivity, but reported that they had overfulfilled their plan. These enterprises made a grave mistake by wasting manpower indiscriminately; in fact, they cannot claim that they fulfilled the state plan.

An enterprise can only be said to have carried out its plan completely when it has fulfilled its plan not only in the gross output value but also in raising labour productivity and lowering production costs. This year we must not repeat last year's mistake but make sure that every factory and enterprise increase their production mainly by boosting labour productivity.

Next, all state industrial enterprises must run the self-accounting system correctly.

The managers of some enterprises do not understand properly what the self-accounting system is all about and, therefore, squander funds, claiming, "Under the self-accounting system, I am at liberty to handle finance." We must do away with this defect and see that all enterprises establish a system of planned management and allocate their funds and carry out production in a planned way. In this way we will ensure that every enterprise contributes more benefits to the state by saving materials and funds, producing better goods in greater quantities with less expenditure, and by making the maximum profit.

We must also actively push ahead with prospecting of mineral resources.

Our country has a great abundance of various natural resources, but the prospecting of them is lagging far behind. What is worse, no prospecting is being done at all in ore and coal mines but in many cases mining of ore and coal is mostly conducted in a hit-or-miss way. We must correct this shortcoming and survey the deposits of mineral resources to ascertain the major ore and coal seams in north Korea and, on this basis, bring ore and coal to the surface in a planned and perspective way.

Party organizations at all levels must work perseveringly to carry out the afore-mentioned tasks set before industry this year. Among others, the Pyongyang Municipal Party Committee, the South Phyongan Provincial Party Committee and the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee must exert special efforts to guaranteeing the early commissioning of those factories and enterprises earmarked for reconstruction or building this year, such as the Pyongyang

Chemical Factory, the Pyongyang Machine Plant, the Kangso Electrical Machine Plant, the Chongjin Spinning Mill and the Kilju Pulp Mill.

We must also develop the rural economy rapidly.

According to the estimates of agricultural specialists, approximately five per cent of our arable land still lies fallow. It is a very serious matter to keep land idle in a country like ours with a small area of farmland. This year we must bring this five per cent of land under cultivation, and strive to utilize the land more intensively.

The most important task in our farming is to carry out good irrigation projects and prevent flood and drought. This year we must undertake more irrigation projects in all parts of the country and gather a rich harvest and must actively push ahead with the work of digging drain ditches in the non-paddy fields.

It is also important to give guidance so that crop will be distributed properly on the principle of the right crop on the right soil. Particularly, this principle must be observed strictly in the cultivation of industrial crops; cotton must be sown exclusively where it grows well. This year we must increase the area for cotton cultivation by 28 per cent compared with last year.

Last year there were instances where the peasants applied chemical fertilizer haphazardly, which caused losses to the harvest. Experience shows that too much chemical fertilizer spoils the soil. Therefore, this year we must instruct the peasants on the use of chemical fertilizer so that they will apply it at the right moment and scientifically to suit the specific features of every crop and the soil of every locality, and that they use more compost. More scrupulous attention must be paid to this problem particularly in view of the fact that this year's supply of chemical fertilizer will be 20,000 tons more than last year.

We must also develop animal husbandry on a large scale. Domestic animals must be increased to the maximum in all regions through an improvement in breeding, and especially through the rational supply of feed and propagation of a good breed. In North and

South Hamgyong provinces sheep must be raised in a big way to supply the woolen mills with more raw material.

This year we must pay great attention to the management of forests and bring about improvement in this work, too. Our forests are all owned by the state now, but it is difficult for the central authorities to manage all of them uniformly. Therefore, it would be a good idea to establish a system under which the big forests in North and South Hamgyong provinces as well as in North Phyongan Province are administered directly by the central authorities and the rest, by the local authorities. And afforestation must be pushed ahead in a planned way and more energetically this year with a view to securing added sources of timber in the future.

Last year the fishing industry neither drew up a correct work plan nor conducted production in an organized way. Especially, they lent state-owned vessels to individual entrepreneurs instead of using them at state enterprises. This was a gross mistake. This year we must see to it that effective use is made of state-owned vessels by expanding state fishing enterprises, that more fish are caught and supplied to the people at cheap prices, and the processing of marine products organized properly.

There will be a greater need for freight haulage as industrial and agricultural production increases rapidly and the scale of goods distribution expands quickly. Therefore, this year's national economic plan envisages a 1.4-fold increase in railway freight traffic over last year; we must carry out this task come what may. In order to augment the railway transport capacity, we must replace the Kaechon line with a standard gauge line, complete the projects to improve the Kanggye line and to build the Hakpho line, and expand two railway factories.

Last year there were frequent pile-ups of freight. This was because some goods lying in areas difficult for transport to reach were not carried away in time, while the plan was overfulfilled in the areas easily accessible for transport and for those goods which were easy to carry.

This year we must correct this shortcoming and minutely carry out

the haulage plan on all indices. Therefore, we must be flexible in distributing locomotives and freight cars proportionately, raise their utilization, improve the repair and maintenance of the lines and organize freight transport in a more rational way. Close attention must be paid especially to economizing on coal used on the railways and systematically lowering transport costs.

It is also important to improve the technical education of railway workers. We must push ahead intensively with the work of improving their skill as a whole and training large numbers of new technicians from among them. Along with this, we must establish a strict regime and order in railway transport and intensify the struggle to overcome thoroughly the remnants of Japanese imperialist ideas frequently displayed by officials in this field. Only by raising the officials' technical skill and ideological consciousness and establishing discipline can we prevent all kinds of transport accidents and put railway transport on a normal footing.

Since the people's requirements and purchasing power are increasing sharply, a very important task confronting us this year is to improve commodity distribution.

It is true that last year the trade network was expanded quite considerably. But it will be impossible this year to satisfy the increasing needs of the urban and rural population without further expanding the network of state and consumers' cooperative stores. This year we must increase the number of state and consumers' cooperative stores in all parts of the country, including out-of-the-way mountain areas, and reorganize the system of commodity supply rationally from the capital down to the lowest administrative units, so as to ensure a smooth commodity exchange between town and country and supply service for the working people.

The expansion and proper management of state and consumers' cooperative trade is the only way to successfully prevent speculation by profiteers and ensure full supplies of goods to the working people. Developing consumers' cooperative trade is of special importance in enabling the peasants to sell their agricultural products on favourable

terms and receive adequate supplies of manufactured goods. Last year consumers' cooperative trade was not operating fully as originally intended. This is why consumers' cooperative trade must be improved in accordance with the decision adopted recently by the People's Committee of North Korea. The Trade Bureau must improve its guidance in every way so as to radically enhance the role of consumers' cooperatives.

At the same time, foreign trade must be promoted actively. We must export the kind of goods that are in plentiful supply and import the machinery and equipment and raw and other materials needed for the development of the national economy as well as daily necessities. In this way we will guarantee the fulfilment of the state plan for this year and improve the people's standard of living.

As for town planning and the management of public establishments, the roads and bridges destroyed must be rebuilt, the river dikes repaired before the rainy season to prevent flood damage, and the harbour facilities quickly repaired and reequipped. In addition, we must push forward in a planned way the projects for the expansion of the network of industrial water works and city water service as well as the repair and construction of sewage systems needed for urban sanitation.

The current yearly plan envisages the building of two new colleges and more schools of different levels. While further consolidating the material foundation of educational establishments, we must make efforts to raise the qualifications of the teachers who are directly responsible for educational work.

For this purpose, we must give short-term training to all school teachers and push ahead with their re-education in a long-term way. In order to quickly ensure the planned publication and distribution of textbooks, the Planning and Trade bureaus need to give active help to the Education Bureau. Specific measures should be taken to enlarge the printing houses, develop printing technique and give preference to supplying the necessary paper and machines through foreign trade.

The successful fulfilment of this year's national economic plan

will bring about another giant stride along the road to the rehabilitation and development of the national economy and the building of a democratic state. Industry and agriculture will make further advances, the people's living standards will be more stable and improved, and all the people will be more deeply convinced of the superiority of the democratic system they have established. This will make the base of democracy stronger, give greater inspiration to the south Korean people and create a more favourable situation for the Korean people's struggle to achieve the country's reunification and complete independence.

The tasks facing us this year are tremendous, indeed. However, the plan for 1948 will be fulfilled ahead of schedule if our Party activates its entire membership and properly enlists the creative enthusiasm of the masses. At the forthcoming conferences of provincial Party organizations concrete measures must be adopted to fulfil the plan in keeping with the specific situation of each region.

Drawing on our valuable experience and the lessons gained in the fulfilment of last year's plan, we must rally as one man in the struggle to overfulfil this year's national economic plan, with firm confidence in victory.

LET US TRAIN SOLDIERS TO BE MASTER GUNNERS

**Speech to Officers of the Artillery Sub-Unit
of Unit 395 of the Korean People's Army**

February 20, 1948

Comrades,

In an extremely complicated and difficult situation after liberation, we founded the Party, set up a genuine people's power under its leadership and succeeded in carrying out various democratic reforms.

Feeling honoured and proud as masters of the country, all the people are now redoubling efforts to carry out the general ideological mobilization movement for nation building, pouring their patriotic zeal into the struggle for the construction of a new, democratic Korea that will be rich and strong. Having successfully fulfilled the national economic plan for 1947 our workers, peasants and other working people have risen as one man in the struggle to overfulfil the plan for 1948. Thanks to the selfless labour of all the people the nation's economic foundations are being firmly laid and the people's living standards are rising steadily.

Some time ago we announced to the whole world the founding of the Korean People's Army. Although it was proclaimed a regular army only a short while ago, the Korean People's Army is already capable of performing its duty satisfactorily because it was founded on deep roots and was sufficiently well prepared.

These successes achieved by our people in a little more than two

years since liberation are so great that we can well be proud of them in the eyes of the whole world.

The situation in south Korea liberated on the same day is diametrically different, however. After US imperialist occupation south Korea became a den of reactionaries. The US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee dissolved the people's committees established in all parts of south Korea on the people's initiative and imposed military government, thus nullifying the people's democratic rights and freedoms. Because of the US imperialist policy of colonial plunder south Korea's national economy has been devastated beyond measure and the people are ragged and starving, subjected to cruelty and penury. South Korea has now been transformed virtually into a land of darkness, into a living hell, and is being reduced to a military base of aggression for US imperialism, into its exclusive colony.

The US imperialists and the puppet Syngman Rhee clique are making further frantic efforts to prepare for war. The US imperialists urge Syngman Rhee the traitor to clamour every day for a "northward expedition," and are expanding the puppet armed forces and greatly reinforcing the troops along the demarcation line on the 38th Parallel.

This situation sets a very important task before the People's Army.

Our People's Army is a revolutionary army which has directly inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle; it is a truly people's army consisting of fine sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other working people, with anti-Japanese fighters at the core. In serving the homeland and the people the People's Army has a lofty mission—to stand guard firmly over the people's democratic institutions set up in the northern half against encroachments by the enemy, and rout the US imperialist aggressors in south Korea and reunify the country.

If the People's Army is to carry out this lofty mission entrusted to it by the country and the people, all the soldiers must be strongly armed politically and ideologically and well prepared in military technique.

First of all, the ideological education of the soldiers must be further intensified and the units built up politically and ideologically.

In ideological education it is highly important to thoroughly convince all the soldiers of the mission and objectives of the People's Army and bring home to them the reason why they serve in the army. You are serving in the People's Army in order to drive out the US imperialists occupying south Korea and accomplish the historic cause of national reunification, repulse all the aggressive manoeuvres of the enemy and reliably protect our people's democratic system, the gains of democratic construction and the people's lives and property.

Only when the soldiers clearly understand the sacred mission of the People's Army and its objectives and the reason why they serve in the army, can they faithfully carry out their revolutionary tasks and render better service. For the Korean youth it is, indeed, a matter of great honour, pride and deepest significance to serve in the People's Army. Service in the People's Army is the highest honour and duty of any citizen.

You must also keep the soldiers informed of the situation in south Korea. Only then will they be fully aware of US imperialists' avaricious manoeuvres of aggression and the essence of the reactionary, anti-popular treacherous moves of its agents—the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats—and their resolve be increased to fight the enemy to the finish.

At the same time, it is necessary to educate the soldiers in the tough revolutionary spirit of enduring hardships.

It is only a short time since our country was liberated, so you might still be experiencing a number of hardships. But ours are temporary hardships encountered during our advance. We must endure all hardships bravely. Only he who overcomes difficulties in his path and carries out his duty with merit is a true communist and revolutionary fighter loyal to the country and the people.

In the past the anti-Japanese guerrillas fought the Japanese imperialist marauders not a day or two but for 15 years in adverse

conditions, without shelter or food. Even to obtain a rifle they had to risk their lives and had to obtain food and clothes by their own efforts.

Then, what helped them to overcome the multitude of hardships? It was precisely their unbounded loyalty to the revolution, their indomitable fighting spirit and unbreakable confidence in revolutionary victory. With this revolutionary spirit they fought on boldly to ultimate victory; whenever they met with difficulties they relied on their own strength, making what was missing and replenishing what was lacking.

But what is the situation today? Though there are temporary hardships, our present situation is far more advantageous than in those days, providing us with every condition for overcoming hardships. We have a Party, a people's power, a people and a strong base of democracy. The Party and the state make the People's Army a priority in everything while our people give it active assistance.

At present all the soldiers of the People's Army, in the care of the Party and the state, live in well-heated quarters furnished with good beds and have hot meals while studying and training. Seeing that you are better off and in a more advantageous position, you must not forget even a moment the adverse conditions in which the anti-Japanese guerrillas fought to win victory against the marauders of Japanese imperialism in the past and must emulate their unbreakable revolutionary spirit and carry out your revolutionary tasks admirably by enduring all and every difficulty and hardship along your way.

You must further uplift the vanguard role of Workers' Party members in the units. They are revolutionaries who joined the Party resolved to dedicate their lives to the Party and the revolution. They must faithfully carry out the revolutionary tasks assigned by the Party in any situation however difficult and must be a model in all aspects of army service and military activities. They must also firmly unite all soldiers around our Party and encourage and lead them to fulfil the Party's revolutionary tasks loyally.

While building up the units politically and ideologically and conducting the soldiers' ideological education efficiently, it is necessary to intensify combat training and fully prepare them in military technique. Since you belong to the artillery, you must train all your men to be master gunners.

As you are well aware, the artillery plays a very important role in war. For this reason, the artillery is called the "God of War."

We cannot rest content with the few artillery units we have at present. We must increase them from now on and strengthen the artillery qualitatively. To this end, all the soldiers now in service must become artillery commanders and cadres and train many more artillerymen.

If you are to train all your men to be master gunners and good artillery cadres, you must first intensify artillery training. In this training the main emphasis must be put on acquiring flawless marksmanship and improving the firing command so as to wipe out the enemy at one shot in any situation. Commanders must organize and conduct artillery training in simulated conditions of war and raise the intensity of training so that the soldiers sweat much in their training.

Also, you must frequently conduct target practice with live shells so that all gunners are well versed in different methods of firing. In target practice you must bear in mind that every live shell contains part of the nation's precious wealth and is permeated with the people's sweat and blood and make sure that not a shell is wasted.

In order to guarantee the standard of training and teach the soldiers well, it is necessary to raise the commanders' qualifications. They must be better gunners than anybody else and familiar with diverse military knowledge. All commanders must strive to improve their marksmanship and military technique and must train more often and in a more exemplary way.

Thanks to the Party's care you have good modern weapons and combat and technical equipment. The different guns you have are all powerful modern arms. Gunners must look after these splendid guns

and combat and technical equipment like the apple of their eye and keep them in good condition. You must also be thoroughly versed in them and keep the guns in good shape so that they may demonstrate their formidable power at any moment.

In order to raise the units' combat capabilities it is also necessary to strengthen military discipline.

As we always say, discipline is the life and soul of the army. An army without discipline is no army.

Particularly because our People's Army is a regular revolutionary army, we must establish strict revolutionary discipline in it. I inspected your barracks and acquainted myself with your interior-service life today. You are doing all right. But you must not be satisfied with this and must make all aspects of your life more orderly and further intensify the unit's military discipline on a voluntary basis.

Commanders must also pay close attention to the soldiers' life. The soldiers believe in the officers like real brothers, and their parents have entrusted their dear sons and daughters to them. Therefore, the commanders must take meticulous care of the men the way their own parents do, and clear up difficulties for them in good time. The commanders must be deeply concerned about every detail of their men's life, even seeing whether they are getting hot meals or whether they have any trouble with their bedding. Then the men will have greater respect for their superiors and trust them wholeheartedly, and the beautiful solidarity between officers and men will develop fully.

You must further cement your ties with the civilian population. Even in the hard days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle the guerrillas would always conduct information work among the people and actively helped them in the villages, chopping firewood, sweeping the yards and drawing water. And when people visited our unit we would give them a meal even if we went without ourselves. You must model yourselves on this fine tradition of the anti-Japanese guerrillas and conduct political information work properly among the

people and must strive to strengthen your ties with them, taking meals together when they visit your units.

You have accomplished quite a lot. You keep your unit neat and tidy and are conducting combat and political training well, and your soldiers' morale is high. Discipline and order have been established within the unit and great success has been achieved in increasing your combat capabilities.

You must not rest on your laurels, but make tireless efforts to build up your unit and further strengthen the artillery.

ON THE WORK OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

**Report at the Second Conference of the Organizations
of the Workers' Party of North Korea
in South Hamgyong Province**

February 21, 1948

Comrades,

I feel extremely honoured to make a report on the work of the Party Central Committee at the second conference of the organizations of the Workers' Party of Korea in South Hamgyong Province and hope that you comrade delegates and the entire Party membership in the province will strive to make this conference a success.

At present our Party is reviewing the work of all Party organizations in preparation for the Second Party Congress.

What is the internal and external situation then, in which our Party is preparing for its Second Congress?

As you all know, the Second World War ended with the victory of the Soviet Union and the international democratic forces, which resulted in great changes in the postwar international situation.

The most important change in the international situation since the Second World War has been that the international democratic forces have rapidly gained in strength, whereas the imperialist camp has weakened noticeably.

The international democratic forces have emerged remarkably

stronger now than immediately after the war.

The Soviet Union which suffered tremendous devastation in the war has recovered its prewar status through its people's creative initiatives and valiant struggle and is successfully carrying out its Fourth Five-Year Plan now.

Many peoples in East and Southeast Europe liberated as a result of the war have cleared their governments of reactionaries and are developing their countries along the road of socialism.

Immediately after the Second World War, the working-class movements in all countries of the world were in the process of growing whereas today they have become a mighty force dealing shattering blows to the forces of reaction.

Today the peoples of quite a few colonial and semi-colonial countries are waging an active armed struggle against the imperialists and domestic reactionaries for national independence and freedom. As examples we can cite the powerful people's liberation movements in Greece and China. The Greek People's Liberation Army has liberated many parts of the country and established a free Greek government, while the Chinese People's Liberation Army has gone over to a positive offensive, thus liberating nearly all of northeast China.

Since the war the Communist parties of various countries and international democratic organizations, too, have rapidly gained in strength. Membership of the Romanian, Bulgarian, Italian, French and many other Communist parties have increased far more than immediately after the war. At present the World Federation of Trade Unions has a membership of 90,000,000, the Women's International Democratic Federation 86,000,000 and the World Federation of Democratic Youth 50,000,000.

All this proves that the international democratic forces have grown definitely stronger since the war.

The imperialist camp headed by the United States has found itself in difficulties since the war.

Taking advantage of the rather favourable conditions during the

war US imperialism managed to gain a dominating place in the imperialist camp but, as its aggressive nature has become more and more apparent to the people of the world, it is arousing their hatred. The US imperialists for whom the war was a source of huge profits, tried to seize hegemony over the world in order to realize their new expansionist ambitions, but are now facing a serious economic crisis due to their inner contradictions. In an endeavour to cover up their weaknesses they are advocating another war, going so far as to flagrantly violate international commitments and agreements at sessions of the United Nations.

Immediately after the Second World War, Britain and France, too, dreamed of achieving a great development again as victors, but they have now been shackled to the US imperialist dollar.

In this way the postwar international situation has taken a turn in favour of the democratic camp, which is steadily gaining the upper hand in the struggle between democracy and anti-democracy.

This change in the international situation is clearly reflected in our country, too.

Whereas right after the war our democratic forces were in the process of growing, they have now become decisive forces which have firmly taken responsibility for the nation's destiny. This is seen unequivocally in the fact that all the working people of Korea and our Party have grown in strength.

The working people in north Korea are firmly united and working vigorously for democratic construction, while those in south Korea are engaged in a stand-up fight against US imperialism in spite of all its plots and persecution. The south Korean working people have carried out the October Popular Resistance and the General March Strike and today, are conducting a valiant struggle against the UN Temporary Commission on Korea.

Simultaneously with the growth in the working people's forces, our Party's forces have grown in strength, too.

Whereas immediately following its foundation our Party had a membership of only a few thousand, it now has hundreds of

thousands, as a core detachment of workers, peasants and working intellectuals. After liberation our Party played the vanguard role in the hard struggle to establish a people's power, form mass organizations, establish a people's army and organize public security corps to defend the country and the people and to build the national economy. Indeed, our Party has to its credit a number of brilliant achievements in building a new country.

Today our Party has taken its legitimate place among the international democratic forces; it has become the largest mass political party deciding the Korean people's destiny, a strong party loved by the people and having close ties with them.

With the Second Party Congress drawing near, in the situation where both externally and internally the democratic forces are growing and the reactionary forces are on the decline, we have to review how our Party has been able to grow into a strong, mighty party with roots deep among the masses.

First, it is because our Party has as its core genuine patriots who fought against Japanese imperialism for many a long year.

Our Party is a party which has inherited the revolutionary traditions of Korea's true communists forged in the anti-Japanese armed struggle. In the days when the Japanese imperialists were running amuck to destroy our nation, the genuine Korean communists took up arms to fight against them, and this sparked off strikes at factories as well as tenant disputes in farm villages. Soon after liberation these communists who had proved themselves in battle against Japanese imperialism and were respected and loved by the people formed the nucleus of the Party we founded. For this reason, our Party became a party more loved and respected by the people than any other parties in Korea, one which has close ties with the people.

Another reason our Party has been able to become strong and mighty with roots deep among the masses, is its correct line and the fact that it is utterly devoted to serving the working people.

Soon after liberation various political parties appeared in our

country, each of them with a different line.

The pro-Japanese who, aligned with the Japanese imperialists, had driven the sons and daughters of the Korean people into the war of aggression, rigged up the most reactionary Hanguk Democratic Party after liberation, hand in glove with the traitorous Syngman Rheeites. This is how the two parties appeared in this country after liberation: our Party formed out of patriots who fight for the sake of the country and the people and the Hanguk Democratic Party knocked together out of the agents of Japanese and US imperialism.

Since liberation the south Korean reactionaries have swapped masters, the Japanese imperialists for the US imperialists. For a long time the US imperialists had tried to invade Korea and paved the way for their aggression by sending out missionaries. It is by no means accidental that the US imperialists are protecting pro-Japanese and pro-American elements.

What, then, was the political line of our Party, the most patriotic and progressive party fighting for the Korean people, in contrast to the Hanguk Democratic Party whose aim is to turn our country into a US colony?

When founding the Party after liberation we put forward as its main political aim the establishment of a Democratic People's Republic with a view to building a rich and strong independent, sovereign state, and defined the following immediate tasks:

First, to rally the broad patriotic, democratic forces by forming a democratic national united front embracing all patriotic and democratic political parties and groups and, on this basis, to work for the establishment of a Democratic People's Republic to ensure complete national independence and sovereignty;

Second, to liquidate completely the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism, the lackeys of international reaction and all other reactionaries, who constitute the biggest obstacle to the building of a democratic state, thereby facilitating the development of our nation along democratic lines;

Third, to organize, first of all, people's committees as organs of

genuine people's power in all districts with a view to establishing a unified all-Korea democratic provisional government, and carry out all democratic reforms, restore the factories, enterprises and the national economy as a whole, which were ravaged by the Japanese imperialists, and raise the material and cultural standards of the people, thereby laying the groundwork of an independent democratic state; and

Fourth, to further expand and strengthen the Party and energetically promote the work of social organizations in order to organize and rally the masses in all walks of life around the Party so as to fulfil all these tasks.

This was a correct political line suited to our country's situation.

Our Party strove to carry out this political line faithfully. But the struggle was by no means a smooth one. Our Party had many difficulties to face. One of the greatest was the division of our country into north and south and the different conditions created in the two parts; another was that alien elements, factionalists and Rightist and "Leftist" opportunists had wormed their way into the Party and were engaged in their manoeuvres.

The "Left" opportunists who had found their way into our Party after liberation refused to face up to the stark reality—the presence of US imperialist troops in one half of the national territory, and the continuing existence of vicious remnants of Japanese imperialism there—and US imperialism's aggressive designs to colonize Korea. They failed to understand that in order to establish a united, democratic state, it was necessary to rally all forces opposed to imperialism, form a democratic national united front and wage a joint struggle against the US imperialists and the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism. The "Left" opportunists came out with the slogan "Let's build the Soviets" in north Korea. They were affected by "Left infantilism" and South Hamgyong Province had the largest number of such people.

Our Party maintained that our country could develop freely only after we had strengthened the united front and rallied all the anti-imperialist forces, and driven the US imperialists out of Korea

and purged the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism; and it carried out a merciless battle against the “Leftist” opportunists who manoeuvred to set up a “Soviet” power thoughtlessly in north Korea while ignoring the struggle against the US imperialists and the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism.

Rightist opportunists also appeared within our Party. They could not understand that in order to strengthen the Democratic National United Front it was necessary to strengthen our Party, the working people’s vanguard, and that unless our Party was strengthened, it was impossible to strengthen the democratic forces. They were pinning their hopes on Seoul where the US imperialists were entrenched, instead of striving to strengthen our Party by taking advantage of the favourable situation in north Korea. Some elements of the South Hamgyong provincial Party organization and Wonsan city Party organization, such as Jong Tal Hon and Ri Ju Ha, were of this kind. When the US imperialists arrived in Seoul in place of the Japanese imperialists, we foresaw that they would suppress the democratic forces. As expected, they began to do so from the very first day when they came to Seoul. Nevertheless, the Rightist opportunists opposed the strengthening of the democratic forces, placing their hopes solely on the “centre in Seoul” under US imperialist repression.

The alien elements and factionalists within the Party tried to steer our Party away from the people, and worked to divide the Party by forming regional groups. They also opposed our Party’s policy of transforming the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League. Had the YCL remained as it was as demanded by the factionalists and opportunists, would it have been possible to rally 1,300,000 young people around our Party today? It would have been impossible, of course.

The opportunists and factionalists did not properly carry out any decisions or directives of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea. They put up a great obstacle to the building of a democratic new Korea and to our Party’s development.

Our Party could not tolerate these deviations. It called the Third Enlarged Meeting of its Executive Committee and took measures to resolutely combat them and utterly smash these alien elements. Meanwhile, by introducing uniform Party membership cards, we made sure that impure elements were driven out of the Party's ranks and that many progressive elements of worker and poor peasant origin were admitted to the Party so that it could develop into a party with a working-class core.

From then on our Party work and Party members' activities were put on the right track and our Party became a strong party capable of doing great things. In other words, it was from then onward that the organizational system and discipline were established to disseminate the Party Central Committee's decisions and directives correctly down to cells, that the Party's organizational life was tightened and that Party members grew to understand clearly the significance of cells and what they should do.

As a result, in a short period of time our Party was able to firmly rally millions of people around it and play an active role as the nucleus in carrying out democratic reforms and strengthening the DNUF and the people's committees.

Comrades,

From the first days of its founding our Party has displayed deep concern for resolving the question of power.

As organs of people's power were set up and developed in various places, our Party proposed a policy of establishing a central body which would give coordinated guidance to the local people's committees of all levels. The Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Democratic Political Parties, Social Organizations, Administrative Bureaus and the People's Committees held in February 1946 fully supported and approved this policy of our Party and set up the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

The PPCNK advanced an 11-point immediate programme whose main purpose is to strengthen the local people's committees, thoroughly eliminate pro-Japanese and reactionary elements, carry

out democratic reforms, rebuild factories and enterprises and raise the people's living standards.

Party organizations at all levels and the entire membership of the Party took the lead in putting into effect the 11-point immediate programme and the people's committee's policies. Because our Party members were well aware that the people's committee is a government of the working people, one that represents the interests of the working class. Our Party played an exemplary role especially in implementing the 20-point programme announced by the PPCNK. Because this programme was in complete accord with our Party's political line, the country's democratic development and the working people's interests, our Party mobilized all forces for its implementation.

Since our Party supported the people's power, the democratic forces grew strong, the prestige of the people's committee increased and all the people supported and placed deeper trust in it, their own government.

After forming the central organ of power our Party embarked on the stage of carrying out democratic reforms.

What was most urgent in the democratic reforms was to solve the agrarian question.

The feudal ownership of land had been a tremendous brake on our country's democratic development. Our country was a backward colonial semi-feudal society before with the peasantry constituting more than 80 per cent of the population. But the landlords who held a mere four per cent of north Korea's total peasant families owned 58.2 per cent of the total land area. Unless this feudal landownership and the remnants of Japanese imperialism were eliminated in the countryside, it would have been impossible to develop the rural economy and democratize the nation.

Our Party decided to carry out an agrarian reform to meet the mature requirements of social development and the peasants' urgent demands. Though the agrarian reform was implemented without a hitch, it was the first great democratic reform of a revolutionary

nature to do away with the feudal landlord class and develop Korean society qualitatively and radically.

What, then, are the characteristic features of this great agrarian reform?

First, the land owned by the Japanese imperialists, pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and the landlords who possessed more than five hectares of land and the land which had been let was confiscated without compensation and distributed free to the toiling peasants.

Second, in order to carry out the agrarian reform smoothly, some 11,500 rural committees were formed with poor and hired peasants at the core, so that those who tilled the land became the masters in the agrarian reform.

Third, the landlords whose land had been confiscated were transferred to other places so as to prevent them exerting an influence on the peasants, and the landlords' houses, farming implements, draught animals and seed were confiscated.

Fourth, the agrarian reform was completed in only 20 days or so.

As a result of the agrarian reform 724,522 peasant families with little or no land were given 981,390 hectares of land free of charge.

As a result of the reform the poor peasants who constituted the overwhelming majority of the peasantry were able to improve their living conditions by farming their own tracts of land, agricultural production quickly increased, the rural economy developed and the alliance between the workers and peasants was further strengthened.

The agrarian reform was instrumental in expanding our Party and strengthening it. Immediately after the reform several thousand poor peasants joined the Party so that workers and poor peasants constituted the overwhelming majority in the composition of the Party.

These successes of the agrarian reform were not won without any obstacles. The reform was accompanied by a serious ideological struggle within the Party and a fierce class struggle against the reactionaries.

A certain official who was sent to North Phyongan Province to direct the agrarian reform committed Rightist and “Leftist” errors; for instance, he had the land of middle peasants confiscated irrelevantly and did not move the landlords who should have been moved. Some officials sent to Hwanghae Province committed a Rightist error by allowing the landlords to keep land which should have been confiscated. All these errors were due to their lack of class principle. So our Party had to wage a merciless ideological struggle against these deviations.

During the agrarian reform the reactionaries engaged in various conspiracies and manoeuvres. In Anak County, Hwanghae Province, some landlords had rifles and machine guns ready for use against the agrarian reform; in Phyonggang County, Kangwon Province, the reactionaries perpetrated terrorist acts; and in Hamhung, as a result of the landlords’ demagogy, some dissolutes manoeuvred against the agrarian reform. In spite of these Rightist and “Leftist” errors and reactionary activities the agrarian reform was carried out successfully in a brief space of time, because our Party correctly organized and waged the inner-Party ideological struggle to overcome such errors and the class struggle to repress the reactionaries’ desperate opposition.

After the successful solution of the agrarian question our Party was confronted with the urgent task of enforcing a labour law and a democratic tax system and settling the question of the women’s position.

With the enforcement of the Labour Law an eight-hour working day and a social insurance system were introduced. Even in scores of years of struggle this could not be achieved by the workers of the US, Britain and other capitalist countries; it is possible only in a society where the people have become the masters of the country. The Labour Law quickly raised workers’ and office employees’ material and cultural standards.

Following the Labour Law, the system of agricultural tax in kind and the Law on Sex Equality were adopted. Thanks to this law our

women who had suffered down the ages from feudal and colonial inequality were freed from their shackles.

On August 10, 1946 all the factories, enterprises, mines, rail transport, communications and banks which had belonged to the Japanese imperialists and traitors to the nation were nationalized and made the property of all the people. Thanks to the nationalization of major industries more than 90 per cent of north Korea's factories, enterprises and other industrial establishments came into the possession of the people and the state, and the people took a direct part in the management of the nation's economy, so that production increased rapidly.

Having carried out the democratic reforms with success our Party was faced with the task of strengthening and developing the people's committees at all levels in order to consolidate and develop the success of the reforms. So, during the period between November 3, 1946 and March 5, 1947 the elections to all people's committees were held and people's assemblies at different levels set up.

Our Party mobilized all its forces for the elections. At the time of the November 3 elections alone our Party dispatched more than 830,000 information workers to all localities and mobilized a total of over 38,800,000 people to help in the election campaign.

As a result of the first democratic elections people representing all walks of life were voted onto the people's committees at all levels, which became reinforced legally. Of the 3,459 members of provincial, city and county people's committees, 510 or 14.7 per cent were workers, 1,256 or 36.4 per cent were peasants, 1,056 or 30.5 per cent were office employees, 311 or 9 per cent were cultural workers, 145 or 4.2 per cent were merchants, 73 or 2.1 per cent were entrepreneurs, 94 or 2.7 per cent were religious believers, and 14 or 0.4 per cent were former landlords. The 237 deputies to the North Korean People's Assembly include 52 workers, 62 peasants, 56 office employees, 36 intellectuals and 31 others. You must know clearly that this formation of all the people's committees with representatives of the working class and people from different strata

is a result of our Party's united front policy.

Since the US imperialists were openly manoeuvring in south Korea to colonize our country, the north Korean people were faced with the task of further strengthening the democratic foundations and forming armed forces to defend the country. Therefore, our Party drafted the Provisional Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and formed the People's Army.

In the past our people suffered from foreign invasion more than once because they had no strong army of their own. We built the People's Army to defend the country firmly so that we will not have to undergo the bitter experience our ancestors did. Today all sons and daughters of our people are duty bound to serve in the People's Army. This is an honour which our ancestors could not have had.

The founding of the People's Army has a very important significance. Our country will not be a foreign colony any longer now that we have founded the People's Army which will defend by force of arms all the gains achieved in north Korea thanks to our Party's correct policy. Its founding is a great victory for our Party's policy, along with the strengthening of the people's power.

In this way our Party carried out the democratic reforms, consolidated the people's power and founded the People's Army, so as to provide basic conditions for our country's democratic development.

In order to build a rich and strong independent, sovereign state, our Party put forward as a major task the building of an independent national economy and waged a struggle to fulfil it.

Having carried out the democratic reforms, our Party saw the need and the possibility of a planned national economy in north Korea, and made sure that a national economic plan was mapped out for 1947. At the Sixth Meeting of its Central Committee the Party considered and decided on the tasks of Party organizations to ensure successful implementation of this plan.

They were: first, for all Party organizations and their members to give unreserved support to the national economic plan and play the

role of nucleus in the struggle for its overfulfilment; second, to make known the significance of the national economic plan among broad sections of the people and rouse their patriotic zeal to fulfil their daily, monthly and quarterly assignments under the plan without fail; third, to strictly observe the lofty work discipline and 480-minute working day, wage a widespread emulation campaign for increased production and strive for technological advancement and the reduction of production costs; fourth, to activate all social organizations to fulfil the assignments under the plan; and fifth, to conduct Party political education and mass cultural activities on an extensive scale.

Because our Party put forward these tasks and worked actively, the national economic plan for 1947 was completed successfully ahead of schedule.

In the industrial sphere last year the overall production quota for the state sector was overfulfilled by 2.5 per cent and labour productivity increased by 51 per cent as against 1946. As for the agricultural sphere the sown area exceeded the plan by 0.4 per cent and grain output was about 170,000 tons higher than in 1946. In transport the freight haulage plan was overfulfilled by 38 per cent. Goods distribution increased more than ninefold as against 1946 so that the total trade turnover reached more than 7,582,000,000 *won*, and the number of state-owned and consumers' cooperative stores increased by 504. The number of schools rose by 35 per cent and that of students by 26 per cent, and some 7,500,000 copies of textbooks were published. The scholarship system was enforced enabling thousands of working people's sons and daughters to receive a student grant for higher education, and 840,000 illiterate people were taught the Korean language. In 1947 alone over 1,700,000 persons received medical treatment under the social insurance system.

With the national economic plan for 1947 fulfilled and the currency reform carried out, the standard of living of workers and office employees showed a rapid improvement. For example, the market prices of grain dropped by 27 per cent on the average in

December as against January 1947. The correctness of our Party's line can be seen even from this simple fact.

We can say with confidence that the achievements gained in fulfilling the national economic plan for 1947 were the direct outcome of our Party having organized and mobilized its entire membership for the struggle to ensure successful implementation of the plan.

Party organizations at all levels did their best to make the national economic plan for 1947 a success, despite all kinds of difficulties caused by outworn equipment, insufficient supplies, poor technique, the subversive activities of reactionaries and saboteurs and the vacillation of laggards.

The most exemplary Party organizations in the all-out effort to fulfil the national economic plan for 1947 are those of the People's Factory in the Hungnam District, the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Chonnaeri Cement Factory, the Party cells of the second steel shop of the Songjin Steel Plant and Niso-ri, Anju County, South Phyongan Province, and the Party organizations of the Chongsu Chemical Factory and the Sinchang Coal Mine. These Party organizations carried out the honourable tasks entrusted to them by the Party and the people with credit.

We can also cite many examples of the heroic struggle waged by Party members. In 1947 as many as 74 invention and innovation proposals were made at the People's Factory in the Hungnam District. Outstanding among them were those for roller-bearings, equipment boards for copper smeltery and for the method of making edible alcohol from carbide. And all the inventors and innovators were Workers' Party members. On the occasion of the second anniversary of the founding of the PCNK, 901 model workers of various organizations were cited, of whom 798 or 88.5 per cent are Workers' Party members. All these facts show that nothing is impossible when the Party takes the initiative.

Successful fulfilment of the national economic plan for 1947 is, indeed, of tremendous significance. It demonstrated to the whole

world that our people freed only recently from a colonial status are able to map out and execute a national economic plan for themselves.

Comrades,

In the course of the grim struggle within its ranks and without and through the triumphant implementation of the democratic reforms our Party has greatly developed organizationally and ideologically and grown into a powerful fighting force.

As our Party became consolidated and our country entered a new stage of historic development, a vanguard was needed capable of uniting the strength of broad working masses more firmly. In other words, we needed a powerful vanguard capable of mobilizing the broad working masses for the struggle to further consolidate the gains of the democratic reforms in north Korea and facilitate the establishment of a unified government. This could only be accomplished by merging the Communist and New Democratic parties and founding the Workers' Party, a mass political party. The merger of the two parties was a necessity and it took place without a hitch. Through the merger our Party developed into a mass political party.

What, then, are the factors that expedited the merger of the two parties?

Since the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea, a merciless ideological struggle had been waged within the Party against Rightist and "Leftist" deviations, so that ideological singleness and organizational unity were guaranteed and that the entire membership gave unreserved support to our Party's political line. This is one of the factors contributing to the smooth merger of the two parties.

If we had not waged a resolute inner-Party ideological struggle, the merger of the two parties could not have been carried out so smoothly. This can also be seen clearly by the experience of the merger of the Communist, New Democratic and People's parties in south Korea. In the light of the harsh repression by US imperialism

and the reactionaries, its accomplices, these three parties should have conducted an intensive ideological struggle and eliminated the alien elements who had wormed their way into them, but they did not do so. Therefore, their merger was delayed for three months.

The merger of the two parties could also take place smoothly because, as a result of the agrarian reform and other democratic reforms, the economic foundations had been laid for the country's complete independence and sovereignty and the workers' and peasants' political consciousness had increased and their unity cemented.

Through the merger of the two parties the Party's unity and cohesion were further strengthened. The Inaugural Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea held in Pyongyang on August 28, 1946 was the first great congress of unity in our country's history. The history of the Korean communist movement knows no instance when the Party materialized unity and cohesion with such unanimous will as then.

This congress marked a turning point in the democratic development of our country. The foundation of the Workers' Party of North Korea promoted the solidarity of the workers, peasants and office employees and further consolidated the basis of the country's democratic development.

During the merger of the two parties there were shortcomings as well as successes. Those who were ignorant of the domestic situation and the realistic demands of our country's development and those who had long-established factionalist, exclusivist inclinations took a self-important attitude and objected to the merger of the two parties, claiming it was inconceivable that the Communist Party should be amalgamated with the New Democratic Party, while some members of the New Democratic Party maintained that their party was being swallowed up by the Communist Party. Some claimed that the Workers' Party was not the vanguard of the working people, and were inclined to regard it as a sort of cooperative or club not in need of any discipline. Others went so far as to urge that our Party should discard

Marxism-Leninism and only learn democracy from now on. This was a Rightist sophistry uttered by the most ignorant non-working-class elements.

Despite these wrong tendencies and the opposition, the merger was completed successfully and after the merger the Party swiftly grew as an organized force of the working masses. This is because the Party Central Committee's leadership was correct and united those who had struggled at home and abroad in the past.

Following the merger many progressives from among the workers, peasants and intellectuals joined the Party and within a brief period of time its membership grew to hundreds of thousands.

However, some Party organizations admitted members as if taking on employees, and there were instances where they committed grave "Leftist" errors such as trying to play the role of a party with full power within the DNUF. Therefore, at the Sixth Meeting of the Party Central Committee we adopted a resolution on eliminating the serious errors and mistakes committed by some Party organizations and soon after, inspected three provincial Party organizations. And then we guided and inspected all the basic organizations throughout the Party with quite a few results.

As for our Party's qualitative consolidation seen in the light of its expansion, at the time of the Third Enlarged Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Central Organizing Committee of the CPNK there were some 4,530 Party members, whereas at the time of the merger the number amounted to more than 366,000, and in January 1948 it had grown to over 708,000; at the time of the merger, out of the total membership there were 73,000 of worker origin, whereas the number has now grown to over 143,000 and during the same period the number of members of poor peasant origin has increased from over 185,000 to 374,000.

There were 26 344 Party cells at the end of June 1947, whereas the number had increased to over 28,000 by December of the same year and factory Party committees from 121 to 144 in the same period.

The central and provincial Party schools trained more than 4,000

cadres, and the Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee published 66 kinds of Party study and information materials in 1,890,000 copies.

Our Party's organizational cohesion and ideological consolidation can be seen also in the meetings to review the work of Party organizations at all levels prior to the Second Party Congress. All Party organizations know how to correctly appraise their work and properly apply our Party's weapons—criticism and self-criticism. Many members of worker origin have been elected to the leading bodies of Party organizations at all levels. The analysis of the social status of members elected this time to the leading bodies of the city and county (district) Party organizations in South Phyongan, Kangwon and South Hamgyong provinces shows that the proportion of workers grew from 23.6 per cent to 49.6 per cent and peasants from 23 per cent to 32 per cent compared with the period before the elections.

After the merger our Party took the initiative in strengthening and developing the work of the DNUF.

Since the formation in July 1946 of the DNUF, a great force in the building of a democratic country, our Party has made great efforts to strengthen the democratic forces. We mapped out a correct policy with regard to the work of the DNUF and improved our relations with friendly parties, crushing all trends contrary to this policy.

Our Party succeeded in closely rallying broad sections of the masses of the people around itself.

What, then, were the factors contributing to this success?

First, we ensured the Party's ideological unity by waging a resolute struggle against all sorts of unsound tendencies within the Party, established the Party's organizational system and strict discipline, and the entire membership united around the Party Central Committee and was faithful to its leadership.

Second, the Party's line and policies were correct. Therefore, all the people actively supported our Party and dedicated their patriotic enthusiasm and effort to carrying out the tasks put forward by our Party and the DNUF.

Third, our Party was strengthened ideologically and its leading officials were equipped with its policies and Marxism-Leninism.

Fourth, uncompromising and thoroughgoing struggles were fought against the reactionaries. Always in the lead of the people our Party fought boldly and tenaciously to expose the enemy of the country and the people and smash their manoeuvres.

Indeed, our Party achieved many successes in the past. But this does not allow us to relax or rest content with this. We have many tasks ahead of us. Particularly at a time when the US imperialists are resorting to their aggressive activities more openly than ever before, we are faced with the weighty, pressing task of frustrating their manoeuvres and setting up a Democratic People's Republic. We must smash reactionary activities and lead the people along the road to earliest possible establishment of the Democratic People's Republic.

For this purpose, we must develop all merits and rectify demerits quickly.

What, then, are the demerits apparent in our work?

First, we lack the inner-Party democratic style of work conducive to strengthening the Party organizationally. There is still insufficient criticism and self-criticism in the Party. There exists a grave tendency not to recognize one's own shortcomings and make no attempt to recognize them and not to fight the shortcomings of others even if they do recognize them.

Second, some officials do not make a deep enough study of their work so as to be well versed in it; they lack a high sense of responsibility towards their duties and work in a formalistic, bureaucratic manner.

Third, cadres are not given adequate education after being promoted. Nor are political education and information and publicity work conducted on a high enough level.

Fourth, work to strengthen the DNUF and rouse social organizations to action is conducted unsatisfactorily.

These defects must be rectified without delay.

Last, I am going to propose a few immediate tasks to be undertaken by our Party.

First, we must improve inner-Party work.

The whole Party must first of all raise vigilance to eliminate all the shortcomings manifested in Party work. Party cells must encourage their members to take an active part in cell activities and educate and train the nuclei. Exemplary cells must endeavour continuously to be exemplary and backward cells must learn from the examples of the more advanced cells.

Next, Party cadres, particularly the newly-appointed cadres, must be educated continually through practical work and at school.

In addition, education must be further intensified. Thus, Party members must be armed with our Party's policies and Marxism-Leninism and, at the same time, be made to acquire the technology needed for nation building, so that they become expert at their work. It is especially necessary for them to improve their knowledge of economic management which is still superficial, and make a proper study of our country's economic situation, geography, natural resources and so on.

We should thus further improve inner-Party work and thoroughly establish the Party's organizational discipline.

Second, we must strengthen the DNUF.

So far our Party has been successful in strengthening the DNUF. But some Party organizations and members do not as yet work well with friendly parties because they fail to understand why it is necessary to form a united front with them.

The Democratic Party is a party composed of small propertied classes, entrepreneurs, merchants, rich peasants, some petty bourgeois and others.

Why, then, does our Party join hands and make common cause with the Democratic Party, a political party of small propertied classes? Pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation still remain in our country and the US imperialists who occupy south Korea are trying to turn Korea into their commodity market and encroach upon

the economic foundations of entrepreneurs, merchants and rich peasants who make up the Democratic Party. Should the US imperialists subordinate Korea and dominate it economically, these entrepreneurs, merchants and rich peasants would be ruined as in the days of Japanese imperialism. That is why Democratic Party members are opposed to the US imperialist policy of colonization and working to build a new country, and want to have a common front with our Party in this struggle. It is in these circumstances that our Party has formed a united front with the Democratic Party and works together with it in the struggle for the building of an independent, sovereign democratic state against the US imperialists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

But, here you must realize that within the Democratic Party there are pro-American elements who, because of US imperialist propaganda, worshipped America and submitted tamely to it before. In the old days, the US imperialists sent missionaries here under the cloak of religion for the purpose of invading our country and had them build churches everywhere and spread Christianity and America-worshipping. Some pastors and elders bribed by US imperialism under this colonial religious policy wormed their way into the Democratic Party and are working against us under cover of religion.

In addition, there are some speculators and profiteers in the Democratic Party who agree to resist the US imperialists but put their own interests before those of the country and the people. They loathe the democratic reforms carried out in north Korea and are not too pleased at the development of the national economy. This is because it runs counter to their interests and constitutes a blow to their profiteering. For example, the development of the state-run industries and the enforcement of the uniform currency system aimed at consolidating the country's economic foundations and guaranteeing the working people's livelihood are a blow to them who want to exploit the people.

We can work shoulder to shoulder with the overwhelming

majority of Democratic Party members except for this tiny handful of impure elements.

The Chongu Party consists mostly of peasants. Like other peasants those belonging to this party want the democratic development of society and, from a class point of view, have the same interests as our Party. Therefore, our Party maintains a united front with the Chongu Party also.

But some rural and urban dissolutes who infiltrated into the Chongu Party attempt to confuse this party's policies and carry out insidious reactionary activities against progressives within the party. They want to keep the peasants backward as long as possible. Because it is easy to deceive backward peasants and make use of them in attaining their aims. They try to imbue the peasants with obsolete ideas and fear the progressives of the Chongu Party becoming familiar with our Party. However, now that the democratic reforms in north Korea have opened up a new world to all peasants alike and have been leading them towards a civilized life and ensuring their advancement, the reactionary dissolutes have lost the chance to deceive the peasantry. Therefore, a small handful of reactionary dissolutes in the Chongu Party have a grudge against our Party and people's power and carry on reactionary activities in the name of the Chongu Party.

In order to forge ahead briskly with the building of a new state and strengthen the DNUF all Party organizations and members should get in touch and have close ties with the rank and file of friendly party organizations and make sure that the progressives belonging to friendly parties clean up the pro-Japanese elements, speculators and profiteers, alien elements and dissolutes. Our Party cells must work actively and arrange frequent fraternity gatherings and round-table discussions with the basic organizations of friendly parties so as to have close ties with them, and must conduct democratic educational activities among friendly party members to exert our Party's influence on them and raise their level of political awareness. Then members of the Democratic and Chongu parties will be convinced that it is

possible to win complete independence and sovereignty along democratic lines.

Third, we must strengthen the people's power.

By forming the People's Army and publishing the draft Provisional Constitution, we have made another stride ahead and entered a new phase of development. All the Party members must make a close study of all the decrees and policies of the people's power and must be the first to carry them out and must participate actively in the discussions of the draft Provisional Constitution now under way. At the same time, the whole Party must concern itself with actively assisting the People's Army.

Fourth, we must strive to fulfil this year's national economic plan.

Our Party made a substantial contribution to the fulfilment of last year's national economic plan. All the Party members must make the most of the good experience gained from the fulfilment of last year's plan and overcome the shortcomings manifested, and endeavour to acquire economic knowledge and technology. They must also organize work correctly to carry out their regular tasks in good time, and fulfil their daily quotas day by day at all costs, instead of doing them as a rush campaign.

Special attention must be paid to goods distribution. Once home-made daily necessities are distributed precisely and on time, there will be enough to satisfy the working people's requirements. We must make sure that from now on, the execution of the state policy of goods distribution and the people's lives are not upset by letting precious daily necessities get into the hands of profiteers.

All Party organizations and members must pay attention to the work of producers' cooperatives.

Attention must also be given to grain production, the cultivation of industrial crops and to the development of animal husbandry.

For the present we must make good preparations for the spring sowing. Detailed plans must be mapped out to secure seed and draught animals and the entire Party must be mobilized for the canal and dike projects designed to prevent flood.

Every Party member must exceed his targets under the national economic plan better even than in 1947.

Fifth, active efforts must be made to carry out the people's committee's decision on economizing state funds.

Wasteful practices must be eliminated in all spheres and in all units of the national economy and even in individual households to save funds for the construction of a new country.

Sixth, the entire membership of the Party must further sharpen class vigilance and intensify the struggle against spies.

They must bear in mind that our democratic construction is proceeding at present amid a fierce class struggle with internal and external reactionaries, and must frustrate the underhand moves of any alien elements by heightening Party and class vigilance.

With the Second Party Congress approaching, the entire Party membership have, indeed, great and solemn tasks ahead of it.

Let Party cadres and all members unite more firmly around the Party Central Committee and fight on to found a Democratic People's Republic.

**CONCLUDING SPEECH AT
THE SECOND CONFERENCE
OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS
IN SOUTH HAMGYONG PROVINCE**

February 21, 1948

Comrades,

Many representatives have made fervent speeches at this meeting, highly appreciative of the work of the Party Central Committee and expressing unqualified trust in the Party centre. This shows that Party organizations and members in South Hamgyong Province are united in ideology and will with the Party Central Committee and are working faithfully under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, rallied closely around it. I am much gratified by this.

Ever since its founding, our Party has played the central part in the struggle for the building of an independent, sovereign and democratic state. By strenuous efforts it has established and consolidated the democratic base in north Korea and laid the firm foundations of an independent, sovereign and democratic state.

Under the leadership of its Central Committee, the Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province have achieved much in the struggle to build a new, democratic Korea. With the appointment of good people to the provincial Party committee, in particular, the provincial Party organization has struggled forcefully to expose and smash the manoeuvres of the factional elements and local separatists

by adhering to the line of the Party. They have thus greatly contributed to the Party's ideological unity.

For this I extend my warm thanks to all the Party organizations in this province and the delegates.

Bearing in mind the problems raised in the discussion, I would now like to speak briefly about a few of the tasks facing the provincial Party organizations and Party members in the period ahead.

First, Party organizations should strengthen organizational work to implement the political line of the Party.

Since our Party's political line is for the benefit and well-being of the people, the masses should be activated to carry it out. And this means organizational work to put the political line into effect.

This work should be done not according to a rigid format but by different methods depending on specific conditions.

Party organizations must always work closely with the people, explaining the Party's political line, giving them an adequate hearing and fully understanding what is on their minds. It is on this basis that they should organize and guide the implementation of the political line. Thus, the masses should be convinced of the validity of the political line and roused to carry it out with awareness. The provincial Party committee should regularly guide and help its subordinate Party organizations to live up to the political line.

If the officials of the provincial and other Party committees are to organize and guide the implementation of the political line properly, it is important for them to firmly arm themselves with Party policy and Marxism-Leninism. One comrade said in his speech that he had followed the factionalists, being unable to judge their false arguments conflicting with the Party's political line, on account of his lack of theoretical knowledge. Another comrade likened himself to a navigator without a compass, admitting that he had worked by rule of thumb in a bureaucratic manner because of his ignorance of Party policy. That was an appropriate expression for his candid self-criticism. Indeed, unless they are equipped with Party line and

Marxism-Leninism, Party officials will be unable to discern factionalist sophistry conflicting with the Party's political line nor will they be able to lead the masses effectively in the struggle to carry it out. Party officials, therefore, should make untiring efforts to arm themselves solidly with our Party's line and Marxism-Leninism.

Second, Party organizations should strengthen the inner-Party ideological struggle.

The inner-Party ideological struggle is a major weapon in ensuring its organizational unity and ideological oneness. The organizational cohesion and ideological unity of the Party are the strongest guarantee for upholding its honour and consolidating its might. Experience shows that only when the ideological struggle is strengthened can Rightist and "Leftist" deviations be overcome within the Party and its organizational cohesion and ideological unity guaranteed.

The Party organizations in South Hamgyong Province should not rest content with the successes gained already in the struggle for the unity and cohesion of the Party but continue to intensify the struggle against Rightist and "Leftist" tendencies. It would be rash to say that the Party is in a state of perfect unity because lurking factionalists, Rightist and "Leftist" opportunists and local separatists have been removed from the provincial Party organization. You should remember that the factionalists and local separatists have left behind much pernicious influence, for their moves have been pronounced in this province over the past few years. If you slacken the struggle to wipe out these evil consequences even for a moment, similar elements may reappear and wreck the Party's unity and cohesion. So the Party organizations in this province should carry on a strenuous ideological struggle to eliminate the evil aftereffects.

Third, the provincial Party committee should direct close attention to consolidating the lower Party organizations.

What is basic in strengthening Party organizations is to cement the cell. The Party cell is the basic unit of organization which directly

executes the line and policies of the Party Central Committee and arranges and guides the organizational life of Party members. Only when the Party cell is strengthened, can the sub-county, county, and provincial Party organizations and the Party as a whole be consolidated.

The provincial Party committee should see to it that all the Party cells in the province put down deep roots among the masses and work actively. To this end, it should improve the political education of Party members to raise their political and theoretical levels and, particularly, train many hard cores of the Party cells.

The provincial Party committee should also ensure that all Party organizations in the province make a profound study of the excellent work experience of other units and apply them to suit their specific conditions.

Fourth, Party officials and members should always act according to their words.

Ours is a party which has inherited the fighting traditions of the true Korean communists, which is building an independent, sovereign and democratic state, and which is made up of the best elements from the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Every member of the Party, therefore, should play a vanguard role in the building of the new country in deed rather than in word. All Party members should acquire economic and technical knowledge and master their jobs. In other words, a turner should be skilful in the operation of his lathe, a skipper or an automobile or locomotive driver should be a competent captain or driver, a soldier should be well-qualified in leadership, military theory and marksmanship, a security worker should be able to detect promptly the enemy of the people who tramples on the interests of the homeland and people, and an office worker should be efficient in his office work.

Fifth, Party organizations and members should strive to consolidate the Democratic National United Front.

Strengthening the DNUF is one of the most important problems at the present stage. That is the only way to rally all the patriotic and

democratic forces and step up the building of an independent and sovereign state, rich and strong.

In order to strengthen the DNUF, Party organizations at every level and all Party members should work properly with their counterparts of the friendly parties.

All of them should further consolidate unity with the friendly party organizations and their members, always maintain close ties with them and cooperate with them.

Further, they should firmly maintain the independence, progressive character and excellence of our Party and exert influence on these allies by giving them a practical example so that the latter will actively cooperate in the building of an independent and sovereign state. If each of our Party membership of over 700,000 takes on one of the friendly party members or non-Party people and exerts proper Party influence on him, more than 700,000 people will be led to play an exemplary part in the effort to build an independent and sovereign nation.

In conclusion, drawing on your experience in brilliantly overfulfilling the national economic plan for 1947, you should carry out the national economic plan for 1948 over and above the target, and, in particular, strive to increase the output of everyday necessities for the people. Party members should also strive to increase productivity, lower production costs and eliminate waste.

I firmly believe that all the Party organizations and members in South Hamgyong Province will firmly unite around the Party Central Committee and splendidly carry out the tasks it set forth.

ON LAYING THE FIRM ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE COUNTRY

Speech at the People's Factory in the Hungnam District

February 22, 1948

Workers, technicians and office workers in the Hungnam district who are striving to build the nation,

At all times the masses of the people are the creators of history, and the working class is the prime mover of modern society, in particular.

The Korean working class most heroically fought the Japanese imperialist marauders and then, after liberation, has been striving devotedly to build a prosperous, democratic country, working day and night. This shows that the working class is the most dependable force, the main force of the Korean people, in their struggle to build a unified, independent and democratic Korea, and elevate their country to the ranks of the world's advanced countries.

Fighting most bravely in the forefront of the struggle of the south Korean people against the US imperialists and the domestic reactionaries is also the working class.

In north Korea damaged factories and coal and ore mines have been rebuilt and railways are run by the great creative force of the working class.

Our workers, technicians and office workers are excellently managing the factories they have rehabilitated and producing the goods with which to consolidate the nation's economic foundations

and improve the people's welfare.

Here, in the People's Factory in the Hungnam District which was controlled by the Japanese imperialists in their days, our workers are now mass-producing chemical fertilizer essential for the peasants. And pig iron is produced in the Hwanghae Iron Works and many power stations including the Suphung Power Station and the Jangjingang Power Station are running smoothly thanks to the extremely creative enthusiasm of our workers and technicians.

All this proves that we can build a prosperous, independent and sovereign state by ourselves.

By carrying out democratic reforms including the nationalization of industries in 1946, our people opened up a broad avenue for the construction of a rich and powerful country, and in 1947 they drew up the first national economic plan and implemented it with credit. In this struggle we gained a great deal of valuable experience and grew confident that we could build an independent national economy by our own efforts. On this basis, we have worked out the national economic plan for 1948 and are now striving to make it a success.

All our successes in economic construction have been possible because we have a firmly established government of the people in the true sense of the word and because our people zealously support its policies. But for the people's government, those successes would have been inconceivable. And however hard we might have worked for increased production, the results would have been robbed from us by foreign imperialists or domestic landlords and capitalists, had it not been for the people's government. Therefore, if they are to build a happy society, our people must have a genuine people's government for all Korea—a people's government like the People's Committee of North Korea.

Now the south Korean people are being further awakened and united through the struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges, and the north Korean people are achieving ever greater successes in economic construction as the days go by under the guidance of the people's committee, the government truly of the

people. The patriotic, democratic forces of north and south Korea are certain to thwart the aggressive moves of the US imperialists and build a unified, independent and democratic state in the near future.

Brothers,

The Korean people are now confronted with the important task of frustrating the colonial enslavement policy of US imperialism and attaining national reunification and independence. In order to fulfil this task the north Korean people should consolidate the victory in the democratic reforms, build up the economic foundations of the country and, for the present, concentrate all their efforts on the fulfilment of the national economic plan for 1948.

Now I should like to dwell on your tasks.

You should, first of all, fulfil your factory's assignments, as set out under the state plan, to the last detail. That is important. You should bear in mind that the state economic plan as a whole can be successfully carried out only when each of the factories and enterprises performs its plan regularly. You should establish system and order in the factory, improve its management and rationalize manpower allotment, so that every workshop, workteam and worker can without exception overfulfil their norm.

You should make every effort to raise the level of our technology which is backward on account of the outrageous colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. All of you should learn while on the job, strive to master your machines and become highly skilled workers and, further, technicians.

Furthermore, you should take good care of the factory's machines and equipment and state materials and use them economically. The machines, equipment, raw materials and other goods now at our disposal are not a means of enriching individuals or a few exploiters as in the past, but the precious property of the state and people for the development of the national economy and for the greater welfare of all the people. You must understand that the effective operation of the factory's machines and the economic use of raw materials and other necessary items will increase the economic power of the country and

well-being of our people so much the more.

You must always be highly vigilant against the plots of reactionaries who attempt to destroy our factories and enterprises and encroach on what our people have built. We must launch a nationwide struggle against the reactionaries and expose and crush their subversive activities at every step and firmly protect our factories and enterprises.

Brothers,

We took over a backward colonial industry from Japanese imperialism, and the factories, mines and other enterprises were skeletal at that. That is why we are now facing many difficulties in quickly developing the national economy and improving the people's living standards.

We must not yield to these difficulties but overcome them bravely, rebuild the damaged factories and enterprises and increase production with all our energy, wisdom and talents. This is the way to increase the wealth and power of our country and the welfare of the people. We should all fight vigorously for the country and the people, waging a stubborn ideological struggle against the fear of difficulties and an indolent work attitude.

It is not without difficulty that the Soviet people have developed their country into the prosperous socialist state as it is now. Their country has now become the strongest in the world, an impregnable fortress of world peace because they fought heroically for their country, for the liberation and everlasting happiness of peoples and for world peace even under the most difficult conditions of imperialist encirclement, tightening their belts and eating 100 to 200 grammes of bread a day, overcoming all hardships.

Though we are undergoing hardships, we can say that we are now in a much better situation than the Soviet people were when they were building the first socialist state. The point is how bravely and energetically our people fight to build a new life, united rock-firm around the people's committee, their true government, and riding over all difficulties in the way of their advance.

No happiness will come to you, if you build nothing, shying away from difficulties. The way we have to go is the way to surmount difficulties, build the economy for ourselves, and consolidate its foundations.

I firmly believe that the Korean working people headed by the working class, who bravely fought the Japanese imperialists in the past and after liberation have been devotedly striving to build up the country, will break through all difficulties and achieve a brilliant success in the building of the national economy, by their heroic struggle and creative labour.

We have a broad prospect before us, and victory is ours. Let us all march forward for freedom and independence, prosperity and development of the country, for the establishment of a Democratic People's Republic of Korea and for fresh victory.

Long live the Korean working class!

Long live the People's Committee of North Korea!

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!.

**AGAINST THE ELECTIONS
OF A REACTIONARY SEPARATE
GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH KOREA
AND FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT
OF KOREA'S REUNIFICATION
AND INDEPENDENCE**

**Speech at the 25th Meeting of the Central Committee
of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea**

March 9, 1948

Friends,

By pressure from the US government the UN Little Assembly adopted a resolution in February on holding separate elections in south Korea for the so-called all-nation government of Korea.

The resolution of the UN Little Assembly is a reprint of the US resolution submitted by US Secretary of State Marshall.

According to the resolution the elections for a separate government in south Korea will be held under the supervision of the UN Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCK) and the election regulations will become effective only when Lieutenant General Hodge, US army commander in south Korea, approves them.

This unwarranted resolution serves the aggressive policy of US imperialists who wantonly trample on the sovereignty of the Korean people and try to perpetuate the division of our country.

The resolution, which is opposed to the reunification and independence of Korea along democratic lines, completely runs

counter to our people's national interests.

Therefore, this undemocratic resolution the US imperialists and their followers had concocted could not but evoke a towering indignation from all the people in north and south Korea and meet with a strongest resistance of the people who opposed the sinister trickery of the US imperialists and their lackeys—pro-US and pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and all the other reactionary elements.

1. WHO HAS FRUSTRATED THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISION OF THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNIFIED, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF KOREA AND HOW?

The decision adopted at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain on the 27th of December, 1945 opened up the road to the correct solution of the Korean question.

The conference deemed it necessary to establish a democratic provisional government of Korea in order to create conditions for restoring Korea as an independent state, ensuring its development on a democratic principle and doing away quickly with the evil aftereffects of the long Japanese rule.

All the Korean people gave full support to the decision of the Moscow three ministers conference and demonstrated their attitude internally and externally at mass meetings held in all parts of the country. All the truly democratic political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea declared themselves for the decision.

Only the handful of reactionary political parties and their

quislingite heads came out against it with the active support of the US military government in south Korea. These reactionary elements still remain faithful lackeys of the US imperialists who do not want Korea to develop as a free and independent country.

The US policy of subjugating Korea was brought to full light already at the time of the Moscow conference. As everyone knows, the US government insisted at that time that Korea be put under trusteeship.

According to the US imperialists' plan Korea would have to be "administered" by a certain supreme commissioner who would act in the name of an administrative organ composed of representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and China. It envisaged this "administration" of Korea for five years and, if necessary, for another five years. It would not be until this period was over, the US proposal said, that the period of guardianship would begin, and the establishment of a Korean government was not mentioned at all in the proposal.

The Soviet side opposed the US proposal and suggested the establishment of a democratic provisional Korean government. It maintained that measures be taken, with the participation of the provisional government, to assist in the Korean people's political, economic and social progress and the democratic development of Korea and in the establishment of an independent state.

Thus, this Soviet proposal was adopted in substance at the Moscow conference.

Friends, I remind you of this fact because a better understanding of the recent events which will affect our country's future calls for the clarification of the fact that from the beginning there were two lines for the solution of the Korean question which were contrary to each other in principle.

For two years the US imperialists openly neglected to carry out the decision of the Moscow three ministers conference which they had signed. The whole course of the work of the USSR-US Joint Commission convinced the Korean people more plainly that the

commitments given by the US government at the Moscow conference were nothing but a fraud.

Both sides had to agree to set up a democratic government of Korea, but the US delegate contradicted the already adopted decision all the time and clung to their incorrect view that the only way to establish a unified government was to set up a reactionary government in an undemocratic way, a government in which the stooges of US imperialism would have the upper hand. The US imperialists not only refused to lend an ear to the opinion of the masses of Korea, but have suppressed more cruelly the democratic political parties and social organizations in south Korea. In south Korea which is occupied by the US army troops, the democratic political parties and social organizations are disbanded or find themselves forced to go underground.

This is how the decision of the Moscow three ministers conference on the establishment of a unified, democratic provisional government of Korea has fallen through. This is how the US imperialists delayed and wrecked the work of the USSR-US Joint Commission.

In order to remove the obstacles which hindered and delayed the building of a completely independent and sovereign state of the Korean people, the Soviet delegate made a new suggestion, which is as follows: "The Soviet Union always had and has a regard for lesser peoples and fought and is fighting for their independence and sovereignty. The Soviet delegation, therefore, believes that only when the Soviet and the US troops have been withdrawn from Korea can the Korean people be provided with the opportunity of establishing a government for themselves without the aid and participation of the Allied Powers. The Soviet delegation declares that the Soviet army is prepared to withdraw from Korea simultaneously with the US troops on condition that the US delegation agrees to our proposal for the withdrawal of all the foreign troops in early 1948." All the Korean people enthusiastically supported this fair proposal which offered a possibility for settling the Korean issue in a most correct and smooth way.

But the United States rejected this just proposal of the Soviet

Union. Having frustrated the implementation of the decision of the Moscow conference, the US government put the Korean question to the UN General Assembly debate with no due reason.

The Yankees have the nasty habit of breaking their promise when the circumstances are unfavourable for them. This is not the first time they are false to their word. On the German question, too, they are acting like this in violation of the Potsdam Agreement they signed. The Korean people clearly know that the US imperialists aim at nullifying the decision of the Moscow conference by hook or by crook and rejecting the Soviet proposal on the simultaneous withdrawal of the Soviet and US troops from Korea. All these facts thoroughly expose the sinister design of the US government which does not want the building of a unified independent state in Korea.

2. US IMPERIALISM AND THE KOREAN QUESTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

It is a common knowledge that the just proposal of the Soviet delegation for the invitation of representatives of the Korean people to the United Nations to participate in the discussion of the Korean question, was turned down because of the obstructive manoeuvres of the US delegation.

There have been debates in the United Nations about the future of many nations, but the Korean question was the first to be discussed without the attendance of representatives of the nation concerned. The United States barred the UN General Assembly from hearing the Korean people's will. Consequently, the "resolution" on the Korean question was adopted at will without the participation of the Korean people's representatives.

What is this if not an act of fooling the Korean people? What is this if not an act of disregard and insult to our nation?

Why did the United States oppose the attendance of the Korean people's representatives at the UN General Assembly session? Because the United States was afraid of exposure to the world of the actual conditions in south Korea, a lawless land where the police and terrorist groups are rampant under the rule of the US military government.

In the two and a half years of US imperialist rule no democratic reform has been carried out in south Korea. The south Korean people are now suffering from hunger and poverty. Owing to inflation and mass unemployment the working people's living conditions have become unbearable.

The US imperialist aggressors are encouraging in every way the activities of the handful of reactionary elements in south Korea who have been discarded by the Korean people. They openly oppose the democratic forces of south Korea and abet and vindicate the terrorist activities of the fascist organizations which murder noted activists of the democratic political parties and social organizations. This policy of the US military government is arousing an irrepressible indignation among all the Korean people.

In its letters of last October to the Soviet and US governments the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea referred to these facts, saying, "We already know well that in south Korea where the US army troops are stationed the democratic freedom of the people is restricted, the democratic political parties and social organizations suppressed and their leaders arrested and imprisoned under various pretexts."

Afraid of the Korean people's voice, the US delegation was dead set against the attendance of our people's representatives at the debates of the Korean question by the UN General Assembly.

The draft resolution of the Soviet delegation which proposed to the Soviet and US governments to withdraw their troops from north and south Korea simultaneously and leave the problem of establishing a unified, democratic government to the Korean people themselves, was rejected by the UN General Assembly owing to the manoeuvres of the United States.

The delegations of Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Poland and many other democratic countries fully supported the proposal of the Soviet delegation for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and strongly asserted, “Now, there is no ground whatsoever for continuing with the occupation policy in Korea and it is an absolute necessity to get the foreign troops withdrawn from Korea in order to prevent foreign interference in the future elections for a government.”

This just stand of our friends who sincerely want our people to attain freedom and independence could not but alarm the US imperialists.

The US delegation did everything to bring pressure to bear upon those countries which are subordinated politically and economically to the United States and set into motion their voting machinery, so that the proposal for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea was rejected and that the resolution on the creation of the so-called UN Temporary Commission on Korea was railroaded.

Our people are well aware that the “mission” of this commission is to cover up the colonial enslavement policy of the US imperialists in Korea.

The suggestion that elections be held in the conditions when there is undisguised foreign interference in our country’s internal affairs is tantamount to proposing to elect as members of the government those who are relying on the US military government, that is, traitors to the nation who value the interests of their foreign patrons and themselves more than the future of their nation.

Friends,

The creation of the UNTCK is unfair and runs counter to the principle of self-determination of nations, and so it is impermissible. The UNTCK is a puppet organization and it has neither capability nor authority to solve the Korean question.

It is only natural that the UNTCK, upon arrival in Seoul, should have met with waves of national indignation from the people not only in north Korea but also in south Korea.

The south Korean reactionaries and their patrons, the US

imperialists, used every artifice to give a false impression that public opinion favoured the work of the UNTCK, but their attempt came to nothing.

As is known to everyone, the people were decidedly against the entry into Seoul of the UNTCK. The masses of the south Korean workers, peasants and intellectuals declared strikes and held demonstrations in determined opposition to the new trickery of US imperialism against Korea.

The US military government in south Korea stopped food rationing to the strikers in an attempt to dampen the fighting spirit of the people. At the same time, the US military government and the south Korean police arrested a large number of democratic personages. According to the watered-down data released by them, more than 400 persons were apprehended already on the day when the UNTCK arrived in Seoul.

According to the newspaper *Tongnip Sinbo* of January 30 this year the Peasants' Union of South Korea sent a letter to the UNTCK, saying, "The Korean people are now well aware that the way to democracy and independence through the establishment of a unified north-south government which they are longing for lies solely in assuring, through the immediate withdrawal of the two armies, the formation of their government for themselves free from interference by these armies....

"We are categorically against your activities to implement the so-called UN resolution. On behalf of the 14 million farming population of south Korea, we hereby strongly demand that you quit this land. We declare that together with all the other sections of the people we will defend this land against all imperialist aggression if it may cost our lives and will fight till we win independence and sovereignty for the whole of the north and the south."

The Democratic Women's Union of South Korea stated, "We will categorically reject any kind of elections other than an independent and free election with no foreign interference to be held after the withdrawal of the two armies. The Koreans, even children, know that

the UN resolution retards the settlement of the Korean question and only brings about territorial partition, national division, delay in the withdrawal of foreign troops and subordination to which the Korean people are totally opposed....

“With all the Korean women and all other people, we strongly demand that the foreign troops withdraw at once and thus leave the establishment of a government in the hands of the people. The people will fight it out for complete independence.”

The Democratic Patriotic Youth League of South Korea, the Federation of Korean Residents in Japan and many other organizations, too, issued statements strongly opposing the resolution of the UN General Assembly on Korea.

According to the *AP* the US army troops have reinforced their armament frenziedly to cope with all the south Korean people’s protests and demonstrations against the UNTCK. Some 100 patriots were killed in clashes between the police and the demonstrators.

As you see, the US military government authorities and the reactionary elements in south Korea are preparing to hold “elections” for a “government” by force of arms.

The Korean people’s struggle against the interference of the US imperialists in the internal affairs of their country got the UNTCK into a great scrape. So the US imperialists framed another plot and forced the UN Little Assembly to adopt an unwarrantable resolution again.

By pressure from the United States the UN Little Assembly decided to hold separate elections in south Korea. Using the UN Little Assembly, the United States is following the policy of dividing our country and pursuing its aggressive ends.

Thus, there are now two different lines for settling the Korean question which make a strong contrast with each other.

The US line is an aggressive one designed to divide Korea artificially, establish a reactionary government congenial to the United States in the name of the United Nations, and turn south Korea into a complete colony.

The Soviet line is a just one which truly makes for Korea’s

freedom and independence; and it is a line to make all the foreign troops withdraw from Korea as soon as possible, ensure the reunification of our country and establish a truly unified, democratic government in Korea.

All the Korean people wholeheartedly support the latter.

3. KOREA WILL BECOME A UNIFIED, INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC STATE

Friends,

The first reaction to the decision of the UN Little Assembly which completely runs counter to our national interests shows that the Korean people will never recognize nor approve a puppet government which will be set up under the patronage of the UNTCK.

The decision of the UN Little Assembly cooked up by the US imperialists is only favourable to the Syngman Rhee and Kim Song Su clique, a handful of traitorous reactionaries who betray the interests of the country and the people and faithfully serve their foreign masters.

Noteworthy is the fact that voices are raised even in the Right-wing camp against the US imperialists who are hindering our nation's reunification and independence under the signboard of the UNTCK. The speech of Kim Won Yong, a former member of the so-called Legislative Assembly of south Korea, at a recent interview with US pressmen is a graphic illustration of this. He severely criticized the US military government in south Korea, and said that the United States "has turned south Korea into a police state" and that "the United States is forfeiting the Korean people's confidence." And he added, "The United Nations must not hold elections in south Korea now, for they cannot be aboveboard or free elections whatever form they may take."

“Elections” of this kind to be held under outrageous foreign interference will result in the yielding of power to an insignificant number of ultra-Right reactionary elements.

The reactionary elements in south Korea do not grant the people the slightest right to express their will. Syngman Rhee is thus manoeuvring to establish a fascist dictatorship in south Korea.

Even the reactionary publications in the United States have long made no secret of its designs on Korea. The Hearst paper *New York Journal and American* can be taken as an example. Quoting an authentic report obtained from the US State Department, the paper said that the real intentions of certain quarters in the United States were “to establish a Republic of South Korea which will have the US backing in its efforts to seize as soon as possible the half of Korea north of the 38th Parallel”. As you see, the intentions of the United States are to divide Korea, repress our people’s desire for freedom and independence, insult our nation and put a yoke of colonial slavery on our people again.

But the US imperialists’ intentions are one thing and the possibility of their realization is quite another. The 30 million Korean people who suffered for a long time under the colonial oppression of Japanese imperialism never want again to become slaves who have no state to claim as their own. The people in north Korea who have won truly democratic rights and liberties and are directly benefiting from the agrarian reform, nationalization of industries, Labour Law and Law on Sex Equality and from other democratic reforms, will never surrender the liberties and rights they have won.

One cannot reverse the wheels of history. Our fellow countrymen in south Korea, who are starving and maltreated, have already seen through the underlying motive of the US imperialists in their disguise, and clearly perceived the true nature of their aggressive policy towards Korea.

The Korean people do not recognize the UNTCK which was organized in the absence of their representatives and in disregard of their will and interests.

Staging an “election” farce, the US and Korean reactionary

elements are now attempting to set up a “government” with the reactionary elements who toe the US imperialist line. How the “free elections” will be conducted can easily be foreseen from the mere fact that all the south Korean police have been mobilized now to hold these “elections in an organized manner.” The US military government is preparing to use the vicious means which were employed in suppressing democratic elections in other countries.

There is only one road which leads to our nation’s regeneration, and that is the road of democratic development. Our demand remains unchanged. We demand that an all-Korea supreme legislative organ be elected on the principle of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot. The truly people’s supreme legislative organ thus elected should approve the Constitution and establish a truly democratic people’s government which will ensure the prosperity and development of the country and lead the people to happiness. All this is possible only when all the foreign troops withdraw simultaneously from Korea.

I appeal to all the Korean people, all the democratic forces and all the patriotic figures who long for our country’s freedom and independence to do all they can to frustrate the underhand design of the enemy to divide our country and enslave our people once again.

I appeal to all the patriotic and democratic forces to unite more firmly in the struggle for our country’s freedom and independence.

Fellow countrymen,

Let’s rise up against imperialist aggression which impedes our nation’s reunification and infringes on our country’s independence and sovereignty.

Let’s thoroughly expose the reactionary elements and traitors to the nation who sell out our country to the US imperialists.

Let’s not be a party to the “election” farce and let’s vigorously conduct a campaign to reject the “elections.”

Korean patriots, unite more firmly and bravely come out in the struggle for the country’s reunification, freedom and independence.

Long live a unified, free and democratic Korea!

ON SOME TASKS OF IMPROVING THE HEALTH SERVICE AND HYGIENE WORK

**Concluding Speech at the 62nd Session of the People's
Committee of North Korea**

March 19, 1948

As was pointed out in the report and speeches, over the past years a palpable success has been achieved in the work of the Public Health Bureau, but there have been many defects which must be remedied without fail.

The most serious weakness in the activity of this bureau is the lack of discipline, order and integrity and the officials' bureaucratic manner of work. Workers of the bureau neglect day-to-day guidance and checkup on the work of lower units and, even when they perform this duty, they do not do so in real earnest but return after getting entertained. This is the usual practice. That is why they are ignorant of the actual situation at lower levels. Such ignorance will give rise to bureaucracy among officials. Lack of acquaintance with the actual conditions at the grass-root level itself is a manifestation of bureaucracy. Workers of the bureau should correct bureaucratic methods of work and earnestly strive to develop the health service and hygiene work.

The Public Health Bureau should always have a good grip on the activities of health administrations, hospitals and clinics under its jurisdiction and direct and inspect them according to plan.

Acquiring a good grasp of the work at the lower echelons and

directing and inspecting it effectively is essential to the success of the work of the bureau and the health service as a whole. Intensive guidance and inspection of the work done at subordinate units is all the more important at present when there exist remnants of Japanese imperialism in the field of the health service and when the political and practical levels of health workers are low. Only when the guidance and inspection of their work is strengthened can they wipe out the survivals of Japanese imperialism and promote the health of the people, the masters of the country, effectively.

Officials of the Public Health Bureau should go out to lower units in a planned way and carefully guide and check up on the implementation of Party and state decisions and directives on the health service, guide and investigate the medical care of patients, and hygiene and anti-epidemic work. For instance, if you visit a hospital for this purpose, you should guide it, finding out if all its workers—from the director to doctors and nurses—are kind to the patients, if their diagnoses and prescriptions are correct and if medicines are given properly. Guidance and inspection must not be fault-finding. It must always be a help to the lower units in developing their work. The Public Health Bureau officials must not simply try to ferret out defects at lower units; they should find out the reasons, teach concrete ways to correct them, and help to solve difficult problems in a responsible manner.

The education of health workers should be strengthened so that they can be remoulded as health workers genuinely of the people dedicated to the cause of the country and the people.

In the building of a new, democratic Korea since liberation, doctors have been remoulded a great deal. Now they cannot be regarded as doctors who know only money, giving no thought to human lives. But it is still premature to assess all of them as doctors who serve the people faithfully in the true sense of the word.

Quite a few doctors still lack the idea of serving the country and the people. Some of them are undisciplined and behave as they please, not devoting all their skills, wisdom and hearts to the

treatment of patients. Doctors of the special and central hospitals, though entrusted with the medical care of cadres, are utterly negligent of it, only boasting of their techniques. If cadres are unable to come to hospital by pressure of work, doctors should call on them for treatment. But they do not do so. This is an improper attitude to their duty as doctors who are responsible for people's lives. We cannot regard it as otherwise.

This kind of attitude is mainly due, in the first place, to the fact that they retain an outdated indisciplined habit of work and life acquired earlier under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, and, second, that the Public Health Bureau has not educated doctors properly.

We should not just complain of the political and ideological backwardness of health workers, but lead them along the path towards service to the country and the people. For this purpose, we should set it as an important task to raise their level of ideological consciousness and should intensify their ideological education. They will thus be inspired to dedicate all their talents and hearts to health work with a sole determination to serve the country and the people under all conditions, however difficult.

In addition, the control of public health workers should be strengthened. No one will be able to perform his duty properly, if left alone to live individually without organizational control. In particular, since the health workers retain a good deal of obsolete ideas in their minds, if control is not strengthened, they will not strive to perform their duties. Control is all the more urgent with those people who are ideologically backward. So it is imperative to increase the control of health workers.

The Public Health Bureau should urge medical workers to establish rigid rules of treatment and observe them strictly. When they have administered medicine at random or given careless treatment in violation of the rules, the doctors should be disciplined or legally punished according to the gravity of the fault.

Profound attention should be paid to enhancing the technical level

of medical workers. Since they deal with human lives, they should be specialists better versed in their work than anyone else. The Public Health Bureau should extensively organize short courses, technical seminars, meetings for the exchange of experience and the like to raise their technical level and lead them to continually strive to acquire knowledge of advanced medical technology for themselves.

Training a large number of medical workers who can work devotedly for the country and the people is one of the most important tasks now in improving the health service.

Because of the shortage of medical workers, neither preventive work nor the care of patients is adequate now. Old-time doctors are behaving in an arrogant fashion largely because we have too few doctors.

With a view to affording the people better medical assistance, we have set ourselves the task of providing every sub-county with doctors. If we are to carry out the task with success, we must, above all, train large numbers of medical workers. By turning the given conditions and opportunities to good account, the Public Health and Education bureaus should train as soon as possible a large number of medical workers equipped solidly with democratic ideas and advanced medical technology.

Doctors should be treated better. The Public Health Bureau has brought to the fore the question of improving their treatment and is striving to solve it. This, of course, is good. But, it should not try to improve their treatment by raising their wages. Footwear, dress material and other goods of daily use should be rationed preferentially to doctors, and houses, too, be allotted to them by the state as far as possible. This will make their living conditions far better than they are at present. If the doctors' standard of living is raised, individual practitioners will also take jobs in state-run hospitals or clinics.

In order to improve the medical care of the working people, it is essential to increase radically the number of hospitals and clinics. As is envisaged in this year's plan, we should build more state-run

hospitals and set up more clinics and dispensaries in towns and rural areas.

At the same time, we should endeavour to better equip the existing hospitals and clinics. At present they are not furnished with sufficient medical facilities and appliances, and this is a handicap to the treatment of patients. The Public Health Bureau should provide them adequately with these facilities and appliances as soon as possible. Hospitals should have well-furnished wards.

State-run hospitals and clinics are the common property of all the people. Organs of people's government should strengthen guidance so that hospitals and clinics will be managed efficiently.

We should introduce the section doctor system and further step up hygiene and anti-epidemic work.

Hygiene and anti-epidemic work is very important in eradicating the various insanitary and uncultured living habits of the working people and preventing all kinds of diseases. The Public Health Bureau and the Central Anti-Epidemic Commission should energetically conduct the hygiene and anti-epidemic work.

First of all, they should widely disseminate knowledge of health and hygiene among the working people by means of newspapers, magazines and other publications. And political parties, social organizations and educational institutions, too, should be made to conduct hygiene information extensively.

An important factor in hygiene and anti-epidemic work is to encourage people to eat properly cooked food. If they take too much salt they may suffer from stomach trouble and other diseases. Information work should be intensified so as to encourage well-seasoned food to be eaten in every home. It would be a good idea from now on to teach junior and senior middle school girls how to cook.

All populated areas should be well provided with sanitary facilities to promote hygiene and the prevention of disease. The Public Health Bureau and the Central Anti-Epidemic Commission should see to it that factories and enterprises arrange industrial sanitary equipment

including ventilators and dust absorbers and that farm villages build sanitary facilities such as bathrooms and barbershops.

There should be a nationwide campaign to keep the streets and villages clean and hygiene rules must be strictly observed by everyone.

Accommodation in holiday camps and sanatoria should be properly organized for the working people in order to promote their health steadily. This year, the number of workers, technicians and office employees planned for rest in holiday camps and sanatoria is about 50 per cent greater than last year. The Labour and Public Health bureaus should make proper arrangements to give them a good rest.

One of the important ways of promoting the health of the working people is to actively encourage sports and physical training. Iron and parallel bars and other sports equipment must be furnished in all spheres of society and in all units for everyone to do physical training. Exercises at breaks must be made a routine especially in industrial establishments and civil service offices.

I think it necessary to draft and promulgate a law on improving and strengthening the health service and hygiene work.

REPORT TO THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF NORTH KOREA ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

March 28, 1948

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Comrades,

One year and a half has passed since the Inaugural Congress of our Party. Short as it is, this period has witnessed tremendous changes in the international and internal situation.

The major world events that have taken place since the war are: first, a radical change in the alignment of political forces; second, occurrences in the struggle between the democratic and the reactionary forces; third, events connected with the upsurge of the liberation struggle of the people in colonial and dependent countries.

1. CHANGES IN THE ALIGNMENT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL FORCES SINCE THE WAR

Deep-going changes have taken place in the alignment of international political forces since the end of the Second World War. The most essential of these is that the capitalist system, namely, the

reactionary imperialist camp, has become markedly weaker, whereas the international democratic camp, headed by the Soviet Union, has come into being and has definitely gained in strength.

The Second World War ended with the rout of fascist Germany and Italy, the most heinous enemies of mankind, and with the defeat of imperialist Japan in the East. The collapse of fascist Germany, in particular, completely frustrated the plan conceived by the United States, Britain and France before the Second World War for using Germany to wear down the Soviet Union and strengthen the imperialist forces of aggression.

On the eve of the war, the US-British-French bloc pursued the vile policy of winking at the aggressive acts of fascist Germany and appeasing it, with an eye to weakening the Soviet Union which was daily growing stronger in a capitalist encirclement. The so-called Munich policy, which led to the blackest tragedy in the history of mankind, was a product of the underhand scheme of this tripartite bloc. As you know, the Munich tragedy eventually brought about the Second World War and left many peoples at the mercy of fascist Germany, involving them in the horrors of war.

Nevertheless, the Second World War ended with the destruction of fascist Germany and, in the course of the war, the might of the Soviet Union, far from waning, grew greatly and the world democratic forces as a whole gained in strength. The victory of the democratic forces headed by the Soviet Union and the defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan brought about radical changes in the alignment of political forces in the international arena. What then are these changes?

First, the strength of the imperialist camp as a whole has decreased and the victorious capitalist powers, with the exception of the United States, find themselves in a worse position than before. Of the so-called six great powers, Germany, Italy and Japan were defeated, the power of France has waned considerably and Britain, too, is gradually surrendering its former positions in many European and Asian countries—West Germany, Austria, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt,

Iran, Afghanistan, China, Japan and others—to the United States.

Second, as a result of the Second World War, the Soviet Union, which heads the international democratic forces, has grown into an invincible power, and a number of countries in Eastern and Southeastern Europe have broken away from the imperialist camp to join the democratic camp.

Third, the national liberation movement has grown in the colonial and semi-colonial dependent countries. The peoples in these countries have joined the powerful anti-imperialist democratic forces. Some colonial peoples, casting off the yoke of the suzerain states, have won national independence.

Last, in many countries of Western Europe and the East which were overrun by the fascist robbers of Germany, Italy and Japan, the democratic movement of the working people led by their Communist parties is growing vigorously on a mass scale.

In short, the balance of the world's political forces has changed rapidly since the war towards a decline in the strength of the imperialist forces and a decisive victory for the democratic forces. This shows that the prewar policy of the US-British-French bloc has resulted in the exact opposite of what they intended which was to isolate the Soviet Union and instigate fascist Germany to smother the Soviet Union and check the revolutionary movement in Germany and the liberation movements of the peoples in Western Europe and the East.

From these postwar changes in the international arena we can draw the conclusion that the imperialist camp is on the decline and heading for ruin, whereas the international democratic camp headed by the socialist Soviet Union is growing steadily stronger and becoming a great, new force that no one can suppress.

We can also draw the conclusion that the world is moving not according to the wishes of the Wall Street bosses, but along the course dictated by history, along the path of victory for the people, that the world is being steered by the people, the creators of history, along the course they demand.

2. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC AND REACTIONARY FORCES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

These changes in the balance of world political forces did not come about spontaneously and by chance, but through bitter struggle between the democratic and the reactionary forces.

As the end of the war recedes in time, the US-British-French bloc is becoming more open in its violation of the commitments made by the Allied Powers during the war against fascist Germany.

It is generally recognized that the war against the German fascist robbers resulted in victory and liberation for mankind entirely because of the decisive part played by the great Soviet people and army at the cost of tremendous sacrifices and losses. But what is the voice being raised nowadays in those countries which, despite their being members of the so-called Allied Powers, did not take a resolute stand against fascist Germany but only bided their time, even retarding the opening of the Second Front, and in those countries which entertained secret hopes of a German victory and went so far as to extend aid to it? A strange voice is becoming ever more insistent. It says: "The credit for victory belongs to us, and so we are entitled to a greater share of the rewards and must have a bigger say in settling postwar international issues." It is no secret that the ruling circles of these countries are deliberately complicating the settlement of international issues and are seeking to secure hegemony in the postwar international arena.

The whole course of the anti-fascist war tells that there are no grounds at all for their strange argument; it provides irrefutable evidence that the war was brought to a victorious conclusion by the Soviet army with the assistance of the freedom-loving peoples who rose in struggle to liberate themselves. Nevertheless, the Wall Street bosses and reactionary American politicians who follow their orders

are vociferously claiming that the United States “saved” Europe, and so, they clamour, they have the right to dominate the world.

The US monopoly capitalists, far from sustaining any loss, raked in stupendous profits during the war. In order to amass more even now when the war is over, they are frantically trying to intensify the exploitation of the working class in their own country, to secure more markets abroad, and bring under their control many war-ravaged countries in Western Europe and Asia by various means such as threats, blackmail and “aid.” They have noisily revived the same “claim for world domination” which Hitler clamoured for, and have begun spreading the absurd racist theory of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The US imperialists are resorting to various tactics such as A-bomb diplomacy, dollar diplomacy, the Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan for putting their expansionist policy into effect and infringing upon the sovereignty of small and weak nations, and they have gone over to a full-scale reactionary offensive for world domination.

Today when the war is over, the US expansionists are stretching out their claws of aggression to the Western Hemisphere, not to speak of a number of war-ravaged countries in Western Europe and the East. The US imperialists are continuing to encroach upon the economies of South American countries and Canada, and are scheming to dominate the whole of Asia. Most striking evidence of this is the US policy in Japan and China.

The US imperialists seek to subordinate Japan to US monopoly capital and convert it into a forward base for invading Asian and Pacific countries.

The policy of the United States towards China is aimed at turning its vast territory with a population of 450 million into its colony. This US policy has brought utter economic bankruptcy to China, ravaged its national industry and fostered and aggravated the civil war there in the postwar years. The evil of this imperialist policy of extending civil war in China by abetting the reactionary Kuomintang

government of Chiang Kai-shek and of enslaving the Chinese people is clear to all. The reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government is kept going only by the military and economic “aid” of the United States. But for the manoeuvrings of the US imperialists, the Chinese people would have won victory and liberation long ago.

The United States, with its expansionist policy, has extended its tentacles to countries in the Near East as well. The US monopoly capitalists began to deprive Britain of its economic footholds there, coveting the oil resources of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and other Arab countries and are engaging in imperialist interference in such countries as Syria, Lebanon and Iran. The US imperialists are also pursuing an expansionist policy towards Greece and Turkey. With the support of imperialism, Greece has become a base menacing peace in the Balkans and remains totally dependent on US and British imperialism. There, a fierce civil war is continuing to this day, three years after the end of the Second World War, coupled with open armed intervention by Britain, and the fascist royalists, who have seized power, are terrorizing and butchering the people.

Thus, everywhere the US imperialists impede the growth of the democratic forces, create political confusion, instigate civil war by aggravating national splits, and repress the national liberation movements. Worse still, they are attempting to realize their sinister designs by reviving fascism and militarism in defeated Germany and Japan.

The US imperialists protect and encourage the reactionary forces in different parts of the world in every way and, under the cloak of the so-called Marshall plan, are pursuing a policy of subordinating West European countries, by taking advantage of the latter’s postwar economic difficulties. Furthermore, they are carrying out a vicious policy against the peoples of many East and Southeast European countries which, having broken away from the imperialist camp as a result of the Second World War, have taken the new path of development along democratic lines.

This, in brief, is the policy of US imperialism which emerged as

the chieftain of the international reactionary forces after the war.

Opposed to this US foreign policy and the imperialist camp headed by the United States, an international democratic camp has been formed and is growing in size and strength with each passing day. This powerful camp is headed by the great Soviet Union.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of its great Leninist Communist Party, is traditionally a policy of respecting the freedom and independence of all peoples, of actively supporting the liberation movements of small and weak nations and of maintaining world peace and security. Soviet foreign policy is a policy for consolidating the victory and peace won in the bloody struggle against fascism and for safeguarding friendship and cooperation among nations. In the complex postwar situation, the Soviet Union has unswervingly pursued its just and peace-loving foreign policy and unwaveringly stands at the head of the struggle for the freedom of the peoples and for world peace and security against the international forces of reaction.

The Soviet Union has concluded treaties of friendship and cooperation with a number of countries in Eastern and Southeastern Europe and follows the policy of giving them aid to help them rehabilitate and develop their economies. Soviet aid to those countries is fundamentally different from the so-called aid the imperialists offer under the Marshall plan and the Truman doctrine. It is disinterested aid characterized by genuine respect for the freedom and independence of the peoples of those countries and aimed at expediting their economic rehabilitation and development.

As early as 1946 the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from the territories of its allies—Norway, Denmark, Iran, China, etc. In spite of vehement objections from the American and British imperialists, the Soviet Union concluded peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Finland, all vanquished countries, which were formerly allied with Hitlerite Germany. These treaties provide an obvious illustration of how the Soviet Union respects the rights, liberty and independence of their peoples and how it values peace.

At various international conferences and negotiations in the postwar years, the great Soviet Union has persistently struggled for the freedom and independence of small and weak nations the world over and for world peace and security. The traditional foreign policy of the Soviet Union led by the great Bolshevik Party has been manifested in the stand taken by the Soviet delegates on the question of postwar Germany, of Greece, Egypt and Indonesia, of opposing the incendiaries of a new war and ensuring world peace and security, of general disarmament and many other questions discussed at the General Assembly and Security Council of the United Nations.

The Soviet people worked out a five-year plan for the postwar rehabilitation and development of their national economy and are successfully implementing it. In complete contrast to the state of affairs in the United States which is facing an impending economic crisis with millions of jobless workers thrown out onto the streets and prices rising, in the Soviet Union production is growing rapidly, the people are free from unemployment, rationing has been abolished and prices have been systematically reduced, with the result that the material and cultural life of the working people is quickly improving.

The Soviet Union has thus become the powerful bulwark and leading force of the international democratic camp in the struggle against the international reactionary forces. Soviet foreign policy is exposing the reactionary, aggressive policy of US imperialism at every step and is an immense inspiration to the nations and working people of the world in their just struggle for peace, democracy, freedom and independence.

Furthermore, the new democratic forces of the victorious peoples in many East and Southeast European countries have grown powerful and are dealing fatal blows to the international reactionary forces. In East and Southeast European countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania, new political forces are successfully eliminating the footholds of reaction and have launched their countries on the road of democratic reforms,

national regeneration and rehabilitation. The peoples of these countries, who have had the bitterest experience of the horrors of war, are shaping their destiny by themselves, determined never again to leave their fate to the mercy of reactionary politicians. Thus, the imperialists have lost their footholds for aggression in these countries. It is no accident that the US imperialists and their followers, the greedy politicians of the Western bloc, are now slandering and disparaging the democratic countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

But realities have conclusively proved the complete baselessness of these slanders. The postwar situation as a whole clearly shows that things are going well in the lands which are disparaged by the US imperialists, whereas political disorder and darkness reign in the areas which they present in bright colours.

In the West European countries which have been drawn directly into the US imperialist sphere of influence, powerful democratic forces are also growing.

The people of Britain, France, Italy and a number of other West European countries are becoming more deeply convinced that world peace and security can be ensured and the international reactionary forces defeated only when they follow a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union. Having experienced the horrors of war on account of the bellicose, traitorous reactionary politicians of their countries, they do not want another Munich and stand firmly opposed to another war and to aggression. Graphic evidence of this is provided by the powerful democratic movement which is widespread in France, Italy, West Germany, etc. The campaign for the formation of a third party launched in the United States on the eve of the presidential election is tangible evidence that ever-louder voices are being raised against reaction in that country as well.

The growth of the democratic forces in the capitalist countries is also illustrated by the fact that the Communist parties, the advanced detachments of the working class, are now stronger than ever before. In France and Italy today, they are militant parties enjoying the

greatest prestige among and deepest confidence of the broad masses. The Communist parties in a number of West European countries have become powerful political parties leading the revolutionary struggle of the working class and all the working people. They have become the vanguard of the democratic forces in Western Europe.

This growth of the Communist parties' influence among the masses of the people is due, as Comrade Stalin has said, to the fact that in many European countries the communists fought most valiantly and self-sacrificingly against the outrages of the fascist robbers in the grim years of fascist rule and, as fighters for freedom and liberation, won the deep confidence of the broad masses.

The oppressed peoples with their great strength, who have risen in the struggle against colonialism and for national freedom and independence, constitute another component of the international democratic forces. The courageous struggle of the Indonesian and Vietnamese peoples against imperialist colonial oppression and plunder, the mounting national liberation movements in India, Palestine and Madagascar and the powerful people's liberation movement in China, a semi-colonial dependent country, and in Greece are delivering mortal blows to the international forces of reaction. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has already liberated nearly all of northeast China and wide expanses of other parts of Chinese territory. In Greece a free Greek Government has been set up in opposition to the fascist royalists.

This is a brief account of the postwar growth of the international democratic forces which are ranged against the reactionary forces of imperialism in the international arena.

From this we can draw the following general conclusions:

First, the people of the world have become much more class conscious because they experienced the horrors of war and waged a bloody struggle against fascism and for peace and freedom, and consequently their aspirations for a genuinely democratic system and a new life have grown immeasurably.

Second, the masses of the people, having drawn serious lessons

from the war, have come to the profound realization that the destiny of their countries should not be entrusted to anti-people and reactionary politicians who pursue narrow, selfish ends. The people of the world, who experienced war and fascist rule, do not want to live in the same old way again and are shaping their destiny for themselves and waging an active struggle for the establishment of a democratic system against the reactionary forces and the incendiaries of a new war.

Third, the same fate as befell Hitler and Mussolini awaits those at the head of the international reactionary forces in the postwar years who seek to wreck world peace and security and enslave the peoples of small and weak countries in Europe and Asia, harping on world domination just as Hitler did and putting forward a new version of racism.

Fourth, the wilder the US imperialists become in their attempt to dominate the world, the more the international democratic forces opposing this are united and strengthened to become an invincible force. Today the world is moving not according to the wishes of the US imperialists, but in the direction in which the international democratic forces are advancing, towards a new social system.

II. THE INTERNAL SITUATION

1. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN KOREA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COUNTRY'S REUNIFICATION

Comrades,

The deep changes in the international situation since the war are mirrored very sharply in the political situation in our country. Today the Korean issue is not a question limited to our country alone but

constitutes a link in the whole chain of the struggle between democracy and anti-democracy in the international arena.

Since the day of liberation, the political situation in our country has been characterized by fierce struggle between the patriotic democratic forces and the traitorous anti-democratic forces. Domestic political forces have divided into two main groups. All the patriotic personalities and the people of Korea fighting for the freedom and independence of the country form one mighty democratic force, while all the traitors and pro-Japanese elements, who hold their narrow political gains and their own interests dearer than the interests of the country and the nation, form a reactionary force opposed to the people.

But for the interference of the US reactionaries, the struggle between these two forces would have been settled very easily and without any complications in line with the demands of the Korean people. For after liberation, the reactionary forces comprising the handful of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, who were hated and rejected by all the Korean people, did not have any foothold among the masses, and their strength was as nothing compared to the mighty democratic forces of the liberated Korean nation.

Nevertheless, the struggle between these two forces is still going on, and the Korean issue becomes more complicated every day. This is because the handful of reactionary forces—the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation—is under the direct control of US imperialism, the chieftain of international reaction, and is actively protected and supported by it. As a result, the democratic forces in Korea, which have grown tremendously in size and strength since liberation, have had to fight the internal reactionary forces on the one hand, and the international forces of reaction headed by US imperialism on the other.

What has caused such a complex situation in our country and made the settlement of the Korean issue such a difficult and delicate matter?

With the defeat of Japanese imperialism and the liberation of Korea, the armies of the Soviet Union and the United States entered our country, with the 38th Parallel as the demarcation line between them.

In south Korea, before the landing of US troops, the pro-Japanese elements and the traitors to the nation were small and quiet in face of the mighty democratic forces. The whole land seethed with the boundless joy and patriotic ardour of a liberated nation, and our country was advancing along the path of national regeneration and independence in accordance with the people's wishes. But with the landing of US troops in south Korea on September 8, 1945, dark clouds again began to gather over our country.

It is not by chance that today totally different situations have been created in the northern and southern halves of Korea, and that the two are proceeding along diametrically opposite courses. To show how they came about, I would like to remind you here of the historic statements of the Soviet and US armies addressed to us Korean people on their first day in Korea.

On the day of its arrival in our country, the Soviet army, which is led by the great Bolshevik Party that respects and champions the independence and freedom of small and weak nations, declared to the Korean people: "Korean people!... Korea has become a free country. However, this marks only the first page in Korean history. A flourishing orchard is the product of man's efforts and energy. Likewise, the happiness of Korea can only be achieved by heroic struggle and tireless efforts on the part of you Korean people. Remember, Korean people, you hold your happiness in your own hands! You have attained liberty and liberation. Now, everything is up to you. The Soviet army will provide the Korean people with all the conditions for embarking on free and creative labour. Koreans must create their own happiness themselves."

This is the statement of the Soviet army on its first day in our territory. There is no need to explain how correctly the Soviet army has fulfilled its commitments, because this is clearly demonstrated by

the realities in north Korea today, where the Korean people have taken power into their hands and are building a democratic country entirely in accordance with their will.

But what did the US army proclaim to the Korean people on the very first day it landed in south Korea? I would like to cite a few passages from its proclamation:

“...By virtue of the authority vested in me as Commander-in-Chief, United States Army Forces, Pacific, I hereby establish military control over Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the inhabitants thereof, and announce the following conditions of the occupation:

“All powers of government over the territory of Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the people thereof will be for the present exercised under my authority. Persons will obey my orders and orders issued under my authority. Acts of resistance to the occupying forces or any acts which may disturb public peace and safety will be punished severely.

“For all purposes during the military control, English will be the official language....”

This is what the US army, controlled by the Wall Street bosses, proclaimed upon its arrival in our land. The wretched conditions in south Korea today provide glaring evidence that since then everything has been done exactly as stated in the proclamation.

Thus, quite different political situations have been created in the two parts of our country since the arrival of the Soviet and US armies, and our country has been divided into north Korea, a land of democracy, freedom and construction, and south Korea, a land of reaction, massacre and destruction.

The US army set out on a policy of colonial enslavement as soon as it occupied south Korea. In the first place, it adopted two basic policies to attain its goal. Politically, it smothered all the initiatives towards democracy of the liberated people, who set themselves against its policy of colonial enslavement, and suppressed all the democratic forces. At the same time, it gathered and fostered the

reactionary forces to use in the implementation of its aggressive policy aimed at splitting the Korean nation and turning Korea into a US colony. Economically, it pursued a policy of hampering the development of Korea's national economy and industry and subordinating them to the economy of the United States.

From the very first day of its occupation of south Korea, the US army persecuted all patriotic-minded democratic personalities. It set up a US military government after it dissolved the people's committees established by the people immediately after liberation. It set out to build up the reactionary forces in south Korea out of the traitors it had brought from the United States and China and out of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation at home.

The US imperialists seek to turn south Korea into a complete colony in order to continue plundering it of its rice, gold, silver, copper, tungsten and all its other valuable resources, to dump their surplus goods there and to bring the whole of Korea fully under their occupation and turn it into their advance base for aggression in the East.

This policy of the US imperialists towards Korea could not but evoke strong resistance from the Korean people. The people's resistance struggle waged in south Korea under the US military government was a fitting answer of the people of south Korea to the military rule of the US imperialists and their policy of colonial enslavement.

Nevertheless, in order to carry out their evil policy of the colonial enslavement of Korea, the US imperialists rejected outright the demand of the Soviet side for a simultaneous withdrawal of Soviet and US troops from Korea and for leaving the solution of the Korean issue to the Korean people themselves. They irrelevantly took the Korean question to the United Nations and rigged up the so-called UN Temporary Commission on Korea. At the UN General Assembly, the United States, disregarding the just demands of delegates from many countries, refused to allow the Korean people's representative to participate in the discussion of the Korean question. Thus, the UN

“resolution” on the Korean question was adopted arbitrarily in the absence of the Korean people’s representative and under pressure from the United States and its satellites. This was an insult to our nation and showed contempt for it.

Why did the United States refuse to allow the Korean people’s representative to participate in the discussions on the Korean issue? It was because the US imperialists were afraid of the voice of the Korean people’s representative and of world public opinion. They were aware that if the Korean people’s representative participated in the UN discussions on the Korean question the truth about south Korea under the rule of the US military government would be exposed to the world, and this they feared most of all. The delegates from Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Poland and a number of other democratic countries gave unqualified support to the Soviet delegation’s proposal for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and strongly demanded that the solution of the Korean question be left to the Korean people themselves. Nevertheless, the United States, using its voting machine and in the absence of the Korean representative, forced an unwarrantable “resolution” on the Korean question through the United Nations.

The Korean people have long since been aware of this scheme of the United States. The attitude invariably taken by the United States from the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers to the two sessions of the USSR-US Joint Commission graphically illustrates what the US imperialists are driving at today in cooking up the UN Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCK).

The “mission” of the UNTCK is obvious. It is to justify the US policy of colonizing Korea under the cloak of “elections,” to rig up through fraudulent “elections” a “government” to the liking of the US imperialists, consisting of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation who place their private interests above the national interests and who sell out the country and the people to foreign countries, and to tear south Korea away from our country for ever and convert it into a US colony. That is why all the people and all

honest patriotic personalities in north and south Korea, irrespective of their political views, religious beliefs or property status, rose against the UNTCK from the beginning. Of late, voices against the UNTCK are being raised more and more loudly, even in the Right-wing camp.

Those who support the UNTCK and approve of the policy of national division are none other than reactionary traitors, such as Syngman Rhee and Kim Song Su, who clamour that “a government must be established even if it is only in Kyongsang Province.”

Thus, two diametrically opposite lines have appeared in our country. One is the democratic line of establishing a genuine, unified government of the Korean people as soon as possible, and attaining the complete freedom and independence of Korea. The other is the reactionary line of artificially bisecting Korea and converting south Korea into a complete colony by rigging up, in the name of the United Nations, a puppet government serving the United States.

All the Korean people are resolutely opposed to the reactionary line, that runs counter to our national interests, and to the “resolution” on the Korean question of the Little Assembly of the United Nations. They will never recognize, under any circumstance or condition, the traitorous, reactionary puppet government to be set up under the patronage of the UNTCK.

The Korean people, who were long subjected to colonial oppression and experienced a humiliating life of slavery under Japanese imperialist rule, will not allow any imperialist to enslave them again nor will they ever be taken in by any American schemes for aggression. Our people are not the Korean people of the past. They are an awakened, united people who have already carried out great democratic reforms in one half of their territory, who enjoy genuine democratic rights and liberties and who are steadily paving the way to a brighter future. Our compatriots in south Korea, suffering from hunger, humiliation and oppression, have also seen the US imperialists in their true colours and have awakened to the real nature of their policy. They are convinced that they will emerge

victorious if they put up a resolute struggle in concert with their brothers in north Korea who are creating a new and happy life. No force on earth can subjugate and enslave our people, who have risen to struggle for the reunification of the country and its independence along democratic lines.

Comrades, in view of the acute situation in our country and with the object of once more indicating clearly the path to be followed by the Korean people, our Party, together with other democratic political parties and the social organizations in north Korea, has worked out the draft of a Provisional Constitution, which wholly conforms to the demands of the people, and put it before them for discussion. In our present discussion of the draft Constitution we have the enthusiastic support of all the people in north and south Korea. The draft Constitution we have published is a historic document which legally confirms and stabilizes the gains scored by the north Korean people in the democratic transformation of society in the two years since liberation when they took power into their own hands, and which shows all the Korean people the path their country should follow.

Our Party's stand on the establishment of a unified, democratic government remains the same as ever. Our Party holds that a supreme legislative body for all Korea should be elected by secret ballot on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage. The supreme legislative body of the people thus elected should adopt a democratic Constitution and form a genuinely democratic people's government to lead our people along the road to national prosperity and happiness. The establishment of a unified government on such lines by the Korean people themselves will only be possible when foreign troops are withdrawn.

In order to give effect to our Party's stand, which is consistent with the demands of all the Korean people, we must fight to the last against the US imperialists' crafty policy of colonial enslavement by strengthening unity with all patriotic, democratic forces in north and south Korea and with all personalities of conscience who desire the

freedom and independence of the country.

With this end in view, our Party, together with the democratic political parties and social organizations in north Korea, has approached those parties and social organizations in south Korea which oppose the establishment of a separate government there, with a proposal to hold a joint conference in Pyongyang on April 14 this year.

At this joint conference we will discuss the situation in the country and adopt a concrete programme and measures to frustrate all the schemes to divide our territory cooked up by the reactionary groups, to facilitate the country's reunification and to expedite the establishment of a unified, democratic Korean state which will stand as an equal among all the freedom-loving states of the world.

We firmly believe that our proposal will meet with the full support and approval of all genuinely patriotic political parties, social organizations and honest patriotic personalities who uphold the honour of the country and strive for the freedom and independence of the nation.

The Workers' parties of north and south Korea, closely rallying around them all the patriotic, democratic forces and all the people in north and south Korea, will persist in their struggle and shatter the sinister designs of the US imperialists to partition our country and make it their colony, and they will certainly reunify the country and make it a fully independent and sovereign state.

2. ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S POWER OF A NEW TYPE AND ENFORCEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC REFORMS

Comrades,

Right after liberation, our Party put forward the basic political objective of establishing a Democratic People's Republic and of building our country into a rich and powerful, independent sovereign

state, able to guarantee the people's well-being and their freedom and rights and to take its place in the world as an equal among the democratic countries. To achieve this basic objective, the Party outlined the immediate tasks as follows:

(1) To rally all patriotic, democratic forces by forming a democratic national united front embracing all patriotic and democratic political parties and groups and, on this basis, to work for the establishment of a Democratic People's Republic to ensure full national independence and sovereignty.

(2) To liquidate the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism, the lackeys of international reaction and all other reactionaries, who constitute the biggest obstacle to the building of a democratic country, thereby facilitating the development of our nation along democratic lines.

(3) To organize, first of all, people's committees as organs of genuine people's power in different districts with a view to establishing a unified all-Korea democratic provisional government; to carry out all democratic reforms, rehabilitate the factories and enterprises and the national economy as a whole, all ravaged by the Japanese imperialists, and raise the material and cultural standards of the people, thereby laying the groundwork for an independent democratic state.

(4) To expand and strengthen the Party and energetically push forward the social organizations' work of organizing and rallying the people of all walks of life around the Party so as to fulfil all these tasks.

As the first step towards this, our Party set out to establish an organ of people's power of a new type.

We could not retain the old state machinery of Japanese imperialist rule or build a state apparatus which would only be a slightly improved version of it. We had to set up a new type of power organ, fully meeting the demands of the liberated Korean people, most suitable for the development of our country along democratic lines and capable of representing the interests of all sections of the people,

above all, of the broad masses of the working people.

Our Party defined the people's committee established on the initiative of the Korean people without foreign interference as precisely such an organ of power. This was because the people's committee is indeed an organ of power established by the people themselves on their own initiative; because it is an organ of power opposed to the enemies of the Korean people—the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation, landlords and comprador capitalists—and representing the interests of the working masses, which have the working class as their core, and of all other people; because it is an organ of power which is deeply rooted in the broad masses and highly responsive to their demands, enjoys their support and maintains the ties of kinship with them; because it is an entirely new, democratic form of power organ built on the ruins of the repressive state machinery of the vicious Japanese imperialist rule and different from the obsolete parliamentary democratic form of power organ in bourgeois society; and because it is a new type of power organ capable of leading our people to a more advanced democratic society, free, happy and prosperous.

Only this type of power organ can ensure the full independence and sovereignty of our country. It is the only one that can unite the broad masses around it, fully rouse their political enthusiasm and patriotism and mobilize all their strength for the building of a rich and strong country. That is why our Party has geared the efforts of all its members and of all other people to establishing this new type of power and to consolidating and developing it.

As people's committees, the new-type organs of power, were established and developed in the localities, we were confronted with the task of setting up a central organ competent to give them unified leadership. Only when such a central state apparatus was established was it possible to overcome the lack of system displayed by the local organs of people's power and their tendency towards local separatism and to accomplish more successfully and in a unified way the pressing political and economic tasks confronting the

country and the people. Hence, our Party, in cooperation with the democratic political parties and social organizations in north Korea, established the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea in February 1946.

It was no easy task to establish and strengthen the organs of people's power. For this involved overcoming all kinds of difficulties—first, a shortage of sufficiently competent cadres to administer the state and run the organs of power; second, manoeuvrings on the part of pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and reactionaries to damage the prestige and authority of the people's power organs both from within and from without; third, lack of understanding of the meaning of people's power on the part of some Party cadres who tended to be narrow-minded and sectarian, etc.

Our Party, however, resolutely surmounted all these difficulties and smashed all the schemes of the reactionaries by mobilizing the revolutionary force of the broad masses, and it consolidated the organs of people's power at all levels through democratic elections held on several occasions. The struggle to consolidate the organs of people's power proceeded side by side with the implementation of the great socio-economic reforms for the democratization of the country.

Our Party embarked on the democratic reforms to put into effect the eleven immediate tasks facing the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea and the 20-Point Platform which was published in March 1946, prior to the formation of a provisional government of Korea.

Without smashing the colonial and feudal fetters in all spheres of social life through the democratic reforms, it would have been impossible either to expect the early rehabilitation and development of industry and agriculture, which had been ruined by the long years of Japanese imperialist rule, or to improve the material life of the broad masses, who had been driven to extreme poverty and starvation. Our liberated people demanded the reconstruction of the country, not on old but new lines. They did not want to live again in

colonial slavery or feudal bondage. They wanted to work out their own destiny along the path of a new, genuinely democratic life.

Hence our Party and the organs of people's power were faced with heavy tasks that had to be carried out without fail. These were the solution of the land problem which was the centuries-old desire of the peasants, the problem of industry which was the cornerstone of the national economy, the problem of labour protection which was vitally needed by the working class, the problem of ensuring social rights for women, and so on. In order to accomplish these tasks our Party, together with the democratic political parties and social organizations, helped the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea to carry out the great democratic reforms—the agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries, and the enforcement of the Labour Law and the Law on Sex Equality.

First and foremost, our Party devoted all its efforts to ensure the success of the agrarian reform, which was the most important of all the democratic reforms. The Party did a great deal of work. In order to ensure the victory of the toiling peasants in the sharp class struggle between the tenant farmers and hired hands on the one hand, and the landlords on the other, it sent to the countryside its finest members and people from the working class, the leading detachment in the building of the country. It formed more than 11,500 rural committees, with poor peasants and hired hands as their core, and made sure that the Agrarian Reform Law was correctly executed, in the interests of the toiling peasants, and it removed the wicked landlords to other regions in order to smash their resistance and eliminate their reactionary influence on the backward sections of the peasantry. At the same time, we sent able Party information workers to all parts of the country to explain and bring home to the peasant masses the historic significance of the agrarian reform, thus enhancing their class consciousness and exposing and smashing in good time the false rumours and vicious propaganda spread by the landlords and all other reactionary elements.

In the wake of the agrarian reform, we successfully carried out all

the other democratic reforms—the nationalization of industries, the enforcement of the Labour Law and the Law on Sex Equality, etc.

The great democratic reforms accomplished in north Korea, thanks to the leading role played by our Party and to its extensive organizing and mobilizing activities, brought about radical changes in the social, political, economic and cultural life in north Korea in only two years and a half following liberation and met the vital needs of the broad masses.

The agrarian reform was a great revolution that eliminated the deep-seated source of stagnation, backwardness and poverty in our rural areas and opened up a broad avenue for the development of agriculture and for all-round socio-economic progress in our country.

First, it abolished the feudal relations of landownership in the countryside and made the tillers the owner of the land, thereby freeing the productive forces in agriculture from the old feudal fetters and laying a sound basis for eliminating mediaeval backwardness in farming methods, culture, customs and in all other spheres in the rural areas.

Second, it satisfied the Korean peasants' centuries-old wish for land and emancipated them from feudal oppression and exploitation, with the result that their patriotic feeling, political enthusiasm and zeal for production soared, and favourable conditions were created for improving their material and cultural life.

Third, the agrarian reform liquidated the landlord class, the main foothold of reaction in society, and enabled the toiling peasants—with the assistance of the working class—to become the true masters of the countryside, thereby decisively strengthening the position of democracy in the rural areas and furthering the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

Fourth, as a result of the agrarian reform, conditions were created to supply industry, now rapidly being rehabilitated, with raw materials and to guarantee the population's food, thus promoting the normal development of our national industry and strengthening the

economic bond between town and country.

Last, the results of the agrarian reform were of great international significance. North Korea's agrarian reform, the first of its kind in the countries of the East, has given immense inspiration to the peoples and peasants of Eastern countries still suffering from colonial and feudal oppression and exploitation, and it serves as a beacon light illuminating the path for them to follow.

The Labour Law, for the first time in the history of our people and the Korean working-class movement, introduced the eight-hour day and social insurance and freed the workers from appalling colonial working conditions, thereby enabling our working class, the main detachment in building the country, to bring its creativity into fuller play and improve its material and cultural life rapidly.

The Law on Sex Equality emancipated the women, who make up half the population of Korea, ridding them of feudal oppression and humiliation and providing them with conditions for taking part in the political, economic and cultural life of the country with equal rights with men.

The nationalization of factories, mills, mines, railways, communications, banks, etc, which formerly belonged to the Japanese imperialists and comprador capitalists, constituted a democratic reform of great significance in the building of a new society by our people.

First, the nationalization of industries expropriated foreign monopoly and comprador capital and placed the key branches of the national economy under the direct control of the state. This abolished the economic basis of imperialist exploitation and enslavement in our country and created the basic conditions for using the country's major means of production to develop the national economy independently and promote the well-being of all the people.

Second, as a result of the nationalization of industries, conditions were created for the state sector to play the leading role in the national economy and for the economy of the country to go forward on a planned basis.

Third, nationalization freed our working class from exploitation

and oppression and made the workers the masters of the major factories and enterprises, the masters of industry. This boosted their political zeal and enthusiasm for work immeasurably and enhanced the leading role of the working class in the building of the country on democratic lines.

Last, the nationalization of industries in north Korea was a glorious event which broke for the first time a link in the imperialist chain shackling the people and the working class of many Eastern countries. It blazed the path for the oppressed peoples of the East to follow for smashing the economic footholds of the colonialist marauders and ensuring the independent development of their own national economies.

The victory of the democratic reforms in north Korea has laid sound political and economic foundations for making our country a fully independent and sovereign state and, in view of the situation now prevailing in our country, has turned north Korea into a solid base for the democratic advance in all Korea, a powerful base from which the democratic forces will save the country and the nation from falling a prey to the US imperialists' policy of colonial enslavement.

The victory of the democratic reforms in north Korea has also demonstrated that our country is advancing vigorously along the path of freedom, independence and democracy towards the establishment of a Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is the earnest desire of all the Korean people.

3. THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF OUR PARTY AND ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

The establishment of people's power and the implementation of the democratic reforms mark only the initial step in building up the country. The point now is how our Party, on the basis of the victory of the democratic reforms, will mobilize all the people in the struggle to

rehabilitate and develop the national economy and lead them along the path of building a rich and strong country.

Proceeding from this, our Party and people have embarked on economic construction in order to consolidate the successes gained in the democratic social and economic reforms and, on this basis, to rehabilitate and develop the national economy. It was important to do this in such a way as not merely to rehabilitate the ruined economy, but to eliminate the baneful effects of the long years of Japanese imperialist rule in industry and other fields and to ensure the predominance of the state sector.

The fundamentals of our Party's economic policy consisted of ensuring direct, planned state control of the major industries, railways, communications, foreign trade and the financial agencies and of properly coordinating the state, cooperative and private sectors in the development of the national economy, based on the constant strengthening of the leading role of the state sector.

The difficulties we encountered in implementing this economic policy were tremendous.

First, owing to the long years of Japanese imperialist rule, our economy was generally very backward and our industry suffered from colonial lopsidedness and deformation and, moreover, had been severely damaged by the Japanese imperialists.

Second, when we embarked on economic construction, we lacked technical personnel able to manage the national economy, the working class was very short of skilled workers, and we had practically no raw and other materials and funds.

Third, our economic construction had to proceed under conditions in which the country was split into north and south and domestic and foreign reactionary forces were engaging in all kinds of vicious subversive activities to sabotage the creation of a new life by the Korean people.

These difficulties and hardships, however, could not block the march of the Korean people along the road of building a rich and strong democratic country, nor break their will to lay solid

foundations for the national economy. The Party mobilized all the people to struggle to overcome these grave difficulties and geared all efforts to the successful fulfilment of the national economic plan for 1947, the first in our country.

At the time our Party roused its entire membership to wage a vigorous patriotic ideological campaign for national construction among the broad masses and to lead a mass drive to economize on materials, take good care of machines, strengthen labour discipline, raise labour productivity, lower production costs and master technical skills. Consequently, the entire national economic plan for 1947 was triumphantly overfulfilled in all branches.

When we made our first national economic plan public, the waverers and reactionaries disparaged it, calling it “fantastic” and “absolutely infeasible.” But the toiling masses, headed by our Workers’ Party members, launched a vigorous emulation drive to increase production in the factories, coal and ore mines, farm and fishing villages, and brought about a great upsurge in work. As a result, all the false rumours spread by the waverers and reactionaries were smashed and the plan was triumphantly fulfilled.

The tremendous successes achieved in implementing the economic policy of the Party and in rehabilitating and developing the national economy, during the period under review, lead us to the following conclusions:

First, success in the democratic reforms and economic construction scored thanks to our Party’s leading role has launched north Korea firmly on the new path of people’s democracy.

In 1947, state-owned industry accounted for 80.2 per cent of the total value of industrial output and private industry for 19.8 per cent. The mining industry was 100 per cent in the state sector. This shows that the state sector was overwhelmingly predominant in industry, the leading branch of the national economy. Moreover, railways, communications, foreign trade, banks, etc, are under state control. All this constitutes a sure guarantee for developing the country’s economy along the lines of controlling and regulating the private

economy through the leading role of the state economy, of managing the national economy in a planned way and of steadily increasing the well-being of the broad masses.

Second, through the actual building of the economy, our workers and peasants have become conscious of their great strength and creative powers and confident that they are fully able to overcome any difficulty and accomplish the tasks of national construction. The results of the national economic plan for 1947 have filled our Party members and all other people with national pride and convinced them that the Korean nation, like other nations, is able to build its country very well on its own.

Last, it must be mentioned that our Party itself accumulated a good deal of experience and learned many lessons in the course of last year's economic construction. It became further steeled in organizing and waging the mass struggle to fulfil the first economic plan and grew into a party capable of directing economic construction.

Our Party's great success in economic construction, however, does not imply that our work is free completely from shortcomings. Because we were not very good in giving correct leadership to the economy, we left many things undone which were well within our power.

The first weakness of our Party organizations in economic construction lies in their inadequate knowledge of it and their lack of experience in managing enterprises.

The present situation in our country demands not only that our Party become a party capable of organizing and politically leading the masses, but also that it become a party of builders able to build the economy and manage enterprises and possessing economic knowledge and technology. Hence, the momentous tasks confronting our Party are to master the know-how of economic construction, learn management methods, master production techniques, boldly promote our fine Party members as cadres guiding economic work, get the Party organizations to do more penetrating work with regard to production and urge all Party

members to stand at the forefront of the struggle for economic construction.

The second defect our Party organizations show in economic construction is that they have proved feeble in the struggle to establish strict order and discipline in management. The result is that in some industrial enterprises labour discipline is slack, labour turnover is excessive, nonproductive expenditures and waste of materials continue and, worst of all, the evil practice of embezzling state property goes on.

The tasks of our Party organizations are to build up strict revolutionary order and discipline, establish a new system of people's management in factories and other enterprises, get the workers to settle down and to raise their technical and skill levels, increase labour productivity to a considerable degree, systematically lower production costs and ensure higher profits in every state-owned enterprise. At the same time, Party organizations should wage an uncompromising struggle against the misappropriation of state and public property, defining such activities as criminal acts against the people, and they should tirelessly carry on the work of imbuing broad sections of the working people and officials with the idea of cherishing and not wasting state property.

The third major shortcoming is that some Party officials and cadres guiding the economy do not fully understand and correctly carry out the Party's economic policy, which is constantly to enhance the leading role of the state sector in the national economy. At present, the state sector embraces a very low proportion in such branches as local industry, fishing and trade, although there is the possibility of increasing it. In 1947, private business controlled over 93 per cent of local industry and some 85 per cent of the fishing industry, while private trade accounted for 84.5 per cent of retail commodity turnover and state and consumers' cooperative trades for 15.5 per cent. This, we can well say, is due to the fact that some leading officials in charge of these branches have conducted affairs in

an easy-going manner in collaboration with the private entrepreneurs, instead of organizing the work from the standpoint of the interests of the state and the people. It is no accident that today valuable materials and fine commodities manufactured by the state-owned industries are not allotted and supplied in an organized way, but a considerable amount finds its way into the hands of profiteers, and that good fishing grounds and boats are made use of not by the state but by private interests.

We think that our Party officials responsible for directing local industry, fishing and trade must criticize themselves at this congress, on the basis of Party principle, for the grave errors they have committed. Our Party organizations and officials in these fields must correct their errors and conduct their work strictly in accordance with the economic policy of the Party.

Acting on the Party's economic policy, Party organizations at all levels should make sure that the proportion of the state sector in the national economy grows and its leading role is steadily enhanced, so that the country's economy may advance along the path of people's democracy to guarantee the well-being of all the people.

If we are to consolidate the victorious democratic reforms and successfully rehabilitate and develop the national economy, we must strengthen our organs of people's power.

As the history of mankind shows, no class and no people can emerge victorious in the building of a new society and defend national independence without firmly holding political power. Under our present conditions in which our country is not yet reunified and south Korea is being converted into a colony of the US imperialists, it is particularly necessary to strengthen our organs of people's power in every way, in order to make our country a fully independent and sovereign state and expedite national reunification.

But some of our Party members now working in the organs of people's power are not properly fulfilling the important missions entrusted to them by the people, fail to maintain close contacts with the masses, lack the loyalty and enthusiasm to serve them devotedly and

frequently commit deviations in implementing the Party's policies.

It is most important that Party officials acquire the methods and knowledge of administering the state and running the organs of power. To this end, special education in administrative matters should be given to the Party members and cadres working in the organs of people's power, and the Party should exercise day-to-day control and guidance over it.

The functions of the organs of power at all levels should be laid down clearly. The lower levels should carry out the measures and decisions of the upper levels rapidly and in good time. A true people's style of work should be established among the officials of organs of people's power, so that they devote their all to the people and readily listen to the voice of the masses and respond to their demands. Thus, the bonds of kinship between the organs of people's power and the people will be maintained and the organs of people's power will be deeply rooted among the masses.

In order to enhance the prestige of people's power, consolidate and develop its organs and improve their work, it is necessary to select boldly from among the people competent individuals who are faithful to the country and the revolution and assign them as cadres to the organs of power, and to establish strict democratic order and stringent state discipline in the work of the people's committees at all levels.

Consolidating the people's power and accelerating the rehabilitation and development of the national economy is an important task for us. Success in this will provide a decisive guarantee for the reunification and independence of the country.

Our Party must energetically enlist the creative power of the masses in the struggle to overfulfil the national economic plan for 1948, which will mark another step forward in building the foundations of an independent national economy and in improving the material and cultural life of the people. The Party must lead all the people to victory in our cause—bringing about independence and sovereignty and reunifying the country on a democratic basis.

III. THE PARTY

Comrades,

Our people's great victory and successes in the democratic reforms and in economic construction confirm the correctness of our Party's lines and policies and prove that our Party has grown into a powerful organized force fully equal to the task of building a rich and strong country.

The fact that in the struggle for the country's reunification, independence and democracy our Party is able to tackle its great mission as it does today is entirely because it has achieved organizational unity and unity in ideology and will, because the entire Party has rallied around its Central Committee, and because it has solidly united the broad masses around itself. Our Party has now become a reliable mass-based political party defending the interests of the Korean working masses. It is victoriously fulfilling the great historic task of building a democratic country.

1. THE STRUGGLE FOR PARTY CONSOLIDATION

Immediately after liberation, our Party laid down its basic political line: to set up a sound democratic base in north Korea for emancipating the Korean nation completely and for building Korea into a mighty and prosperous, independent and sovereign state by thoroughly carrying out the democratic reforms and accelerating the building of democracy in north Korea. Of decisive importance in building and consolidating a democratic base in north Korea was to develop our Party into a powerful mass-based party and rally the broad masses around it.

Hence, our Party deemed it necessary to unite the local Party organizations that had been loosely set up in different parts of north Korea and establish a powerful central leading body capable of implementing the Party's political line successfully in conformity with the favourable conditions and circumstances found in north Korea. Therefore, we formed the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea on October 10, 1945.

At the time, the need to set up this committee was abundantly clear to everyone. Nevertheless, some people in the Party came out against it on the pretext of supporting the centre. They failed to understand the political situation in Korea correctly because they were held captive by old factionalist habits and the mentality of individual heroism which they had developed earlier when, without experience of Party life and ignorant of the fundamentals of discipline which call for submission to the Party organization and the higher Party organs, they bossed the small local groups in the manner of "I am my own lord," like the big frog in a little pond. They attempted to tear our Party apart into local groups, as of old, and to continue to live the musty life of a factionalist grouping, with each one lording it over his own local sphere of influence.

In order to conceal their real intentions, the factionalists and those who went in for individual heroism alleged that "the establishment of the Central Organizing Committee in north Korea would mean splitting the Party" and made loud noises as if they were concerned about the preservation of Party unity. But the fact was that they themselves refused to submit to the centre and wanted to continue to display individual heroism and to carry on their factionalist activities, bossing the show in their respective districts.

The factionalists were aware that the "Seoul centre," which was exposed to US imperialist suppression, would not be able to supervise them properly, and they hoped to use this opportunity to continue their factionalist activities. That is why they opposed the founding of the Central Organizing Committee which would be perfectly able to exercise day-to-day leadership and supervision over them all at close

quarters. If the “centre” in Seoul had then been in Pyongyang, they certainly would not have raised the slogan “support the centre,” but would have opposed the “centre” under some other slogan.

What would have been the situation in north Korea and the destiny of our country if, as the factionalists wanted, we had not set up the Central Organizing Committee then but, looking only to Seoul, had failed to give unified leadership to the Party organizations scattered in the provinces? Undoubtedly our Party, far from growing into the mass-based political party as it is today, would have been manipulated and torn asunder by the factionalists. Thus, we would have failed to secure the victory of the democratic reforms and to set up a firm democratic base in north Korea from which to bring about full independence and sovereignty for the country.

In the early days of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea, many elements who were infected with tendencies to liberalism and individual heroism and steeped in factionalist ideas made their way into the organizations and leading bodies of the Party at various levels, hampering its unity, fostering a scramble for posts and local separatism and continuing factionalist activities in the Party. In those Party organizations where such persons had ensconced themselves in the leading bodies, the situation worsened to such an extent that many pro-Japanese elements wormed their way into the Party ranks and carried on harmful activities infringing upon the interests of the masses and alienating the Party from them.

Some factionalists who had sneaked into leading Party bodies opposed the reorganization of the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League and made deliberate attempts to prevent it, in the hope of causing confusion concerning the Party’s united front policy and of preventing the Party from uniting broader sections of the masses around it. These persons were utterly ignorant of the Party’s united front policy and did not want to understand it, either. That is why they accused us of “steering the Party backwards” and “swaying the Party to the Right.” There is no need to say who really

sought to steer the Party backwards and sway it to the Right. Had we yielded to their insistent clamours and not reorganized the Young Communist League into the Democratic Youth League, we would obviously have been unable to unite around the Party, as we are doing today, the several million young people who are playing an important part in building our country.

In those days, persons who were ignorant of the Party's organizational line and the elementary standards of Party life, and yet pretended to know them, entrenched themselves in the leading bodies and manipulated the Party at will, instead of appointing capable people to put its organizations in order. Consequently, no organizational discipline or organizational system was established within the Party. System and order were absent in all work, such as preparing Party statistics and keeping Party documents, and even the principles laid down in the Party Rules with regard to the admission of new members were not observed.

In many Party organizations where elements strongly infected with factionalist provincialism held leading posts, fine cadres of working-class origin and other promising and faithful cadres were not promoted, but instead cadres were promoted on the basis of kinship and fellow-provincial ties. The result was that some organs were staffed entirely with persons from the same place, such as Hongwon or Seoul. All the leading posts thus came to be held by persons without ability and, as a result, good, competent people in the localities had no opportunity of being promoted. In recruiting to the Party, too, the factionalists indiscriminately admitted urban loafers and petty-bourgeois elements and formed Party cells among them in which there was no one the Party could rely on, instead of taking in fine, advanced elements from among the working class—the main force for building a democratic country—and from among its most reliable ally, the poor peasantry.

In order to rescue our Party from this grave situation, we called the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Central Organizing Committee of the Communist Party of North Korea in

December 1945, and took resolute measures for overcoming the wrong organizational, political and ideological tendencies within the Party. The meeting initiated a great change in Party work and Party life for the first time since the founding of our Party, and this marked the beginning of its growth into a truly sound and powerful party.

We assigned new, competent cadres to the Party Central Committee and Party committees at all levels, fought determinedly against those who were infected with provincial and family favouritism and those with tendencies to factionalism, sectionalism, individual heroism and liberalism, and worked energetically to establish a well-adjusted system for Party organizations, from the centre down to the cells, and to ensure the organizational and ideological unity of the Party. Thus, organizational discipline, which permits no factionalist activity within the Party and requires unconditional obedience to the decisions and directives of the higher Party organs, began to be established.

Parallel to this, throughout the Party we conducted the work of checking up on the Party ranks, of issuing membership cards and of organizationally strengthening the Party organizations. As a result, the pro-Japanese and alien elements lurking within the Party, who were committing acts which infringed upon the interests of the masses and divorced the Party from the masses, were exposed and expelled, and great progress was made in ensuring the purity of the Party ranks.

Our Party organizations, which had seemed suspended in the air, struck root among the reliable and unswerving working class and poor peasantry, and Party cells were formed among them and were expanded.

Information work for the Party's lines and policies was conducted widely, within and without the Party, through the media of its newspapers and other publications. Exemplary Party members were selected and given systematic education in Party schools. Thus began the mass training of cadres who were to play an important role in Party building. In addition, political education was energetically conducted within the Party in order to acquaint every member with the Party's stand and policies and enable him to be clear on the duties

of a Party member and on how he should live his organizational life. Members started to get active in explaining Party policies to the broad masses and rallying them around the Party.

Thus, after the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting, our Party work and Party life were put on the right track and from that time on our Party developed into a powerful party equal to the great task of democratizing the country and capable of skilfully mobilizing the broad masses to carry out democratic reforms and economic construction.

As Party organizations became consolidated and it came to enjoy the enthusiastic support of the working masses, we were confronted with the task of turning it into a mass party with a broader base, in keeping with the social progress and rapid changes in the political life of the state. In other words, there arose the need for a mass-based party representing the common interests of the working class, the peasantry and the working intelligentsia in order to strengthen their alliance which had been solidly built up in the course of implementing the democratic reforms and to lead the working masses in taking a more active part in the political life of the state.

Thus, in August 1946, a congress for the merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party was convened, at which the glorious Workers' Party of North Korea, the leading force in building the country, was founded.

As you see, our Party has grown amidst a struggle to consolidate its organization since the time of its predecessor and, on this basis, it has developed into today's powerful mass party.

2. THE GROWTH OF PARTY RANKS AND THE WORK OF ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Since the merger, the ranks of our Party have grown rapidly. Whereas the total membership at the time of the merger was more than 366,000, it had grown to over 708,000, a 1.9-fold increase, by January 1, 1948.

Though the Party ranks grew at such a rapid rate, some Party organizations committed Rightist or “Leftist” errors in the course of recruiting. Some of them recruited members as if they were forming an association, thus providing conditions for many alien elements to worm their way in, while others closed their doors on the plea of strict selection of members, to the detriment of our Party’s development into a mass party.

In order to overcome such deviations, the Party Central Committee issued standard membership cards to all members immediately after the merger and guided and checked up on recruitment as a whole. In this way, it helped the local Party organizations correct their errors in good time and took measures not only for quantitative but qualitative growth of the Party, making possible a marked improvement of the composition of the Party. The number of workers in the Party has grown from more than 73,000 at the time of the merger to more than 143,000 today. In the same period, the number of poor peasant members has increased from over 185,000 to 374,000.

With this rapid growth and strengthening of the Party, the question of establishing organizational principles and an organizational system posed itself more urgently. So, the Central Committee of the Party took measures to build up firm leading organs at all levels, from the centre down to the cells, establish iron discipline in the Party and strengthen every member’s Party life.

Above all, the main effort was concentrated on strengthening Party cells. The cell is the basic organization of our Party, and we must strengthen it if we want to consolidate the entire Party and increase its fighting strength. The Party Central Committee has taken important steps to readjust cell organization and strengthen cell life. As a result, factory and farm village cells have made remarkable progress, and Party members have established the habit of earnestly discussing immediate political and economic tasks at the general cell membership meetings and of making every effort to implement the directives of the Party Central Committee and Party committees at

various levels and the decisions of the cells.

The number of cells increased from over 12,000 at the time of the merger to over 28,000 at the end of 1947, and they were formed in every factory, enterprise, institution and farm village. At the time of the merger there were only 400-odd sub-county Party committees, but now every sub-county has its Party committee.

As a result, today our Party has a powerful, monolithic organizational system which makes it possible to mobilize the entire membership at any time in an emergency without the slightest confusion if the country calls for it.

However, there are shortcomings in the building of our Party and in the leadership of its organizational work, which must be rectified without delay.

First, the cell, which is the basic organization of our Party, is not yet sound enough and cell work is not yet on a high level. The Party cell is the basic organization which gives the members day-to-day education and training, ensures ideological and organizational unity in the Party ranks and translates the lines and policies of the Party into practice. Strengthening the cells is fundamental for strengthening the entire Party.

In spite of this, many Party organizations have failed to raise the work of the cells to the required level. This results in cell meetings being held in a perfunctory way, without plan and adequate preparation, and in cells not relating their work to the specific conditions in the factories, workplaces and farm villages and failing to give detailed assignments to each member so that many members find themselves at a loss what to do. The assignments given are vague and, moreover, their fulfilment is not checked up and reviewed. The work of helping the members carry out their Party assignments correctly is almost entirely neglected.

In order to eliminate these shortcomings and strengthen the Party cells, it is necessary for every cell to devote its main efforts to fostering a Party core. It should give assignments properly and always scrupulously lead and check up on the members' Party life and

activities. Effective cell meetings should be held according to a plan and discussions and decisions on the direction and plans of work should be related to the actual situation the cell finds itself in. The cell should wage a vigorous ideological struggle against every negative tendency and actively encourage criticism within the cell on Party principles. Thus, all our Party cells will be turned into militant, living organizations, brimming with vitality.

Second, inadequate checkup on how Party organizations are implementing the Party's policies and decisions constitutes a serious defect in our Party's work of organizational leadership.

If we are to know exactly what Party organizations are doing and get to know their members and cadres, we must be meticulous in leading and checking up on the lower level organizations, and it is most important to organize this work effectively. Proper checkups serve as a searchlight on the activities of Party organizations, a powerful means of exposing and eliminating manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism in Party work. Grave shortcomings still persist in the work of some of our Party organizations because, in most cases, the Party organs do not concretely and carefully lead and check up on the work of Party organizations at lower levels.

If Party organizations are to be guided and checked up on effectively, it is necessary, in the first place, that this work be done regularly and systematically, not in spasms, and, in the second place, that responsible cadres personally undertake the checkup work, instead of leaving it to junior officials.

But some of our Party organizations do not do this work regularly and, if they ever conduct checkups at all, do so perfunctorily, entrusting them to junior officials. Moreover, in many cases, the checkup is not done to help the Party organizations at lower levels in their work and to correct their defects, but is done by summoning the officials of subordinate bodies to higher Party organs in order to scold and shout at them and to work out resolutions.

We must make it a rule to check up regularly on how the lower levels are carrying out Party policy and decisions, and we must do

away with all formalistic attitudes towards checkups, so as to raise the level of this Party work decisively. To this end, the aims and methods of the checkup must from now on be explained clearly to the Party members who are sent out to do it. Scolding and penalizing must not be made a substitute for checking up, but checkups must be conducted by going down to the lower Party organizations to give them effective assistance and help them overcome their shortcomings, and by getting to know, educating and training the officials and members of the Party organizations.

Third, an important thing that must be done without fail in the sphere of the Party's organizational leadership is to improve the officials' style of work.

The bureaucratic, formalistic style of work is still much in evidence in our Party. Some leading Party officials continue a bureaucratic style of work. Instead of going among the masses to breathe the same air with them, mingle with them and lead them, they work like lords over the masses, blustering at them, threatening and browbeating them. They apply Party penalties and dismiss subordinates for minor errors or shortcomings, instead of assisting them in their work, giving them advice on the basis of Party principle and patiently educating and training them.

There are other leading Party officials who cannot shake off their formalistic style of work. They deal with all affairs mechanically, never undertaking any serious study and analysis, but only sending down innumerable decisions and directives without even troubling to find out how things are dealt with at the lower levels. They gloss over things and stick to formalities. Officials of this type seem to believe that everything will be all right, without ever organizing actual struggles for winning victory, if they adopt decisions or directives and send them down.

Such bureaucratic and formalistic styles of work are most harmful, undermining our Party work and estranging the Party from the masses. We should, therefore, wage a persistent struggle to eliminate these work styles once and for all and establish a

genuinely people's style of work in the Party.

We must acquire the work method of explaining matters to the masses rather than commanding them, of going deep into the midst of the masses to get to know their feelings, teach them and learn from them, of making friends and uniting as one with them and then leading them to attain our goal.

We must also acquire the work style of getting down to each matter and settling it after finding a practical and correct solution on the basis of a deep analysis of its essence, and seeing it through to the end once we have taken it up. In tackling all matters, we must not stick to superficial appearance and form, but direct our main efforts to delving deep into their essence and achieving substantial results.

A very important function of the Party's organizational leadership is to give correct guidance to the mass organizations of the working people.

In the final analysis, our Party consolidates its ranks in order to unite the broad masses around it and mobilize their strength for victoriously accomplishing the tasks of the revolution. The history of the international working-class movement shows no instance of a party winning victory when it failed to win over the broad masses and was divorced from them. That is why our Party, since its inception, has paid deep attention to uniting the broad masses around itself by drawing them into social organizations of various kinds.

Our Party has organized a number of social organizations, such as the trade unions, the Peasants' Union, the Democratic Youth League, the Democratic Women's Union and the Federation of Art and Literature, thereby uniting millions of organized people around itself. These mass organizations have established their own well-regulated organizational systems. They have branches in all districts and production units—towns, farm villages, factories and other enterprises and institutions. Their members are under the leadership of both the Party and the social organizations. By leading all these social organizations, our Party has mobilized the strength of the broad masses for carrying out the democratic reforms and economic construction,

and has already achieved great results.

But there are still many shortcomings in the Party's leadership of the mass organizations. Though the social organizations have grown rapidly in this period, our Party's influence has not penetrated deeply and we have not won all of their members over to the side of our Party. Some of their members have broken away from our Party's influence and established contact with religious organizations or come under the influence of other parties which do not represent their class.

This is because our Party members working as leaders or ordinary members in the social organizations have so far failed to deal properly with the work of uniting the non-Party members ideologically and politically around our Party. They have not yet become one with non-Party people in these organizations and have failed to explain clearly to them the community of their class interests.

One of the central tasks facing our Party at present, therefore, is to unite the social organizations more closely around our Party. To this end, it is necessary to send competent cadres into the social organizations and to educate their leading officials regularly, so that they go deep among the masses, breathe the same air with them, concern themselves with their interests and solve in good time all the everyday problems they raise, and thus come to enjoy high prestige and respect among the masses. The leading officials of the social organizations must completely rectify their wrong style of work—dictating to the masses, not heeding their voice, and alienating themselves from them.

At the same time, our Party members must not tail behind the masses, but must always maintain the identity and progressive traits of Party members. All Party members in the social organizations must at all times uphold the Party's stand and set an example in devoting themselves to the good of the country and the people, so that the non-Party people in the organizations will become firmly convinced that our Workers' Party is the only one which thoroughly defends their class interests, that it is the only party capable of leading the Korean people to freedom, happiness and national prosperity, and that

its members are indeed their true friends.

One of the worst consequences of the long years of Japanese imperialist colonial rule is that we are short of cadres. Our Party, which has embarked on the building of the country, is conscious of the acute shortage of cadres in all spheres of politics, the economy and culture, and this is a serious obstacle to our advance.

So, on the one hand, our Party started to enlist new cadres from among the people and to educate and train them through practical work and, on the other, began to train cadres for the Party and state organs at permanent educational establishments. During the period under review, over 4,000 Party cadres have already passed through central and provincial Party schools, and many cadres have been re-educated through various short courses.

The training of cadres and their correct selection and placement are of decisive importance in all work, all the more so with us in view of the shortage of cadres and the complicated composition of their ranks.

One of the important principles of our Party's cadre policy is to promote new cadres who come from among the masses and serve the people, constantly educating and training them, and to remould the old cadres who are of, and who formerly served, the ruling classes, so that they might now serve the country and the people.

Selecting and assigning a cadre does not mean promoting him and giving him an office to write all kinds of directives in, nor does it mean keeping a lot of people constantly on the move by transferring them from one post to another for no purpose. By proper selection and placing of cadres we mean, as Comrade Stalin said, valuing and respecting the cadres as the most precious assets of the Party and the state. We mean learning all about the cadres to get a full and intimate knowledge of their political level and professional abilities, their merits and demerits. We mean educating them, training them in the course of practical work and making persevering efforts to raise their ideological consciousness and practical ability. We mean promoting promising young cadres boldly and in good time and assigning them to the right posts where

they can bring their talents and abilities into the fullest play.

Yet, we still have many defects in implementing the Party's cadre policy. There are many serious defects. Work with cadres, and particularly that of drawing in, educating and remoulding the old cadres, is not up to the mark. Too much hesitation is shown in promoting young cadres, and cadres are selected not on the basis of loyalty to the Party, the country and the people and on the basis of their professional ability, but according to personal considerations, ties of friendship or, worse still, to factionalist connections. Such wrong tendencies of ignoring Party principles in personnel management may, in the end, provide opportunities for alien elements to worm their way into our state institutions. They may lead to unfaithful and incompetent persons holding important posts and neglecting state affairs or making a mess of things.

Party organizations at all levels, therefore, must not tolerate the slightest departure from Party principles or lack in political vigilance in the selection and allocation of cadres, but must fight uncompromisingly against such practices. Party organizations must pay primary attention to the correct implementation of the Party's cadre policy so as to successfully ensure the work of discovering able, new cadres among the working class and other sections of the working people and boldly appointing them, of educating inexperienced young cadres patiently and giving them political training through practical work, and of re-educating the old cadres in the progressive ideas of the new society. For the thoroughgoing implementation of the Party's cadre policy, it is necessary to improve the work of the Party's personnel departments and to replenish them with new, competent cadres tested in practice.

3. PARTY INFORMATION WORK AND IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

In view of our Party's development into a mass-based party and

the rapid growth of its ranks following the merger of the two parties, there is an even greater need for extensive information work and for better educational work to equip the Party members and cadres with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Information work and Marxist-Leninist education are powerful weapons for strengthening our Party organizationally and for ensuring unity based on singleness of thought and will. If information and ideological work is not done well in the Party, errors and deviations are inevitable and this will hamper the correct implementation of the Party's lines and policies, even if the purity of the Party ranks is preserved, organizational principles are established and cadres are allocated correctly. If this work becomes slack, cadres and Party members will lose faith in the justice and victory of our cause and just carry out instructions from above blindly without any clear political conviction of their own. In these conditions, one obviously cannot expect the cadres to show creativity nor the Party members to be enthusiastic, and it is obvious that Party work will not progress vigorously. But if Party information work and Marxist-Leninist ideological education are done well, there will surely be innovations in Party work and national construction will be promoted successfully.

This explains why, ever since the merger of the two parties, our Party has paid the deepest attention to improving and strengthening its work of information and ideological education with very successful results.

At present our Party has at its disposal the Party press and many other information media, as well as an extensive Party education network. Since the merger, the Party Central Committee has published Party study materials, information materials and a great many Marxist-Leninist books. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee alone has already published nearly 3,000,000 books. Our Party publishes its central organ *Rodong Sinmun* and the theoretical magazine *Kulloja*, while provincial Party committees also have their own papers.

Nevertheless, there are many shortcomings in our Party's information and educational work. Some Party organizations carry on this work in a very perfunctory manner and do not pay due attention to disseminating the Party's policies and raising the ideological and theoretical level of their members.

The lecturers sent out by the provincial Party committees do not fully prepare and give their lectures on current political affairs and Marxist-Leninist theory on a high level. They are frequently assigned to tasks not associated with information work. Party libraries have been set up by the provincial, city and county Party committees in accordance with a Central Committee decision, but they are not used well for Party information and educational work and, more often than not, their doors are kept closed. All this shows that leading Party officials actually do not concentrate on explaining and bringing the Party's policies home to members and the masses and equipping them with Marxist-Leninist ideology, but only talk about the need for doing so. This impedes our Party's ideological work.

An urgent task, therefore, for all Party organizations is to improve and strengthen Party information work and ideological education without delay.

We must markedly improve the quality of the Party's organ and other Party publications, make better use of all the information media and run the Party's education network more effectively, and thus decisively strengthen the work of disseminating our Party's stand and policies among the masses of the people and of equipping the cadres and entire Party membership with the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the work of the central and provincial Party schools, the permanent establishments for Party education, and to extend the length of the courses, so as to train larger numbers of competent Party cadres who are both politically and ideologically mature. The role of the lecture sections and the lecturers of the provincial, city and county Party committees must be enhanced, the lecturers must be provided with conditions for raising their theoretical level, and

Party libraries must be run better.

Always mindful that bourgeois ideas alien to our Party and to the working people will assert themselves wherever ideological work is slackened, we must wage a determined ideological struggle in all fields against the infiltration of reactionary ideologies of all hues. The tendency to slight Party information and ideological work or to neglect the study of Marxist-Leninist theory must be severely criticized according to Party principle.

One of the most important problems in Party ideological work is to raise the class consciousness of the working class and other sections of the working people and to sharpen their political vigilance against the class enemy by helping them acquire a correct understanding of the past and present situation and social and class relations in our country.

Which classes and which social strata, then, are against our Party's policies today?

First, the pro-Japanese elements, pro-American elements and traitors to the nation whom US imperialism has bought with dollars. Why? Because our Party is fighting to fully expose their political ambitions and their anti-people nature and to smash their schemes for selling out the country and the nation.

Second, the reactionary landlords and the handful of evil entrepreneurs and profiteers are opposed to our Party's policies. Why? Because our Party has confiscated the landlords' land and, through the democratic reforms and the development of the national economy, deprived the entrepreneurs and profiteers of their foothold for exploiting the people and extorting excessive profits.

Third, some wicked church elders and pastors who have been bought over by the US imperialists are against us. We have proclaimed freedom of religious belief and permitted the practice of religion. So why do they set themselves against us? It is because our Party has carried out the democratic reforms and has rapidly heightened the people's political and ideological consciousness and cultural level and, as a result, the evil church elders and pastors find it

increasingly difficult to deceive the masses with religion.

We must not for a moment forget that the greater our victories, the fiercer will be the struggles of all traitorous reactionary cliques.

In order to smash all manner of frantic schemes plotted by the reactionaries and guarantee victory in the fierce class struggle, we must strengthen Party information work and ideological education in every way, firmly arm the entire Party with Marxist-Leninist ideology and greatly heighten the class consciousness and enthusiasm of the masses of the people.

Comrades,

This, in general, is the path our Party has taken over the past year and a half.

There have been victories and successes, but there have also been defects and errors. In good time the Party Central Committee laid bare and corrected the shortcomings of our Party organizations and the errors committed by some leading Party officials, set forth a correct policy and line of struggle for each period, and carried them out thoroughly.

As a result, our Party has scored great achievements for the country and the people during the period under review.

Considering the complex situation prevailing in our country, our Party has strengthened the people's power, consolidated the victories won in the democratic reforms, and accelerated the rehabilitation and development of our national economy, thereby turning north Korea into a steel-strong bulwark for the reunification, independence and democratic advance of the country. This is a great victory scored since liberation by our Party and the democratic forces of Korea, and it is a most severe blow to US imperialism which is seeking to colonize Korea.

Our great achievements in the period under review have filled our Party and people with firm confidence in victory. The path our Party has traversed clearly shows that when it chooses to do something, nothing is impossible, that there are no difficulties the Party and people cannot surmount when they work together. Our Party

members and all the people, therefore, have now acquired an unshakeable conviction that they can defeat any enemy who infringes upon the freedom and independence of the country, surmount any difficulty in their advance and win victory.

The path our Party has travelled and the realities of north Korea have completely belied the imperialists' slander: "Being an inferior nation, the Korean people are incapable of self-government, and they cannot have a powerful political party." We are now legitimately proud that the Korean nation, which ranks among the advanced nations of the world, is administering the country well and has a great political party capable of shaping the destiny of the country and the people.

Our Party and people have thus won a great victory. But we have not yet set up a unified Democratic People's Republic, the earnest desire of all the Korean people. The US imperialists are pursuing an aggressive policy designed to split our country and our nation and to turn Korea into a colony. They are engaged in sinister plots against our Party and the Korean people. Our Party and our people, however, will never tolerate their cunning schemes.

Today our Party is entrusted with a great historic mission by the country and the people. Along with the democratic forces throughout Korea and with all the Korean people, our Party will wage an unyielding struggle, attain full independence and sovereignty without fail and lead the country and our nation to victory and happiness.

On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, I call upon all Party organizations and members to strengthen the Party both organizationally and ideologically in order to consolidate and carry forward the brilliant victories it has won in the year and a half since its founding, guarantee the freedom and independence of the country and safeguard the honour of our nation.

On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, I call upon all Party organizations and members to strengthen the Democratic National United Front as never before, to keep on their toes and always remain mobilized, and vigorously to rouse the entire Party and

all the people to build a rich and strong country and to struggle to overfulfil the national economic plan for 1948.

On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, I call upon all Party organizations and members to draw on the valuable experience and lessons gained in past struggles, to sharpen revolutionary vigilance to the utmost against the sinister manoeuvres of the enemy, to firmly unite the broad masses around our Party and our organs of people's power and to mobilize the strength of the entire Party and all the people in the struggle for reunification and the nationwide struggle against the US imperialist policy of splitting our nation.

On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party and the Party congress, I send warm militant greetings and brotherly support to the Workers' Party of South Korea and our heroic compatriots in south Korea who are waging a fierce and bloody struggle against the reactionaries for the country and the people.

**EVERY EFFORT FOR THE CONSOLIDATION
OF THE DEMOCRATIC BASE AND THE
REUNIFICATION AND INDEPENDENCE
OF THE COUNTRY**

**Concluding Speech at the Second Congress
of the Workers' Party of North Korea**

March 29, 1948

Comrades,

At this congress many comrades spoke enthusiastically in support of the line and all the policies set forth by the Party Central Committee. I think the work done by our Party Central Committee in the period under review was fully appraised in these speeches.

Altogether, the congress has clearly confirmed once more that our Party has grown into a powerful party enjoying undisputed authority among and confidence of the masses of the people and that it has triumphantly accomplished the tasks of the democratic revolution and achieved tremendous successes in economic and cultural development in north Korea by enlisting the great creative energy of all the people. This brilliant victory is due to the fact that the political line of our Party Central Committee has been correct and the entire Party membership and all the people uphold it and have waged a heroic struggle to implement it.

Our Party has endeavoured to fulfil the internationalist duties devolving on our people as a member of the world democratic camp and has turned the situation in Korea, a link in the chain of the

worldwide struggle between democracy and anti-democracy, decisively in favour of democracy. Our Party has turned the northern half of the country not only into a democratic base of the Korean revolution but also into an Eastern outpost of the world democratic camp, and is defending it stoutly.

Our people, no longer an oppressed colonial nation but a liberated nation, have taken their destiny firmly into their own hands and are fighting heroically against the US imperialist policy of colonial enslavement and displaying to the whole world the brilliant successes achieved in the building of a new life.

The social organizations, such as the trade unions, the Women's Union and the Democratic Youth League, have launched into the international arena, and delegates from our country have already participated in many international conferences, where they have given wide publicity to our nation's achievements.

Since the first days of the Party, its Central Committee has called upon the entire membership and all other people to struggle for the establishment of a Democratic People's Republic, and it has organized and mobilized all forces in north Korea to lay the political and economic base for building a unified, independent and democratic country.

Having formed a firm united front with the democratic parties and social organizations that truly love the country, the Party is isolating the reactionary forces and exposing and crushing the US imperialist policy of aggression at every step. The Democratic National United Front of North Korea has united more than 6 million of the organized masses, and our Party always plays the central role in it. An important guarantee for victory is to carry out the Party's united front policy correctly and thereby unite and mobilize the patriotic, democratic forces in all walks of life for a joint nationwide struggle against US imperialism and its stooges.

The democratic base our Party has built in north Korea is now playing the decisive part in the liberation struggle of the Korean people.

The new, free and happy life which has materialized in north Korea as a result of the people's seizure of power and the democratic reforms gives boundless encouragement to the people in south Korea who are deprived of all rights and who are suffering from poverty. It graphically shows to all the Korean people that the path followed by north Korea is the right one. With the rapid rehabilitation and development of the national economy in north Korea, the material basis for the country's complete independence and sovereignty and the prosperity of the nation is being more and more consolidated.

In order to legally consolidate the successes achieved in the course of carrying out the democratic reforms and building a new life and to indicate clearly the path for all the Korean people to follow, we have worked out a draft Provisional Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and referred it to the people for discussion. To safeguard the gains of the revolution won by our people and defend their interests and peaceful labour, our Party has built up the people's security organs and founded the People's Army.

All these achievements in the revolutionary struggle and economic construction would be inconceivable without our Party's leadership. Our Party has made its ranks the vanguard fighting unit of the Korean revolution and firmly united millions around itself, thus constantly leading the Korean people towards victory.

The Party Central Committee has, above all, paid deep attention to eliminating the ideological viruses of factionalism and local separatism and to ensuring the organizational and ideological unity of the Party.

The Party has accepted into its ranks a large number of the finest advanced elements from among the workers, peasants and working intellectuals, expelled vacillating petty-bourgeois elements and good-for-nothings and established strict organizational discipline in it. We have trained a large number of new cadres and promoted many activists who come from among the working people and thus

staffed the Party bodies at all levels, from the centre down, with able cadres.

In the period under review our Party has done an immense amount of work and our people's achievements are tremendous. But we have taken only the first steps in the cause of the complete liberation of our nation and the building of a unified, rich and strong country. Our Party and people still have many difficulties ahead of them and are confronted with many important tasks.

The most urgent task is to frustrate the intrigues of the US imperialists to divide our country and hold reactionary separate elections in south Korea. We must mobilize the strength of the entire Party and all the people in the struggle to make all foreign troops withdraw simultaneously from north and south Korea as proposed by the Soviet Union, and achieve the independence and sovereignty and democratic reunification of the country by our people themselves free from foreign interference.

If we are to reject and smash the colonial enslavement policy of the US imperialists, we must decisively strengthen the democratic base set up in north Korea. We can build a unified, independent and sovereign state of the Korean nation by our own efforts only when the people's power is further consolidated, the democratic forces are rallied more closely around our Party and the national economy is developed rapidly in north Korea.

What is important here is to raise the level of Party ideological consciousness and political and practical qualifications of the leading officials in all organs of power, from bureau directors down to ri people's committee chairmen, so that they carry out their Party assignments to the letter and without fail. The work of educating high-ranking cadres should not be neglected on the ground that they hold high positions. On the contrary, their Party education should be intensified precisely because they hold high positions.

Every cadre from bureau directors down to workers in the lowest organs should know how to administer power and how to implement the Party's policies correctly. It can be said that things that benefitted

the landlords, capitalists and profiteers were done in the field of economic construction because bureau directors did not know how to administer power and execute the Party's policies. The education of officials in the organs of state power should be intensified so that they fulfil their assigned tasks satisfactorily.

We must concentrate our efforts on the battle to fulfil the national economic plan for 1948. Important tasks set forth in the plan are to develop light industry and, particularly, local industry, so that we turn out large quantities of daily necessities for the people, and to advance rural economy rapidly to guarantee food for the population and raw materials for industry, while promoting the rehabilitation of heavy industry. The power organs at all levels should not just talk about economic construction, but should actually carry out the work of boosting production, lowering prices and raising people's living standards.

In carrying out the national economic plan last year, we felt most keenly the need to raise our officials' level of economic and technical knowledge. All our Party members without exception should acquire concrete knowledge of economic construction and technique and become well versed in their respective field of work. This alone will make it possible for our Party to ensure the rapid rehabilitation and development of the national economy and to hasten a happy and bountiful future for the Korean people.

We should pay great attention to the development of national culture as well as to economic construction. The building of a rich, strong, independent and sovereign state can be accelerated only if the people's cultural standards are raised, cadres of our own are trained and national culture is developed. Everyone should strive to overfulfil the tasks set forth in the national economic plan for the branches of education, culture and public health.

In this connection it is important for our Party to properly conduct its work with the intellectuals, including teachers, writers, artistes and doctors. Many of our intellectuals still retain remnants of the old ideology from the time of Japanese imperialism. They know little about the peculiarities of the history and culture of their own country and are

poorly informed about the direction in which the progressive people of the world are advancing. We should improve our work with teachers, writers, artistes and doctors and arm them firmly with the lofty ideas of patriotism and the scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook, so as to get them to devote all their knowledge and energy to the development of our national culture and the cause of nation building.

An urgent task for us is to wage a vigorous struggle against reactionary thinking in all fields. Our country is now divided into two, the north and the south, and the US imperialists and domestic reactionaries are wildly spreading decadent and pernicious reactionary ideas south of the 38th Parallel. They resort to every possible method to paralyse the patriotic enthusiasm and revolutionary consciousness of the Korean people and even try to propagate their reactionary ideas in north Korea. We must intensify our struggle to prevent these hostile ideas from exerting influence in our Party and among our people and smash the enemy's evil attempt to force our people once again into bondage to foreign imperialism, landlords and comprador capitalists.

We must never forget that the overthrown landlords and comprador capitalists still nurture wild dreams of restoring the old system, and that their thinking can influence some backward sections of our people. As a comrade said in regard to factionalist thinking, the ideas held by the expropriated landlords will also disappear only when they die. We must understand this clearly and make constant efforts to eliminate the influence of all reactionary thinking.

Mention should also be made of the need to heighten vigilance against the profiteers and evil church elders and pastors.

No worker, peasant or office worker suffered any loss in the currency changeover of last December. Only the profiteers sustained losses, so they are grumbling. Moreover, their discontent is growing with the day-by-day development of our state industry and state and consumers' cooperative trades.

Also among the reactionary church elders and pastors there are few who did not own land and none who did not eat the bread of

idleness, and so they are also discontented. In particular, the Americans have madly attempted for 40 years to spread their ideological influence in Korea through religion and worked hard to train and protect reactionary church elders and pastors as the social foothold for US aggression against Korea. In this connection there is a tendency for Christians to worship America blindly. The reactionary pastors detest our Party which enlightens and politically awakens the people, and they come out against the Party's policies, because the more our people are awakened, the more difficult it becomes for them to attain their ends.

We must not allow ourselves to relax and rest content because the democratic reforms were implemented victoriously and our Party's line and policies are being successfully put into effect in north Korea. On the contrary, we must be even more vigilant against the landlords, profiteers and reactionary church elders and pastors and explain and inculcate our policies and ideas widely among Party members and the masses of the people to prevent even the slightest infiltration of reactionary ideologies of all hues.

Special attention should be directed to preserving the purity of our Party ranks. Although we have already driven out the pro-Japanese elements who sneaked into the Party, we must, in the future, too, continue to fight resolutely to keep alien elements of hostile class origin and former exploiters from slipping in and spreading their reactionary ideas inside our Party.

Last, I should like to mention the question of factions within the Party. Though this question was dealt with at length yesterday and today, I am going to add a few words.

At present there is no big faction within our Party. It would be correct to say that there only remain factionalist elements, who impede the Party's progress.

In the past many Korean communists operated in isolation in various areas, including Hongwon and Seoul, and, forced to work underground in small groups by the harsh repression of the Japanese, each acted as a lord, as if his theory were the best and he were the

“leader.” It was impossible for them to pool their strength, build up a unified revolutionary party and establish normal relations with the communists of other countries because each of them acted as the “leader.” They formed factions such as the M-L group, the Tuesday group, the Seoul group, the Communist Group, etc, each comprising a few persons, and they became engrossed with a scramble for power, each insisting that his group was better than the others. This shows that at that time the Party had no mass base.

But the situation is utterly different now. Today our Party already has a sound mass base, and its ranks are composed of the finest, most advanced elements from among the workers, peasants and working intellectuals who are devotedly fighting for the country, the revolution and the happiness of the people. So, there can be no faction, and there actually is none and there will not be one in the future either.

Factionalist elements, however, are still lurking within the Party and continue to wreak underhand mischief in this or that corner.

First, they pretend allegiance outwardly and perpetrate antagonistic acts behind the scenes. This is what is called double-dealing, and O Ki Sop has done a great deal of mischief of this kind. Although he dares not voice objections when sitting face to face with us, he gossips and slanders the Party behind our back. When the Young Communist League was reorganized into the Democratic Youth League, for instance, we explained many times that if the former was left alone, there was the danger that a large number of young people might be enticed away by other parties and by religious organizations, and so it had to be reorganized into a mass organization, the Democratic Youth League. Finally, O Ki Sop agreed to this. But later he made a speech saying quite the opposite at Haeju. Also, Jong Tal Hon said when he went down to South Hamgyong Province that it had been decided to retain the Young Communist League organization in that particular province.

Further, the factionalists draw people to their side on the basis of family or provincial ties, or because they were classmates, or because they belonged to the same faction or were in the same prison in the

past. They make sly mischief by inviting these people to their homes and treating them to a drink. These are all dangerous factionalist tricks. We have already set up Party schools and turn out thousands of middle-level Party cadres every year. How long would it take them to create factions with such amateurish methods? This is stupid mischief.

Now that it is impossible for O Ki Sop to create a big faction it seems that he is seeking to form at least a small one. When transferred from the Information Bureau to the Labour Bureau, he took along with him many people whom he trusted. This is exactly what warlords in China such as Wu Peifu, Zhang Zuolin and Han Fuqu did. But no matter how cunning he may be in his mischief-making, the Party sees clearly through it just as the “devil-finding mirror” penetrates the “ghost.”

All these tendencies can be regarded as deriving from careerism. By the nature of things, the evil careerist idea lies at the bottom of factionalism. It is an anti-Party idea, and individuals with this idea do not truly love their country and nation and are not willing to fight with full devotion for the Party and the revolution, but, on the contrary, only look after their own interests and seek to give prominence to themselves. O Ki Sop’s “treatise” on the trade unions, too, is a product of careerist thinking. If he wanted to publish a theoretical treatise on questions like that, he ought at least to have submitted it to the Political Committee for advice. O Ki Sop, however, plagiarized a treatise written by Lenin in the period of the New Economic Policy and published it under his own name. It is clear to all that what fitted Russia at that time cannot be fitted exactly into Korea today. Yet, O Ki Sop pretends to know everything while he knows nothing, and has no scruples about doing anything to show off.

O Ki Sop, Jong Tal Hon and Choe Yong Dal did not criticize themselves well but made empty speeches at this congress. O Ki Sop snaps at others, saying, “Why do you only pick on me, without criticizing people like Comrade Mu Jong?” This attitude is wrong, too. Anyone may commit errors in his work, and so it is important for him

to reflect seriously on his errors and try not to repeat mistakes.

When we were going to form the Organizing Committee, O Ki Sop had no objection at first, supposing that he himself would head it, but when another person became the head, he began opposing it. Jong Tal Hon claimed that he had turned against those from abroad and that he supported the “centre” in Seoul. In reality, however, he objected to the establishment of the Organizing Committee because he could not form a “centre” consisting of people from South Hamgyong Province. But at the time I left them in charge of important work, taking the view that it did not matter who held the posts as long as they did their work properly.

In the first few months after the establishment of the Organizing Committee, the alien elements and political speculators who had sneaked into the Party carried out subversive activities, and the factionalists kept making mischief, and quite a number of responsible cadres had their eyes turned only towards Seoul, and so the Party could not perform its functions satisfactorily. We, therefore, called the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Organizing Committee and took resolute disciplinary actions.

The errors committed by O Ki Sop since the founding of the Party are very grave and he deserves to be expelled from the Party. But if he repents his errors thoroughly and resolves never to do similar things, I think we can deal with him leniently, considering that he once fought against Japanese imperialism.

Choe Yong Dal’s defect is that he has no class consciousness and does not respect the Party. He often made friends with pro-Japanese elements, was against expelling them and was brazen-faced enough to propose at the People’s Assembly that a scoundrel who had been a member of the Concordia Association⁶ be elected judge of the Supreme Court. The self-criticism he has made today has no content whatsoever. With individuals like him, we should heighten our vigilance. If the slightest vacillation or ideological disunity appears within our Party, the reactionaries will immediately try to make use of it.

To conclude, we must wage a determined struggle to ensure

iron discipline within the Party and the unity of the Korean communist movement, and we must bind the factionalists hand and foot so they cannot make mischief as they please. Anyone, no matter what post he holds, even if he is a bureau director, should be duly criticized and severely criticize himself whenever he harms the Party and the revolution in word or deed, however trifling the harm may be.

Another thing I want to refer to is the question of giving guidance to the social organizations. At present quite a few Party organizations are not exerting adequate influence on the members of the social organizations, and they overlook the fact that some members are joining parties alien to their class. To take an example, it is a serious phenomenon that poor peasants in the remote mountain regions are joining the Chongu Party, although from the class point of view they have no reason whatever for joining it. This is proof that our Party organizations are weak in their work with the masses, and our Party members' political activities among the masses fall short of the mark. It is necessary above all to reinforce the cadre ranks of the social organizations. Politically-tempered, competent cadres should be assigned to the social organizations instead of cadres who have been punished in the Party for having committed this or that error.

Comrades,

The present congress is of tremendous importance in the history of our Party and our people. The resolutions adopted will make a great contribution to strengthening our Party and leading the Korean people to new and greater victories.

I am convinced that Party organizations at all levels, the comrades who have attended this congress as delegates and the entire Party membership will uphold the resolutions of the Party and, together with the masses of the people, vigorously strive to implement them, in order to fulfil the historic mission devolving on our Party in the struggle for the reunification and independence of the country and the prosperity of the nation.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NORTH KOREA

Report at the Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea

April 21, 1948

Dear representatives,

Before delivering the report on the situation in north Korea, I should like to make a few remarks about the political significance of our present conference.

This conference is of great importance, both internally and externally. It is significant, first of all, in that representatives of political parties and public organizations in north and south Korea are getting together for the first time since the country's liberation from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. This north-south joint conference is also significant in that it is being held at a time when the US imperialists have occupied the southern half of the country and are openly attempting to reduce south Korea to the status of a colony, in other words, at a grave moment when the danger of national division is imminent.

At this historic conference we should discuss unreservedly the political situation in north and south Korea and take radical steps to tide over the crisis of national division.

Friends,

The political situation in our country at present is very complex and

acute. With the support of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, the US imperialists are plotting to divide our nation and reduce our country to the position of a colony. In order to realize this insidious design, they are attempting to conduct separate elections in south Korea under the supervision of the UN Temporary Commission on Korea, which is allegedly to create an “all-nation government.” The danger of slavery is befalling the 30 million Korean people again. In this situation the struggle of the Korean people against the US imperialists’ colonial policy is mounting as never before. This struggle of the Korean people who have risen against the US imperialists’ policy of colonial domination under the slogan of building a unified, independent democratic Korea in opposition to the “election” farce in south Korea constitutes a great force.

The peculiarity of the political situation in our country is that the 30 million Korean people with their 5,000-year-old history are separated artificially with the 38th Parallel as the demarcation line. Partitioned into north and south, the Korean people are fighting for the honour, freedom and independence of their country.

The north Korean people have already registered considerable successes in their great historic undertaking to rebuild the country on democratic lines.

Under the misrule of the reactionary elements manipulated by the US army, however, the south Korean people are in a plight as miserable as in the days of Japanese imperialist rule.

We lived under the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists for 36 years. They were years of wretched slavery for our nation. The Japanese imperialists built some industry in this country. But it was not for the Korean nation; it was for the purpose of plundering our resources, of exploiting our people and preparing for a war of Asian aggression.

At that time the Japanese imperialist marauders harshly exploited and repressed the Korean people. They considered ours an “inferior nation,” and allowed no Korean to participate in the management of factories, enterprises and state establishments.

The Japanese imperialists took under their wings only a handful of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation who, divorced from the people, had become their faithful stooges.

They tried to destroy our national culture with its 5,000-year-old history, and imposed upon our nation the Japanese language, Japanese customs, Japanese culture and the Japanese religion called “Shintoism,” for the purpose of paralysing the national consciousness of the Korean people.

With the liberation of our country from Japanese imperialist rule in August 1945, the days of insult and slavery, the bitterness of which penetrated our nation to the bone, came to an end and the wide road to a new life was opened before the Korean people.

The US imperialist army of aggression entered south Korea without firing a shot, after the war was over. According to a wartime agreement, the US and Soviet governments divided our territory for the time being, with 38 degrees north latitude as the demarcation line, the Soviet troops taking charge of the north and the US troops, the south.

As is to be seen from this, the 38th Parallel was the temporary demarcation line stipulated in the wartime agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States. But today this 38th Parallel divides our country into north and south, as if it were a frontier rather than a temporary demarcation line. The Soviet troops entered the area north of the 38th Parallel and the US troops occupied the area south of it. This made north and south Korea proceed in opposite directions.

As is known, towards the end of 1945 the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers adopted a decision on Korea, to which both the Soviet Union and the United States were signatories.

I would not like to go into this problem in detail. But it must be definitely pointed out here that the Soviet troops in north Korea have consistently stood for the implementation of the decision, whereas the US imperialist aggressor army occupying south Korea has come out for its nullification.

I believe that representatives from south Korea will give a detailed account of the situation prevailing there, referring to many facts they

have witnessed. So I would like only to mention one fact.

As soon as our country was liberated from the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists, people's committees began to be set up in all parts of north and south Korea. They were built on the initiative of the people and by their own efforts. This reflected the natural demand of the people to create a government organ for their liberated country on their own and to restore order and a stable life as soon as possible. It is also common knowledge that, with the participation of representatives of the people's committees which were organized like this, it was planned to hold an all-Korea people's committee congress in Seoul.

This step, however, was not to the liking of the US imperialists. They were cunningly scheming to turn our country into their colony, so it was necessary for them not to leave power in the hands of the people but make it pass into the hands of traitors to the nation and reactionary elements who faithfully serve the imperialists while betraying their own country and people. That was why they dissolved the people's committees in quite an outrageous way in south Korea.

Thus, the US military government totally robbed the south Korean people of sovereignty and, far from implementing it, tried in every way to wreck the decision of the Moscow conference.

It is no longer possible to establish the people's government through a movement initiated by the people of south Korea and to rebuild the country on democratic lines. Even a member of the UN Temporary Commission on Korea could not conceal the fact that south Korea has been reduced to a police "state" subordinated to the US imperialists.

1. THE SITUATION IN NORTH KOREA

The situation in north Korea differs radically from that in south Korea. The Soviet army troops stationed in north Korea granted a wide

range of liberties to the north Korean people in faithful pursuance of the decision of the Moscow conference on Korea. This enabled the north Korean people to set up organs of power on their own.

In north Korea the people's committees have not been dissolved as in south Korea, but have wide and free scope for activities. They have established order in the country and have stabilized the life of the people. Under their guidance great nation-building work has been carried out to restore industry, transport, communications and trade.

The people's committees had already scored great results in this nation-building work by 1945 and 1946 and won much prestige among broad sections of the masses.

New leading personnel coming from among the people have been trained and reared through the practical work of the people's government organs, political parties and public organizations in north Korea. A large number of people who were active in establishing the people's committees have now become competent leaders of the people's government organs.

This form of people's power, tested in practical work in the course of destroying the ruling machinery of the Japanese imperialists and creating a new government body, is best suited to the conditions of our country. This is clearly proved by the ever-growing prestige of the people's committees.

In order to legally consolidate this form of power as the political, economic and cultural life in north Korea developed with every passing day, the north Korean people held elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees towards the end of 1946 and then to the sub-county and ri people's committees early in 1947.

These elections to the people's committees at all levels were carried out on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, in an entirely democratic way. They were the first democratic elections in the history of Korea conducted according to the truly free will of the broadest sections of the people. Representatives of the people from all walks of life and of the political parties and public organizations in north Korea took an

active part in preparing for and conducting these elections. When the elections to the provincial, city and county people's committees took place, 80,470 people were on the campaign committees, and nine per cent of them was women. In the first elections only 4,387 men and women were not allowed to vote according to the election rules. These were pro-Japanese elements, insane persons and those who were deprived of the right to vote by a court decision. They constituted no more than a thousandth of the entire electorate.

The elections were held amidst the ebullient political enthusiasm of the entire electorate. In the first elections to the people's committees at all levels 99.6 per cent of the electorate went to the polls. This testifies to the high prestige enjoyed by the people's committees among the masses.

In the elections to the provincial, city, county, sub-county and ri people's committees, 70,217 members were returned. This figure is a good illustration of how extensively the masses are represented in the organs of power in north Korea.

The people's committees consist of representatives of the people from all social strata, such as workers, peasants, office employees, intellectuals, tradesmen, entrepreneurs and men of religion. They include representatives of democratic political parties and public organizations in north Korea; 13.5 per cent of the elected people's committee members are women.

In February 1947 a congress of the people's committees was held, at which the People's Assembly of North Korea, the highest organ of power of the north Korean people, was elected by secret ballot. Like the people's committees, the People's Assembly was formed from representatives of the people from all walks of life and of different political parties and public organizations in north Korea. And so, in north Korea the elections to the people's committees, from the lower to the upper, were held in a thoroughly democratic way. These elections legally consolidated the people's government organs.

A year has already passed since the elections to the organs of power at all levels. In this year the people's committees have become

stronger organizationally. The leading personnel of the people's government have accumulated a wealth of experience through the building of democracy and have used their brilliant talent to solve the complex problems arising in the political, economic and cultural life of the country. This indisputable fact explodes the underhand propaganda of the US imperialists who twaddle as if our nation was incapable and thus, unable to administer the state for itself.

The people's committee has achieved great successes in all fields, the most important success being the carrying out of the democratic reforms in north Korea. These reforms were effected by the people's government with the active support of the broad masses.

The democratic reforms aroused the patriotic zeal of the masses immeasurably in north Korea. The people have come to realize through life itself that the people's committee established by them meets their wishes most faithfully.

The long-drawn-out Japanese imperialist colonial rule left its evil consequences in our national economy and culture.

In the Korean countryside the Japanese imperialists left the feudal relations intact and thereby checked the development of the rural economy. The Korean peasants suffered from the two-fold oppression and exploitation of the Japanese imperialists and the domestic landlords. They groaned under the burden of exacting taxes and levies and the predatory system of quota delivery of grain and were ruined by the exorbitant rent for tenancy. In general, farm rent ranged from 50 to 90 per cent of the harvest. Even according to figures released by the Japanese imperialists, out of the total grain output of 2,167,163 tons in north Korea in 1944, the peasants were robbed of 1,300,298 tons.

North Korea had a total of 1,004,600 farm households, but the landlords accounted for only four per cent of them. Although constituting only four per cent, these landlords rented to the peasants 1,144,900 hectares of land, or 58.2 per cent of the total area under cultivation in north Korea. Some 80 per cent of the peasant households had no land at all and tenanted the landlords' land,

working like serfs. Therefore, it was quite natural that the emancipated peasants of Korea should have called for an agrarian reform so ardently.

The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea promulgated the Agrarian Reform Law in March 1946. Through the agrarian reform 1,000,325 hectares of land owned by landlords were confiscated and divided among the tillers of the soil free of charge. Out of a total of 981,390 hectares of divided land, 22,387 hectares went to farm hands, 603,407 hectares to tenant farmers without land, and 345,974 hectares to peasants with little land, and 9,622 hectares to ex-landlords who migrated to other counties and farmed for themselves. The agrarian reform emancipated over 700,000 peasant households from landlord bondage.

The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea made public the Law on Agricultural Tax in Kind with a view to developing the rural economy and improving the livelihood of the peasants.

The agrarian reform provided conditions for a rapid improvement in the peasants' material and cultural standards. There is a fact which graphically illustrates how much their lives have improved since the agrarian reform.

In no more than a year—between the agrarian reform and the end of June 1947—in South Phyongan Province alone 10,740 new houses were erected and 7,000 farm houses rebuilt, 7,795 of the newly-built houses belonging to former tenant farmers who were very badly off under Japanese imperialist rule.

Since the agrarian reform the productive forces in agriculture have been developing rapidly. Up to June 1947 the peasants in South Phyongan Province bought 4,766 oxen and some 10,730 farm implements including 1,880 threshers. Irrigation projects were undertaken extensively in all parts of the north Korean countryside. In the year of 1947 alone 55 irrigation works were completed to bring water to over 20,000 hectares of paddies.

The nationalization of industries, transport, communications and banks carried out after the agrarian reform deprived the reactionary

and pro-Japanese elements of their economic foothold in north Korea. Stripped of their domination in the economy, these elements automatically lost their political influence as well. This is one of the greatest victories won by the masses.

Control of the economy having passed into the hands of the people, the factory and office workers unfolded a great patriotic production drive unprecedented in our history.

Labour productivity increased noticeably at factories, enterprises and coal and ore mines. In 1947 labour productivity in industry was 51 per cent higher than in 1946.

The factory and office workers in north Korea are erasing successfully the evil consequences of Japanese imperialist rule in industry.

Early in 1947 the north Korean workers were already in a position to produce nearly 70 different kinds of manufactured goods, including lathes and transformers, which we had been unable to produce and so had had to import from Japan in the days of Japanese imperialist rule. In 1948 they will turn out over 100 kinds of new goods such as electric motors, various electrical appliances, farm machines and mining machines.

Under Japanese imperialist rule the Korean workers were harshly exploited. They were forced to work hard for 12 to 14 hours a day at factories and enterprises. The conditions of women and juvenile workers were even more wretched. The Japanese imperialists crippled the health of our younger generation. There was no labour protection or social insurance for the workers and office employees.

Thanks to the Labour Law promulgated by the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, the living and working conditions of factory and office workers have been radically improved and their basic rights guaranteed.

By this law an eight-hour day has been introduced for workers and office employees and a seven-hour day for those workers engaged in harmful labour. A five- or six-hour day has been introduced for juvenile workers aged from 14 to 16, and juvenile labour for those

below 14 is prohibited by law. A paid holiday has been introduced: two weeks a year for factory and office workers and a month for juvenile workers. Social insurance and labour protection measures have been introduced.

With the rapid development of all branches of the national economy, unemployment has been completely eliminated in north Korea and, what is more, manpower is in short supply.

Since the introduction of the Law on Sex Equality, north Korean women take part in the political, economic and cultural life of the country on an equal footing with men. There are 9,522 women working as people's committee members and 34 are active as deputies to the People's Assembly. Thus, many splendid public and state figures have emerged from among the north Korean women.

Our people were illiterate and ignorant under Japanese imperialist rule. According to statistics released by the Government-General of Korea, 630,000 children attended 1,339 primary schools in north Korea in 1942. This was only 58 per cent of all children of school age. So over 400,000 children of school age were denied education every year. It goes without saying that they were sons and daughters of the poor. In 1942 a total of 43 boys' and girls' middle schools in north Korea had no more than 9,560 students, few of whom were sons and daughters of poor peasants and workers. For instance, in 1942, out of a total of 647 students at the Somun Girls' High School in Pyongyang, only one was a worker's daughter and two, poor peasants' daughters.

The democratic reform in education opened up opportunities of learning for the children of the broad masses of the working people. At present three-fourths of the total number of pupils and students in north Korea are sons and daughters of workers and peasants. In this way, the evil leftovers of Japanese imperialism are gradually being eliminated in public education, too. The number of schools is increasing and the content of education improving.

Today north Korea has 3,008 primary schools enrolling over 1,340,000 children, or more than twice the number in 1942. There are 629 middle schools, with an enrolment of over 250,000, more than 26

times higher than under Japanese imperialist rule.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule north Korea had only three secondary specialized technical schools and six normal schools, but now it has 44 specialized technical schools and 13 normal schools. In the years of Japanese imperialist rule north Korea had not a single college but at present it has a university, an engineering college, a medical college and three teachers training colleges.

The people's government takes great care to provide pupils and students with adequate conditions for learning. By decision of the People's Committee of North Korea more than half the university, college and specialized school students receive stipends from the state. The people's government devoted great efforts to the publication of textbooks in Korean, with the result that over four million copies of various textbooks were printed in 1946 and 7,538,000 copies of 75 different kinds in 1947.

The thirst for knowledge is growing stronger every day among the broad working masses who had no opportunity of learning before. Today more than 1,394,000 working people attend Korean alphabet schools and adult schools. In 1947 over 800,000 people had already become literate. In addition, we now have 95 adult middle schools.

During Japanese imperialist rule north Korea had only seven book rooms but no library. Now, however, there are 103 libraries and 7,780 democratic information halls. These halls have become centres of mass culture all over the north Korean countryside. Besides, clubs are being built everywhere. In the period of Japanese imperialist domination, north Korea had not a single club, but now it has as many as 168. Theatres and cinemas have also increased in number. The Film Studio of North Korea built after liberation has already produced four or five documentary films, and will turn out feature films this year. As you see, our national culture is being restored and developed rapidly in north Korea.

The democratic reforms introduced in north Korea provided the conditions for restoring and developing the national economy. The production results in 1947 are striking evidence of the efforts made

by the north Korean people to lay the foundation of an independent national economy and build a rich and strong country.

In 1947 the output of the key industries increased compared with 1946 as follows: coal by 138 per cent, pig iron by 133 per cent, steel 12 times, chemical fertilizers by 95 per cent, carbide by 117 per cent, daily necessities by 16 per cent and textiles by 96 per cent. Thus, the Plan for Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy for 1947 was overfulfilled.

The People's Assembly of North Korea has approved the Plan for the Development of the National Economy for 1948. The production results for the first quarter of this year show that this plan will also be fulfilled with credit.

With the national economy developing in this way, we are now in a position to supply the people with sufficient food and daily necessities. Factory and office workers are provided with living necessities at very cheap prices; those workers who have overfulfilled their production plans even receive an extra share of distribution.

Trade and local industry play a great role in the supply of living necessities to the people. Not only state enterprises and consumers' cooperatives, but also private tradesmen and manufacturers who are legally guaranteed freedom of enterprise, are working actively for their development.

The currency exchange effected towards the end of 1947 greatly assisted an increase in the real wages of factory and office workers.

In March 1948 the prices of major necessities of life were much lower than on December 1, 1947. The price of a half *mal* (one *mal* equals 7.5kg–Tr.) of rice dropped from 750 *won* to about 230, and millet, from 700 to about 200.

Without developing state and consumers' cooperative trade and state-run local industry it is hardly possible to control market prices and, consequently, to prevent the real wages of factory and office workers from being affected by them. That was why we devoted considerable attention to their development.

The People's Committee of North Korea has also taken great care

to improve the public health service. The number of state-run hospitals increased 7.7 times and the number of their beds 7.6 times in the two and a half years since the liberation. During these years the number of clinics and dispensaries increased as much as 14 times. Such development of the health service brought about a marked reduction in various epidemics.

Thus, in a very short period following liberation the People's Committee of North Korea scored brilliant achievements.

Early in February this year the People's Assembly of North Korea formed the Constituent Commission and decided to refer the draft Provisional Constitution of Korea worked out by this commission for discussion by all the people. Noteworthy about the discussion now under way is that not only in north Korea but also in south Korea the overwhelming majority of the people strongly approves of the draft Provisional Constitution. This is, of course, not fortuitous. Because the draft Constitution legally consolidates all the democratic reforms already effected in north Korea and illumines the path that the south Korean people should follow.

The Constituent Commission has so far received 55,000 letters of thanks, resolutions in support of the draft Constitution and recommendations. This shows that all the Korean people are deeply concerned about adopting a genuinely democratic Constitution. Their approval of the draft Provisional Constitution shows their support for the great democratic reforms enforced in north Korea and their full sanction of the activities of the People's Committee of North Korea.

Friends,

For a correct appraisal of the situation in north Korea, mention should be made of how closely the north Korean people are united in their efforts to build an independent and sovereign democratic state. Their political unity has a solid basis. Their unity is based on their support for the people's committee, their own government body, and on their support for the democratic reforms.

The north Korean people's political unity is crystallized in the Democratic National United Front of North Korea, which

embraces all political parties and public organizations and rallies people of all social strata in north Korea. Today three political parties, 16 public organizations and 17 industrial trade unions are affiliated to the DNUFNK.

The political parties and public organizations in north Korea have identical views on the basic political questions. They support the people's committee and democratic reforms, and unanimously strive to build a unified, independent and sovereign democratic state. The DNUFNK has over six million people in its affiliated organizations, and has already demonstrated its great strength and close unity. This was vividly manifested by the enthusiastic support given by the broad masses for the DNUFNK candidates during the elections to the people's committees.

All this shows that all the people of north Korea are active in the struggle to build an independent and sovereign democratic state.

Friends,

The situation in north Korea can be summarized as follows:

First, in north Korea the people have power in their hands and have become full-ledged masters in all political, economic and cultural life. Taking advantage of the favourable conditions created after liberation, they organized the people's committee, their government organ, and have consolidated and developed it.

Second, as a result of the democratic reforms carried out in the interests of the broad masses in north Korea, the reactionaries have lost their foothold completely.

Third, the democratic reforms in north Korea laid a sound foundation for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy. Brilliant results have already been registered in the development of the national economy, and the people's material and cultural standards have risen considerably.

Fourth, the splendid successes we attained in north Korea have furnished a solid material basis for uniting its people closely around the people's committee, the popular organ of government.

In south Korea, a half of our land, an entirely different situation

has been created. Power is in the hands of the US imperialists, and our people are barred from administering and governing the state. No democratic reform has been carried out and the centuries-old desire of the people has not been realized. Of late the US military government authorities have been noisily advertising their intention to carry out an “agrarian reform” in south Korea. But this is no more than a trick to fool and cheat the south Korean peasants.

The economy is bankrupt and the people’s livelihood is constantly worsening in south Korea. Patronized by the US military government, the south Korean reactionary forces are vehemently attacking the democratic forces fighting for freedom and independence and better living conditions. Today south Korea has turned into a land of lawlessness where terrorism is rampant in broad daylight. The US imperialists are making moves to reduce south Korea to the status of their permanent colony and a military base for their Asian aggression.

Our country now faces the grave national danger of falling victim to their aggression. The north Korean people are concerned day and night for the fate of their fellow countrymen in the area south of the 38th Parallel, and extend ardent compatriotic encouragement to the south Korean people in their patriotic save-the-nation struggle for the freedom and independence of the country against the US imperialists’ aggression. In firm unity with the south Korean people they will devote all their energies to the struggle to build an independent and sovereign democratic state.

2. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST US IMPERIALIST MANOEUVRES TO DIVIDE KOREA

Friends,

The US imperialists have been openly working on their

sinister designs of aggression from the first day of their presence in south Korea.

As I have already mentioned, the conference of foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain held in Moscow in December 1945 adopted a joint decision on Korea. The decision envisaged rebuilding our country into an independent sovereign state on a democratic basis. But it has not been implemented. The USSR-US Joint Commission which met twice in conference came to a deadlock.

The Korean people are well aware of the reason and who is to blame for this. After the breakdown of the joint commission, the Soviet Government proposed on September 26, 1947 a simultaneous withdrawal from Korea of Soviet and American troops at the beginning of 1948. This opened a new way for the Korean people to settle the problem of their country for themselves. In other words, the Korean people were given the chance to elect a supreme legislative body independently, set up a unified, democratic government, found a national army and rebuild the political and economic life of the country in a democratic way without any foreign interference.

All the Korean people enthusiastically supported the proposal of the Soviet Government and resolved to get both the Soviet and US troops withdrawn immediately and settle the question of national reunification by their own efforts.

The proposal, however, was doggedly opposed by the collaborators with the Japanese and other national betrayers in south Korea for they knew that they would not be able to act against the people and sell out the country any longer if the US troops pulled out from the south. By their opposition to the Americans' pullout, the Syngman Rhee clique once again disclosed to the whole world that they were quislings and faithful stooges of US imperialism.

The US imperialists also rejected the proposal of the Soviet Government, persisting in their attempt to colonize Korea. The Korean question is one of the issues pending postwar settlement, and the UN has no authority to handle the question as such. Nevertheless,

the US government unlawfully brought it to the UN General Assembly to dispose of it in their favour.

At the UN, by manipulating the voting machinery of those countries which were economically and politically subjugated to American monopolists, the US government got the Soviet proposal on the simultaneous withdrawal of the Soviet and US troops from Korea turned down and an unwarranted resolution adopted, vindicating its imperialist scheme of aggression on Korea.

As you all know, the so-called UN Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCK) was organized according to the resolution of the UN General Assembly. This commission is going to supervise elections in Korea, the establishment of a government, the founding of a national army, etc. The Korean people have not recognized the UN General Assembly resolution and will never do so. When adopted at the UN General Assembly at the end of last year, the unjust resolution met opposition in the form of gigantic demonstrations and mass rallies held in all parts of north and south Korea.

The Korean people had expected that their representative would naturally be invited to the discussion of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly.

At the UN General Assembly the Soviet delegate asserted that the question of Korea could not be discussed without the participation of its representative. The Soviet insistence was supported by the delegates of many democratic countries. However, fearing that their policy of colonial enslavement in Korea would be exposed, the US delegate forced the UN General Assembly to refuse to invite the Korean people's representative. This was a preposterous act of ignoring the national rights of the Korean people.

The Korean people could not tolerate their destiny being decided without their representation. Our people felt an irresistible national indignation at the unwarrantable discussion of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly and could not help lodging a strong protest against it.

The point is not only that the UN General Assembly handled the Korean question unreasonably, but that it railroaded a resolution conflicting with the interests of the Korean people at the behest of the US imperialists.

What is behind these developments? Why has the UN General Assembly rejected the most reasonable proposal for an immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea to leave the matter of establishing Korea's national government to the Korean people themselves and passed a resolution on forming the so-called UN Temporary Commission on Korea which is hostile to the Korean people? It is because the UN General Assembly is being turned into nothing but a tool of US imperialist expansionist policy and because the US satellites are at their imperialist master's beck and call.

As I said before, the Americans' withdrawal from Korea would not agree with their imperialist policy of aggression. The US imperialists are working to divide our country for ever and establish a separate government in south Korea. The UNTCK is no more than a tool for US imperialist aggression; it is designed to "legalize" their aggressive policy and set up a separate government in south Korea by means of an "election" farce.

The Korean people openly hate the commission because they know well its aim and designs. They strongly demand that it leave our country at the earliest date.

We maintain that we must have the opportunity to establish a unified, democratic national government independently and free from foreign interference.

Confronted by the do-or-die opposition of all the Korean people to the establishment of a separate government in south Korea, the UNTCK requested the UN Little Assembly for instructions on its future activities with a view to evading the responsibility for dividing Korea. Under the coercion of the US imperialists, the UN Little Assembly accepted the recommendation of the UNTCK for permission to hold elections at least in south Korea and decided on holding separate elections and establishing a separate government in

south Korea. Thirty-one countries voted for the decision, two opposed it and eleven abstained from voting.

Taking advantage of the makeup of the UN Little Assembly in which the Soviet Union and the East European democracies were not represented, the United States tried in every way to win full support for its resolution. But even the UN Little Assembly failed to pass a unanimous resolution.

At the UN Little Assembly session discussing the resolution on the Korean question, the Swedish and Norwegian delegates objected to separate elections in south Korea. The Swedish delegate Gehorev stated that he opposed separate elections in south Korea because there was no official material on the Korean situation and the UNO had not been founded as a forum for the discussion of the questions to be settled after the war. The Norwegian delegate Finn Moe said that the UN Little Assembly would be abusing the authority vested in it by the UN General Assembly, if it adopted the US resolution.

Even one of the delegates of the UNTCK admitted that in south Korea the establishment of a separate government was supported only by Syngman Rhee, the faithful stooge of the United States, and the Hanguk Democratic Party of the big Korean landlords and entrepreneurs who had collaborated with the Japanese—the party ruled by Kim Song Su. The delegate was also obliged to confess that even many Right-wing leaders, to say nothing of the Left-wing and neutral leaders, were opposed to a “national government” being set up through separate elections in south Korea.

Even within the UNTCK, only four of the delegates of eight member nations raised their hands for separate elections in south Korea, two being against and two abstaining.

But the US delegate who lorded it over the UN Little Assembly put down the justifiable objections of the delegates of these countries. The US imperialists cast off their mask and openly revealed their real design to keep their colonial rule in south Korea and compelled the UN Little Assembly to adopt a resolution helpful to their aggressive plan.

In south Korea now, the US military government is making active preparations for separate elections under the signboard of the UNTCK.

3. THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR A UNIFIED, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

The separate elections to be held in south Korea on May 10, 1948 will result in a permanent division of our country and the total conversion of south Korea into a colony and military base of US imperialism. How can the Korean nation with a history of 5,000 years allow the Americans to carry out their reactionary, anti-popular scheme of aggression? All the Korean people in the north and the south are opposed to foreign intervention in their country and are urging the UNTCK to quit their land. Large numbers of workers and office employees in south Korea are out on strike in denunciation of the commission. The strike was triggered by its arrival in our country on January 8 this year.

As you all know, on that day workers and office employees at many factories in Seoul went on strike. On January 19, the workers of the Kyongsong Electric Company and many others followed suit. Early in February large strikes involving communications and railway workers swept across south Korea. According to the *Joson Thongsin* dispatch from Seoul, traffic and communications in south Korea were tied up by these strikes.

The strikers urged Lt. General Hodge, US army commander in south Korea, to send away the UNTCK and pull out American troops.

Even American journalists in Seoul were obliged to report that in south Korea the people were holding big demonstrations against the UNTCK, shedding blood in frequent clashes with the police.

Strikes are going on even now. I believe you from the south are

better informed of the fact. Not only the workers but also the peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, young people, students, intellectuals and all other sections of population in south Korea are fighting for the country's reunification and the establishment of a unified, democratic government.

Delegates from south Korea, all the people in north Korea extend warm brotherly encouragement and all-out support to your heroic struggle against the country's division.

The people's status in the north is totally different from that in the south. The north Korean people have seized power and taken the land and industry into their own hands. North Korea has firmly embarked on the road of democratic progress and already achieved great successes on this road.

A further advancement of these successes, however, is hampered by the fact that the north and the south of Korea have not yet been reunified and a unified democratic government has not yet been established.

The north Korean people will, in firm unity with their parents, brothers and sisters in south Korea, fight staunchly to pave the way of democratic development in the southern half of the country as well and to enable all in the north and south to share freedom and happiness together.

Establishment of a separate government in south Korea will again hurl the south Korean people into colonial slavery.

The people in the north are determined to oppose the establishment of such a government and will continue their stubborn fight to reunify the two parts of Korea.

The people in north Korea have taken it up as their most urgent task to launch an all-nation joint struggle with their blood brothers in the south to frustrate the US imperialist aggressive plan to divide our country.

It is the greatest political task now confronting our nation to reject and thwart the treacherous elections hatched against the people in south Korea.

The firm attitude of the north Korean people has been expressed in their powerful demonstrations and mass rallies held in opposition to the criminal activities committed by the UNTCK in the south as well as in numerous letters of protest, decisions and declarations denouncing foreign interference in the Korean question.

The masses of the people in north Korea appeal to their south Korean brothers to boycott separate elections in south Korea and resolutely rise in the national -salvation struggle for the freedom and independence of the country.

Delegates from south Korea, you can be firmly assured that the people in north Korea will fight to the end against separate elections and separate government, sharing life and death, sweets and bitters with their south Korean brothers.

Those who at this moment support separate elections in south Korea are quislings and traitors to the nation more villainous than Song Pyong Jun and Ri Wan Yong.

We have already referred to the traitor Syngman Rhee. He has been trained by the US imperialists for nearly 40 years as their faithful stooge, and all our people hate the traitor. He is ready to do anything on orders of his American masters.

We must expose and isolate those traitors and make them the target of national hatred, regarding them as our enemy.

Along with this, we must tirelessly explain to the people the anti-popular, anti-national nature of separate elections in south Korea. Genuine patriots should realize that separate elections will inevitably drive south Korea into the abyss of ruin and make it a US colony.

Anyone who truly loves the country should categorically reject treacherous separate elections. In this nationwide struggle all people, who are concerned about the destiny of the country and the nation, must unite, irrespective of party affiliation, religious denomination and political view.

Unity alone can guarantee our victory. This conference must thrash out the ways of struggle and set the tasks of achieving unity and solidarity among all the national forces and gaining the historic

end of setting up a unified, democratic government.

That is the general review of the political situation in north Korea and the most urgent problem confronting our nation at present. At this conference we must open our hearts and frankly discuss the political situation in our country and take joint measures of struggle to foil the manoeuvres of the UNTCK for a permanent division of our country and oppose separate elections in south Korea.

We must unite all the patriotic forces in north and south Korea and frustrate the aggressive scheme of the US imperialists at all costs.

We must understand that if we fail to fight in unity and take measures of national salvation to repel US imperialist aggression at this grave, critical moment of national division, we shall be indelibly guilty in the eyes of the nation and of posterity.

We should exert all our efforts and wage a nationwide struggle to build a unified, independent sovereign state and set up a unified government on democratic principles.

Long live the democratic united front!

UNTCK, get out of our country!

Victory and glory to the patriots and all the Korean people who are devotedly fighting the US imperialist aggressors!

Long live the great democratic reforms carried out in north Korea!

TALK TO A PRESS CORPS FROM SOUTH KOREA

April 29, 1948

Question: The north-south joint conference has come to a successful conclusion. General, how do you see the outlook for the reunification of the north and the south?

Answer: The success in the north-south joint conference shows that the unity of all progressive forces in our country has been further strengthened. Needless to say, this is not accidental. •

With the country in imminent danger of division by the US imperialists, all the patriots in the land have keenly realized that they must unite their efforts. Our nation's patriotic forces are growing daily and striving to reunify the country into an independent and democratic state as early as possible.

As you all know, the broad masses of the north and south Korean people ardently support the decisions of the conference. This clearly proves that the decisions are an accurate expression of the will and cherished desire of our nation and, accordingly, a great contribution to accelerating national reunification. Such unity of will and action is our most important guarantee of victory. So the triumph of our cause, I think, depends on our ability to mobilize all the nation's forces in the struggle for its reunification.

Question: Certain persons in south Korea are fussing about the

foundation of the People's Army, describing it as an indication of north Korea's attempt for an "expedition to the south." What do you think of that?

Answer: The south Korean reactionaries, at the instigation of their foreign masters, are prattling that the People's Army was founded for an "expedition to the south." Their talk about the so-called "expedition to the south" is nothing but utterly nasty false propaganda. Why they are spreading such a reactionary rumour is obvious. They aim to destroy the unity of our nation by sowing the seeds of discord among fellow countrymen.

The fact that the People's Army was founded for the sacred end of defending the independence and freedom of the country from foreign imperialist aggression will need no further explanation.

Question: Some south Koreans say that the people's democratic regime in north Korea is communism. What is your opinion of it?

Answer: Those who identify our people's government as communism only expose their total ignorance of social matters or their true colours as evil agitators with an ulterior purpose. The imperialists and reactionaries are now in the habit of clamouring that anything against their taste is "communism."

The north Korean people, who have the liberty and the right to build their life as they wish, have firmly entered the road of democratic progress. The greatest success they have made on this road is the establishment of a government of people's democracy. The genuine people's government established in north Korea has won a high prestige and is solidly rooted among the broad masses. The people's committee as a form of people's government is the representative organ of the people, elected on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. The people's committee is composed of representatives of the people of all strata—the workers, peasants, office workers, intellectuals, merchants,

entrepreneurs, religious believers and so on. For example, the People's Assembly of North Korea, the supreme legislative body, consists of 52 workers, 62 peasants, 56 office workers, 36 intellectuals, 10 merchants, 4 handicraftsmen, 7 entrepreneurs and 10 religious believers. In addition, representatives of different political parties and social organizations have been elected to the people's committee.

Is this a communist regime?

Question: What are the difficulties you face in the building of democracy in north Korea?

Answer: In this area, the question of cadres is most difficult.

As you all know, when they were ruling our country, the Japanese imperialists hindered the growth of Korean cadres in every way. In fact, our nation was even denied the right to education.

Koreans had no access to leading positions in administrative, economic and cultural establishments. In industry, especially, the Japanese assigned no Koreans to technically responsible jobs even of secondary grade. For these reasons, we had only a few Korean cadres available, and the most difficult and important question for the people's government after liberation was that of cadres. Now we can say that we have been fairly successful in solving this question.

Ever since liberation we have paid close attention to training the cadres needed in every field of politics, the economy and culture.

I think you are all well informed of the figures given in our publications on the growth of our schools. So I will not touch upon them.

Recently we produced some 300 officials well-qualified for jobs in different industrial branches by giving them a training course for managers, and in 1947 alone we trained large numbers of young technicians of both sexes in 44 specialized technical schools and factory technical schools. We trained more than 5,000 teachers in the last school year and nearly 1,500 health workers—doctors, nurses, etc.—in the past two years.

Our measures for training cadres—the only correct measure—will provide us with tens of thousands of new specialists in different branches of technology in the near future. Then, we shall be able to meet the demands for cadres made by the rapidly developing national economy.

Question: What is the significance of the reforms carried out over the past two years in north Korea?

Answer: The democratic reforms effected in the past two years are of great historic significance. Their aim is to eliminate the baneful remnants of the long-drawn-out rule of Japanese imperialism in our country and quickly improve the material and cultural standards of the broad masses. The north Korean people, therefore, are bravely advancing along the road of the country's democratic progress, convinced through experience that this is the only correct path to liberty and happiness.

Question: With regard to the notice given out by the People's Committee of North Korea that it would cut off power supplies if the south Korean authorities did not pay for them, the US military government authorities declared that they would deal only with the Soviet army authorities and not with the people's committee. Will you kindly tell us about subsequent contacts and the limit of the authority of the people's committee on that matter?

Answer: As you all know, in 1946 the Soviet army turned all the industrial enterprises over to the Korean people, including power stations formerly owned by the Japanese and national betrayers. As a result, the power stations have become our people's property.

As of April 1, 1948 the US military government authorities in south Korea paid in commodities for only 15.6 per cent of the electric power supplied on the terms of the contract effective from August 15,

1945 to May 31, 1947. And even if the price of the goods delivered later in April 1948 is added to the account, the payment makes up for no more than 20 per cent of the dues. In addition, for the period from June 1947 to date, they have made no contract for the supply of power to the area south of the 38th Parallel. The People's Committee of North Korea has put forward proposals for the settlement of the issue, but the US military government authorities have given no answer. We cannot tolerate this state of affairs any longer.

If they do not pay the arrears of electrical charges at the earliest date and if they avoid settlement of the issue, we will have no choice but to cut off power supplies.

Question: Haven't you anything further to tell us?

Answer: I hope, above all, that you will convey my warm brotherly greetings to the fellow countrymen in the southern half of the country.

I also hope that you, representatives of the press, will tell our brothers in the south objectively and accurately about the reality of north Korea, where we are vigorously marching forward along the road of national revitalization with our destiny in our hands.

TALK WITH KIM KU

May 3, 1948

Did you feel at home during your stay in Pyongyang? How is your health these days? If we are to build a unified, independent and sovereign state, we must first be healthy.

You have come to Pyongyang across the 38th parallel, brushing aside all the obstructive moves of the US military government and the reactionaries to discuss with us measures for saving the country. I think this is a great, historic contribution to the cause of our country and people.

At the north-south joint conference, you were frank and offered useful suggestions to save the country and helped the conference to proceed more smoothly. I express my deep gratitude to you for your energetic efforts to make the conference a success.

You say that you have visited many places during your stay over here and have been deeply impressed by the progress made in north Korea and that you like government in the north. Your words are an enormous support and encouragement to our work.

I should like to discuss a few more questions with you before you return to south Korea.

As you know, our country is now in danger of territorial partition and national split. This is entirely due to the occupation of south Korea by the American troops and their aggressive policy on Korea.

The American imperialists are aggressors who have long since been committing acts of aggression against our country. They actively

helped the Japanese imperialist invasion of Korea and plundered her economic wealth. Historically, they did it in the guise of “sympathizer” with her independence.

Taking advantage of the defeat of Japanese imperialism in the Second World War, the American imperialists occupied our country in the area south of the 38th parallel. Then, they sabotaged the implementation of the decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers Conference on rebuilding Korea into an independent, sovereign state on a democratic basis and wilfully frustrated the work of the USSR-US Joint Commission. In particular, they illegally brought the Korean question to the UN, ignoring the unanimous will and the request of our people for a simultaneous withdrawal of the Soviet and American troops from Korea and for leaving the Korean question to the Koreans themselves. By using their voting machinery in the UN, they concocted the “UN Temporary Commission on Korea” and got the unreasonable decision adopted of conducting separate elections in south Korea.

The “UN Temporary Commission on Korea” rigged up by the American imperialists is not entitled to solve the Korean question nor is it capable of doing so. It has nothing to do in Korea except rationalizing the American imperialists’ colonial enslavement policy on Korea.

The American imperialists’ current scheme for separate elections under the supervision of the “UN Temporary Commission on Korea” will, if realized, divide our country and people for good, completely reduce south Korea to a colony of US imperialism, and will some day even bring about fratricide.

As people dedicated to the struggle for national liberation and the recovery of national sovereignty over the past years, how can we tolerate the bisection of the country and be indifferent to the colonial enslavement of our nation again by foreign invaders? Absolutely not. We are one nation who have lived in harmony in this land of beautiful mountains and sparkling rivers over a period of five thousand long years. We should never be divided into two nor should we ever again

become colonial slaves of foreign imperialists.

I am sure you, too, have felt to the marrow of your bones the misery and pains of enslaved people in the past. Precisely for this reason, you, upholding national conscience and honour, underwent all those sufferings in your exile in far-off foreign parts where even the mountains and rivers were strange, didn't you?

The greatest task before our nation today is to launch a nationwide struggle to foil the moves of the American imperialists and their stooges for a separate government and set up a unified government on democratic principles. In accordance with the decision unanimously adopted at the recent Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea, we must develop a more powerful nationwide joint struggle against the manoeuvres of the American imperialists and their minions for "separate elections and separate government".

In order to smash the American imperialist manoeuvres for "separate elections and separate government" and establish a unified government, all the patriotic and democratic forces of both north and south Korea must first of all solidly unite.

The unity of the democratic forces is a decisive guarantee for victory in the struggle to save the nation. A struggle can emerge victorious only when all the forces participating in it are united. This is also one of the historical lessons of the anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle in our country. As you know, one of the reasons for the failure of the Righteous Volunteers' Movement, the Independence Army Movement and other anti-Japanese movements widespread in our country around the time of Japanese imperialist occupation of Korea was precisely that the participants in those movements fought separately in small groups.

The favourable situation in south Korea right after liberation, too, was not turned to good account because the democratic forces were not in unity. Frankly speaking, the south Korean situation at that time was tipped in favour of our nation. During the period of nearly one month from the defeat of Japanese imperialism to the landing of the American

troops in south Korea, the situation was advantageous and the people's fighting spirit, too, was high. At this advantageous moment, a decisive blow should have been dealt at the reactionary forces by the united efforts of all the democratic forces, but instead some of the south Korean forces were bent on extending their own sphere of influence and on factional strife for hegemony. In consequence, the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation gained a breathing spell for survival. If in south Korea a crushing blow had been hammered by properly organized masses of the people at the reactionary forces to prevent them from reviving and if the democratic forces had been closely united, there would have been no big problem even after the American landing, and the danger of entrenchment of the national division that we see now might have been warded off.

The present situation demands more urgently than ever before that the entire nation be solidly united. Especially when American imperialism is doing everything to effect separate elections in south Korea and set up a puppet government of traitors, firm unity of the entire nation is imperative to defeat the manoeuvres of US imperialism and dispell the danger of the permanent division of the country and people. We must, therefore, closely knit together all the patriotic, democratic forces in north and south Korea to form a united front to save the country.

At present, we have the basis for the formation of such a united front. Large numbers of patriots of all strata are now affiliated with the Democratic National United Front. The recent north-south joint conference of representatives from 56 political parties and public organizations with a total membership of more than 10 million in north and south Korea has proved in practice that all the patriotic, democratic forces in both parts of the country could be rallied together. Even conscientious native capitalists and the masses in all walks of life, to say nothing of the workers and peasants in north and south Korea, are indignant at the manoeuvres of US imperialism and the Syngman Rhee clique for "separate elections and separate government" and are raising voices of protest. So we can stoutly organize the patriotic, democratic

forces of broad sections behind the united front for national salvation.

The united front for national salvation is designed to remove the danger of the permanent division of the territory and people and establish a unified, democratic government. To all intents and purposes, therefore, the united front must become a genuine organization of anti-American patriotic forces, opposed to American imperialism in favour of the establishment of a unified government through their own efforts and opposed to reactionary terrorist rule in favour of progressive, democratic government. It should enlist workers, peasants, intellectuals, entrepreneurs, merchants, religious believers and all other anti-American patriotic forces, irrespective of their party affiliation, political view and religious belief. We should scrap the past records of those who have offended against the nation but truly repent their crimes now and are ready to combat the American imperialist moves for “separate elections and separate government”. We must go hand in hand even with these people.

In order to succeed in organizing the united front for national salvation, all the political parties, social organizations and people from different social sections that are concerned about the destiny of the country and the people must refrain from imposing their own ideas and doctrines upon one another and maintain the principle of mutual respect and trust and of subordinating everything to the common interests and the common cause of the nation. As you have said, no ideas and “isms” would be of any use to a person bereft of his country and nation.

If political parties, social organizations and people of different strata are narrow-minded and prejudiced and persist in their own ideas and “isms” at this critical moment when the land of our forefathers is overcast with the dark clouds of permanent national division, it will amount not only to forsaking the national ethics and conscience, but obstructing the formation of the united front for national salvation and, further, helping the enemy’s moves to divide the nation for ever.

We should struggle to build the united front on the principle of

upholding the national interests foremost and subordinating everything to them.

We firmly believe that you who are renowned among the south Korean people and democrats, will play a great role in shaping the united front for national salvation.

The important factor in creating the united front for national salvation against the Americans is to effect collaboration between the communists and democrats.

There is no reason why they should not cooperate.

You say that you regarded communists as people who ignore the nation, deny the homeland and reject nationalists and that you have acquired a correct understanding of them only now on your visit to north Korea. We can understand why. Those “communists” you met in Shanghai and Chongqing in the past were mostly sectarians and sham communists. Indifferent to their country and nation and totally blinded by their greed for political power, they were absorbed in a sectarian tug of war and wrecked the national-liberation movement.

As you have mentioned, true communists are genuine patriots; they ardently love their country and nation. They have no greed for political power nor do they fight for positions. They regard it as their sole duty to dedicate themselves to the struggle for the happiness of their country and nation.

You say that it will be difficult to work together with communists in south Korea because they are narrow-minded and self-righteous. But that is an incorrect view. Of course, there are quite a few communists who are not yet seasoned and so have one defect or another in their work style. But, in any case, that is no more than a question of the work style of a few individuals and not of communists in general. Is it proper for you, who are fighting for the great cause of national salvation, to say you cannot join hands with communists because of shortcomings in the work style of a few of them? Granting that some of the south Korean communists have defects in their work style, I am of the opinion that you should do your best to cooperate with them with magnanimity, treating them with understanding when it is proper to do

so, and criticizing them when it is necessary.

The united front for national salvation must in every respect be a front for struggling to check and frustrate the moves of American imperialism and its stooges for “separate elections and separate government”.

If it does not organize the struggle after its formation, the united front for national salvation will be an organization in name only. What is important is that it organizes work efficiently in practice to activate patriots in all walks of life to turn out in the struggle against “separate elections and separate government”. You can form, say, a campaign committee on a broad scale, against the reactionary “separate elections and separate government” of American imperialism, in close contact with the workers of the democratic political parties and social organizations in south Korea. Only when such a committee is organized, can correct, unified leadership be given to the people’s struggle against the moves of the American imperialists to effect “separate elections” and install a “separate government”.

The campaign committee should be a coalition of political parties and social organizations, with its organizational network covering the provinces, cities, counties, sub-counties, factories, mills, farm villages, commercial establishments, offices and all other places and fields of activity where our people are to be found.

The campaign committee, when formed, should enhance its role and efficiently organize and guide different forms of struggle among the people against the manoeuvres of US imperialism and its cat’s-paws. It should actively develop sabotage, workers’ and students’ strikes, mass rallies, demonstrations and other forms of struggle against the moves of the American imperialists for “separate elections and separate government” in factories, mills, mines, towns, farming and fishing villages, schools, and all other areas and units.

In this way, we will see to it that all the north and south Korean people unite solidly behind the banner of anti-American struggle for national salvation and check and thwart the American imperialist scheme of “separate elections and separate government”.

Rejecting dependence on foreign forces is no less important than unity in the struggle to smash the American imperialist manoeuvres for “separate elections and separate government” and set up a unified, democratic government.

The question of our nation should be solved by our people themselves through consultation and under no circumstances by foreign powers. If the Korean people cannot cope with their own problems, then they should be ashamed of themselves.

The idea of solving the nation’s problems by depending on foreign forces is flunkeyism towards great powers; it will never bring the reunification of the country.

Imperialist powers are not eager to see the reunification of our country and our national prosperity. They have divided and ruled other nations down through history. Dependence on foreign forces will only lead to enslavement and the loss of national sovereignty.

Surrounded by big powers, Korea has been seriously infected with flunkeyism for many generations. At one time flunkeyism led to the fall of our country, preventing our nation from resisting foreign invaders with concerted effort. We must never repeat the mistake. Why should our nation expect help from big powers, when, if united, they are capable of solving their own problems by themselves? We should never tolerate interference by big powers in our internal affairs.

As for the Soviet army stationing in north Korea, they are fundamentally different from the American troops, an imperialist army, who, occupying south Korea, are carrying out a colonial enslavement policy. But we requested the withdrawal of the Soviet army because they, too, are foreign troops. They promised to leave our country, and before long they will all pull out.

We, the Korean nation, have the ability to ward off the danger of a permanent national split and achieve the reunification and independence of the country by our own efforts.

We are a resourceful nation which has created a resplendent culture through our long 5,000-year history, a courageous nation which has

fought for national independence to the last and defeated foreign invaders.

Today, our nation has a powerful democratic base in north Korea. Political parties, social organizations and the entire people in the north are now united, and the north Korean economy is recovering and developing into a strong, independent national economy. Moreover, in north Korea there is a powerful national army capable of protecting the country and the people from foreign aggression. The democratic base in north Korea, which has been solidly built politically, economically and militarily, is a dependable guarantee for surmounting the danger of permanent national division and winning the reunification and independence of the country.

We should never depend on foreign forces but prevent a national split, reunify the country and set up a unified, democratic government by our own efforts.

In conclusion, I would like to answer the questions you have put to me.

You asked for the resumption of the supply of irrigation water from Kuam Reservoir and Ryeui Reservoir to the south Korean peasants in Yonbaek Plain. If it is the earnest request of the peasants, I will see to it that the request is complied with.

North Korea's suspension of irrigation water supplies to the Yonbaek area in south Korea is due to the fact that the US army did not keep the promise they had made with north Korea. I will arrange for the resumption of water supplies to the area, and the Americans should not be permitted to get irrigation fees from the peasants.

You say you would like to remain in north Korea but will return to south Korea because, if you remain, the enemy might spread the misleading rumour that you are being detained by the north. I think your decision is appropriate.

You remarked you would fight back in south Korea and come to north Korea again if things are too hard. I hope you will. We shall always welcome you to north Korea. Then, you shall have an orchard to tend and you will be able to spend the rest of your life in peace, as

you wish. The orchard will be given to you by our people's government and not myself. Under the law of the people's government those who have rendered distinguished service for the country and the people will be treated well.

Your request for a gift of paper and writing brushes will be granted. If they are needed for literature to arouse the people to the struggle against the American imperialist moves for "separate elections and separate government", we can give you as much paper and as many writing brushes as you want, can't we?

You offered me the seal of your "Provisional Government in Shanghai", but I hope you will keep it with you. What is the use of it to me? A deep trust of the masses is all that we need.

From now the struggle may become more arduous. You faced many difficulties when you were coming to north Korea, but when you get back to south Korea, the American imperialists and their minions will hurl all sorts of slanders against you and may even try to intimidate you. So you must always be wide-awake.

We north Korean brothers will always give active material and moral support and encouragement to our south Korean brothers in their anti-American struggle for national salvation.

Our struggle is sure to emerge victorious because it is righteous. I am convinced that you will fight for the reunification and independence of the country in the front ranks of the masses of the south Korean people. I sincerely wish you good health till the day the country's reunification is celebrated.

TALK WITH HONG MYONG HUI

May 6, 1948

More than ten days have already passed since I first met you at the north-south joint conference. For several days now, I have been hoping to see you, but I could not find the time because of pressures of work. Only today have I been able to snatch at the chance.

Did you feel at home, travelling through so many places at your advanced age? I am afraid you must have suffered many inconveniences, no matter how kind our officials might be in serving you. I am very glad to hear that you have looked over factories, farm villages, educational establishments and cultural institutions in comfort and in good health. Nonetheless, I think a man of your age should refrain from overworking himself and take special care of his health. From now, you will have a great deal of work to do for the country and people. You are bound in duty to keep your health strong so as to be able to carry on working in the years to come

Even under the tyranny of Japanese imperialism in the past, you held out, living up to national conscience and honour. From the days we were fighting Japanese imperialism in the mountains, we have had high respect for people like you who kept national conscience and honour, unyieldingly struggling at home against imperialist Japan. Preserving national conscience and honour was not an easy thing that could be done by anyone in the years of Japanese rule. As people who fought battles directly against the Japanese imperialists in the mountains we know well how costly it was. In the post-liberation

years, too, you have worked for the patriotic cause, despite the appeasement and deceptive tricks of the Americans. We have been told that together with Mr. Ho Hon and other persons from different social strata, you formed a preparatory committee to welcome us and worked on it as chairman. Although the situation at home prevented the realization of the purpose, we were greatly moved and inspired by your patriotic action.

What is your impression of the different places you have visited in north Korea? You say that you never knew such big strides had been made over here, though you imagined that north Korea would be much advanced. Other south Korean delegates to the north-south joint conference, too, are unanimous about this. One of them remarked that he was amazed at the sight of our workers drawing molten iron by their own efforts at the Hwanghae Iron Works and that such a thing was beyond imagination in south Korea.

The situation now in north Korea is not too bad, as you well know. As a result of the democratic reforms, the aftereffects of the evil colonial rule of Japanese imperialism have been liquidated in all domains of social life, and a truly democratic system established. The factories and other enterprises damaged by the Japanese imperialists have been rebuilt and expanded, and the national economy is developing in a planned fashion. Agricultural production is growing year by year. Schools have been opened in many places. Workers, peasants and all the rest of the people are working to the best of their abilities and studying as much as they wish, freely participating in socio-political activities. In short, north Korea is vigorously marching along the road of democracy.

The progress made in the short period after liberation has been possible primarily because our people have advanced bravely along the truly democratic road of their own choice, that is, the road of liberty and complete independence and the road of unlimited light and happiness. Convinced that the democratic road is the only path our country should follow, the north Korean people have risen as one to build a new, democratic Korea. All the people have struggled in firm

unity, the strong contributing their strength, the well-informed, their knowledge, and the rich, their money. This has enabled us to achieve great successes in the building of a new, democratic Korea.

Great as they are, the successes we have scored in north Korea are only an initial gain in the light of the country's bright future.

In this beautiful land of golden tapestry of 3,000 ri, we must build a new society which will be free from exploitation and oppression and provide everyone with an abundant and cultured life. This is not a daydream nor is it an ideal which will come true only in the distant future. A society, where all our brothers in the north and the south will enjoy an affluent and cultured life, will be built in our country in the not too distant future.

Our people have now risen up vigorously to accelerate the building of a new society. No one will be able to check this advance as our people, deeply convinced of the justness of their cause, march forward with fervour towards a new society. There is not a shadow of doubt that they will win a brilliant victory in their struggle to build a new society.

The situation now in south Korea is miserable beyond description, as you yourself have seen and experienced. You say that north Korea is like a flourishing family and that south Korea is like one on the decline. I think this is quite an appropriate way of expressing the striking contrast between the two parts of Korea.

In south Korea now, terrorism and murder are rampant and abuses are rife in broad daylight. The people, deprived of their rights as a liberated nation, are staggering from hunger and poverty. Should our nation suffer like this again because of the Yankees after groaning under Japanese rule for 36 years? Heartrending, indeed! I can hardly sleep when I think of the south Korean people's misery.

The American imperialists are wily. When their colonial enslavement policy on south Korea was brought to light, they took the Korean question to the UN and rigged up the "UN Temporary Commission on Korea" with the help of their voting machinery, and without the representation of the Korean people. This is a humiliation of and a contempt for our nation.

I think you know well that the “UN Temporary Commission on Korea” is nothing but a specious camouflage to “legalize” the American imperialist policy of aggression against south Korea. The American imperialists are making a frantic effort to stage “separate elections” in south Korea under the supervision of the “commission”, despite the strong opposition of the Korean people. This has resulted in the danger of a national split.

We cannot be indifferent to this state of affairs. We are one and the same nation who have lived in the same land from ancient times. Our nation has preserved its purity as a single nation for many ages. How can we allow it to be divided now? If we were to remain onlookers to the grim reality of national division instead of correcting the situation, we should be committing a grave crime against our posterity.

Under the critical situation in our country, we proposed that the joint conference of representatives of political parties and public organizations of north and south Korea be held to discuss measures to check and frustrate the moves for “separate elections and separate government”. The proposal won enthusiastic support both from the patriotic democrats and even from certain people who had had illusions about the United States until only recently. In response to the proposal, you and many other representatives of south Korean political parties and social organizations came to Pyongyang at the risk of your lives. Thus, the historic north-south joint conference was held in Pyongyang.

The conference is of enormous importance in our people’s struggle to save the country. It agreed to foil the American imperialist manoeuvres for “separate elections and separate government”, and to achieve territorial integrity and national reunification, and it took measures for ensuring unity of action in the struggle for national salvation. Never before in the history of our nation had so many representatives of political parties and social organizations with different political views got together to discuss the destiny of the country and nation and reached unanimity. The north-south joint conference will go down for all time to come in the history of our

nation as a great event which united patriots of all social strata behind the banner of territorial integrity and national reunification.

The decision of the conference is arousing the sympathy of the entire people in north and south Korea and powerfully inspiring them to the campaign to oppose “separate elections and separate government”. The north Korean people have had many meetings and demonstrations to support the conference decision. They are stirring up a valiant campaign to increase production as a show of their determined opposition to “separate elections and separate government”. The south Korean people, too, are waging a gigantic, heroic struggle against these schemes in answer to the call of the conference. This proves that the decision is in complete accord with the interests of the entire Korean people.

Despite their differences in ideology and political views, the political parties and social organizations in the two parts of Korea should unite more closely in the spirit of the conference and the ideals of national reunification. Unity is the only way to national resurrection. If the patriotic political parties and social organizations and all the people in the north and the south fight in firm unity, they will be able to smash the reactionary scheme of the American imperialists for “separate elections and separate government” and establish a unified government on democratic principles.

South Korean representatives to the conference are now returning. We cannot but feel sorry to part with them with whom we sat together, though for a brief period, to discuss the destiny of the country and nation and pledged to join hands in the fight. Of course, on the road of struggle for the country and nation, our paths may well cross again many times. But it does not please me to see the delegates going back to south Korea where the American imperialists and reactionaries are holding sway.

What are you going to do now? You say you want to remain in north Korea. That is a good idea.

People like Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik have had to go back to south Korea in case they give the enemy the pretext for misleading

propaganda, though they wanted to stay on over here. But your case is different. For a long time the American imperialists and their stooges have observed you with hatred. So, if they knew that you had been here, they would not leave you alone. For this reason, you would not have freedom of political activity back there, and even your personal safety might be endangered.

This year you will celebrate your sixtieth birthday. You are now advanced in years and you also have lots of work to do over here. So let us work together here in north Korea.

For the building of a new country, we must build national culture and develop education. Indeed, we have much work to do.

Developing the education of the younger generation and the training of the nation's cadres is one of the cardinal tasks in the building of a new country. As a result of the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, our nation is short of cadres and this is now a major difficulty.

In order to solve this problem we have set up the University and many colleges and are educating new intellectuals from among the sons and daughters of the working people. Soon we shall have intellectuals of our own training. But they will not be sufficient to fill up the shortage. We are going to establish more institutions of higher learning and train our own cadres on a large scale. And we intend to introduce compulsory primary education in a few years. That is the work for intellectuals like you.

We must quickly develop national culture as well.

We are a resourceful nation with a 5,000-year-long history and a brilliant culture. From ancient times, our people have developed a resplendent culture and created many excellent things of great cultural value for which our country and nation are renowned abroad.

In the past, the Japanese imperialists tried in every way to blot out the brilliant national culture of our people. They restrained its development to the utmost, robbed our country of many of her precious cultural assets and even tried to obliterate our language, both spoken and written. As a result of this policy of obliteration, our people's

resplendent culture lost its lustre, trampled upon by the aggressors.

Rehabilitating and developing our national culture miserably trodden underfoot by the Japanese imperialists is of great significance in building a new, democratic Korea. Only by developing national culture can we increase the national pride and self-confidence of our people and accelerate the building of a new, democratic Korea. We must restore the brilliance of our national culture and further advance it so that it may contribute to educating the people in noble patriotism and to building a rich, strong, independent and sovereign state.

A correct approach to the cultural heritage is important in revitalizing and developing the national culture. We should not try to revive the things of the past just as they were nor should we attempt to negate everything. Both of these attitudes will hinder the healthy progress of national culture. In carrying forward its heritage, we keep to the principle of discarding outdated elements and tapping progressive and popular elements, developing them to suit the tastes of the people and current reality in the building of a new, democratic Korea. It is according to this principle that we must take over and advance our national cultural heritage and build a new, democratic national culture.

As you know, language is one of the common features of a nation as well as a basic element characterizing the national form of culture. Unless we develop the Korean language, we shall be unable to preserve the national form of our culture. But the present-day Korean language has been flooded with foreign words from Japanese and other languages. If this is left unchecked, our language may lose its purity. So we must strive to keep it pure and develop it.

The work of building the new Korea's national culture, too, should naturally be undertaken by such people as you.

I think you can also do the job of knitting together the patriotic, democratic forces and awakening the people in south Korea. If you, as a former resident of south Korea, disseminate widely our policy for national reunification and the realities in north Korea to south Korean patriots and other people, you will exert a fine influence upon them.

You are afraid you may not be able to cope with such heavy tasks. As a matter of course, they are no easy tasks. But, if you have an ardent love of the country and a strong fighting spirit, you will be able to do any job, however difficult. I will help you in every way to work to the best of your abilities.

Intellectuals play an important part not only in the building of a new country but also in revolutionary struggle at large. That is why we always value and love them.

From the outset of our revolutionary struggle, we have been opposed to approaching the question of intellectuals in our country with a general and formalistic conception.

Our intellectuals hate Japanese imperialism and love their country and nation because they were subjected to national humiliation and discrimination under its colonial rule. We communists are fighting for the country and nation and as such have no reason not to trust intellectuals who detest Japanese imperialism and love their homeland and fellow countrymen. In the old days, during our struggle in the mountains, therefore, we never compromised with narrow-minded fellows who blindly rejected intellectuals by stigmatizing them as “learned elements” and “people from rich families”. We defined them as part of the motive force behind the Korean revolution like the workers and peasantry and led them to take up the road of revolutionary struggle. As a result, quite a few intellectuals participated in the armed struggle against the Japanese and fought well to the last.

After liberation, too, we have given them important assignments and provided them with the opportunity to display their abilities to the full. I believe you have seen on your trips to different places that intellectuals are now working in important posts, devoting all their wisdom and talents to the cause of the country and nation.

An overwhelming majority of the intellectuals in south Korea are yearning for north Korea and following us. That is because they have a national conscience and believe in truth and know the striking contrast between the realities in the north and the south and the correctness of

our policy towards intellectuals. Of course, some south Korean intellectuals are still wavering from their mistrust of us, affected by the false Japanese imperialist propaganda of the past and the American imperialist anti-communist propaganda. They are misled by the idea that communists will break with them some day even though communists are now proposing a joint struggle with them. We communists are most faithful to revolutionary ethics. We shall always help those who are determined to go the same way with us and lead them along to the end of our journey. Although some south Korean intellectuals are now vacillating because they are ill-informed of our policy towards intellectuals, they will change their minds in the end and follow us, taking up the road of struggle. An intellectual who loves the country and nation even to the slightest degree cannot help following us.

We expect a great deal from you. I believe that you will do many excellent things for our country and people.

You should take special care of your health from now. You may find it inconvenient to stay away from home, even if just for the time being. If so, let us know promptly so that we can help you out. We will take measures to bring your family from Seoul immediately.

**YOU MUST BE A POWERFUL PEOPLE'S
ARMED FORCE THAT DEFENDS
THE INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY
AND THE PEOPLE**

**Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Officers
of the Independent Security Brigade
under the Interior Bureau**

May 11, 1948

Comrades,

Today I am very happy to witness how vigorously you are working to build a fine independent security brigade in union with men and noncommissioned officers, despite the fact that everything is in short supply and times are difficult.

For us, as we build an independent and sovereign state, it is most important to found a people's armed force to defend the interests of the country and the people. That is why some time ago we formed the People's Army and a security brigade in spite of the shortage of arms and other difficulties. Our army must solve the problem of supplying itself with food, clothing, shelter and weapons using domestic products, although they are insufficient. Since our country is not yet strong, it is no easy task for us to maintain a modern army.

Nevertheless, all the officers, including the brigadier, noncommissioned officers and men, have striven courageously with the fervent passion of patriotic youth, and founded the excellent brigade we see today, overcoming all obstacles and hardships. I thank

you for this on behalf of the People's Committee of North Korea.

We can now say that we have laid the foundation of the armed forces under the Interior Bureau.

This army has a mission which is a little different from that of the People's Army. The People's Army is an army which will play the leading role in the event of war to defend the country against armed invasion by foreign aggressors.

On the other hand, the army under the Interior Bureau is one that will always defend the country, our state power and the people's interests against encroachment by internal and external enemies of all hues.

Since this army is mobilized all the time, it must have political awareness before anything else, in order to perform its duty with honour. In other words, its soldiers must be ideologically prepared to risk their lives fighting for the country and the people anywhere at any time. You must be men and officers always resolved to fight at your posts to defend the people, men and officers determined to shed blood at any moment without hesitation for the country and the people. Only when you are always ready in this way will you be able to act at any time and thus defeat the enemy.

Unless the army under the Interior Bureau can play its part to the full, it will be impossible to defend the country and state power in the fight against the enemy, no matter how powerful the People's Army may be.

The army under the Interior Bureau must keep order in the country in peacetime and, in wartime, must make sure that the People's Army has sufficient time to move to the front and that the entire people rally to support the front, so that the People's Army is in a position to win battles.

Comrades,

Your march past, physical training and close-combat drill today have firmly convinced me that the brigade will further develop in the future. But you must not rest content in the least. You should continue to persevere in your efforts to build a better and stronger security brigade.

Let me set you the following few tasks:

Firstly, you must be sure to learn how to perform swift combat movements and master skilful tactics.

In order to defeat any enemy whatever, you must know how to employ skilful tactics and to move quickly in battle. An army must be able to adopt dexterous tactics and annihilate numerically larger opposition with a small force.

The enemy of the people is always watching for a chance to attack us unawares, resorting to all sorts of tricks. Therefore, our army's tactics must always be superior to those of the enemy. In particular, soldiers of the army under the Interior Bureau, either individually or in small groups, will often have unexpected encounters with outnumbering opposition and have to act independently without being given the time to receive commands or seek collective advice.

Therefore, while conducting intensive training according to combat regulations, we should learn the excellent guerrilla tactics applied in the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and study the military history and experience of many countries. Thus we will always be ready to prevail over the enemy through skilful tactics and swift combat movements in whatever complicated and difficult situation.

Secondly, the army must shoot well.

An army is of no use if it fails to kill its enemies, no matter how excellent its tactics and how swift its combat movements. A hawk is of no use if it cannot catch pheasants, however well it flies. An army must know how to encircle enemies and break enemy encirclements and also how to annihilate them. So all soldiers from officers to privates must be skilled in shooting.

Since the soldiers of the Interior Bureau's army are often called upon to fight individually against one, three or ten foes instead of fighting collectively in large numbers, they must be better marksmen than the men of the People's Army. To win this sort of battle, they have to overwhelm the enemy first. If my bullet misses the enemy, he may hit me. Then I will be unable to defend my post, to say nothing of my own life.

That is why the army under the Interior Bureau must be good marksmen, capable of killing an enemy with one shot under all circumstances.

I was told that you shoot well, but you must never be satisfied with your present technique. You should be ace marksmen through harder training.

Thirdly, it is necessary to keep physically fit.

If you cannot approach the enemy fearlessly and move before him freely, you will not be able to defeat him however skilful your tactics and however good your marksmanship. Only when you are physically fit will you be able to press the enemy hard and move freely in front of him. So you must exert yourselves and train day and night. At the same time as doing a variety of vigorous exercises, including heavy gymnastics, you must toughen yourselves up with combat training.

Thus you will have skilful tactics and excellent marksmanship as well as bodies tough enough to allow you to do these things.

Fourthly, if you are to become fine soldiers, the three qualifications I have just mentioned will be essential to you but it is all the more important to firmly equip yourselves politically.

A soldier without political awareness cannot be called a really good military man, no matter how skilful his tactics, how good his marksmanship and how fit he may be physically. Working-class consciousness and boundless fidelity to the country and the people are a soldier's most important qualities.

Only when an army is filled with an infinite love of its country and a burning hatred for the enemy can it display great combat efficiency.

Comrades,

You who have joined the first brigade of the Interior Bureau's army are its backbone and have the honour of laying its groundwork. Around this security brigade as its nucleus your army will grow in size and strength in the future.

In order to perform all your honourable duties, you must make unremitting endeavours in training and study. You must steadily work to be well versed in tactics and shooting, to toughen yourselves up

physically and, at the same time, to raise your level of political consciousness.

To do all this well, it is necessary to establish discipline and order in the army and observe it strictly. Discipline and order is the life of the army. An army without discipline is as powerless as the rabble.

Establishing order is not a matter of form. Order shows the ideological state of the collective. It is needed for remoulding people's ideology and consciousness and for forcefully rousing them to a single objective.

In the days of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle the Japanese imperialists employed a stratagem to undermine our ranks from within in an attempt to wipe out guerrillas. The enemy plotted to slip their stooges into our guerrilla ranks to spread false rumours, alienate our comrades from each other, and to derange discipline and order, thus shattering the ideological unity of the guerrillas and demoralizing them.

However, since we guerrillas were equipped with revolutionary patriotism and firmly united and always maintained an iron discipline and order, we never fell for the enemy's trick of alienation but could distinguish friend from foe and deliver them crushing blows every time.

Although you did not serve in the old Japanese army, you all have the ideological remnants of Japanese imperialism in your minds. So you must strive unremittingly to do away with these remnants as soon as possible and observe discipline and order voluntarily.

In the case of our soldiers, discipline and order must be maintained come what may by their lofty patriotic resolve; it must not be maintained by coercion. Officers should be strict with their men where duties are concerned, but, in everyday life, should love them and take good care of them. Our soldiers left their homes and parents, brothers and sisters and joined the army with the sole determination to defend the interests of the country and the people. Therefore, the army is their home and the officers are their elder brothers. So they believe in you officers and nobody else.

You officers should love and care for your men like your own brothers. Then they will respect you the more and rely on you the more firmly. Thus, our officers and men should be on good terms and united like the members of a family. This sort of lofty friendship between comrades is one of the enviable characteristics our army has had since its very inception.

Lastly, in order to be good officers, it is very important that you should study strenuously.

Officers should find the right answer to any problem in the units and be ready to adopt the right decision. On the battlefield they must quickly evaluate the ever-changing situation and take proper steps in good time. If they correctly evaluate the enemy's situation, they may survive even in a deadly situation and vice versa. Therefore, they need keen judgment and resolution above all else. These faculties can be cultivated only through tireless effort and constant training to acquire military knowledge.

Once upon a time a general said, "Much sweat in training means little blood in battle." This is quite correct. Only when you train yourselves hard and learn a great deal in time of peace can you act quickly in an emergency and discharge your duties admirably.

In conclusion, reiterating my warm thanks to all of you servicemen for your selfless endeavours to develop the brigade as it is today, I hope you will make even more vigorous efforts to play your role as the hard core of the army under the Interior Bureau.

**LET US FURTHER CONSOLIDATE
AND DEVELOP THE SUCCESSES
ACHIEVED IN THE CAMPAIGN
AGAINST ILLITERACY**

**Talk with Officials of the Central
Anti-Illiteracy Exhibition**

May 22, 1948

I looked round the Central Anti-Illiteracy Exhibition today, and I can now see how our people have striven to rid themselves of the ignorance brought by the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism and what great successes they have achieved in the abolition of illiteracy.

You have obviously worked hard to prepare this exhibition. Its stands are sufficiently well arranged to have considerable educational value.

The visual aids and other materials displayed in the exhibition are all good. The graduation exam papers of the students of the Korean alphabet schools clearly demonstrate the successes achieved in the effort to wipe out illiteracy. Nearly all the students of the Korean alphabet school in Okgang-dong, Kasan Sub-county, Uiju County, North Phyongan Province gained excellent marks in the graduation exam. This is very heartening.

I was deeply impressed to see some of the more than 90,000 letters of thanks addressed to the Party's Central Committee and the People's Committee of North Korea from graduates of the Korean alphabet schools in all parts of north Korea.

Those who did not even know the alphabet and could not write their own names because they had been denied the opportunity of learning under the harsh maltreatment and penury of former times have come to read Korean and even write letters unaided for the first time in their life. How immensely delighted they must be! I do not think they will ever forget today's emotion and delight at having freed themselves from illiteracy.

The abolition of illiteracy is an important national task in the building of a democratic country and one of the prerequisites for the people to enjoy cultured lives.

Under the ruthless colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in the past our people were not only cruelly exploited and oppressed but also had to live a miserable life of ignorance, even deprived of the right to learning. Because of Japanese imperialism's policies of obliterating their national culture and keeping them ignorant, the Korean people could not learn their own spoken and written language freely. As a consequence, many of our working people were unlettered. Right after liberation there were more than 2.3 million adult illiterates in north Korea alone. In particular, women who make up half the population, and peasants were mostly unlettered.

While so many people are left uneducated, it is impossible to build an independent and sovereign democratic state and provide the working people with cultured lives. Indeed, illiteracy constitutes a great obstacle to building a new, democratic state.

Thanks to the democratic reforms carried out by our people's power after liberation, the peasants have become masters of the land and the workers, masters of the factories, and women have equal rights with men. But the people have not yet extricated themselves completely from illiteracy and, as a result, they are unable to discharge their duty as they ought in the building of an independent and sovereign state.

Only when the working people are educated will they be able to equip themselves with right democratic ideas, and acquire scientific and technical know-how and improve their professional skills, thus

contributing actively to the sacred cause of building a prosperous new country.

Today our people's revolutionary enthusiasm is very high. But enthusiasm alone cannot solve problems. If one is illiterate one cannot take an active part in state affairs, however great one's patriotism and zeal for building the nation. Only when one has great fidelity to the country as well as political, economic and cultural knowledge can one, in fact, faithfully contribute to the job of building a democratic state. If one is so illiterate that one does not know how to read newspapers and is ignorant of the domestic or world situation, how can one participate as a master in the nation's politics and do anything substantial towards building the country?

Knowledge is hope and ignorance is darkness. Only when people are educated can they look forward clearly to the future and feel that life is worth living.

If we do not know our language we may lose our sense of nationality and fall once more into colonial slavery.

In view of the importance of abolishing illiteracy, the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea adopted a decision on the abolition of illiteracy in November 1946 and saw to it that a mass campaign was launched on a broad front. In addition, it fixed a period for an intensive drive against illiteracy from December last year till March this year and roused all the people to rise up as one in this drive.

Under the slogans "Knowledge is power and ignorance is ruin!" and "Let us learn, learn, learn!", everyone—men and women, the young and the old—is now hard at work learning to read and write throughout north Korea. At present the people's zeal for study is extremely high. Peasants are learning the alphabet by the sides of fields during their breaks; women are reading books, while at work in the kitchen. The flames of the campaign against illiteracy are enveloping all parts of the country and the voices of people reading are ringing everywhere.

To assist in the job of wiping out illiteracy, many workers of different political parties and social and cultural organizations have been mobilized and teachers and students of the University and all the

other schools across the country are teaching the alphabet at farm villages and towns, availing themselves of vacations and after-school hours.

Upholding the Party's call, all who are learning and who are teaching alike have displayed completely spontaneous enthusiasm for the abolition of illiteracy, an important national task, with the result that in less than three years after liberation over two million people have emerged from the darkness of ignorance and greeted the light of a new day. The education of more than two million illiterates in such a short period is a really tremendous success, in which we may take a legitimate pride.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the PCNK, I would like to extend thanks to the leading officials engaged in the campaign against illiteracy throughout the country for their strenuous efforts to enable the students of the Korean alphabet schools to cast off their illiteracy and to read and write, and to the teachers and students for all the assistance they have lent to the campaign.

You can feel justly proud of today's successes in the fight to abolish illiteracy. No one can deny these successes or belittle them.

However, you must not rest on your laurels. Drawing on the successes and experience you have already gained, you should conduct the campaign against illiteracy more energetically so that the remnants of illiteracy will be swept away as early as practicable and so that those freed from illiteracy, too, can continue to learn in earnest.

The PCNK at its 52nd Session last November adopted the decision to eliminate illiteracy completely in north Korea by the end of March 1949.

To do this, we must conduct another vigorous campaign. It may be very difficult to educate all the remaining illiterates. Those who are still unable to read or write are mostly old men and women, and peasants in remote mountain villages. Many of the old folk are unwilling to attend the Korean alphabet schools, claiming they are so old that it is of no use to learn to read now; and quite a few women are ashamed of going out to learn the alphabet because they are still

shackled to outdated feudal customs. Explanation and persuasion must be conducted efficiently among these old men and women so that they may fully understand the importance of the campaign against illiteracy and willingly attend literacy classes.

Needless to say, it is not easy to teach the alphabet to elderly people and housewives. If we try to teach them the way we do young people, we will not be successful. They should be taught in a variety of different ways to suit their specific needs so that they will all take an interest in study. At home children should help their parents and husbands their wives, and every educated person should take care of an illiterate man or woman and teach them in a responsible way. In this way everyone should be able to read and write.

Furthermore, we should let those who have finished the Korean alphabet schools continue their study, thus consolidating the success achieved in the abolition of illiteracy.

We should bear in mind that even those freed from ignorance may become illiterate again, unless they keep learning. It is hard to learn to read but easy to forget. So we should be deeply concerned that those who have eradicated their illiteracy do not become unlettered again.

As we complete the job to abolish illiteracy in the near future and develop adult education at a higher level, we intend to introduce universal compulsory primary education from 1950 and thus enable all working people to acquire the general knowledge of a child who has finished primary school. More Korean alphabet schools and adult schools should be set up and adult education should be conducted extensively so that illiteracy will be swept away and, at the same time, those already freed from ignorance should be allowed to enter adult schools to continue studying.

I hope you will achieve even greater successes in the fight against illiteracy by displaying great patriotism and zeal for building the nation.

LET US MAKE THE MUSAN MINE A DEPENDABLE IRON-ORE CENTRE

Instructions to Officials of the Musan Mine

June 7, 1948

The Musan Mine is a valuable asset, a treasure that can guarantee our nation's prosperity and progress. It is, indeed, the biggest iron-ore centre in our country. It has deposits totalling over 1,000 million tons. It has better prospects and mining conditions than any other mine. Such large open-cast workings are rare in other countries. It is said that the Japanese imperialists relied on this mine when launching their "Greater East Asia War". But they were defeated before they could exploit its deposits to the full.

The Musan Mine workers should feel proud and honoured to be working at this mine, the pride of our country and one of the world's greatest iron-ore centres, and should consequently produce more iron ore so that it may be used effectively in building a rich and strong, new country.

The task before the Musan Mine workers is to produce high-grade iron ore in large quantities for the iron works. Producing the iron ore is the first step in iron production. Only when this mine produces iron ore of good quality, can the iron works make large quantities of iron to help develop the engineering industry. If we are to completely rebuild and put into normal operation the Chongjin Iron Works and Steel Plant and other metallurgical plants in future, the Musan Mine must play an important role.

With a view to supplying more iron ore to iron works, the Musan Mine must be fully rebuilt and reequipped as soon as possible.

In the past you worked very hard to rebuild your mine destroyed by the Japanese imperialists when they fled, and with success. However, it cannot be said even now that this mine has been fully rehabilitated. You must completely rebuild and reequip the mine quickly so as to produce larger quantities of iron ore.

You must not only restore the mine to its former state, but must also expand it with a view to the future. If you rebuild the mine just as it was, you cannot produce iron ore in large quantities or develop it with an eye to future prospects.

It is a difficult job, of course, to rehabilitate and expand the devastated mine because we lack technique, materials, funds, in fact everything today. However, it can be done if the workers and technicians, the masters of the mine, turn out as one with a high degree of enthusiasm for nation-building and patriotic devotion. Nothing is impossible for man in this world. He can do any difficult work, once he resolves to make the efforts. You must have the strong conviction that you cannot fail to rebuild and expand the mine yourselves and you must devote all your energies and zeal to this work.

The state should send a technical group to assist in the rebuilding and expansion of the mine and make sure that all the technicians and skilled workers who left here for other places are brought back.

For the present, you must rehabilitate and expand the stope and ore-dressing plant so that ore may be produced and dressed in large quantities.

The existing stope is very narrow and there is a mountain of debris piled up by the Japanese imperialists. You must remove the debris quickly and enlarge the stope. At the same time, the mining equipment must be completely overhauled. You must repair and put to use all the heavy-duty excavators and trucks that have been damaged. In this mine the chief means of transporting iron ore is truck. It is said that only seven out of the mine's 20 heavy-duty trucks have been repaired. Good

arrangements should be made to repair the remaining ones which are still out of order.

You should also rapidly rebuild and reequip the ore-dressing plant. However much iron ore you produce, if the ore-dressing plant is not working, it is of no use. You must first repair the roof of the ore-dressing plant so that the valuable equipment is protected from the rain. And all the ore-dressing equipment such as the conical crusher must be rebuilt, repaired or readjusted so that they are fit for use.

It is necessary to rebuild the repair and maintenance shop. This will supply the machine parts needed for the rebuilding and expansion of the mine in good time. You should enlarge the repair and maintenance shop and make some of the machines and equipment for yourselves.

You must take good care of your equipment. Equipment is an important means of production. When looked after properly, it can be utilized to better purpose, production can be placed on a normal footing and accidents prevented.

This mine, however, does not take good care of its equipment. Valuable machines and equipment are being handled carelessly and the machine room is in disorder. The workers do not look after the equipment because they have not got rid of their bad habits of the old days under the Japanese capitalists when they worked in a slipshod manner.

To keep equipment in good condition, the workers have to be taught how to take good care of it. You should make it clear to them that all the machines and equipment are the valuable property of the country and the people so that they take better care of them.

With a view to keeping the machines and equipment in good condition a strict system of checking and repairing them should be established. Such practices as being engrossed only in the immediate production and overusing the machines and equipment must be stopped and they must be overhauled and repaired according to a plan.

In order to keep the equipment in proper condition, all the workers should improve their technique and skill. Only when they can handle their machines and equipment skilfully, can they prolong their span of

life and also repair them in time when they are out of order. Therefore, you should make sure that all the workers strive to raise their technical and skill levels.

The machine room and all the other workplaces must be kept clean. Workers who have become masters of the country should never leave their workplaces untidy. The working class must always keep their workplaces neat and tidy. The compound of the mine should also be kept in good order. You should repair the roads within the compound and plant plenty of trees.

Thoroughgoing labour protection and safety precaution measures should be taken.

In the past, the Japanese imperialists were engrossed in bleeding our workers white and paid no attention to safety precautions and labour protection on the job. This is absolutely impermissible under our social system which regards the workers as most precious. We should take foolproof measures for labour safety and protection to prevent all possible accidents so that the workers can always work in safety.

The mine should check all hazardous spots and, where necessary, safety devices ought to be installed or repairs undertaken. Close attention should be paid, in particular, to equipping the ore-dressing plant, stope and cable cars with safety devices. Since many workers ride in the cable cars, the wire ropes and cars must be constantly checked and repaired at regular intervals so that no accidents occur.

Top officials of the mine should take good care of the workers' living conditions.

We rebuild and expand the mine to make the country rich and strong and the workers' lives more affluent. They should always pay the utmost attention to the life of their workers as parents do with their children.

You must supply your workers with sufficient non-staple foodstuffs. The nutrition canteen must be arranged well and the quality of the meals improved. When I dropped in at the canteen today I found that the quality of the meals was not so good and the place not at all

clean either. The mine should serve the workers a wide variety of dishes of high nutritive value to suit their taste. It would be a good idea to pick blueberries and other wild fruit abundant in this area and make syrup and biscuits and the like out of them for the workers.

The canteen must have good tables and chairs. You have plenty of trees and a large saw mill here in Musan. So, if only you make the effort, you can produce as many good tables and chairs as you want.

The hostel, bathhouse, barbershop and other public service facilities should be extended so that the employees here will not feel the least inconvenience.

I feel sure you will rebuild and expand the mine as soon as possible by displaying patriotic zeal and creative initiative and produce ore in larger quantities so as to contribute actively to the construction of a new, democratic Korea.

DUTIES OF THE CHAIRMAN OF A COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

Instructions to the Participants in the National Training Course for the Chairmen of City and County People's Committees

June 18, 1948

I believe you have learned a lot at this training course. Availing myself of this opportunity to see you, I would like to speak about the duties of a county people's committee chairman.

Since liberation, the people in north Korea have scored great success in their struggle to build a new, democratic Korea under the leadership of the people's government. Our people have successfully carried out the democratic reforms, rebuilt the damaged factories and other enterprises, and at the same time, cemented the unity of all the patriotic, democratic forces. They have thus created in north Korea a solid base for national reunification and for the building of a new, democratic Korea. That, however, is only an initial success, the first step towards the attainment of the great cause we have taken up.

Today we are confronted with the responsible task of further consolidating and developing the results of the democratic reforms and setting up a completely independent, sovereign and democratic state which is prosperous.

For the successful fulfilment of this historic task, the officials of the people's committees, the county people's committee chairmen in particular, should carry out their duties properly.

The county people's committee chairman is in charge of all affairs in the county, a section of the country. He has the responsibility of looking after the administrative work for the inhabitants and economic, cultural, educational, health and all other affairs of the county.

A matter of primary importance in his job is to steadily improve the well-being of the people.

Promoting the people's well-being is his basic duty stemming from the character of the people's government and the pivotal point of all his activities. Ours is a genuinely people's government which has been set up by the masses of the people in accordance with their will and by their own efforts and which is to serve the interests and happiness of the people. He should, therefore, work for the people and make every effort to improve their living standards.

To better provide the people with a livelihood, the county people's committee chairman must pay attention to developing agriculture and local industries. This is the way to increase the production of food, vegetables, a variety of daily necessities and processed foodstuffs to satisfy the people's requirements.

County people's committee chairmen must see to it that the peasants grow their crops well and produce plenty of rice. There is an old saying: "Agriculture is the great foundation of the country." This stresses the great importance of agriculture which provides food for the people. Without eating, you can neither survive nor build the country. County people's committee chairmen should give full play to the patriotic enthusiasm of the peasants who have become masters of the land so that they may increase grain production.

If one is to succeed in farming, one must prepare for it meticulously, and do all farm work in season—from spring ploughing and sowing down to weeding, harvesting and threshing. County people's committee chairmen must go among the peasants and give proper guidance to them to do good farm work in conformity with the climate and natural features of the region. In particular, the peasants should be encouraged to actively apply advanced farming methods and

also cultivate all their land without leaving even a bit of it idle and improve it steadily.

Stockbreeding should also be developed and different kinds of sideline production encouraged. Peasants in a mountainous county should be led to breed cattle, pigs, sheep and many other domestic animals, to raise silkworms and honeybees and to pick wild vegetables and fruit in large quantities by turning mountains to account. Only then can they produce much meat and increase their income.

County people's committee chairmen should make great efforts to develop local industries, too.

The economic foundations of the country at present are not solid enough to provide the people with sufficient daily necessities. But this problem can be resolved if the officials try, even under the present conditions.

County people's committee chairmen should strive to develop local industries to turn out daily necessities on their own instead of depending solely on the central industry factories. They should activate the inhabitants in their counties to build medium and small local factories and produce various kinds of daily necessities and foodstuffs by exploring and using locally available raw and other materials. Besides, they should promote the productive activities of individual handicraftsmen and medium and small entrepreneurs so that they can make a positive contribution to solving the problem of daily necessities. Then, daily necessities can be turned out in sufficient quantities to satisfy the people's requirements.

County people's committee chairmen must be fully acquainted with the people's housing conditions and make sure that houses are repaired when necessary and new houses built to fill up shortages.

Trade should be developed in order to improve the people's living conditions.

Progress in trade is of great significance in promoting the welfare of the people. No matter how big the quantities of good-quality daily necessities produced, they cannot be supplied to the people properly unless trading activities are efficient. County people's committee

chairmen should keep trade under their control and effective guidance. They should lay out the network of shops in their counties rationally and ensure an equitable supply of different commodities for the people. They should take special care that the shops always stock foodstuffs, matches, needles, thread, and other items indispensable in the people's lives.

You should see to it that the workers in the trade network have a greater sense of responsibility and play a greater role. Then, they will not only provide necessary goods for the people in time but also stimulate producers to increase the output of high-quality goods.

Next in importance in the work of county people's committee chairmen is to give effective guidance to educational work.

Imposing colonial slave education on our people in the past, Japanese imperialism tried to obliterate the Korean language and keep our people and younger generation illiterate. So they had to suffer in darkness, deprived even of the right to learning.

We should further consolidate and develop the democratic education system so that the sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other working people can study as much as they wish and grow up to be fine workers of the new, democratic Korea. Today, however, the county people's committee chairmen show little concern for education. They are indifferent to improving the quality of education, though they are more or less interested in repairing and equipping schools.

An important aspect of directing educational work is to raise the quality of education.

County people's committee chairmen must visit the schools regularly and help teachers to improve their political and practical qualifications and the quality of teaching and help the students to study well by giving them lectures and inspecting their classwork.

County people's committee chairmen have a great deal to do to advance educational work. They should take steps to check and enrol all children of school age in their counties, and provide better material conditions for education.

Schools must be built wherever there is a shortage. In Wiwon County, North Phyongan Province, for instance, students are said to be attending a middle school in a remote spot because they have no school building for secondary education in that county seat. That is no good. A large middle school building should be built at the county seat. If the people and students' parents in that county are properly mobilized, such a school building can be erected by their own efforts. The state must send materials, funds and technicians needed for the project.

County people's committee chairmen should pay attention to adult education as well.

We have already scored quite a big success by launching the anti-illiteracy campaign. By stepping up adult education on the basis of the results of this campaign, county people's committee chairmen should be able to completely abolish the illiteracy still remaining among the people and help all grownups to reach the level of primary school graduate in the near future.

County people's committee chairmen must strengthen political and cultural education for the people in their counties.

A county is adequately provided with institutions and means for this purpose. If the officials of the county people's committee, cinemas, and libraries are activated, and if the democratic publicity halls of the institutions, enterprises and rural villages are put to proper use, political and cultural education for the people can be made a success. County people's committee chairmen should utilize rationally all the means of information and motivation work and conduct active political and cultural education among the people. Thus, they should be clear of the survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas and the feudalistic customs and habits as early as possible and should be armed with progressive, democratic ideas.

County people's committee chairmen should give proper guidance to the health service.

Main concern in health work should be concentrated on effective sanitation and anti-epidemic measures. Sanitation information and anti-epidemic work must be conducted widely among the people, and a

tight cordon thrown out to prevent the infiltration of epidemics.

County hospitals and clinics should be well furnished and the health workers' sense of responsibility and their role enhanced to improve medical treatment.

County people's committee chairmen should show deep concern for the maintenance of all buildings and facilities and administration of land and resources in their counties.

Since they have jurisdiction over the territory and property of their districts, county people's committee chairmen must naturally take good care of them.

Proper administration of the buildings, facilities, territory and resources of the county is an honourable and worthwhile undertaking to protect state property and resources and make the towns and land more beautiful for our posterity.

County people's committee chairmen, however, have a very irresponsible attitude at present towards their administration. In some counties they take no steps whatsoever to repair leaking state-owned buildings nor do they try to prevent land from being washed away or landslides during heavy rainfall. In other counties even precious forest resources are ravaged by fire. This is due entirely to indifference on the part of the chairmen to the administration of the buildings, facilities, land and resources in their counties. They must take care of them in a responsible way.

To do this, they should work according to a plan with foresight. They should draw up concrete plans for their administration and, on this basis, repair buildings, improve the rivers and build embankments wherever necessary.

Good management of the buildings, facilities, land and resources is impossible with only the efforts of the establishments in charge of this work. It can only be successful when all the people in the county are aroused to take part in a mass movement.

These are about all the important duties of a county people's committee chairman. They are highly honourable duties. The county people's committee chairmen should carry out their heavy but

honourable duties in a responsible way.

What should they do to perform their duties properly?

Before all else they must rally the entire people closely around the Party and the people's government.

The cause of nation-building can never be accomplished by just a few officials. It can only be successfully carried out by relying on the united efforts of the people.

County people's committee chairmen should work efficiently among the masses, clearly teaching them the character and essential features of the people's government and imbuing them with the policies of the Party and the people's government. In this way the entire people will be able to actively support our Party and people's government and carry out their decisions and instructions.

County people's committee chairmen must faithfully serve the people. For this purpose, they should acquire popular work method and style. But some officials often work in a bureaucratic way. The results are unsatisfactory while their cause is good.

County people's committee chairmen must not dictate to the masses or shout at them, lording it over them; they must work deep among the masses, relying on them, and sharing life and death, the joys and sorrows with them. They must educate the masses, learn from them and opportunely help them to solve their pressing problems.

County people's committee chairmen must discuss and handle all matters collectively and ensure that the assignments they have given are carried through to the end. When organizing assignments, they must discuss them collectively and give them to appropriate officials. After that, they must see that the assignments are carried out by checking on their implementation now and then and helping to eliminate defects in good time.

County people's committee chairmen should always be modest, simple and polite.

They should better educate people's committee officials at county, sub-county and ri levels to work faithfully as servants of the masses.

If they are to work properly, the county people's committee

chairmen should radically improve their political and practical levels.

They must profoundly study and correctly understand the policies, decisions and instructions of our Party and the People's Committee of North Korea. They should get experience in the administration of state power and the methods of mass leadership and acquire a knowledge of the economy and culture.

They should make sure that strict regime and order are established in all fields and units and that a high degree of vigilance is maintained at all times. Though the landlords and capitalists who oppressed and exploited our people in the past have been liquidated, their survivals are working overtly and covertly for a comeback.

Pursuing a colonial enslavement policy in south Korea, US imperialism in particular is constantly smuggling spies and subversive elements into north Korea to undermine the results of our democratic construction. Under such circumstances, lack of high vigilance on the part of the people might bring in its wake grave consequences.

County people's committee chairmen should ensure that institutions, enterprises and rural villages in their counties establish system and order, tighten the night-watch and guard and keep the people on the alert so as to expose and smash the enemy moves before it is too late and prevent the infiltration of a spy or subversive element. They should elevate the role of security personnel in particular to safeguard the people's lives and property from the enemy's destructive moves.

The Party and the people put great trust in the county people's committee chairmen and expect much from them. The latter must live up to the deep trust and expectations of the former by carrying out successfully the responsible but honourable duties with patriotic devotion and creativeness.

LET US STRENGTHEN FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKING YOUTH OF THE WORLD

**Instructions to the Delegates of the Korean Working Youth
to the International Conference of Working Youth**

June 20, 1948

The International Conference of Working Youth to be held in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, is drawing near. You will have the honour of attending this international conference as representatives of the working youth of our country.

Today, availing myself of this opportunity of seeing you, the delegates to the conference, I would like to touch on a few questions.

Under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in the past, the Korean youth had no access to education, and children of school age at the peak of their studies were weighed down by all sorts of national humiliation and abuse as slaves of capital. Working young men and women were all the more miserable in the colonial society. They were harshly exploited, slaving 12 to 16 hours a day at factories, mines and collieries with no provision for labour protection. All that Japanese imperialist rule brought them were maltreatment, humiliation, hunger and poverty.

All this wretchedness was forced upon our people because they had no country and state power of their own. Such a nation will not escape maltreatment and slavery. There is an old saying that stateless people are more miserable than a dog in a house of death.

Today, however, the status of the Korean youth has radically changed. Our young people enjoy all freedoms and rights as the youth of a sovereign state. They participate freely in the political life of the state and in the activities of social organizations. They are working according to their abilities in all fields of the national economy, and learning advanced science and technology at schools of all levels to their hearts' content, according to their wish and aptitude.

Our youth are advancing proudly shoulder to shoulder with the youth of all nations, big and small, and are represented at international meetings.

The forthcoming conference will be attended by your counterparts from different continents. So you will have no difficulty in your activities at the conference.

The conference will be a significant occasion for demonstrating to the whole world the great united strength of working youth everywhere. In other words, it will display the united strength of the world's working youth fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism in opposition to imperialism and colonialism which trample upon the freedoms and rights of the youth.

The conference will offer an opportunity to talk about successes and to exchange the experience gained by young people in their struggle to build new societies in the countries liberated from the yoke of imperialist colonial rule. Besides, it will discuss the issue of intensifying the common struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism and the question of meeting the political and economic demands of the working youth.

You must fully convey there the resourcefulness and courage of the Korean youth. Our people and youth expect a great deal from you who are attending the World Conference of Working Youth.

You should make known in every way the indomitable struggle of our people and youth who are putting all their efforts and all their energies into building a rich and powerful, new, democratic Korea and give wide publicity to the great achievements and valuable experience gained in the struggle.

Since liberation our youth and people in general have accomplished a great deal in less than three years, which would have taken others more than a decade or two. They have established the people's power and carried out democratic reforms, and laid a firm democratic base in north Korea.

The young people played the role of shock brigade with credit and contributed greatly to the struggle for people's power and democratic reforms. They have always played the part of pioneers, volunteering for difficult jobs in the building of a new society. Under difficult conditions where everything was destroyed and everything was in short supply, they rehabilitated the ruined factories, the other enterprises and railways, always at the head of the masses, bravely overcoming difficulties and obstacles in their way with patriotic devotion and inexhaustible creativeness. Many of them have distinguished themselves to become nation-building veterans and Labour Heroes while the number of innovators in production is growing with each passing day.

It was the devoted efforts of the youth and the rest of the people that enabled us to fulfil with success the 1947 national economic plan, the first of its kind in the history of our country and make a great stride forward in eliminating economic backwardness left over by colonialism and in creating an independent national economy.

The success in building a new society has been won by the precious sweat of our young people. The splendid feats they have performed in this struggle will long be a beacon in the history of our country and for ever be enshrined in the hearts of our people.

The proud results and valuable experience gained by our youth in building a new society will win the sympathy of the world youth and be a great inspiration to them in their struggle.

You must thoroughly expose and condemn before the working youth of the world the US imperialist policy of aggression towards Korea and their manoeuvres in south Korea. What is more, you should give a good account of the courageous struggle of the south Korean young men and women who are shedding their blood in resisting the

brutal, fascist, terrorist rule of US imperialism and its henchmen and in waging a struggle to reunify the country. In particular, our Party's policy of national reunification and the part the youth of north Korea are playing in the struggle to attain it should be widely explained to the working youth of the world.

During the conference, you must strive to strengthen friendly ties and solidarity with the youth of all countries who struggle for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

You should pay attention so as to learn from the fighting experience of the working youth of different nations and put down a detailed account of the issues discussed at the conference, of what you see and of your reactions.

On your return, you must inform all our young people of the work of the conference and the delegation's activities by delivering reports, lectures and writing in the press. In this way young people will be filled with national pride and confidence in the knowledge that the Korean youth are playing a worthy role on the international scene.

Our young people of today are living in a fruitful era of building a new, democratic Korea. They must work and struggle like fighters dedicated to the building of a democratic Korea.

The youth are masters in the building of a new society. If they are to carry out their mission as masters successfully, they must first of all study.

Study is the first and foremost task for the youth in our era. Without studying they cannot be masters in building a new state. They must study, study and study.

The youth must arm themselves firmly with the idea of nation building and steadily raise the level of their ideological awareness. They should make a deep study of our Party's policies, decisions and instructions and be well versed in the history of our people's struggle and current political events as well.

The Democratic Youth League organizations should give appropriate education to young people in diverse forms and ways to suit their tastes and other characteristics.

Young people should lead the masses in the building of a new country. They are the prop and stay of a prosperous, independent and sovereign state. Just as a fine house cannot be built without sturdy pillars, so a prosperous, independent and sovereign state cannot be built without an active struggle by vigorous and courageous young people.

They must always take the lead in difficult undertakings and perform heroic feats on the job in the factories, mines, collieries, forestry, fishery, agriculture and all other spheres of the national economy.

They should be keen on work and regard it as most honourable.

Labour creates material wealth. In the old society, it was regarded as something to be looked down on and ashamed of, but in our society nothing is more honourable than labour.

Our young men and women must not only like to work but also hate the work-shy attitude. They should honestly participate in joint labour and observe work discipline of their own accord.

The youth must also be in the forefront of the struggle to reunify the country.

Our country is now in danger of permanent division. The US imperialists unjustly submitted the Korean question to the UN General Assembly and rigged up the “UN Temporary Commission on Korea” by manipulating the voting machinery. On May 10 last, the US imperialists staged separate elections in south Korea under the observation of the “UN Temporary Commission on Korea”. Recently, they called a “National Assembly” in an attempt to manufacture a puppet regime composed of collaborators with the Japanese and Americans and other traitors to the nation.

We can never remain an onlooker at US imperialist manoeuvres to concoct a puppet regime in south Korea. The entire people including the youth must check and frustrate their moves to fabricate a puppet regime, and completely isolate their stooges, the traitors to the nation.

The youth and other people in north Korea must actively support

the anti-US national-salvation struggle of the youth and the entire people in south Korea. In this way, the south Korean youth and the rest of the people will be encouraged to rise up as one in the struggle against the US imperialist manoeuvres to set up a puppet regime, and for the establishment of a unified central government.

I firmly believe that you will return home from your mission at the International Conference of Working Youth with excellent results.

**ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN OUR
COUNTRY AFTER THE SEPARATE
ELECTIONS IN SOUTH KOREA
AND MEASURES TO WIN
NATIONAL REUNIFICATION**

**Report Delivered at the Conference of Leaders
of Political Parties and Public Organizations
of North and South Korea**

June 29, 1948

Leaders of political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea,

We are gathered here once again to break through the grave crisis created in our country today.

It is only two months since the historic north-south joint conference was held amid the great hopes and expectations of the Korean people. In these two months the situation has become very acute and complicated. In south Korea the US imperialist policy of colonial enslavement is getting more and more pronounced as the days go by.

The Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea held last April was a historic meeting to tide over the national crisis caused by US imperialist aggression.

The north-south joint conference demonstrated that all the Korean people, except pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, are

against the US imperialist policy of aggression and the ruinous separate elections held in south Korea.

The April joint conference showed that patriotic parties with different political views can unite, can join hands to take measures for national salvation and can wage a nationwide struggle in order to oppose the US imperialist policy of colonial enslavement and national division and achieve the country's freedom and independence.

Despite the resistance of all the Korean people and the unanimous opposition of north and south Korean political parties and social organizations with a membership of more than ten million, the subversive May 10 separate elections in south Korea were held by fraudulent methods at the point of the bayonet. The US imperialists resorted to every means to enforce the "elections" in south Korea. Because the entire Korean people opposed the ruinous May 10 separate elections, the US imperialists knew they would not proceed smoothly without resorting to illegal means. Therefore, they used US troops in south Korea and mobilized the police and terrorists to hold the "elections" by force and fraud.

I will not give any further explanation about the ruinous May 10 separate elections held by force and fraud, because the entire Korean people are well aware that they were concocted by the US imperialists and their hirelings, the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

The overwhelming majority of the Korean people regarded the elections as a calamity for the nation and did not take part. Those who did were the mere handful of pro-Japanese elements and traitors and a small number of people who were literally herded to the "polling stations".

The Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea declared the separate south Korean elections illegal because they were imposed under flagrant interference by a foreign country and stated that the Korean people would never recognize the "government" rigged up by such "elections".

However, in disregard of all the Korean people's resistance and the unanimous opposition of north and south Korean political parties and social organizations with a membership of more than ten million, the US imperialists rigged up the treacherous May 10 separate elections.

In order to deceive the people across the world and give some semblance of lawfulness to the separate elections, they staged the "election" farce under the supervision of the "UN Temporary Commission on Korea".

Friends,

The separate elections in south Korea fabricated by the US imperialists aggravated the crisis of national division, which has now entered a serious phase.

Now, they are going to set up a treacherous puppet regime in south Korea out of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

The US imperialists have formed a so-called "National Assembly" out of pro-Japanese elements and traitors and are loudly advertizing it as an "all-Korea National Assembly" representing the Korean people. To what extent it represents the Korean people is eloquently proved by the fact that there is not one representative of the workers or peasants among the "Assemblymen".

The "Constitution" the quislings are discussing at the "National Assembly" is designed solely to defend the interests of pro-Japanese elements, traitors and reactionary landlords and capitalists. It makes no mention whatsoever of the democratic reforms demanded by the Korean people. How could we recognize a "National Assembly" that has no representatives of the workers or peasants, who make up the overwhelming majority of the Korean people, as a National Assembly representing the Korean people? And how could we recognize a "National Assembly" rigged up by force and fraud at the point of the bayonet against the Korean people's will as an all-Korea National Assembly?

The Korean people will never recognize this "National Assembly" which they regard as a den of traitors.

But we cannot solve the issue by simply rejecting or denouncing the south Korean “National Assembly”. We must not only express our attitude to the south Korean “National Assembly” through statements or decisions but also take decisive steps to save the country.

As you know, after the Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea, the leaders of political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea convened a conference on April 30 and issued a joint statement on measures to save the nation.

This joint statement first insisted that since the simultaneous withdrawal of foreign troops from our country, as proposed by the USSR, was the only just solution to the Korean question in the present situation, the US must accept this proposal and withdraw its armed forces from south Korea so as to provide a concrete guarantee of Korean independence;

Second, it assured that after the withdrawal of foreign troops from our country no civil war or any other disorders would take place;

Third, it demanded that after the withdrawal of foreign troops, north and south Korean political parties and social organizations jointly hold an all-Korea political meeting and establish a democratic provisional government representing all sections of the Korean people; and

Fourth, it declared that since the south Korean “elections” were opposed by the north and south Korean political parties and social organizations with a membership of over ten million, these “elections” rejected by the overwhelming majority of voters could not represent the will of our nation and that the Korean people would not recognize or support any separate government established through these “elections”.

But, how has the situation developed since we issued our joint statement?

The US imperialists, who want to turn our country into their colony, have prevented us from carrying out the tasks set forth in our joint statement.

As you all know, the Soviet Government has all along insisted on the simultaneous withdrawal of Soviet and US troops as proposed at the USSR-US Joint Commission and has taken the initiative in reducing its armed forces in north Korea. Had the US imperialists accepted the Soviet proposal, the question of the establishment of a unified government proposed in the joint statement would have been solved without a hitch.

Nevertheless, the US stubbornly rejected the Soviet proposal on the simultaneous withdrawal of Soviet and US troops and gave us no possibility of solving the Korean question for ourselves; it even rigged up the separate elections in south Korea through the direct interference of its armed forces, and has embarked on intensifying the colonial enslavement policy, doing its utmost to prolong its occupation of south Korea.

The US side has not replied our written request addressed to the Soviet and US Governments in the name of the north-south joint conference.

Friends,

What attitude should we adopt and what measures should we take in this situation?

We cannot look on with arms folded as the US imperialists turn the southern half of our country into their permanent colony.

Nor can we merely denounce the ruinous activities of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to sell out our country and people once again, this time to the US imperialists.

This passive stance, this attitude of onlooker means surrender to the US imperialists and their henchmen.

Waiting for US troops to withdraw in the present situation while leaving the treacherous reactionary regime of south Korean pro-Japanese elements and traitors to grow strong is tantamount to committing an unforgivable crime to our nation and to generations to come. If we do not take resolute measures to save our country, the Korean people will heap reproaches upon us for ever.

We must set up without delay an all-Korea supreme legislative

body representing the Korean people's will and adopt the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. By so doing, we will not be establishing a separate government but an all-Korea government comprised of representatives of north and south Korean political parties and social organizations.

Our stand remains unchanged. We want a unified independent democratic state established and are fighting for this with all our strength. No force on earth can break our will and we shall definitely achieve the great cause of building a unified independent democratic state.

We have firm political and economic foundations which will enable us to adopt the Constitution of the DPRK.

The entire people of north and south Korea are supporting our line and are rising up in the struggle to build a unified independent democratic state.

We have set up a people's power in north Korea and carried out far-reaching democratic reforms. The north Korean people enjoy true democracy and freedom.

In north Korea the underlying spirit of the DPRK Constitution has already been translated into reality.

The splendid results of the democratic reforms gained by our people in north Korea are a reliable guarantee that will make it possible for us to adopt the Constitution of the Republic.

Therefore, we should put the DPRK Constitution into force as soon as possible and establish a supreme all-Korea organ of power representing the entire people of north and south Korea. The urgent political situation in our country demands this now and so do all the Korean people.

The Korean people who are yearning for our country's reunification, freedom and independence will enthusiastically support these save-the-nation measures of ours.

The north Korean people will participate unanimously in the elections of deputies to the all-Korea Supreme People's Assembly in a free atmosphere, and the south Korean people, too, will definitely

participate in the elections despite all kinds of repression and persecution by the US imperialists and their henchmen. All patriots who are concerned for the future of their country and people should fight with might and main to carry out these save-the-nation measures.

I feel sure that you leaders of patriotic political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea will give my proposal every support.

ON DEVELOPING THE FISHING INDUSTRY ON A NEW BASIS

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium
of the Central Committee of the Workers'
Party of North Korea**

July 8, 1948

At this meeting we have discussed the activities of Party organizations and officials in the fishing industry. Now I am going to deal with the tasks for the development of the fishing industry in our country.

Seabound on three sides, our country is very rich in marine resources. The fishing industry is a major component of our national economy and plays an important role in improving the people's living standards.

Our Party, therefore, paid deep attention to developing this industry from the first days of liberation. We have already determined that progress in this field should be based primarily on the state and cooperative sectors rather than the private one. We set up a new fishing system by reorganizing the fishing association formed in the years of Japanese imperialism into a true union of fishermen and by creating the state sector through nationalization of fishing grounds, fishing boats, processing factories, netting plants and other fishing equipment and facilities formerly owned by Japanese imperialists, their collaborators and traitors to the nation. And we placed the fishing industry under the guidance of the Agriculture and Forestry Bureau.

We often emphasized the need to develop the state sector to the

leading officials of this bureau, telling them in detail how to correct shortcomings in the fishing industry.

But they had little sense of responsibility for the implementation of the Party's policy.

They tended to depend on the private sector allegedly because there was so little property formerly owned by the enemy and traitors that it would be difficult to develop the fishing industry depending on the state sector, even if created with that property. They did not try to organize state fisheries widely nor did they pay any attention to the management and operation of the nationalized fishing equipment and establishments. As a result, quite a few nationalized factories were damaged or became useless due to the loss of machines. And in some regions nationalized factory buildings, fishing boats and gear and other materials were even sold off to individuals at cheap prices or lent to them.

Neither did these officials seek to take over nationalized fishing equipment and facilities. Only 30 per cent of the nationalized fishing boats came under state control. They even paid high prices for fishing boats which should have been confiscated free and made state property. This shows, in the final analysis, that the fishing industry officials worked in the interests of private entrepreneurs, not for the benefit of the state.

Besides, the leadership of the Agriculture and Forestry Bureau and fishing industry officials did not plan their work carefully. As the speakers have pointed out, last year's work in the sphere of the fishing industry was done by the rule of thumb without a concrete plan and this year, too, they are working with an abstract plan drawn up without any detailed study or scientific calculations.

As a result of their negligence in the development of the state sector and their careless economic management, the state sector comprises a very small part of our fishing industry and the cost of products from state fisheries is so high that they cannot be supplied to the people at cheap prices. To be frank, the state sector has made no progress since it was set up.

Top officials in the Agriculture and Forestry Bureau now say that the state fisheries are lagging behind on account of a shortage of materials and funds. That is merely an excuse. If they make good use of existing conditions and opportunities, they will be able to solve the problem of materials and funds.

Last year a man in charge of a large fishery told me that he could hardly reach his target set by the marine products' plan for lack of materials and funds. So I had a talk with him and sent officials to find out the facts on the spot. According to the fact-finders' report, this enterprise was working with a vague plan, wasting a lot of materials and funds and failing to tap and use available materials and equipment to the full. So we helped to work out a detailed plan of production to stop waste of materials and funds and to strive for active use of the materials and equipment in hand. As a result, their production plan was overfulfilled by far and yielded the state a profit of 15 million *won*. This fact is enough to show that the reason for the stagnation in the state fishing industry is not the lack of materials and funds.

What, then, is the reason?

First, officials of the fishing industry do their work in a haphazard fashion, instead of making a thorough study of it and seeking ways of coping with the difficulties.

Second, the Party organizations of the fishing industry are spineless. They have not tried to carry out the Party's fishing policy, doing absolutely nothing to correct all these errors. If they had given proper Party guidance to the officials, the work of the fishing industry would never have been in such a grave state as it is today.

Party organizations and officials of the fishing industry should correct the defects immediately and carry out the Party's policy on the fishing industry.

In the first place, they should set up state-run fisheries and fishermen's cooperatives on a broad scale.

Of course, we have encouraged private fishing and will do so in the future, too. But, if we rely on private fisheries alone, we shall not

be able to shake off the backwardness in our fishing industry and satisfy the people's demands for marine products.

If we are to develop our fishing industry and radically increase the supply of marine products, we must organize state-run fisheries and fishermen's cooperatives on a wide scale and develop the fishing industry on a new basis.

The Agriculture and Forestry Bureau should form many new state fisheries while strengthening the material and technical basis of existing ones by fully utilizing the nationalized fishing equipment and facilities. At the same time, the bureau should offer special assistance to the many fishermen's cooperatives being organized on a voluntary basis and help to consolidate their economic foundations.

It should provide the state-run fisheries and fishermen's cooperatives with favourable working conditions. It must take measures to allot good fishing grounds to them after surveying all fisheries in north Korean waters.

Next, you should get into the habit of drawing up correct plans and carrying them out without fail.

Good planning is essential if the state sector of the economy is to be run efficiently. Planning becomes all the more urgent with the growth in the number of state-owned fisheries and fishermen's cooperatives and the scale the former are now assuming. You will never be able to run state fisheries and fishermen's cooperatives efficiently by the rule of thumb, without any plan.

A plan must always be concrete, scientific and dynamic. The Agriculture and Forestry Bureau must work out concrete plans by fixing targets for every enterprise and factory, scientifically taking into account the condition of the fishing equipment, fishing grounds and all other factors affecting fishing operations.

In addition, the bureau should draw up correct contracts with the Trade Bureau for the sale of fish products.

The Agriculture and Forestry Bureau must actively guide and help fisheries to carry out the fishing plan without fail, instead of leaving it alone, once it has been worked out. It should organize work in such a

way that fisheries help each other with regard to fishing gear and materials and eliminate the inflexible tendency to ship the haul of fish a long way back to the home port for unloading, instead of taking it to the nearest fishing port.

Each bureau of the People's Committee of North Korea related to the fishing industry must shake off the tendency to narrow departmentalism and actively help the implementation of the fishing industry's plans from the standpoint of state interests. The Trade Bureau should not be improperly reluctant to take responsibility for the sale of fish delivered in excess of the amount contracted; it must accept them unconditionally for sale.

Next, fishing costs must be lowered and the haul well stored.

If costs are high, fish cannot be supplied to the people at cheap prices. So strenuous efforts must be made to lower the costs. State fisheries and fishermen's cooperatives should rationally organize their work forces, do away with the speculative tendency to wait for shoals to appear inshore and increase their fishing days, economize in materials and funds to the utmost through the introduction of advanced fishing methods. In particular, they should purchase the necessary fishing gear and materials from state sources and enterprises rather than be overcharged by profiteers.

It is important to store the fish well. Otherwise it becomes useless, no matter how much is caught. Proper storage will not only keep fish from going bad, but will make it possible to provide the working people regularly with fish even in an off-season. In the fishing industry, therefore, attention should be paid to storage, instead of being preoccupied with the catch alone. There was a suggestion at this meeting for the construction of many storages. Of course, that is a good idea. But the present situation does not permit it. So the fish must be quickly processed for storage by effectively using the existing facilities.

Next, the Party organizations in this field must radically improve their functions.

They should ensure the correct implementation of the Party's

fishing policy by giving regular guidance and assistance. At the same time, they should pay close attention to building up the ranks of cadres of the fishing industry.

The solution to all problems depends on cadres. Officials are the ones who directly carry out the policies of the Party and people's government. These policies and measures, however good, will not bear fruit unless the cadres strive to put them into practice. Whether or not the shortcomings in this sphere are rectified depends after all on the work of the cadres. Accordingly, not a single undesirable person who obstructs the implementation of Party and state policies should be permitted in the ranks of cadres.

But quite a few profiteers, swindlers and pro-Japanese elements are still lurking in their ranks. The Party organizations should thoroughly purge them and strictly guard against their infiltration into the cadres' ranks.

A suggestion was made to put the state fisheries directly under the supervision of provincial Party and government organizations to strengthen guidance and assistance to them. It needs a bit of further study, but I think it is unnecessary for the present. Even without taking such a step, the local Party and government organs can give constant guidance and help to them if only they take the trouble.

Party organizations in the fishing industry must organize and mobilize the fishing workers in the struggle to increase the catch in the state sector and strive to strengthen the role of fishermen's cooperatives and heighten the level of their ideological consciousness.

ON THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

**Report Delivered at the Fifth Session of the People's
Assembly of North Korea**

July 9, 1948

1. TWO LINES OF THE COUNTRY'S DEVELOPMENT

Deputies,

The latest aggressive activities of the US imperialists have created a grave phase in the political situation of our country.

By holding the separate "National Assembly" elections in south Korea, the US imperialists have embarked on the road of perpetuating the division of our country. The south Korean reactionaries have played a foul role as traitors in these separate elections which are a disaster for our nation.

The artificial division of the country has caused north and south Korea to take different roads—the former, the road to democratic development and the latter, the road to colonial enslavement.

North and south Korea are following two different roads like this because there exist two diametrically opposite lines in seeking a solution of the Korean question. One is the democratic Soviet line, the other the reactionary US line.

The first line in seeking a solution of the Korean question is the

Soviet line which supports and encourages the Korean people freed from Japanese imperialist colonial rule in their efforts to build a new life and bring about the country's reunification, independence and democratization.

The Korean people warmly support this Soviet line. For one thing, it fully conforms to the interests of the Korean people and clearly reflects their long-cherished desire.

Running counter to this is the line being taken by the US Government. It is a policy of patronizing the south Korean forces of reaction in every way and preventing the country's democratic development. The south Korean reactionaries are the faithful stooges and allies of the US imperialists. By opposing the decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers Conference on Korea, the reactionaries helped the US imperialists to frustrate the work of the USSR-US Joint Commission. They also rejected the Soviet proposal on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea. In this way they helped the US imperialists to pursue their policy of perpetuating our country's division and subjugating south Korea as their colony.

Being a policy of aggression and enslavement, the US imperialist line runs counter in every respect to the Korean people's interests. This is why the Korean people are putting up a desperate struggle against this aggressive line.

As you see, the Soviet Government's line expresses the long-cherished aspiration of the Korean people, whereas the US imperialist line represents the interests of US monopoly capital and a handful of south Korean reactionaries who are hand in glove with it. In the long run, all this has made north and south Korea take two diametrically opposite directions and resulted in a fundamental difference between the situation in the north and that in the south.

After our country's liberation north Korea confidently took the road to democratic progress. The people set up people's committees, their governmental bodies, and seized power in their hands.

Far-reaching democratic reforms were carried out under the guidance of the people's committees. These reforms opened up broad

prospects for the development of the national economy and culture and a steady improvement in the people's material and cultural standards. We have already achieved big successes in this respect.

Soon we will be greeting the third anniversary of the August 15 liberation. Three years is a rather short space of time. However, in this brief period, north Korea which confidently headed in the direction of democratic development gained tremendous successes in all spheres—political, economic and cultural.

The people's committee, a genuine organ of people's power, has won deep trust and prestige among the masses of the people. They defend with might and main the democratic system and the people's power they themselves have set up.

All branches of the national economy have been rapidly rehabilitated and developed.

In industry the 1947 plan was overfulfilled by 2.5 per cent, and the plan for the first half of 1948 has been carried out successfully. The machine-building industry has made giant strides. In 1947 its output increased by 118 per cent compared with 1944.

We have also scored noticeable successes in agriculture. Now our agriculture basically meets the people's food requirements.

Thanks to our achievements in industry and agriculture, supplies of various kinds of industrial goods and foodstuffs have increased and their prices lowered considerably. As a result, the value of our currency has been consolidated and the real wages of factory and office workers have risen.

Quite a few successes have also been registered in the field of popular education, public health, literature and the arts.

The marked achievements made in north Korea in the socio-economic reforms and in economic and cultural development are having a profound influence on the south Korean people and enjoy their unreserved support. Our south Korean brothers are demanding the same democratic reforms in south Korea as in the north and putting up a valiant struggle against the US imperialist policy of aggression.

Deputies,

In south Korea the situation is diametrically different from that in north Korea. There the economy has been ruined completely.

South Korea's industry has been utterly destroyed. The production of steel in 1947 dwindled to less than 30 per cent compared with 1944. During the same period, the output of the textile industry, the most important industry in south Korea, dropped to one-fifth.

In south Korea today only one-third of the industrial enterprises are operating, and even they are not working full time. Hence, the daily increase in the number of unemployed. At present, south Korea has 2.5 million people without a job.

South Korea's agriculture has also been ruined. South Korea, the granary of Korea of bygone days, has now been turned into an area suffering an acute food shortage.

Because of the ruined economy, the south Korean people's life is going from bad to worse. Factory and office workers and peasants are groaning in poverty and hunger. The south Korean peasants are still tied to the land of the landlords as tenant farmers and almost all their harvest is wrested from them in lieu of farm rent and deliveries to the state.

Giving his opinion of the south Korean people's misery in the June 18 issue of *Joson Jungang Ilbo*, a leader of the Independent Workers and Peasants' Party in south Korea said this: "The population is groaning on the brink of death, oppressed and starved. Order has been utterly destroyed and they have no guarantee for their lives or property. The freedom of the independence movement is being suppressed more and more. We have no liberty at all. Even the grass and trees and insects in this country won't repress their fury. There can be no more irresolution or patience.... No matter under what name or pretext, those who do harm to us are our enemies.... All thirty million of us must rise up and unite through struggle and fight in unity until we achieve reunification and independence." We think he is right. This is precisely the situation in south Korea at present.

The US military government authorities pursue a policy of ruining the south Korean economy. They plan to make investments in south Korea in due course after destroying its economy, so as to appear as

“saviour” and seize the economic arteries.

The quislings such as Syngman Rhee and Kim Song Su are already clamouring that the US will offer “loans” to south Korea.

South Korea has now been turned into a people’s prison, where terror and despotism reign supreme. The police stations and prisons are crowded with tens of thousands of patriots. At the end of last year Keithvich, special correspondent of the *New York Post*, said that today more political prisoners are detained in south Korean prisons than in all the prisons throughout the whole of Korea in June 1945 or the last days of Japanese imperialist rule. He also reported: The south Korean police “prohibit the political prisoners from having any contact with outside and do not let them out on bail. They torture them so as to make them confess.” The *New York Post* also carried a dispatch by another special correspondent named Martin. He described south Korea as a police state wrought with violence, lawlessness and monstrous repression. He pointed out: “Near the jail, you can hear the pitiful cries of the tortured every night.”

In south Korea the democratic and patriotic forces are persecuted and repressed more cruelly with each passing day. The political parties and social organizations fighting for the country’s democratic development have been driven underground. Repression and terror in south Korea reached their heights when the ruinous separate elections were being prepared and carried out. At that time the US imperialists mobilized tens of thousands of police and millions of the “Homeland Defence Corps” to repress the people. Still unsatisfied, they even mobilized their occupation forces to aid these police gangsters in their terrorism. The blood of Koreans is spilt every day in south Korean towns and villages. The US imperialists are committing the most atrocious barbarity of making us Koreans targets for their shooting practice. On June 8 this year US pilots bombed and strafed Korean fishermen fishing in the East Sea for scores of minutes, making them the target of their bombing exercises. As a result, 20 fishermen were killed on the spot, scores wounded, and 11 fishing boats sunk.

This is how things are in south Korea under US imperialist rule.

2. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY AFTER THE SEPARATE ELECTIONS IN SOUTH KOREA

Deputies,

With the south Korean “elections” US aggression in Korea entered a new stage. Because of the elections the country’s division has entered a more acute phase with south Korea being completely reduced to the status of a US colony. The US imperialists are trying to convert the 38th parallel into a perpetual “boundary” to partition our territory in two and divide our people. This poses a great danger to the entire people in north and south Korea.

The separate elections in south Korea have consolidated the foothold of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

Syngman Rhee, Kim Song Su and other faithful stooges of US imperialism are occupying high positions in the “National Assembly” in return for selling out national interests.

At the instigation of the US imperialists, the south Korean reactionary clique have harshly repressed the democratic political parties and social organizations, driving them underground.

As a result, in south Korea the people’s democratic rights and liberties have been obliterated to the extent that they cannot even speak of democratic reforms such as were adopted in north Korea.

The separate elections in south Korea were fabricated by dint of terror and repression in disregard of the will of the Korean people whose desire is to see the country reunified, independent and democratic.

The people in north and south Korea unanimously supported the proposal of the Soviet Government on foreign troops being withdrawn from Korea and granting the Korean people the right to

settle their internal affairs on their own.

The Korean people are well aware that genuinely democratic elections can only be held when there is no foreign interference whatsoever.

The Korean people categorically opposed the resolution of the “UN Little Assembly” that was adopted illegally in disregard of the Korean people’s will without the participation of their representative. How strong was the people’s resistance in north and south Korea to the above-mentioned resolution is clearly proved by the fact that the US Command in south Korea had to mobilize all their troops to repress it. Even the US press could not but report this nationwide resistance of the Korean people. At the “UN Little Assembly” the chairman of the “UN Temporary Commission on Korea” had to admit that only Syngman Rhee and the Hanguk Democratic Party, a group of big landlords and capitalists, supported the establishment of a separate government in south Korea, and that even many Right-wing politicians, not to speak of the Leftists and middle-of-the-roaders, opposed the setting up of a “national government” through separate elections.

As is known to all, in view of the grave danger of national division posed by the US imperialist policy of aggression, the Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea was convened at the demand of the whole Korean people.

The delegates from north and south Korea to this joint conference represented political parties and social organizations with a membership of more than ten million. The joint conference was attended by representatives of Leftist, middle-of-the-road and many Rightist political parties and social organizations. The people’s strong protest against the separate elections in south Korea and their persistent struggle for the country’s reunification and independence forced even some of the vacillating Rightist leaders to take the right road in support of the people’s demand, (although it is hard to hope that they will adhere to the principle of the joint conference to the end).

Representing the will of the entire Korean people, the north-south joint conference decided to reject the separate elections in south Korea.

The complete accord of opinion reached by the participants at the joint conference on all the problems discussed clearly showed that the Korean people were unanimous in opposing the country's division and the colonial subjugation of south Korea. The joint conference showed that in south Korea the reactionary forces had not gained a foothold among the masses of the people and were isolated from them.

While the north-south joint conference was being prepared and held, the south Korean delegates could witness the achievements of the democratic reforms and democratic construction carried out in north Korea. They approved of our endeavours to consolidate the people's committees, the organs of people's power, and backed our successes made in the economic, educational, cultural and other spheres. This means that the south Korean people, too, support everything the people in north Korea have done for the country's freedom and independence.

The north-south joint conference officially recognized that north Korea not only indicates the road to the country's democratic development and national resurrection but serves also as the base for building a unified and independent democratic country.

In all spheres, political, economic and cultural, north Korea has already prepared itself as a solid base for the establishment of an independent, sovereign democratic state. This signifies that our efforts have not been in vain.

The separate elections manufactured by the US Command in south Korea are nothing but a clumsy caricature of democracy. This is clearly proved by the preparations, process and the results of the "elections".

It should be mentioned first that preparations for the "elections" were made where the people were completely deprived of democratic freedoms. In south Korea terror and repression were especially harsh

during the preparations for the “elections”. The US Command and the reactionary police savagely repressed patriotic personages, and on the eve of the “elections” issued many ordinances and proclamations with a view to intimidating the electorate.

Nonetheless, the people did not come forward of their own accord to have their names put down in the “polling register”. So the south Korean reactionary clique openly forced them to do so. The overwhelming majority of the voters were compelled to register because they were beaten and threatened with extortion of their ration books, expulsion of their children from school and so on.

The US Command in south Korea openly resorted to tricks to have their stooges elected. For one thing, they decided that if one candidate was nominated for one “constituency” he should be elected automatically without any “voting”. The military government authorities tried to have the second candidate drop out as far as possible. In this way they brought Syngman Rhee, the most heinous reactionary and traitor, into the “National Assembly”.

The democratic parties and social organizations representing the overwhelming majority of the south Korean people boycotted the “elections”. They did not nominate any candidates.

The candidates were nominated only by a few organizations under the influence of the Hanguk Democratic Party and the “National Association for the Promotion of Independence of Korea” as well as the Taedong Youth Corps, an undisguised terrorist organization, and some other organizations under Kim Song Su. These reactionary parties and organizations cannot represent the workers, peasants and other working people in south Korea. They protect the interests of the landlords and big capitalists.

That is why the “election” scramble among the candidates that took place at the “constituencies” was not a struggle among parties with differing political views but a struggle among quislings crazy to seize power. That is to say, this “election” scramble was a scramble for power among the ruling circles themselves that had nothing in common with the interests of the people.

May 10 or the “election” day, was a day of bloody repression of the south Korean people. The overwhelming majority of them did not take part in the “elections”. Despite brutal violence and terror in south Korea, wave after wave of mass strikes, demonstrations and uprisings took place, involving nearly a million people. In many south Korean towns demonstrations were held to boycott the “elections”. The mass resistance to the separate elections spread also among the south Korean peasants. To avoid the “elections” people in south Korea made for the mountains and forests. Hundreds of villages stayed away entirely from the “elections”. Many “polling stations” and “constituencies” were destroyed by angry crowds. Popular uprisings to boycott the “elections” took place in many parts of south Korea, including Jeju Island.

Faced with the resistance of the broad masses of the people, the US imperialists and their stooges went to extremes. At the point of the bayonet policemen and armed terrorists marched the voters to the “polling stations” like prisoners of war. They cruelly beat patriots opposed to the “elections” in front of the masses and drove them to the prisons.

The US Command in south Korea, pro-Japanese elements and traitors mobilized a large number of US troops and armed policemen to ruthlessly massacre the rioters on Jeju Island. Scores of villages were burnt to the ground by the enemy and thousands of innocent people were killed or injured. For all this, the enemy could not put down the uprising of the Jeju islanders even by bloody means or bring them to their knees. Thus the “elections” fizzled out on Jeju Island.

The “voting” was conducted under the supervision of the police and terrorists. Therefore, the secret ballot was totally violated at the “elections”. At many “polling stations” the voters were either given ballot papers containing the number under which their names were entered in the “polling register” or forced to stamp their seal in the “polling register” without receiving ballot papers at all.

In this way, the May 10 separate elections in south Korea were an

unprecedented outrage against the people. The US imperialists used the “UN Temporary Commission on Korea” as a shield to cover up their criminal acts. It was thoroughly revealed that the “UN Temporary Commission on Korea” was their tool for perpetuating Korea’s division.

Patriotic people in north and south Korea had already foreseen the nature of the “elections”. The joint statement of leaders of north and south Korean political parties and social organizations published on April 30 points out:

“The north and south Korean political parties and social organizations with a membership of over 10 million, oppose the separate elections in south Korea. Therefore, even if these elections are held, they will never reflect the will of our nation because the overwhelming majority of the voters are against them. They will only be sheer deceit.

“It is not accidental that the separate elections in south Korea are being prepared amid harsh repression and terror.”

Because of the heroic resistance of the people, the “elections” could not be held in some areas. In spite of all this, they rigged up the so-called “National Assembly” on the basis of the “election” returns. Let us see what political parties and social strata this “National Assembly” represents. Of the “National Assemblymen” 42.4 per cent belong to the Hanguk Democratic Party; 32.8 per cent represent the “National Association for the Promotion of Independence of Korea”, 16.2 per cent the Taedong Youth Corps, and 8.6 per cent are independent. As a matter of course, among the “National Assemblymen” there is not one representative of the Leftist parties or social organizations that stand for the interests of the workers and peasants.

Nor are there representatives of the middle-of-the-roaders and many big Rightist parties and social organizations. Because these parties and social organizations boycotted the “elections”.

As for the social status of the “National Assemblymen”, 84 are landlords, 32 capitalists, 23 pro-Japanese officials, 20 office

employees, 9 men of culture, 6 religious people, and 24 others.

As you see, in the south Korean “National Assembly” there is not a single representative of the Leftist parties that defend the interests of the workers and peasants, nor a single person of worker or peasant origin. So, they may claim that at the south Korean “National Assembly” the landlords “defend” the tenant farmers’ interests and the capitalists those of the workers. But only a fool would believe this.

In view of its composition the south Korean “National Assembly” cannot represent the interests of the Korean people. It only represents the interests of a handful of reactionaries and traitors.

It is not accidental that, though in session for more than a month now, the “National Assembly” has failed to settle any issue related to national interests. The south Korean “National Assembly” is neither willing nor able to do that.

Needless to say, this “National Assembly” will not enjoy our people’s support because it was rigged up by the US imperialists and their stooges by sheer force. In the joint statement the leaders of the political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea pointed out: “...we shall never recognize the results of the separate elections in south Korea nor shall we recognize or support a separate government established through such elections.”

This statement expresses the will of the entire Korean people.

3. OUR PEOPLE’S IMMEDIATE TASKS

Deputies,

Owing to the separate elections held in south Korea, we are faced with the danger of our country being divided for ever and south Korea reduced to the status of an exclusive colony of US imperialism.

At this crisis of national division, how can we confine ourselves to denouncing the enemy of the people and merely looking at the

situation? If we representatives of the Korean people do not rise up under the uplifted banner of national reunification at this grave moment, the Korean people will never forgive us.

Under the guidance of the people's committee the people in north Korea have laid the political and economic foundations of a democratic Korea by adopting democratic reforms and rehabilitating and developing the national economy. They have been and will continue to be in the vanguard of the Korean people in their struggle to build a unified, independent sovereign country.

Reunifying the country in a democratic way is the unanimous line pursued by the political parties and social organizations under the Democratic National United Front of North Korea. We will never depart from this line and no force will stop our people's struggle for the country's democratic reunification.

We have already mentioned the unlawful nature of the south Korean "National Assembly" forged through the separate elections.

The south Korean "National Assembly", an unlawful body, has no policy of its own. In its activities it is completely subordinated to the US Command. It is no more than a puppet in the hands of the US imperialists.

As the Syngman Rhee clique are already openly clamouring, the US imperialists are hatching a plot to recognize as an "all-Korea government" the "government" that will be appointed by the south Korean "National Assembly". The Syngman Rheeites will be content even if the United States recognizes this "government" merely as the south Korean "government". The United States will bring pressure upon its satellite countries to recognize the south Korean "government". This is the second phase of the trick the US Government is preparing to play right now.

The Korean people have nothing to expect from the south Korean "National Assembly", a mere tool for US imperialist aggression. This unlawful body, a bunch of quislings, will resort to any means to wrest from the north Korean people all the gains they have won in the democratic reforms and in economic and cultural development. The

Korean people will face still bigger obstacles in their struggle.

What should we do in this grave crisis of national division? How must we carry on the struggle for national reunification, now that the emergence in south Korea of a treacherous separate government is imminent?

As you all know, from June 29 to July 5 Pyongyang was the venue of another conference of leaders of north and south Korean political parties and social organizations that are fighting for the country's reunification. The conference adopted an important resolution to hold free elections in accordance with the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and, on this basis, set up a Supreme People's Assembly of Korea, a genuinely democratic all-Korea legislative body, and establish an all-Korea central government composed of representatives of north and south Korea. The conference also put forward as an important task of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea and the central government the simultaneous withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

Now that the south Korean traitors have done everything possible to perpetuate the country's division and convert south Korea into US imperialist colony, it will not do to merely express the hope "to see Korea reunified". We representatives of the people must wage a practical struggle to build a free and reunified democratic Korea.

If we are to deal a decisive blow at the US imperialists and their stooges and promote national reunification, we must put into effect the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea without delay. The draft Constitution of the DPRK has been approved by the entire Korean people. The draft Constitution of the Republic precisely reflects the achievements of the democratic reforms carried out in north Korea and expresses the entire Korean people's desire for the country's reunification, independence and democratization.

The democratic reforms carried out in north Korea are not only the successes of the north Korean people but also the great achievements of the entire Korean people. Therefore, it is most important to

judicially consolidate the achievements of the democratic reforms. As is known to all, the previous extraordinary session of the People's Assembly unanimously approved the draft Constitution of the DPRK. Now we must put this Constitution of the Republic into effect.

As you all know, the south Korean "National Assembly" is also trying to adopt a "Constitution". But what successes can be reflected in the draft "Constitution" drawn up by a group of out-and-out reactionaries?

The flagrant violation of the people's democratic freedoms and rights and the total ruin of the economy are all they have to show in south Korea, nothing else. In the reactionary south Korean "Constitution" there is not a word about the rights of citizens. This is quite natural in south Korea where the people have not even elementary freedoms and rights. This draft "Constitution" avoids any mention of the rights of the citizens and prevaricates with empty phrases such as "by the law" or "within the purview of the law", thereby committing everything to "laws" to be adopted in the future.

For example, the draft "Constitution" "ensures the right of property" of citizens but says that its "contents and limits" shall be determined by a "law" which has not yet been adopted. Besides, it stipulates that the working people's "working conditions are determined by the law" but this "law" is not yet in existence; it also notes that "the working people's freedom of collective contract and collective action is provided within the purview of the law", but there is no such "law" as yet. Nor is there as yet a "law" on the educational system mentioned in the draft "Constitution". There is no shadow of doubt that the so-called "law" on the "freedom of the working people's solidarity, collective contract and collective action" and the rights of citizens, of the working masses in particular, will become the "law" that will restrict their rights to the maximum.

In this way, the south Korean draft "Constitution" is an out-and-out anti-popular and reactionary one which not only does not recognize even the elementary freedoms and rights of the people but judicially consolidates the oppression and exploitation of the working

people that prevail in south Korea today, as well as the police rule of terror.

We cannot find anything like democratic reforms in the reactionary draft “Constitution” of south Korea. Let us take the agrarian question, as an example, or what they call the “farmland question”. The draft “Constitution” stipulates that “the farmland shall be distributed to the farmers.” But how is it to be distributed? The draft “Constitution” points out that “the method of distribution, the scope of ownership and the content and purview of ownership shall be fixed by law”. As you see, the reactionary south Korean “Constitution” does not actually solve the agrarian question but again leaves it to some future “law”. Needless to say, this “Constitution” cannot raise the problem of nationalizing industries. I am not going to delve any further into this reactionary draft “Constitution”. I think the above-mentioned examples are quite enough to expose the anti-popular, reactionary nature of this “Constitution”.

The south Korean reactionaries deliberately ignored the question of democratizing the country and avoided the question of the people’s rights using absurd and ambiguous words. It is not at all fortuitous that they have left the solution of important questions to a future “law” and turned the draft “Constitution” into an empty declaration.

The south Korean draft “Constitution” fully conforms with the interests of those who prepared it. If this “Constitution” mentions democracy, it is not democracy for the people but “democracy” for their enemies.

The south Korean people demand a people’s committee, a genuine organ of people’s power, and democratic reforms but not a reactionary ruling system under which the imperialists are the masters. They want national reunification and independence as well as genuine freedom and democracy, not the colonial enslavement of the country and oppression and exploitation by the landlords and big capitalists.

Therefore, in order to defend national sovereignty, protect the Korean people’s rights and realize their demands, we must adopt the Constitution of the DPRK.

I have already pointed out that by adopting the Constitution, we will legally consolidate the achievements of the democratic reforms and economic and cultural development carried out in north Korea.

The north Korean people who have become the genuine masters of power, have made epochal progress by carrying out thoroughgoing democratic transformations of their socio-economic life. As a result, they are far ahead of those in bourgeois democracies in the political sphere. The road we are following is a road not to bourgeois democracy but to people's democracy. We must oppose our people's democratic Constitution to the traitors' document aimed at driving the Korean people along the road to statelessness.

The Constitution of the DPRK must reflect and judicially consolidate the successes of the historic democratic reforms carried out in north Korea which represents the future of a reunified Korea.

Our draft Constitution states:

“Our country is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea” (Article 1). “The sovereignty of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea rests with the people. The people exercise power through their representative organs—the Supreme People's Assembly and local People's Assemblies at all levels” (Article 2). As we see, this Constitution legally validates the great political victory won by the people.

Our Constitution also reflects the changes that have taken place in the economic life of north Korea. It declares:

“In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the means of production are owned by the State, cooperative organizations or individual natural persons or individual juridical persons.

“Ore mines and other underground resources, forests, rivers and seas, major enterprises, banks, railways, water and air transport, communications establishments, waterworks, the forces of nature, and all the property that formerly belonged to the Japanese state, individual Japanese and pro-Japanese elements are owned by the State” (Article 5). “Land formerly owned by the Japanese state, individual Japanese and Korean landlords shall be confiscated. The

tenant system shall be abolished for good. Land shall be owned only by those who till it by their own labour” (Article 6). As we see, the Constitution of the DPRK legally validates the economic reforms carried out in north Korea.

Articles 11, 12 and 13 of the Constitution of the DPRK proclaim that citizens have equal rights in all fields of political, economic and social life irrespective of sex, race, ideology and religion, property status, and education. The Constitution guarantees citizens freedom of religious belief and freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association.

All citizens who have reached the age of 20 have equal right to elect. The Constitution stipulates that only insane persons, those who are deprived by a court decision of the right to vote and pro-Japanese elements are denied the right to elect.

In this way, the Constitution of the DPRK is a one hundred percent democratic constitution.

It must be mentioned here that the north Korean people have already won the democratic freedom provided for in the Constitution and are enjoying it in their everyday life. People’s committees which defend the interests of the people are in existence in north Korea and major means of production such as industries, transport, communications and banks are in the hands of the people. This fact proves that the democratic freedom proclaimed in the Constitution has its political and material guarantees.

So, our Constitution not only confines itself to declaring the people’s democratic rights and freedoms but also ensures them in practice.

All these specific features of our Constitution bespeak of its genuinely popular character and incomparable superiority over that of a bourgeois democratic state.

Deputies,

The Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Public Organizations in North and South Korea was the first step towards national salvation taken by patriotic people in north and

south Korea in face of the crisis of national division. The adoption of the Constitution of the DPRK will mark the second step in our struggle for the country's reunification. However, a mere declaration of the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic will not do. We must go one step farther and set up a single all-Korea legislative body and a single government.

At present we have no legislative body that can represent the will of the entire Korean people. Therefore, we must elect a Supreme People's Assembly of Korea which will serve as a legislative body for the entire Korean people.

The Supreme People's Assembly of Korea will comprise the representatives of all the Leftist, middle-of-the-road and Rightist political parties and social organizations striving for the country's freedom and independence. It will also consist of representatives of all walks of life in north and south Korea, from workers and peasants to entrepreneurs and tradesmen. Therefore, the Supreme People's Assembly will be a genuinely people's representative body that defends the interests of the Korean people and represents their will.

The time has come for us to set up such a legislative body. Along with the unified democratic government to be established in the future, this legislative body will encourage the Korean people more powerfully in their struggle for national reunification.

The establishment of a Supreme People's Assembly will mark a decisive advance in the Korean people's struggle to build a unified independent democratic country.

I am confident that in solving this task, we will get the enthusiastic support of the entire Korean people.

United firmly around the Democratic National United Front of North Korea, the north Korean people will staunchly lead the struggle for the country's reunification, independence and democratization.

Long live the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Long live a free and reunified democratic Korea!

Long live the Korean people with a history of five thousand years!

CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE 71ST SESSION OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE OF NORTH KOREA

July 26, 1948

At today's session we have discussed a number of immediate problems: concerning the results of the national economic plan for the first half of 1948, the simplification of office work, the formation of a commission drafting the Two-Year National Economic Plan, improvement in its work and so on. Now I am going to touch on certain points raised at this session.

1. ON SOME MEASURES TO RECTIFY SHORTCOMINGS IN FULFILLING THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN FOR THE FIRST HALF OF 1948

As the director of the Planning Bureau pointed out correctly in his report, there were quite a few shortcomings, as well as successes, in carrying out the national economic plan for the first half of this year. All the bureaus should quickly eliminate the shortcomings revealed in fulfilling the first half-year's plan and carry out their tasks creditably, so as to overfulfil the plan for 1948 without fail.

It is necessary first to raise the quality of the goods produced.

One of the main defects revealed in fulfilling the first half-year's plan is that the quality of goods is low.

At present the goods produced by the Industry Bureau are very bad; many of them are faulty. The products of state enterprises ought to be better than those of private manufacturers but this is not the case. As for rubber shoes, those made by the latter are rather better than those made by the former.

The Industry Bureau not only produces low-quality goods but also runs production in such a bureaucratic way that large quantities of goods produced are below standard and not required by the people at all.

Because goods are produced haphazardly, the state is suffering heavy losses and our industrial development is being greatly hampered. Low-quality and substandard goods do not sell and remain on the shelves in the shops. They say that at present farm implements and other goods do not sell and are heaped up at consumers' cooperative shops. We are suffering losses in trade with the Soviet Union because our export commodities are not high-grade.

There may be various reasons why the quality of goods produced by enterprises under the Industry Bureau is low. But the main reason is that officials in this field are inattentive and make not the slightest attempt to improve quality. If they did they could improve quality even under the present conditions. They should work hard to produce more good-quality commodities demanded by the people.

We must redouble efforts to solve the question of clothing for the people.

This question is one of the most important affecting the people's lives. Nevertheless, the light industry department of the Industry Bureau does not take positive measures to resolve the question of clothing; it pays little attention to it.

In order to solve this question we must provide enough raw materials for the production of fabrics.

What is important here is to increase the production of rayon yarn. From now on efforts should be concentrated on the factories

producing rayon yarn such as the Pyongyang Chemical Factory and the Chongjin Spinning Mill so as to increase further the quantities of rayon yarn turned out. Greater efforts also need to be made to increase the production of raw silk to weave silk fabrics. You should not confine imports of raw materials for the textile industry to the Soviet Union which is a long way off but should also import them from northeast China which is close by.

If the matter of raw materials for fabrics production is solved and an adequate work force allotted to the textile industry, we will be able to produce more textiles and settle the clothing question with the existing textile facilities.

It is also important to solve the footwear question. The local industry department of the Trade Bureau should concentrate on producing footwear to solve this question for the people without fail.

The housing problem should be also solved quickly for the workers. Some officials maintain that the building of workers' houses should not be part of capital construction. They are mistaken. It should also be considered as part and parcel of capital construction.

In order to solve the question of homes for the workers, the various branches of capital construction must build many dwellings. Instead of trying to build offices and halls they should build plenty of houses for the workers.

I was told that the Town Planning Bureau had given orders to build three-storeyed buildings. But this does not suit our present conditions. Construction of three-storeyed buildings will cause much trouble. Therefore, we should build many one-storey houses for the present.

We must raise the remuneration to the workers. But, here, it is necessary to consider the situation our country finds itself in now. We are still building the nation, and we have more work ahead of us than we have accomplished so far. We have to completely rebuild the ravaged factories and enterprises, build a great number of new factories and enterprises and steadily increase production. Therefore, in our present situation everybody should work harder than the people of

advanced countries but will have to receive less in return. We should increase the workers' remuneration step by step as the country prospers.

Correct guidance should be given to our factories and enterprises. At present they waste large quantities of raw material and are short of manpower. One of the reasons is that they do not organize production and labour efficiently. The Industry Bureau and the Planning Bureau should take measures to encourage the factories and enterprises to eliminate the wastage of raw materials and use their manpower rationally. Leading personnel must not spread out and complicate work; they must organize and carry out a job down to the last detail. Each of them should give specific guidance to an enterprise and help rectify its shortcomings on the spot. In this way they will make sure that all factories and enterprises work well and produce, for preference, the materials badly needed by the people to improve their life.

It is necessary to organize well the work of utilizing materials that are lying idle. Conducting this work extensively will contribute in no small measure to the successful implementation of this year's national economic plan as well as the Two-Year National Economic Plan to be launched next year.

All branches of the national economy should make it a major task during the third quarter of the year to make use of latent materials and do it thoroughly. It is also necessary to procure and use the materials owned by individuals.

The Agriculture and Forestry Bureau has not yet placed forestry, fisheries and the output of special agricultural produce on the right footing. They have to increase sharply the output of timber, marine products and rural specialities.

There must be reliable safety precautions on the job for the working people. Only then can we prevent possible accidents, provide them with cultured and hygienic working conditions and safeguard their health. The Labour Bureau, however, has failed to provide satisfactory labour protection. It has worked without a general plan for labour safety.

From now on, the Labour Bureau should carry out the Labour Law

to the letter. In particular, it should review regularly how the Labour Law is being applied.

Financial work should be improved and put on a higher plane.

Since the officials of the Finance Bureau work in a bureaucratic way, the financial policy of the state is not carried out correctly. Financial workers mechanically allocate budget revenue quotas to all branches of the national economy and never bother to increase the amount. They should not just worry about the large sums of money spent in different branches of the national economy, but try to supply them with more funds by augmenting the state's budget revenue.

In order to carry out the financial policy really well, inspection of finances should be more thorough. The Public Control Bureau and all other bureaus should show concern and make strict checks to see if officials connive at tax evasions or commit irregularities hand in glove with profiteers.

To improve financial work financial workers should be better educated. The Finance Bureau must properly educate financial workers so that all of them actively work to increase the state income and introduce changes in financial work.

Education should be improved.

I have been told that some children of the working people are leaving school before they finish. This is a warning that education must be improved. The fact that pupils leave school halfway indicates that though, in terms of policy, our education is supposed to educate the sons and daughters of the working people, it, in fact, fails to do so after all.

In the field of education it is not so much a question of increasing the number of educational establishments as striving to improve their work and train all the sons and daughters of the working people to be excellent pillars of the future. We must find out exactly why they left school and take the necessary steps. The price of textbooks should be checked correctly and the corresponding measures taken. If parents are finding it a heavy burden, steps should be taken to alleviate it.

The Trade Bureau should supply enough pencils, notebooks and other school things for the pupils. It must examine this year's plan for

the production of school supplies and the demand. If the output envisaged in the plan is too low, steps must be taken to produce more school things over and above the planned amount.

The Education Bureau has to make a further study as to how to improve educational work and see that some decision is adopted on it.

As for literature and the arts some new turn must be brought about in the creation of literary and art works.

The Information Bureau has done a poor job; though it is three years since liberation excellent literary works are few in number and there has been little progress in the creation of literary works. The Information Bureau should make sure that plenty of good literary works are created that will heighten the people's patriotism and zeal for production.

It is important to conduct foreign trade well.

It is said that sometimes the customhouses tacitly permit individuals to engage in foreign trade. This is very wrong. Foreign trade should be conducted only by the state. All official bodies and organizations must put a stop to foreign trade transactions through the medium of individuals.

Foreign trade should be conducted at Namyang, Hoeryong, Hyesan, Manpho and Junggang in our country and Hunchun and Dandong in China and nowhere else.

To have foreign trade conducted on proper lines it is important to improve the ranks of the customs officials. The bureau concerned should dismiss those who commit irregularities and build up the ranks of customs officials with sound people.

2. ON SIMPLIFYING OFFICE WORK

At present officials on people's committees at different levels issue their own directives, with the result that there is no uniformity

and office work becomes very complicated. With a view to simplifying office work and guaranteeing some uniformity, we must see to it that only the chairmen of the People's Committee of North Korea and provincial, city and county people's committees are allowed to issue directives. Department heads of provincial people's committees and section chiefs of county people's committees must not be granted the right to issue directives.

Official documents, too, should not be issued at random. In principle, only the bureau directors of the PCNK and provincial people's committee chairmen should be allowed to issue official documents, not their subordinates. These directors and chairmen must not issue official documents indiscriminately but only where comprehensive and important matters are concerned.

In order to prevent the PCNK bureaus and provincial people's committees from issuing documents thoughtlessly, we must abolish the official seals of those bureau directors and chairmen. From now on, when the PCNK bureaus and provincial people's committees issue any document, they must affix their official seals to it before those bureau directors or chairmen put their registered seals to it or just sign.

In order to simplify office work, higher bodies should not issue documents at every hand or ask their subordinates for various unnecessary statistics and work reports. The bureaus and people's committees of all levels should receive written reports only on essential matters such as the results of production plans.

They say that at present the Planning Bureau and the bureaus concerned receive the same kind of statistics. You should study this further and should not ask for unnecessary ones.

The interior organs have no right to ask county and sub-county people's committees for any statistics. If necessary, they must draw them up for themselves.

In order to simplify office work, administrative structures should be readjusted and a strict work system and order be established. All bureau directors must examine their bureaus' existing setups and remove unnecessary sections and posts.

3. ON PROPERLY MAPPING OUT THE TWO-YEAR NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN

We have already fulfilled the national economic plan for 1947 admirably and are now successfully carrying out the second national economic plan. Since the two annual plans were drawn up and executed, the country's economic foundation has been further consolidated and much success and experience have been gained in planning. Therefore, we should draw up at least a Two-Year National Economic Plan drawing on the success and experience already gained.

The Two-Year Plan, when worked out, will open up bright prospects to the north Korean people for the future and imbue the south Korean people with new hope and a firm belief in victory. It will also open up a broad avenue for strengthening economic foundations so as to establish a unified central government and for firmly rallying the entire people of north and south Korea around it. If the plan is mapped out, favourable conditions will also be created for combatting profiteers.

We should begin to prepare for the Two-Year Plan now off the record. All state and economic bodies should pay deep attention to this work.

We should work out the plan so as to lay the basis of independent industries which will enable us to fully solve the question of food, clothing and housing for the people and produce everything needed for our country by ourselves.

It is important in preparing the Two-Year Plan to map out a sound financial plan.

We must completely restore the destroyed factories and quickly complete the factories now under construction. We must build many

factories, including glass and electric bulb factories, in the future. Therefore, we must find adequate funds for this. In view of this the work of the Finance Bureau is very important.

In drawing up the financial plan the Finance Bureau should study from every angle ways and means of obtaining funds for fulfilment of the Two-Year Plan, and the commission drafting the Two-Year National Economic Plan should first examine the financial plan.

It is also necessary to work out a good trade plan.

At present some economic officials are inclined to reject the idea of importing foreign goods because they are expensive. We must import them if they are needed for our industrial development even though they are a bit expensive.

We should make the most of gold to build a new, prosperous and democratic state.

We should dig for gold lying in the earth in abundance and sell it to buy foreign machines. The Industry Bureau should take measures to exploit more gold. The public prosecutor's office and interior agencies should organize strict inspection and severely punish irregularities in handling gold.

Many officials of other bureaus who are not on the drafting commission should be made to take part in preparing the Two-Year National Economic Plan by carefully examining the draft. Then the plan will be accurate. For instance, the Phyongnam irrigation project was first estimated at 1,800 million *won*. But, I was told that after further discussion, it has been estimated that 1,200 million *won* will be enough. This fact alone shows that when the masses of the people take part in working out the plan, it is possible to make a correct plan.

In mapping out the Two-Year Plan attention should be paid to keeping our priorities right and making the plan practical. The plan should take due consideration of the specific conditions of our country and practical possibilities. The officials engaged in drafting the plan must resist the dreamers who try to map out the plan with subjective desires without calculating realizable possibilities.

DUTY OF THE SECURITY FORCES ON THE 38TH PARALLEL

**Instructions to the Third Security Brigade Commander
under the Security Department of the Interior
Bureau on His Appointment**

August 7, 1948

Our country is in a very complicated and critical situation at present.

The US imperialists installed a puppet regime in south Korea some time ago and have since started to impose a policy of colonial enslavement more openly with a view to prolonging the presence of their troops there. They are maliciously manoeuvring to convert the 38th parallel into a permanent “borderline” that will divide our territory and people. Manipulated by the US imperialists the traitorous Syngman Rheeites are enlarging the puppet army at full speed and using every means to destroy our achievements in democratic construction and to disorganize the people’s happy life by infiltrating a large number of terrorist bands into north Korea. The enemy is now recklessly stepping up military provocations along the 38th parallel.

Therefore, we must defend the 38th parallel more firmly, and reliably safeguard the country and the lives and property of the people against the enemy’s encroachments.

We have taken measures recently to further strengthen the defence of the 38th parallel to meet the prevailing situation. At present two

battalions guard the 38th parallel. We decided to form a brigade by reinforcing them with another two battalions.

The duty of the security brigade is to defend the country and the lives and property of the people so as to make them impregnable against the enemy's infringements, to spot in time and mop up spies and saboteurs sent by the enemy and reliably safeguard the democratic construction of the country. The brigade must also thoroughly defend our law and order by tightening control over those who illegally cross the 38th parallel.

Your brigade's duty is important though difficult. In order to carry it out successfully you must first build up your units.

There are many Party members in the Security Forces. Therefore, you must build up the brigade Party committee and other Party organizations under it and strengthen Party work, thus heightening the vanguard role of Party members.

At the same time, you must firmly arm the soldiers politically and ideologically. The Security Forces are our Party's revolutionary armed forces. The intrinsic superiority of a revolutionary army is that its soldiers have a noble ideological resolve to fight for the revolution, for the country and the people, at the cost of their lives. Unless the soldiers are armed politically and ideologically, they cannot firmly defend the country or make revolution. In particular, the members of the 38th Parallel Security Forces should be more thoroughly prepared politically and ideologically, because they always discharge their combat assignments in a state of alert. Only then can they safeguard their outposts reliably without the slightest vacillation under any adversity and fight valiantly against the enemy till victory is won.

You should conduct well the ideological education of your men to fully arm them with an undaunted revolutionary spirit and noble patriotism and make them have a deep love for their country and people and fight resolutely against the enemy, emulating the fighting spirit of their anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners.

Next, you must run your units with the utmost efficiency. The

Security Forces are dispersed over a wide area and are directly confronted by the enemy. Therefore, if you do not command your units well, they cannot perform their combat tasks with credit. In order to run the units well, you must enhance the role and the sense of responsibility of commanders and staff and establish iron discipline and order in the units.

Our army's discipline is voluntary. We can never establish discipline by compelling soldiers to observe it or by punishing them. In capitalist armies officers control their men by sticks, by coercive methods, but in our army we must make them keep discipline voluntarily, mainly through explanation and persuasion. Observing discipline voluntarily is extremely important particularly for the soldiers of the 38th Parallel Security Forces who discharge their assignments independently. You must educate your soldiers well from now on, so that they will observe discipline and order of their own accord and admirably perform their combat tasks, deeply conscious of the honour of being at the outposts to defend the country.

In order to run their units efficiently, commanders must be well acquainted with their specific conditions. The units are spread over a vast area. So, if they do not know their specific situation, they cannot command their units properly or remedy in good time any deviations at lower echelons. So commanders should always go to the units and get a good grasp of the actual situation on the spot.

Next, you must strengthen guard duty.

To guard is the basic task of the 38th Parallel Security Forces. You should deploy your units properly, correctly determine the guard zone and duty and make detailed arrangements for guard duties.

Guard duties should be organized rationally by occupying railway and road junctions, places frequented by the enemy and strategic hills and combining watch in ambush and patrolling. Every post should be camouflaged skilfully and built up so that you can decisively crush any enemy raid.

The men on duty must be sent out in groups of three or more;

soldiers must be prohibited from moving individually or unarmed along the 38th parallel. They must not fire at random or trespass on the 38th parallel while on guard duty. However, in the event of the enemy crossing illegally into our territory and launching the slightest provocation, they must deal him a deadly blow so that he will not dare to attack again.

To be certain the soldiers perform their guard duty well, you should frequently call training alerts and forced marches, so that they can deal with any possible situation. Especially important is to organize training properly to equip them with unusual tactics and crack marksmanship. The training should be conducted on their fields of assignment as far as possible to suit their combat duty. Then, they will always act with speed and skill and catch any enemy as he raids or flees.

To perform guard duty properly you should also make a detailed study of the topography. All the soldiers from officers to privates must be acquainted with the details of the terrain, how the enemy utilizes them and how they affect our guard duty.

These days the enemy is manoeuvring more viciously to frustrate the elections of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly to be held throughout north and south Korea. So, the units must be on their toes prepared for action and the guard duty be reinforced. All soldiers must sharpen their revolutionary vigilance; they must be constantly on the alert and carefully watch the enemy's moves and be prepared to spot and smash his attempts. Thus they will guarantee the successful elections of the SPA deputies.

The Security Forces should strengthen their ties with the people. It is impossible for them alone to defend the vast area along the 38th parallel. You should convince the people of the importance of guarding the line of demarcation on the 38th parallel and draw many of them into this work. Once the people are awakened, no enemy will be able to intrude into our territory, and even if he does, he will be caught for sure. Therefore, the army must join with the people in closely guarding the line of demarcation on the 38th parallel. The

Security Forces should actively help the people and take the best care of their lives and property.

Next, the commanders should take good care of the soldiers' lives.

The Security Forces are a revolutionary army formed out of the sons and daughters of workers and peasants. The officers and men are all revolutionary comrades and brothers who fight the enemy with arms in hand for the sake of the country and people. So, they should help and give a lead to each other in carrying out revolutionary tasks.

Commanders who are directly in charge of units should take loving care of their men and look after their lives the way their own parents do. They should always go among the soldiers and live among them to have a deep grasp of their mentality and give timely help in solving their problems. They should go to the drilling grounds when their men are training, and they should visit the sentry posts and look after and help them when they are on duty. Commanders should have a revolutionary habit of learning from soldiers while teaching them.

You should have the barracks built up quickly and adequately equipped with lavatories and other sanitary facilities so that the soldiers will feel no inconvenience in their life. You should improve the messrooms and the meals so that the soldiers will have tasty and nutritious food.

In the light of the situation prevailing in our country, I think we shall have to reinforce the 38th Parallel Security Forces in future. The brigade may be enlarged or a new unit be organized; that depends on how the situation develops. We should take measures to equip the Security Forces with modern arms step by step.

For this we need many officers, which we have not at present. The brigade must train a large number of officers for itself and keep them in reserve so as to supplement the officers in time when the units are expanded or new units formed. In future the brigade should work to raise the level of all the soldiers in a planned way through systematic military and political training. You should also send fine soldiers to

military academies so as to develop cadres of the technical arms in advance.

The Party and the people have left the outposts of national defence to your care because they trust you. Only when you defend the 38th parallel reliably, can we consolidate the base of democracy and build a rich and strong new state better.

I am sure that you will justify the great expectations of the Party and the people by developing your brigade into a powerful unit firmly prepared politically and militarily and defending the 38th parallel impregnably.

REPORT DELIVERED AT THE PYONGYANG CELEBRATION OF THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF AUGUST 15 LIBERATION

August 14, 1948

Dear fellow countrymen,

Today we are greeting the third anniversary of the August 15 liberation.

It is three years already since our nation was liberated from the brutal colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists.

Nearly half a century of their colonial rule had imperilled the existence of our nation with its time-honoured history of 5,000 years.

At the peak of the Koreans' national disaster, the heroic Korean People's Revolutionary Army, along with Soviet troops, routed the Japanese imperialist marauder, the sworn enemy, from our homeland, liberated the country, and opened the path to our nation's revival.

On this historic occasion to mark the regeneration of our nation, we look back briefly over the path our country and people have traversed in the three years since liberation.

Both the north and south of Korea are marking this anniversary, each summing up its results—results which are totally different from each other.

Since liberation, north Korea has followed the bright road of democratic construction with the aim of national reunification and independence and of building a new country, whereas south Korea has trodden the path of national division and colonial enslavement.

1. SUCCESS IN BUILDING DEMOCRACY IN NORTH KOREA IN THE THREE YEARS SINCE LIBERATION

Fellow countrymen,

The three years since the August 15 liberation is not a long period of time. In this period, however, great changes have taken place in all fields of politics, economy and culture in north Korea. As a result, north Korea has been transformed into a powerful democratic base for the country's reunification and independence.

What I must point out from among the political events that have taken place in north Korea during these post-liberation years is that the colonial ruling machinery of Japanese imperialism has been eliminated and that the people's committee, a genuine organ of people's power, has been established on the initiative of the people.

The people's committee composed of representatives from all strata of the Korean people maintains close ties with the masses of the people, defends their interests in the most thoroughgoing way, and enjoys their active support.

The great achievements registered in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life in north Korea by this anniversary are graphic proof that the people's committee, a new type of governing body set up by the Korean people themselves, is truly of the people and fully conducive to the development of our country.

The people's committee, a genuine organ of people's power, has striven to carry out democratic reforms in all spheres of politics, economy and culture and rebuild and develop the national economy.

The liquidation of feudal landownership, the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, and the improvement in the material and cultural well-being of the broad masses of the people

would have been impossible without democratic reforms. In keeping with the cherished desire of the entire Korean people, the people's committee effected in north Korea the agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries, the Labour Law, the Law on Sex Equality, and many other democratic reforms.

The democratic reforms in north Korea have brought about a great change in our people's lives.

The agrarian reform abolished feudal landownership which had held back progress in agriculture. It inspired the peasants, now the masters of the land, with a high degree of patriotic ardour and enthusiasm for production and helped them to radically improve their material and cultural standards.

Masters of land now, the peasants have solved the food problem in the main and are increasing grain output with every passing year. Already by the end of 1947, the total grain output of north Korea exceeded the level of 1944, the year before liberation, and this year will exceed that of 1939, the peak year of agricultural production in Korea under Japanese imperialist rule.

To consolidate the success of the agrarian reform and develop agriculture, the people's committee is providing the peasants with draught animals, farm implements, select seed grain, fertilizer, etc., and taking various other measures including the expansion of irrigation facilities. It invested more than 155 million *won* in 1947 and 442 million *won* in 1948 in the expansion of irrigation works to develop agriculture.

As a result, the sown area in 1948 increased four per cent compared with that of 1947 and as much as 30 per cent over the 1946 figure. Of this, the area planted to industrial crops was 23 per cent greater than in 1947. This shows that agriculture in north Korea is not only in a position to resolve the food problem but can meet the demand for industrial raw materials as well.

Improvement in the living standards of north Korean peasants after the agrarian reform can well be illustrated by the example of a small farming village called Chongsan-ri in Kangso County, South Phyongan Province, which I visited last June. Chongsan-ri has only 120 peasant

houses, but I found that more than 40 of them take newspapers, as many as 50 boys and girls go to middle school and all the remaining children of school age attend primary school. And there was scarcely a house without an ox, a pig and a dozen or so fowls. June is a period of dearth in the countryside, but in this village no peasant family was short of food and almost every house had a pile of rice sacks.

The fact that more than 101,000 new houses have been built in the farming villages of north Korea since the agrarian reform affords a vivid example of how the living standards of the peasants, now the masters of land, have risen.

If we had not carried out the agrarian reform, we would have been unable to raise agriculture to its present level nor improve the well-being of the peasants.

Very great achievements have also been scored by the north Korean people in industry in the three years since liberation.

After the defeat of Japanese imperialism in our land and the liberation of the country, all the industries, transport and communication facilities formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists were made the property of the Korean people. The Provisional People's Committee of North Korea nationalized the key industries, the material basis for the wealth, power and development of the country, and used them to promote national prosperity and the well-being of the people.

When fleeing our country, the Japanese imperialists severely damaged 19 hydroelectric power stations, 178 coal and ore mines, 47 factories and enterprises including the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, the Songjin Steel Plant, the Chongjin Iron Works, the Hwanghae Iron Works and the Pyongyang Chemical Factory, 64 coal and ore mines were flooded and all the railways paralysed in north Korea. As a result of the long-drawn-out colonial rule of vicious Japanese imperialism, our country had no qualified technical cadres or competent technicians to rely on when it was liberated. This unfavourable situation was a great handicap to the north Korean people in rehabilitating and developing industry, the leading branch of the national economy, when

they undertook the cause of building a new country.

All these difficulties, however, were successfully overcome by the great patriotic enthusiasm and heroic labour efforts of the people, and by January 1, 1947, 822 factories and enterprises were already operating.

The workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works rebuilt blast furnaces, coking ovens and accumulating mixers bringing the annual capacity of pig iron and coke up to 100,000 tons respectively. The workers of the Chongjin Steel Plant rehabilitated revolving furnaces, making it possible to use iron ore dust from Musan, and the workers at the Pyongyang Chemical Factory played a big role in satisfying the people's requirements in clothing by restoring the factory and producing artificial fibre. The Musan miners rehabilitated their workings which are of enormous importance in the development of the national economy, in this way meeting the demands of the rapidly developing iron industry. The workers at the Kangson Steel Plant enlarged their works and are producing much more steel than before.

The patriotic campaign for increased production launched by the north Korean workers and technicians during the three years since liberation is a magnificent nation-building movement. This is unique to our country where power is in the hands of the people and industry is owned by the state so as to serve the people.

The nationalization of industries inspired the workers, technicians and office employees to work for the good of the country and the people with a high degree of political ardour and production enthusiasm, turned the country's resources into the people's property to promote their material and cultural standards, and deprived the reactionaries of their economic foothold.

Thanks to the patriotic movement of the working class to increase production, the industrial targets set under the 1947 national economic plan were exceeded by 2.5 per cent; and the targets for the first half of 1948, by 1.3 per cent. In particular, the power industry exceeded its target by 11.9 per cent, the nonferrous metal industry by 3.3 per cent, the iron industry by 9.3 per cent, and the chemical industry by 10.4 per cent. The actual result in industrial production

for the first six months of this year was 74.3 per cent greater than in the corresponding period of 1947.

After liberation the north Korean people not merely restored the industrial enterprises demolished by the Japanese imperialists to their original state but further developed them. As a result, the level of production in our engineering industry is now 118 per cent higher than in 1944.

The material standards of the north Korean people have improved as the logical result of the rapid rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

After the currency reform late in 1947, the price of foodstuffs went down 20 to 40 per cent, and recently again we drastically lowered the price of goods in general. This helped to further improve the material and cultural well-being of factory and office workers and other people.

Improvement in the people's material and cultural standards is well expressed in the following facts.

Through a greatly successful struggle for industrial rehabilitation, not only has unemployment been wiped out, but a manpower shortage is now being felt in north Korea.

At present our factory and office workers are living in houses and other buildings formerly owned by the Japanese imperialists, and their wages are steadily rising. Real wages are much higher, if we take into account the sharp reduction in commodity prices due to the currency reform and the cut in prices.

The social insurance fund was 229.5 million *won* in 1947, but this year it was raised to 264.5 million *won*. Large numbers of workers and office employees can go to holiday homes and sanatoria for a rest and medical treatment, which was inconceivable in the days of Japanese imperialism. These resorts have been set up in almost every beauty spot across north Korea, whereas not one existed in the years of Japanese imperialism.

The three years of building democracy has recorded as great a stride in education and culture as in agriculture and industry.

The People's Committee of North Korea has paid close attention

to educational and cultural work to imbue the younger generation with a democratic spirit and train them to be cultured and competent masters of the future.

In maintaining colonial rule over our country, the Japanese imperialists foisted upon the Korean people the so-called “doctrine of the Japanese Emperor”, the “superiority of Japan’s national polity”, “making Koreans subjects of the Japanese Empire” and other colonialist slavish ideas, imposed colonial slave education upon our younger generation and attempted to plunge our country into ignorance and darkness. The result was that at the time of liberation north Korea alone had more than 2.3 million illiterates.

Right after liberation and ever since the PCNK has adopted a series of measures on education and culture. We established a new, democratic educational system and have mounted a campaign against illiteracy to help the broad masses of the people shake off ignorance and darkness. As a result, in the three years since liberation we have already wiped out illiteracy among 2.1 million people, so that today the number of illiterates is no more than 200,000 in north Korea. In 1942 there were only 1,339 primary schools in north Korea, but in the forthcoming school year 3,236 will be open. And the number of secondary schools which stood at no more than 43 in 1942 increased to 674, or 15 times, in 1948 and will grow to 725 in the new school year. There are now five colleges and a university in north Korea, whereas in the years of Japanese imperialism not a single college existed, and in the new academic year, another five institutions of higher learning will be inaugurated.

The educational and cultural establishments rapidly expanding in north Korea are now serving the people to the full. In the three years since liberation the PCNK has taken various measures to give a higher education to sons and daughters of the working people. As of May 1, 1948, the number of students trained at specialized and tertiary schools at state expense was more than 16,000, and 440 university students were studying abroad.

Progress in culture can also be seen in the big strides made by

literature, the arts and the press, and in the rapid increase in the number of theatres and clubs. Under Japanese imperialist rule not a single club or rural reading room existed in north Korea. But in 1947 there were as many as 8,985 clubs and democratic information halls, and this year their number will swell to 13,326. During Japanese imperialist rule there was not a single library, but in 1946 we had 35, and this year the number has grown to 103. We now have 113 theatres and cinemas as against 76 in the years of Japanese imperialist rule.

Rapid progress has been made in the public health service, too. The number of hospitals is growing with every year and clinics have been set up in all parts of north Korea.

This is a summary review of the democratic reforms in north Korea which is greeting the third anniversary of liberation.

The proud success of the democratic reforms has been possible precisely because the people's committee, a genuine organ of people's power, has confidently led the entire nation to the triumph of democracy and because all the people struggled heroically, displaying all their patriotic zeal.

Indeed, the success scored in democratic construction has now transformed north Korea into a solid base for the reunification and democratization of the country.

2. THE OUTCOME OF THE THREE-YEAR RULE OF SOUTH KOREA BY THE PRO-JAPANESE ELEMENTS, TRAITORS TO THE NATION, AND OTHER REACTIONARIES AND THE US MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Dear fellow countrymen,

What "success" has south Korea occupied by US troops, got to show on the third anniversary of the August 15 liberation?

From a political point of view, the southern half of our country, under the rule of US imperialists and pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and other reactionaries, has been reduced since liberation to a “state” of police terror and a base for these reactionaries who sell out the country’s independence and the honour of the nation to the US imperialists.

From an economic standpoint, south Korea’s industries built with the sweat and blood of the Korean people lay in ruins. As a consequence, workers in the south are now groaning in hunger and destitution and millions of unemployed are forced to roam the streets.

The three-year rule of the US imperialists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors has made a shambles of south Korean agriculture as well. South Korea, the one-time granary, has become a zone of famine and the peasants have become utterly impoverished.

The cultural situation in south Korea remains just as it was in the days of Japanese imperialism. Under the aegis of the US imperialists, the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation have smashed all the democratic press and cultural establishments in south Korea, driven democratic organizations underground and are threatening our brothers in the south with prison, torture, the death penalty and terror.

This is the deplorable outcome of the three-year-long domination of south Korea by the US imperialists and the pro-Japanese elements, traitors and other reactionaries under American manipulation.

The south Korean reactionaries, hand in glove with the US imperialists, sabotaged the decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers Conference and played the role of quisling. They actively helped the US imperialists to torpedo the USSR-US Joint Commission and submit the Korean question unlawfully to the United Nations. They supported the “UN Temporary Commission on Korea” whipped together unjustly by the US imperialists and together with the latter rigged up separate elections in south Korea, elections that would destroy the nation.

The US imperialists and the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors in south Korea held the traitorous May 10 separate elections

in an attempt to make the 38th parallel a permanent border and turn south Korea into a US colony.

The US imperialists used the separate elections to knock together a south Korean puppet government consisting of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation and use it to pursue their insidious policy of enslaving the whole of Korea as their colony. They are doing everything possible to make the United Nations recognize the unlawful puppet regime as an “all-Korea government”.

The US imperialists will use the puppet government of quislings to pursue their aggressive policy towards south Korea more openly. They are planning a long-term stay in south Korea allegedly at the request of this “government”, with a view to making it their military base in the Far East.

In this connection, I must point to one notable development. The US policy towards Japan is aimed at preserving the Japanese militarists and her war industrial potential, instead of wiping them out. The US military authorities have not yet punished Japan’s major war criminals nor have they taken any measures to punish other war criminals. Militarism is left intact in Japan and the danger of imperialist Japan’s resurgence is further increasing. The revival of Japanese imperialism, the sworn enemy of our nation, is arousing the indignation of the Koreans and many other Asian peoples and is causing them grave anxiety.

The Korean people knew how dangerous the traitorous separate elections in south Korea would be for the destiny of the country. That was why they rose as one man against the elections.

The joint conference of representatives of 56 political parties and public organizations in north and south Korea to protest against the traitorous May 10 separate elections, adopted a historic resolution on boycotting the elections in order to avoid a crisis in the country. The north-south joint conference exposed to the world the unpatriotic crime committed by the pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation in trying to stage the separate elections at the US imperialists’ instigation. The conference admitted that in the

prevailing political situation the most reasonable way to settle the Korean question was for both Soviet and US troops to withdraw and sent a request to this effect to the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States.

In reply, the Soviet government reiterated that it was ready to withdraw its troops from Korea, and as a first stage reduced its troops in north Korea.

But the US government not only refused to answer the request, but staged the prearranged separate elections in south Korea by force of arms.

A consultative conference of the leaders of political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea was held late in April following the north-south joint conference. It decided on convening an all-Korea political meeting in the name of political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea after the withdrawal of the Soviet and US troops from our country to form a democratic provisional government of Korea, and then elect the supreme legislative body of Korea on the principle of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot, enact the Constitution and establish a unified democratic Korean government.

In accordance with the US imperialist policy of colonial enslavement, however, the pro-Japanese elements and traitors in south Korea held separate elections to the “National Assembly” composed of themselves and rigged up the reactionary puppet government headed by the US-bred Syngman Rhee.

Under these conditions the Korean people could not simply wait for the withdrawal of the US troops who were refusing to leave our country. So at the end of last June another consultative conference of the leaders of political parties and social organizations in the two parts of Korea was held in Pyongyang.

The conference passed a resolution on adopting the Constitution of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea as soon as possible and, on its basis, holding elections to the Supreme People’s Assembly of Korea to establish the central government of Korea. Since this

conference represented the will of the overwhelming majority of the Korean people, the People's Assembly of North Korea decided on July 10 last to hold elections to the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea in the area of north Korea. The overwhelming majority of south Korea's political parties and social organizations decided to hold elections to this assembly in the area of south Korea, too.

The Korean people are well aware that taking no steps to save the country, merely waiting for US troops to withdraw, under the present situation at home, means committing an unpardonable crime against coming generations.

As you all know, the "National Assembly" born of the fraudulent May 10 separate elections in south Korea has no representative of the workers, peasants or democratic political parties and social organizations struggling for national reunification.

The overwhelming majority of the Korean people are workers and peasants and most of the political parties and social organizations in all Korea are struggling for the country's reunification.

But the overwhelming majority are not represented at all in the south Korean "National Assembly" and separate government. Precisely for this reason, the great majority of the Korean people do not recognize the reactionary and anti-popular "National Assembly" or the self-appointed "government".

In their longing for national reunification and democracy the Korean people are determined to establish a unified supreme organ of people's power and a unified democratic government in the true sense of the word. This objective will surely be attained through the patriotic struggle and efforts of the entire people in north and south Korea. No force can ever halt their struggle for national reunification and democracy.

The Korean people unanimously boycotted the ruinous May 10 separate elections. The pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation in south Korea, together with the US military government, could only stage this "election" farce by resorting to coercion, violence, fraud and falsehood.

The pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and US military government are now utilizing all manner of repressive measures and barbarities by mobilizing the police and reactionary terrorist bands in order to frustrate the elections in the south to Korea's Supreme People's Assembly, just as they did when rigging the May 10 ruinous separate elections.

The Korean people, however, will rally more closely in the struggle for national reunification and every attempt of the enemy to frustrate the elections to the Supreme People's Assembly will be smashed in the end. All the developments in south Korea this year show that the democratic forces rallied and united in the struggle for national reunification are far more powerful than the reactionary forces.

3. OUR TASKS

Fellow countrymen,

The most important political task facing the north Korean people today is to win the elections to the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea on August 25.

The forthcoming elections are the most genuinely democratic elections to be held by secret ballot on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage. The elections will be an important political event in the lives of us Korean people, for they will give birth to the Supreme People's Assembly and the central government of Korea which will struggle for the country's reunification and independence and democracy.

Elections to Korea's highest legislative body are a new save-the-nation measure to achieve national reunification and democracy. The greatest immediate task of the entire Korean people, therefore, is to make the elections a success.

The people's committees at all levels and political parties and social organizations in north Korea should see to it that all voters turn out without exception and, in particular, the election committees should strive to make the elections truly democratic.

Active participation in the elections is the honourable duty of all citizens. By turning out one hundred per cent in the elections on August 25, the voters should demonstrate once again the patriotic strength of the Korean people in their struggle for national reunification, independence and democracy.

Economically, we are faced with the heavy task of eradicating the colonial deformity of our economy as early as possible.

Pursuing a colonial economic policy in Korea, the Japanese imperialists reduced our industry to an appendage of Japanese industries, preventing it from developing independently of them. Hence, the importance of our task to abolish the colonial features of our industry and guarantee the nation's industrial independence. Progress in our national economy as a whole is closely related to its industrial development.

First of all, we should ensure the development of the machine-building industry, the mother of industries, and, in particular, pay much attention to the production of machine tools. We should expand the Kangso Electrical Machinery Factory and install new equipment for the manufacture of transformers and electric motors, and set up new sectors of production in some other enterprises.

In the field of light industry the textile industry should be actively developed and the output of artificial silk and staple fibres should be increased as much as possible to provide the people with more clothes.

The building-materials industry should strive to meet the demand for cement, bricks, glass and other building materials, which is growing with the expansion and development of capital construction.

In short, we must put an end to the deformity of our industries and create new production branches in the next two years so as to develop the national industry and raise industrial output at least to the level of 1944.

Agriculture should not rest content with its present level of grain production which is higher than in pre-liberation years, but further develop production.

We should take measures to improve the backward methods of farming and expand the area of rice paddies to the maximum. To this end we should carry out irrigation works in a big way and complete the large-scale Phyongnam irrigation project within the next two years.

Besides, we should further extend the area planted to industrial crops to satisfy the growing demand for industrial raw materials.

By so doing we should meet the people's requirements for food and the demand for industrial raw materials in the space of two years.

Rapid progress in the national economy is closely connected with the development of education, national culture and arts.

In the next two years we should quickly increase the number of universities and colleges and specialized schools, furnish them well and improve the quality of education, mass-produce cadres of our own, and make all preparations for compulsory primary schooling.

All these important tasks can only be carried out successfully by fulfilling the national economic plan for 1948. We should, therefore, regard the struggle for the fulfilment of this plan as our immediate task in economic construction and work energetically to carry it out.

These, in brief, are the tasks facing us in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

The struggle for the political, economic and cultural development of our country is a struggle to lay the solid foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

For the successful implementation of the aforementioned national tasks, we should strengthen the people's committee, our government, more than ever and consolidate the Democratic National United Front, the powerful coalition of democratic political parties and social organizations in north Korea.

We have scored notable successes in the great work of building

democracy. Today the reactionaries have no foothold at all in north Korea.

However, this does not mean they have ceased to work against democracy. Backed by the pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation and reactionaries in south Korea, they will do everything possible to halt our progress in north Korea if only for a little. So our people must sharpen their vigilance in all respects. Vigilance is a powerful weapon for the successful democratization in north Korea.

Today when we are preparing and working for the elections to the Supreme People's Assembly, the entire Korean people should be on the alert more than ever.

Fellow countrymen,

The north Korean people have won really great successes in laying the political, economic and cultural foundations for a unified independent and democratic state.

We are now marching vigorously towards new victories in all fields of democratic construction including the national economy, education and culture.

In the future, too, we will continue to strive tirelessly to reunify our country into a democratic state.

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Long live the third anniversary of the August 15 liberation!

Long live the liberated Korean people!

ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE SUPREME PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF KOREA

**Speech to Voters in the Sungho Electoral District
of Kangdong County, South Phyongan Province**

August 23, 1948

Dear voters,

I should like to offer my thanks to you, the voters of the Sungho electoral district of Kangdong County, for the trust you have placed in me by nominating me as a candidate for deputy to the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

On August 25, when the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is elected, a new stage will be opened up in the history of our nation's struggle for reunification and independence, and this will be a happy national holiday. By electing the Supreme People's Assembly on August 25, the Korean people will for the first time in their history have a supreme organ of power consisting of genuine representatives of the people and establish a democratic central government of Korea.

Three years have already passed since our nation was liberated from the Japanese imperialist colonial yoke. Nevertheless, our country has as yet no united supreme organ of power and united central government because of the US imperialists' aggressive plot against Korea and the treacherous policy of the pro-Japanese elements and the traitors to the nation in south Korea.

The colonial subjugation policy of the US imperialists and the treacherous policy of their lackeys—pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation—became further unmasked when they held separate elections in south Korea and established a puppet government.

Despite the unanimous opposition of the entire people in north and south Korea, the US imperialists and their lackeys staged the farce of separate elections that were ruinous to the nation, on the strength of mass terrorism and repression, and then set up a puppet government in south Korea.

This has resulted today in a complex and serious situation and the crisis of national division in our country. The US troops entrenched in south Korea refuse to leave, and the pro-Japanese elements and the traitors to the nation under their aegis have no scruples at all in selling out their country and people.

The entire patriotic people must overcome this crisis of national division and rise in a nationwide struggle to achieve the reunification and independence of the country. All patriotic and democratic forces must unite and smash the treacherous, reactionary forces including the pro-Japanese elements and the traitors to the nation.

Now that the puppet regime has been set up in south Korea, the US imperialists will carry out their aggressive policy against Korea in the name of the puppet regime, through the medium of traitors to the nation and pro-Japanese elements. The US imperialists will “legalize” the prolonged stationing of US troops in south Korea on the pretext that the puppet regime has requested it, and will pursue their colonial policy in south Korea in a more crafty form by concluding a “treaty” with the puppet regime. Therefore, it was by no means accidental that the US imperialists were ready to recognize the puppet regime in south Korea even before its establishment.

With precisely this aim in view, the US imperialists employed every possible means to override the decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers Conference and wreck the USSR-US Joint Commission, and then illegally brought up the Korean question in the UN General Assembly and rigged up the “UN Temporary

Commission on Korea” under the pretext of a resolution of the “UN Little Assembly”.

The present situation, in which an illegal “National Assembly” and a separate puppet regime have been established in south Korea, confronts the patriotic people with the new task of taking decisive measures to save the country.

Until recently, we could wage a save-the-country struggle in the hope of Koreans themselves solving the Korean question by rejecting the separate election in south Korea and by having the Soviet and US troops withdraw simultaneously as suggested by the Soviet government. But under the present circumstances in which the US imperialists and the traitors have fabricated the treacherous “National Assembly” and the puppet government in south Korea and are plotting for the US troops to stay for an indefinite period despite unanimous opposition by the Korean people, we cannot sit and wait for the US troops to withdraw of their own accord.

We must elect the Supreme People’s Assembly, an all-Korea supreme legislative body representing the people of north and south Korea, and set up a unified central government. In the name of this central government, we should put forward a demand and fight more resolutely for the withdrawal of the US troops.

The “National Assembly” and the puppet regime in south Korea will not hesitate in the least to conclude any kind of treacherous “treaty” with the US imperialists and will perpetrate any treacherous act against the nation without the least scruples if it is to the benefit of the US imperialists. How can we tolerate the south Korean “National Assembly” and puppet regime, hangouts of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, acting on behalf of the Korean people?

After establishing the supreme legislative body of Korea and the central government, we must proclaim on behalf of this legal central government and the entire Korean people, that no “government” other than the unified central government of Korea can represent the will of the Korean people. The unified central government of Korea to be created in the future will also declare that the Korean people will

never recognize any “law” issued by the puppet government of south Korea or any “treaty” it concludes with the US imperialists.

The reactionary elements of south Korea will attempt to wrest land from the north Korean peasants who have become masters of land, the eight-hour day from the workers, sex equality from the women, and the democratic campuses from the youth. In a word, they will go all-out to deprive the north Korean people of all the achievements gained through the democratic reforms.

But this is no more than an idle daydream. No force on earth can wrench away the freedom and rights won by the north Korean people now that they have become masters of state power and have directly benefitted from the achievements of the democratic reforms.

Dear voters,

The question of democratic freedoms and rights not only concerns the workers, peasants, women and youth. It is a vital question for people of all strata including the entrepreneurs, merchants, handicraftsmen, and religious believers.

If the US imperialists make the whole of Korea their colony, not only the workers, peasants, women and youth will be forced again to lead the life of slaves, but the entrepreneurs, merchants and handicraftsmen too will be ruined by US monopoly capital, and the national economy will go totally bankrupt.

The same can be said of religious believers. The US imperialists are using religion as an instrument of aggressive policy. Through religious propaganda they infuse people with the spirit of slavish submission to the Americans and worship of the United States. In south Korea today patriotic religious believers who do not trust the US imperialists but love their own country and people are subjected to repression. Therefore, if the US imperialists turn the whole of Korea into their colony, misfortune will also befall the religious believers who love their country and people.

The only way to avoid the danger of colonial enslavement is to establish a supreme organ of power representing and defending the interests of all the people in north and south Korea.

The Supreme People's Assembly of Korea to be established by the unanimous will of the people of north and south Korea, will firmly defend the gains of the democratic reforms in north Korea, and protect the rights of people of all strata, such as workers, peasants, office employees, working intellectuals, women, youth, students, entrepreneurs, merchants, handicraftsmen and religious believers, and defend the interests of the Korean people as a whole.

We are going to establish the Supreme People's Assembly to reunify the country, not to divide it. The elections to the Supreme People's Assembly will mark a great step forward in the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of the country.

Representatives of the people of all strata and all patriotic political parties and public organizations have been nominated as candidates to the Supreme People's Assembly, the elections to which will take place on August 25. Our candidates for deputies comprise representatives of various strata of the Korean people, including the workers, peasants, office employees, intellectuals, entrepreneurs, merchants, handicraftsmen and religious believers, and of all political parties and public organizations. Therefore, it is not accidental that all the people are rallying unanimously in this election campaign.

There is no doubt that the north Korean people will take part as one in the elections to their supreme organ of power. After the Supreme People's Assembly has been elected and the central government of Korea has been formed according to the general will of the people of north and south Korea, we shall be able to proclaim to the world that there will be no "National Assembly" or "government" other than these in our country.

The deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea, the finest sons and daughters of the Korean people, will march forward bravely until final victory, standing in the forefront of the struggle of the Korean people for national reunification and independence and for democracy.

We are not alone in this struggle. The people of the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of the whole world are on our side and are

giving support and encouragement to our just struggle. This is a firm international guarantee for safeguarding the independence and freedom of our nation against the imperialist invasion.

Dear voters,

The elections to the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea on August 25 will open up a new, decisively favourable phase in the struggle for national reunification and independence and for democracy.

The Supreme People's Assembly of Korea that we will elect will consolidate and develop all the results of the great democratic reforms gained by the north Korean people in the three years since liberation.

In the political situation prevailing in our country the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea must further the building of democracy in north Korea, step up the struggle against the US imperialists and their lackeys, the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, and arouse the entire Korean people to the save-the-nation struggle for national reunification and independence and for democracy.

The Supreme People's Assembly should strive to lay the firm foundations of an independent national economy and improve the material and cultural standards of the people. To do so, it must develop agriculture, industry and transport on the basis of the achievements of the democratic reforms.

The Supreme People's Assembly must safeguard private property and encourage individual initiatives in industry and trade.

The Supreme People's Assembly of Korea should build an enlightened and prosperous country by rehabilitating and developing national culture as well as the national economy.

In a word, the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea we will elect should firmly guarantee freedom and happiness for the people in north Korea by consolidating the gains of the democratic reforms and promoting democratic construction in north Korea, and should also strive to carry out democratic reforms in south Korea in the future, the same as in north Korea, and allow our south Korean compatriots to share the freedom and happiness enjoyed by the north Korean people.

The elections to the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea will be a great political event in the history of the Korean people's struggle for the building of an independent and sovereign democratic state. It is the sacred right and duty of the Korean people to elect the finest sons and daughters of our people to the Supreme People's Assembly.

It is the greatest honour for any citizen to be elected to the supreme legislative body. The deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly are entrusted with the responsible duty of serving the country and the people. Our deputies do not belong to a privileged class which dominates the people but are the sons and daughters of the people breathing the same air as the people and working in their interests.

That is why those who have the honour of being the first people's deputies of our country should devote all their energies and talents to the struggle for the country and the people, and become brave patriotic fighters, unyielding in the face of difficulties.

Our people's deputies must be faithful servants of the people who always live among the people at one with them, not merely teaching the people but learning from them, listening to their voices and meeting their demands promptly.

Deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea are national figures. They should learn how to run the state and know how to organize and mobilize the people and lead them from one new victory to another. The deputies must study hard to acquire such great ability and noble qualities and firmly equip themselves with the correct world outlook. In this way the deputies elected by the people must faithfully carry out the honourable tasks assigned them by the country and the people.

The voters must always check up on how the deputies are carrying out the duties entrusted them by the people. If a deputy fails to fulfil his duty, the voters will recall him and re-elect a new dependable deputy. This relationship between voters and deputies is based on the principle of true democracy.

Voters,

The Korean people's long history of struggle against foreign invaders and our forefathers' fighting experience show that the path we have chosen is the right one.

Today the Korean people have come to the parting of the way. One road leads us back to colonial slavery to imperialism, and the other is the road leading us to freedom and happiness in a unified independent democratic state. There is no road other than these two. Patriotic people who love the country and the people and hold dear freedom and independence will no doubt choose the latter.

Our people are averse to being reduced to colonial slavery again and would not like their descendants to become homeless slaves. That is why all who love the country and the people and want their descendants to become masters of a free and prosperous democratic Korea, should participate in the elections to the Supreme People's Assembly on August 25 and vote for the candidates put up by the Democratic National United Front.

If you prize the successes of the great democratic reforms achieved by the north Korean people in the three years since liberation and love our land of three-thousand *ri* where our ancestors lie buried, all of you should go to the polls on August 25 with a high degree of political enthusiasm. To participate in the elections on August 25 is the sacred duty of all patriotic people of Korea including workers, peasants, office employees, intellectuals, entrepreneurs, merchants, handicraftsmen and religious believers.

This nationwide struggle of the Korean people for the reunification and independence of their country and for democracy will meet with the desperate resistance of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation. The reactionaries in south Korea will stop at nothing to frustrate the elections to the Supreme People's Assembly, and resort to all kinds of subversive activities. Therefore, our people should be more vigilant than ever and expose and crush at every step the insidious attempts of the enemy.

Victory belongs to the patriotic people of Korea. I firmly believe that the entire people of north and south Korea will in firm union

smash every subversive move of the US imperialists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, and triumphantly carry out the elections to the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea, the highest legislative body of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Let us all go to the polls as one man on August 25!

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Long live the elections to the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea, the highest legislative body of Korea!

Long live the Korean people who have risen in the struggle for the reunification and independence of the country and for democracy!

STATEMENT ON THE TRANSFER OF POWER

**Made at the First Session of the Supreme People's
Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

September 8, 1948

Fellow Deputies,

Having suffered for 36 years as colonial slaves of Japanese imperialism, our people greeted the August 15 liberation.

Freed from the long years under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, they made every effort to establish a unified, democratic central government, set up an independent, sovereign state and create a free and happy, democratic life as early as possible. In order to attain this great goal and carve out their destiny for themselves, our people formed the people's committees, organs of people's power, throughout the whole of Korea.

However, when the US army landed in south Korea, a complicated political situation began to prevail in our country.

The US imperialists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation in south Korea perpetrated all manner of brutal outrages, repressing and dissolving the people's committees set up on the initiative of the south Korean people and arresting and detaining leading officials of the organs of people's power. So, in south Korea, the people's committees were dissolved, and the officials who fought for the people's well-being had to go underground to engage in illegal activities.

As the days passed, the south Korean reactionaries manoeuvred

more and more frantically to turn south Korea into an outright colony of the US imperialists. Because of such manoeuvrings by the US imperialists and traitors to the nation, our country's political situation became complex and grave indeed, and the establishment of a unified, democratic central government and an independent, sovereign state the people had awaited so anxiously did not materialize and has been delayed to this very day.

In this situation, the north Korean people keenly felt the need to establish a central governing body which would give coordinated guidance to the local organs of people's power already formed on the initiative of the people, in order to take advantage of the favorable conditions created in north Korea to promote the establishment of a unified, democratic central government, lay the foundations for the building of an independent, sovereign state, and, even in north Korea alone, rapidly rehabilitate industry and transport destroyed by the Japanese imperialists when they fled, and raise the people's living standards. Accordingly, on February 8, 1946 representatives of provincial, city and county people's committees and democratic political parties and social organizations in north Korea gathered in Pyongyang and set up the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea.

As the temporary central body of the north Korean people's power, the PPCNK took measures to stabilize the people's lives and lay the foundations for the building of an independent, sovereign state, and began to clear up the chaos immediately after liberation and rehabilitate and develop all spheres of the national economy, including industry, transport and agriculture. With the enthusiastic participation of the entire people and active support of various political parties and social organizations, it carried out the agrarian reform, nationalized industries, enforced the Labour Law and the Law on Sex Equality, introduced agricultural tax in kind, and carried out a number of measures to establish a democratic educational system, improve the public health service, promote national culture, and so on. It thus achieved great success in laying foundations for the

political, economical and cultural development of north Korea.

When the North Korean People's Assembly was set up in February 1947, the PPCNK, the temporary central organ of power, became the People's Committee of North Korea.

With a view to further raising the people's living standards, consolidating and developing the gains of the democratic reforms and cementing the material foundations for the building of an independent, sovereign state, the PCNK mapped out national economic plans in 1947 and 1948 and launched an all-out drive to carry them out. Thanks to the active labour efforts of the entire people and to the assistance of political parties and social organizations affiliated with the Democratic National United Front of North Korea, the national economic plans were carried out successfully and the country's economy made great strides in two years.

We can say that the PCNK has faithfully carried out the duties entrusted to it by the entire people.

The democratic reforms effected in the three years after liberation in north Korea and the tremendous development achieved in all fields of politics, economy and culture were designed, without exception, for the country's complete independence and the welfare of the Korean people.

Under the guidance of the PCNK and by their heroic struggle and devoted labour our people have turned north Korea into a powerful base of democracy for the country. The exploits of our people in the struggle to build a new country under the PCNK's leadership will shine for ever in the history of our nation-building.

Today the PCNK considers that it has fulfilled all its duties and exercised all its rights, because the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the unified, supreme legislative body of all Korea for which the entire Korean people have yearned so long, has been formed in accordance with the will of the entire people in north and south Korea.

Therefore, on behalf of the PCNK, I hereby transfer the power and the rights of PCNK to the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK.

**THE POLITICAL PROGRAMME
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

**Announced at the First Session of the Supreme
People's Assembly of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea**
September 10, 1948

Deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly,

After liberation from the Japanese imperialist colonial yoke, our nation waited impatiently for the establishment of a unified, democratic central government in our country and for the creation of an independent state capable of holding its own as a full-fledged member of the world democratic camp.

But the traitors in south Korea, under the manipulation of the US imperialists, have sabotaged the decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers Conference on the Korean question and turned south Korea into a lawless land where reaction is on the rampage. Cruelly suppressing the democratic, patriotic forces, these traitors, in collusion with the US imperialists, finally established a separate, puppet government and are demanding that the US troops remain in south Korea on a long-term basis. The US imperialists and their lackeys are desperately seeking to perpetuate the division of our nation, keep our territory partitioned for ever and turn south Korea into a complete US colony.

Under these circumstances, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a unified central government set up according to the collective will of the people in the north and the south, will, with the object of achieving the complete reunification of the country and building a rich and strong, independent and sovereign democratic state, strive to carry out the following tasks:

First, the Government of the Republic will unite the entire Korean people firmly around itself and mobilize them in the struggle for the reunification of the country and will make every effort to carry into effect the Soviet Government's proposal for the simultaneous withdrawal of the Soviet and US armies, the prerequisite for territorial integrity and national reunification.

Second, the Government of the Republic will take all necessary measures to rid political, economic and cultural life in our country of the evil effects of Japanese imperialist rule and will punish according to the laws of the Republic the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation who betrayed the interests of the Korean people and actively collaborated with the Japanese imperialists.

The Government will wage a resolute struggle against the remnants of the servile thinking left over from the days of Japanese imperialist rule and against the traitors to the nation who are manoeuvring to sell out our country again as a colony of foreign imperialism. It will thoroughly expose and crush all enemy attempts to undermine the democratic system established in north Korea and the achievements made in the building of economy and culture.

Third, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will declare null and void all the laws made by the Japanese imperialists in the past and all the anti-democratic ordinances of the puppet government that go against the people.

The Government of the Republic will continue to consolidate and take forward the democratic reforms, such as the agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries, the Labour Law and the Law on Sex Equality enforced in north Korea and will strive to introduce them throughout Korea.

Fourth, the Government of the Republic, with a view to building Korea into a rich, strong, independent and democratic state, will rid our economy of its features of colonial dependence, oppose the economic enslavement policy of the foreign imperialists, and build an independent national economy capable of steadily improving the well-being of the Korean people and ensuring independence and prosperity for our country.

The Government will work out a unified national economic plan so as to make rational use of all the country's resources in the interests of the people, and it will actively develop the national economy and national culture according to that plan.

To ensure the success of this task, the Government will take the following measures:

(1) The metallurgical, machine-building, chemical and shipbuilding industries, light industry, the fishing industry, etc., will be actively promoted in order to rid industry of colonial distortion, lay the basis for an independent national economy and meet in full the country's needs for manufactured goods. Railway, motor and ship services will be improved to ensure satisfactory transportation.

The Government of the Republic will see to it that the factories now in operation work to full capacity, rehabilitate all those not yet restored and build a number of new ones.

With the object of rapidly expanding the production of consumer goods, the Government will actively develop the textile, leather and shoe industries and other light industrial branches and, in particular, will give substantial assistance to the cooperative enterprises and encourage the initiative of private enterprise.

(2) The Government of the Republic will consolidate the gains of the agrarian reform carried out in north Korea, and, on this basis, vigorously promote agriculture and stockbreeding.

In developing agriculture the Government will encourage peasant initiative in every way, render the peasants all possible state assistance, such as supplying adequate amounts of fertilizer and farm implements and taking measures to improve farming methods, and it

will give them active guidance in farming.

The arable land and the sown area will be extended to increase grain output. In particular, for the purpose of extending the paddies and increasing rice yields, the Government will vigorously undertake irrigation projects with state funds and, at the same time, encourage and help the farmers to undertake irrigation works themselves.

The Government will enlarge the area sown to cotton and expand sericulture, in order to meet the people's demand for textiles, and it will also develop the timber industry to satisfy the requirements of the national economy for wood.

(3) To supply the people with sufficient daily necessities, the Government will pursue a policy of ensuring smooth commodity circulation between town and country and of systematically reducing prices.

State and consumers' cooperative trade will be developed rapidly by setting up state and consumers' cooperative stores widely in towns and farm villages, and private trade, too, will be encouraged to supply the people with necessities.

The Government will actively expand exports by tapping the country's resources to the full and steadily expanding production and, at the same time, it will import machinery, equipment and other goods essential for the economic development of the country and for the people's life.

Fifth, the Government will direct great efforts to advancing education, culture and the public health service. In the field of education, it will widely extend the school network to take in as many children as possible who are not, at present, at school, and to raise the rate of admission to junior and senior middle schools, and will introduce compulsory primary education in 1950.

It is impossible to build an independent state without able cadres in all sectors of politics, the economy and culture. Therefore, one of the most important tasks confronting the Government of the Republic is to train large numbers of cadres needed in all fields of national construction.

The Government will build more specialized technical schools and colleges to train the large numbers of able technical cadres wanted in all branches of the national economy and take steps to perfect all the facilities of the institutes of higher education and improve the content and methods of teaching.

At the same time, an on-the-job education network and short technical courses will be set up at enterprises and offices to teach technical know-how to factory and office workers, and many technical schools will be opened to train skilled workers. Also, more elementary and middle schools for adults will be established for wide-scale adult education, so that illiteracy will be wiped out among the working people and their cultural standards raised.

Newspapers, magazines and books will be published in large editions and the activities of libraries, cinemas, theatres and clubs will be briskly stepped up in order to raise the people's political consciousness and their technical and cultural levels.

Hospitals and clinics will be widely set up in enterprises and farm villages, the production of medicines and medical appliances will be increased and a large number of medical workers trained so as to improve and extend the public health service.

Sixth, the Government of the Republic will consolidate and develop the organs of people's power at all levels in every way. The people's committee, which is a new type of popular government set up according to the free will of the people following the August 15 liberation, has become genuine people's power enjoying the undivided support of the Korean people.

The Government will strengthen the local people's committees, the political basis of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in north Korea where they are in being, and struggle for their restoration in south Korea where they were once organized but have since been dissolved by the reactionary forces.

Seventh, in foreign policy, the Government of the Republic will endeavour to establish friendly relations between our country, as an equal member of the world democratic camp, and the freedom-loving

countries that respect the liberty and independence of our nation and treat us on an equal footing.

The revival of Japanese imperialism constitutes a menace to the independence of our nation, and so the imperialist countries that are attempting to revive Japan as an aggressive imperialist state will all be considered enemies of our nation.

The Government of the Republic will strongly demand the implementation of the decision of the Potsdam Conference on liquidating the forces of Japanese militarism and democratizing Japan.

Eighth, the Government will strengthen the People's Army in every respect to defend the territory of the country against foreign forces of aggression and to safeguard the gains already achieved in the democratic reforms in north Korea.

**LET US ALL UNITE FIRMLY AROUND
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
AND MARCH FORWARD TO BUILD
A DEMOCRATIC KOREA**

**Speech at the Pyongyang Mass Rally to Celebrate
the Establishment of the Government of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea**
September 12, 1948

Dear citizens of Pyongyang,

Workers, peasants, office employees, men of culture and students,
Entrepreneurs, tradesmen and clergymen,

The Central Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the establishment of which our people awaited so eagerly has been founded and warmly supported and welcomed by the entire Korean people.

On behalf of the Government of the Republic I would like to offer you citizens, men and women, young and old, profound thanks for gathering here to support and welcome the Central Government of the Republic, the first of its kind in our nation's history, established amid high patriotic enthusiasm and national joy, and to express your trust in the members of the Government.

Dear friends,

With the establishment of the DPRK Government a brilliant new chapter has been opened in the history of our people's struggle for the building of an independent, sovereign state. From now on, as a

full-fledged nation with a government of their own our people will always be protected by this government and have dignity, rights and honour as citizens of the DPRK.

Our people were harshly ill-treated, exploited and oppressed for 36 years as colonial slaves without a country. In order not to suffer the sorrow of a stateless people ever again, the Korean people now that they are freed from the shackles of the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, have waged a nationwide struggle ever since the first days of liberation to build an independent, sovereign and democratic state, while fighting stubbornly against the internal and external forces of reaction.

The foundation of the DPRK and the establishment of the Central Government are the fruits of the united struggle of the north and south Korean people for the country's reunification, freedom and independence, and a great historic victory for our people.

Our Republic has a bright future and a broad avenue to victory is open before our nation. The Government of the Republic will do everything in its power to assure the prosperity of our country and the happy future of our people and will justify your trust without fail.

All our victories and happiness do not come of themselves; they are only won through effort and struggle. Now, the Government of the Republic and our people have a tremendous historic task which must be carried out at all costs in the face of many difficulties. As is pointed out in the political programme of the Government of the Republic already published, we should achieve the country's reunification, freedom and independence, and should also introduce in the southern half of the country the same great democratic reforms as have been carried out in the northern half since liberation and provide our fellow countrymen there with the same freedom and happiness as the north Korean people are enjoying today. And we should completely eliminate the remnants of the prolonged colonial rule of Japanese imperialism in all spheres of politics, economy and culture and develop our country into an independent democratic state, wealthy, strong and enlightened. We should enable our people to enter

the international arena with completely equal rights with the freedom-loving people of the whole world.

In order to carry out this historic task, it will not do simply to proclaim the Republic and establish the Government of the Republic. For the reunification and prosperity of the homeland the entire Korean people should unite firmly around the Government of the Republic, uphold its policies and devote their patriotic enthusiasm and efforts to implementing them.

The puppet regime led by Syngman Rhee the traitor and south Korea's pro-Japanese elements, quislings and political profiteers are meeting with strong resistance from the people. The Korean people will never forgive this traitorous clique and will continue to fight them.

The south Korean people are demanding the same democratic reforms as in north Korea and are fighting for their introduction. In accordance with its political programme, the DPRK Government will definitely introduce democratic reforms in south Korea and guarantee the south Korean people freedom, rights and happiness, too.

As history shows, a state and government established by the people themselves and enjoying their unreserved support and working for their benefit, has always been victorious.

I firmly believe that our Central Government that was established by the people and is receiving their unqualified support and is working for their benefit will faithfully perform its sacred and honourable national task in the struggle for the reunification and freedom of our homeland. Let us march forward towards the triumphant construction of a democratic Korea, rallying firmly around the Government of the Republic.

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Long live the Korean people!

**YOU MUST BE INTERIOR WORKERS
FAITHFUL TO THE COUNTRY
AND THE PEOPLE**

**Congratulatory Speech Delivered at the First Graduation
Ceremony of the Central Security Officers School
under the Ministry of the Interior**

September 19, 1948

Comrade graduates,

On behalf of the Party's Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I warmly congratulate you, the first graduates to have the honour of finishing the Central Security Officers School under, the Ministry of the Interior, and all the teaching staff who have been untiring in their work of guiding and teaching you.

The Central Security Officers School under the Ministry of the Interior was set up to train the excellent main cadres for the organs of the interior, qualified politically and ideologically, militarily and professionally. The fact that the splendid workers who have received political, military and practical training at this school are going to be cadres of the interior is of great significance in strengthening the interior work and further consolidating and developing the democratic base. The country and the people expect very much from you graduates. I believe and hope from the bottom of my heart that you will perform your duties excellently, true to the expectations of the country and the people.

You should first of all become genuinely popular interior workers,

true servants of the people, who ardently love the country and the people and devote your all to the struggle for them.

Unlike the police of a capitalist country which defends the interests of a handful of landlords and capitalists, our interior organs are a truly people's establishment which is composed of the fine sons and daughters of the workers and peasants and protects the interests of the entire people including the workers and peasants. Having a correct understanding of its popular character, you should be boundlessly loyal to the people while mercilessly combatting the enemies who encroach upon the interests of the state and the people. You should make tireless efforts to acquire the popular style of work characterized by always depending on the people in one's work, teaching them and learning from them, and being utterly modest and simple.

Next, you should always maintain a high revolutionary vigilance and smash all subversive moves of the enemy.

The mission of the People's Army is to defend the Party and the country from armed invasion by foreign aggressors in the event of war, whereas the mission of the interior organs is to safeguard at all times our Party, the Government of the Republic, and the lives and property of the people from encroachment by all enemies within and without and to maintain public order.

The US imperialists occupying south Korea are now resorting to all manner of evil ways and means to turn our country into their permanent colony. In an attempt to conquer the Republic and undermine the success in democratic reforms and construction achieved by the people at the cost of their sweat and blood, the US imperialists are constantly smuggling spies, subversive elements and saboteurs into the northern half of Korea and, at the same time, instigating the Syngman Rhee puppet clique to launch frequent armed provocations against the north along the 38th parallel. You should firmly guard the nation's coastline, demarcation line and frontiers and promptly detect enemies infiltrating from outside.

The enemy is found inside as well as outside. The expropriated

landlords, pro-Japanese elements and other traitors to the nation are waiting for a chance to overthrow the people's government and restore the old system in collusion with outside forces. You should establish strict public order, apprehend all enemies lying low and manoeuvring insidiously among the people, and give them no chance to gain a foothold.

Next, you should steadily raise your political and practical qualifications.

Your knowledge acquired at school is no more than the basis for your work from now on. Society develops and the situation changes constantly. In your future work, you may encounter unexpected situations and many a difficult and complex problem. So, if you are to keep pace with the developing realities and take the initiative in solving problems in any situation, you must not be content with your knowledge acquired at school, but continue to study hard and better prepare yourselves politically and ideologically, militarily and practically. You should make a profound study of Marxism-Leninism and our Party's policies, know how to put them into practice, and firmly acquire the noble spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. And you must strive to gain the military skill and practical knowledge required to carry out efficiently the work of security, prosecution and preservation of public peace. You should also strive to become physically strong so as to be capable of defeating the enemy.

In all sincerity you must pass on the knowledge you have learned at the school to your subordinates. It is impossible to have all our interior workers attend this school. If each graduate teaches even one of his subordinates properly, it will, in the final analysis, amount to doubling the number of graduates from each training session at this school. You should teach your men well at the posts you are assigned to and help them to be able interior workers as soon as possible. Besides, you must gradually improve your ability of leadership and approach your men with the affection of a real mother and lead them in such a way that they do their work well.

From the experience gained in training the first graduates the teaching staff should make every effort to give better training to larger numbers of interior cadres faithful to the Party and the people. In order to train able interior workers, they should raise the educational standards and teach them useful working knowledge. For this, they should strengthen education in the Party's policies and steadily improve the methods of teaching. At the same time, the teachers should constantly improve their own qualifications.

I hope that you comrade graduates and teaching staff will have even greater success in your work in the future.

LET US TRAIN MORE COMPETENT NATIONAL CADRES

**Speech at the Ceremony for the Completion of the New
Building of Kim Il Sung University**
October 10, 1948

Friends,

With immense pride and joy we are celebrating today the second anniversary of the founding of the University and the completion of its new building.

This new building finished today is the first modern building that our liberated people have constructed by their own efforts and technology. Our people have had no experience in constructing a large modern building. Moreover, the country's economic situation is very difficult, but they built this magnificent, modern building in a little over a year by their own efforts. This is, indeed, something to be very proud of.

The new building of the University is permeated with our people's patriotic devotion and labour feats.

We had a serious discussion on how to use the rice donated to the state in a patriotic spirit by Kim Je Won and other patriotic peasants who were overjoyed at receiving land; we finally decided to use it for educational work to train cadres and, first of all, to erect the University building. The patriotic donations of rice made wholeheartedly to the state by the peasants have been instrumental in creating this excellent centre to train national cadres. How very proud

this makes us feel! It is of great political significance that the rice donated by the peasants in such a spirit of patriotism was used for building a university.

The new building has not been created by the peasants' devotion alone, however. Workers of many factories throughout the country, citizens of Pyongyang and the people of South Phyongan Province, too, gave enormous assistance in labour and materials.

I am very pleased that the University building has been built so splendidly thanks to the patriotic enthusiasm and devoted efforts of our people; and I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to its builders and all those who helped, including the peasants who donated the rice in such a patriotic spirit.

We cannot rest content with having built a modern University building, however. We are going to create a vast university district here in the future by erecting many buildings that will be even more magnificent and modern than the one completed today. Once we build many grand modern buildings and equip them with up-to-date educational facilities, the University will be turned into our highest sanctum for scientific development in the truest sense of the term.

Friends,

The University was founded two years ago with the idea of training much-needed national cadres for the building of a prosperous, independent and sovereign democratic state, as a genuine people's university where the sons and daughters of the working people are able to study as much as they please. At the time of its foundation we had more than a few difficulties and hardships to overcome. We had a weak material basis for the building of the University and were short of teachers and had no experience in running an institution of higher learning. Some were against the idea, saying it was too early to build a university. We were of the opinion, however, that it would be impossible to build a new, democratic Korea without our own cadres and went ahead to found it, surmounting the manifold obstacles and hardships on our own.

In the two years since its foundation, the University has made

great strides. At the time of its foundation, it had only 70 teachers and 1,500 students or so. Now, two years later, three of the faculties have become separate colleges, the number of teachers has more than doubled and there are more than 2,400 students. The students' standards are now much higher. The sons and daughters of workers and peasants who had been denied access to primary schooling in the past, to say nothing of college education, are now studying advanced science and technique to their satisfaction as full-fledged students and are growing up into excellent cadres.

The pulsating life of today as the new, democratic Korea is being built demands increasing numbers of excellent cadres. Unless many cadres are trained in keeping with the developing reality, it will be impossible to actively forge ahead with the building of a new, democratic Korea. Large numbers of cadres also have to be trained in preparation for the country's reunification.

The University must improve and intensify educational work so as to train greater numbers of competent cadres for the building of a new, democratic Korea.

In improving and strengthening education it is most important to have the content of education properly worked out. This is indispensable to impart practical knowledge to the students. The Ministry of Education and the University should define the content of education from the point of view of teaching the students progressive ideas and the scientific and technical knowledge needed for building a new, democratic Korea.

It depends largely on the efforts of teachers whether or not the students are trained to be the country's strong pillars. All teachers should devote their intellect and talents to teaching well so as to have the students develop into true servants of the people, excellent national cadres who are sound ideologically and rich in scientific and technical know-how.

If the teachers are to give the students a sound education, they must decidedly raise their own qualifications. They should be versed in the subject matter and, also, take an active part in scientific

research. The University must guarantee adequate conditions for the teachers to raise their qualifications.

The students are the nation's valuable asset. They must study and study hard to master advanced science and technique in order to be better prepared as builders of the new, democratic Korea.

The University must provide all the material conditions for educational work. It must obtain sufficient laboratory and practising facilities and fully ensure the supply of textbooks, teaching aids and furnishings. This will enable all students to apply themselves to their studies in full measure at this democratic institution equipped with excellent educational facilities.

The interior facilities of the new University building must be completed quickly and the building taken good care of so that it can be preserved for ever since it is a building pervaded with our people's patriotic devotion and creative labour.

I am convinced that the entire teaching staff of the University will train increasing numbers of excellent national cadres capable of working faithfully for the country's prosperity and progress and the people's happiness, thereby living up to the expectations of our Party, the Government of the Republic and our people.

OFFICERS MUST PLAY THE CENTRAL ROLE IN INCREASING THE COMBAT ABILITY OF THEIR UNITS

**Speech at the Graduation Banquet to Celebrate
the Second Term of the First Central Military Academy**

October 14, 1948

Today I would like to offer warm congratulations to the graduates of the First Central Military Academy and its entire teaching staff who have contributed greatly to the education of the students.

It is very gratifying, indeed, that we have trained so many People's Army commanders to be sent out to the units.

Our people who were colonial slaves of the Japanese imperialists in the past have now become the masters of an independent country with their own regular people's armed forces the like of which they never had before.

Since liberation our people have set up under the Party's wise leadership true people's power; they have adopted a number of democratic reforms and are creating a new happy life.

In these conditions the Party founded the People's Army to defend by force of arms the gains of democratic construction and the people's happiness, and carry out the revolution in our country.

Our People's Army is a genuine people's army consisting of the sons and daughters of workers and peasants and serving the interests of the country and the people.

Comrades, when have we ever had such an armed force? Our

people suffered from all sorts of maltreatment and humiliation as colonial slaves of Japanese imperialism for 36 years because they were deprived of their country and had no real army of their own.

If the people are to enjoy a happy life in an independent country, their army must firmly defend it.

Now, our people are entrusting posts in the national defences to you comrades who will be the hard core of the People's Army. You must strive to safeguard the revolutionary gains from the enemy's encroachment with all your talents and energies and must live up to the people's expectations.

You must have a clear understanding of how our people were oppressed and exploited under Japanese imperialist colonial rule before liberation, how our Republic was established, and how to fight to defend it. Also you must not forget for a single moment that the country has not been reunified yet and the people in the southern half have not been liberated.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have consistently advocated the peaceful reunification of the country and put forward specific proposals for it. However, the US imperialists and their lackeys, the Syngman Rhee clique, have stubbornly opposed our sincere proposals for the country's reunification, further intensifying their aggressive manoeuvres. The US imperialists rigged up the Syngman Rhee puppet regime by having the ruinous May 10 separate elections held at the point of the bayonet and are instigating them to raise frantic clamours for a "march north". Reinforcing their troops of aggression in south Korea and expanding the puppet army on a large scale, they are stepping up full preparations for war against the northern half of Korea and further intensifying armed provocations along the 38th parallel, the demarcation line.

The prevailing situation demands that we sharpen our revolutionary vigilance and increase the combat ability of the People's Army in every way.

In order to increase combat ability it is most important to enhance the role of the commanders.

Since you are being commissioned to the units after graduating from the academy, you should play the central role in increasing their combat ability.

Of course, you may encounter difficulties and obstacles while working in your units. But you must resolutely overcome them by helping each other and pulling together.

In the future you must never be self-complacent in or out of work. What you have learned at school are merely the rudiments. Therefore, you should continue to study and study in the units, too. You should all study Marxism-Leninism hard and arm yourselves with our Party's ideas and constantly study the battle exploits and experiences of our anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners. You must study military affairs hard as well as politics, so as to be versed in advanced military science and technique and in up-to-date weapons, and persevere to improve your ability as commanders.

You must also train yourselves well to raise the fighting efficiency of your units. Remember, the more sweat in training, the less blood in battle. When you are assigned to the units, you must eliminate formalism in training and organize and conduct training like a real battle.

Our country is mountainous. Therefore, you should conduct many exercises in the mountains to train your men to be skilled in mountain warfare. Only then can they all display bravery, boldness and endurance in real battle and discharge their combat assignments admirably.

You must intensify shooting practice to improve your men's marksmanship. If you are to turn them into crack shots, you commanders must first be crack shots yourselves. You should become skilful commanders who can hit the enemy by a single shot either with a rifle or a gun. If all the soldiers become crack marksmen, the fighting capacity of the units will mount considerably.

Next, you must establish iron discipline in the army and encourage the men to observe it voluntarily. Commanders should be the first to

become a model of discipline, too, and educate the soldiers by setting an example.

Officers should not only show a brotherly affection for the soldiers and teach them kindly but also be demanding in training and in observing discipline. Only then can they bring them up as true soldiers.

You are graduating from the military academy today with really heavy duties on your shoulders. The Party and the people are pinning very great hopes on the People's Army. Bearing this deeply in mind, you should work with might and main to live up to their hopes.

You teachers must have worked very hard to train the officers.

You should raise your qualifications and ceaselessly study the experiences of advanced teaching, in order to bring about greater progress in educational work in the future.

I wish all the teaching staff and graduates even greater success in your future work.

TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY POLITICAL WORK IN THE UNITS

Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Cultural Service

Personnel of the Security Forces

October 21, 1948

Comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, I would like first to express deep thanks to you comrades present here and, through you, to all the soldiers of the Security Forces and members of the Public Security Corps who are dependably guarding the demarcation line along the 38th parallel, coastal areas, frontiers, railways, major state institutions, factories, enterprises, and other industrial establishments against the enemy's invasion and subversive activities.

Today I shall speak about some problems of improving Party political work in the Security Forces units and increasing their combat power.

Under the difficult and complex situation prevailing in our country after liberation, we made vigorous efforts to establish a democratic base in the northern half of Korea and achieved brilliant successes. The agrarian and other democratic reforms were successfully carried out, and solid foundations laid for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy.

Through a powerful patriotic movement to increase production in all branches of the national economy, our people are now

effecting great changes everywhere.

For 36 years in the past our people were harshly treated and oppressed as colonial slaves of Japanese imperialism. Never to become a people without a country again, they have waged a nationwide struggle to build an independent, sovereign and democratic state. Recently they held elections to the Supreme People's Assembly, the highest organ of state power, and founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. With the establishment of the DPRK, the genuine homeland of the Korean people, the long cherished desire of our people was fulfilled and a broad avenue opened for the future progress of our country and people.

The formation, expansion and consolidation of the People's Army and the Security Forces, the truly people's armed forces, have enabled our people to defend their country staunchly by their own efforts.

The rapid growth of political, economic and military power in the northern half of Korea constitutes a heavy blow at the US imperialist aggressors and their puppet clique in south Korea; it serves as a powerful factor in safeguarding peace and security in Asia.

Today all our people, rallied rock-firm around the DPRK Government, are working with might and main to build a new society and win the cause of peaceful national reunification.

In their struggle for national reunification, however, the Korean people are greatly hindered by the aggressive moves of the US imperialists occupying south Korea and their stooges. The US imperialists are making vicious attempts to turn our country into their permanent colony and a bridgehead for their Asian aggression and to re-enslave the Koreans. Having rigged up the Syngman Rhee puppet regime through the disastrous separate election held on May 10 last, they are frantically stepping up war preparations. They are now massively reinforcing their aggressive troops deployed along the 38th parallel and raising "northward expedition" rackets every day.

In order to tide over the current crisis of national division, the DPRK Government made a proposal for an independent, peaceful national reunification and requested the Soviet Union and the United

States to withdraw their troops from our country.

In compliance with the request of the DPRK Government, the Soviet Government which respects the liberty and rights of other peoples has decided to pull out its troops from our country by the end of this year.

The US imperialists, however, are planning to keep their aggressive troops permanently in south Korea, rather than withdraw them. They are instigating the puppet Syngman Rhee clique to heighten repressions against the south Korean people who are resisting their colonial tyranny.

The present situation in our country demands that the Security Forces be ready and on the alert as never before and firmly defend the country and the lives and property of the people from the enemy's encroachment. The Security Forces must build up their ranks politically and ideologically, increase their combat power and improve their combat readiness so as to fulfil their revolutionary mission with credit.

What is most important in strengthening the Security Forces is to consolidate Party organizations in the units at all levels.

Whether or not the Security Forces can discharge their mission depends entirely on the role of the Party organizations of their units. The Security Forces cannot strengthen themselves without consolidating Party organizations in the units.

As armed forces of our Party, an army which is under the leadership of the Workers' Party, the Security Forces have had Party organizations in their units from the very first days of their foundation and have worked all along under the guidance of the Party committee. We must further consolidate the Party organizations in the Security Forces units and radically enhance their role, strictly adhering to the political and organizational lines of the Party Central Committee.

In order to strengthen the Party organizations in the units, the Party cells, the basic Party organizations, must be strengthened.

The Party cell is the basic organization which gives day-to-day education to the Party members and implements the Party's lines and

policies. Only when all Party cells are strong can the whole Party enhance its strength and fighting efficiency. Likewise, only when the Party cells are strengthened, can the Security Forces strengthen Party organizations in their units and ensure the successful fulfilment of the military tasks assigned to their units.

Training the Party's hard cores is essential to consolidating the Party cells. Even the Party members in the same cell are different from each other in political and ideological awareness; some participate actively in the life of the cell, others don't. So the Party's hard-core ranks must be built up with activists and constantly expanded, and they should be encouraged to play the vanguard role among the Party members and the rank-and-file soldiers.

The Party cells should also strive to improve the Party life of its members. They must give assignments to all members without exception, and must be thorough in checking their implementation from time to time and reviewing the results in time. It is particularly necessary to intensify criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism are a powerful weapon in correcting mistakes and shortcomings in and out of work opportunely and in promoting your work. The Party cells must give full scope to inner-Party democracy and encourage lively criticism and self-criticism. In addition, proper Party education must be given to fully meet the requirements of the Party Rules. In this way the entire Party membership will be led to discharge its duties faithfully as stipulated by the Party Rules and participate enthusiastically in Party life.

The Party cells in the units should regularly enrol new members and thus steadily expand and strengthen the Party's ranks. They should single out as candidates for Party membership those comrades who are of worker or peasant origin, have strong class awareness, and faithfully perform military service; they should give them regular assignments and constantly exert Party influence on them by helping them to fulfil their assignments. Having systematically educated them in this way, they should admit them to the Party. And then, the Party cells should constantly temper and

educate them to acquit themselves well as Party members.

While strengthening the Party cells, you must build up the cultural departments of the units and enhance their role, thus making them proficient in their guidance and inspection of the Party organizations. This is essential, because the ranks of the Security Forces have rapidly increased and the units are scattered, operating as platoons and companies.

At present, you cultural service personnel of the Security Forces are not fully experienced in army Party work and lack professional qualifications. That is why you are not working the way you should and have many shortcomings in guiding the Party political work in the units. You are inefficient especially in your guidance and inspection of the lower echelons. If you simply blame them for their defects, you will not be able to put things right.

Of primary importance in guidance and inspection is for responsible cadres to visit the lower units according to plan, fully acquaint themselves with political and military affairs as a whole, help the lower echelons to correct mistakes in time, and properly educate the Party members and the soldiers to fulfil their duties in an exemplary manner.

Guidance and inspection should also be geared to improving the political theories and professional qualifications of the cultural service personnel and cell chairmen. Of course, in order to raise their levels, it is necessary to organize gatherings to exchange experience or short training courses in a planned manner. But their qualifications must be improved through guidance and inspection, too. Thus the cultural service workers and cell chairmen will be trained to play their parts satisfactorily.

Guidance and inspection should also be conducted in such a way as to make good experience useful and generalize it to develop all aspects of Party work. You must constantly learn, especially from the experience gained in Party work during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and strive to develop it.

You must build up the Democratic Youth League organizations in

the units and enhance their role. The cultural service workers and DYL organizations must organize the DYL life to suit the characteristics of the young people and educate them properly so as to rally all the young soldiers closely around our Party and the Government of the Republic and induce them to be deeply cognizant of the honour of military service and dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to the struggle for their country and people.

It is very important to build up the ranks of the Security Forces and ensure the unity of ideology and will as well as solidarity in the units. The Security Forces are entrusted with the mission of safeguarding the Party and the Government and revolutionary gains. So if they fail to build up their ranks well and permit even one alien element to penetrate into them, it may have grave consequences for the revolution. You must, therefore, build up your ranks and firmly guarantee ideological unity and solidarity and thus prevent even a single hostile or alien element from infiltrating into them.

What is important in cementing the ranks of the Security Forces is to build up the ranks of cadres well. For this you should pick out those who are utterly loyal to the Party, firm in their class stand, and highly qualified for military affairs. At the same time, the entire ranks of the Security Forces should be built up with good people and the purity of their ranks thoroughly guaranteed.

Next, you must intensify the ideological education of the soldiers.

No matter how good the people you assign to the Security Forces you cannot make them loyal soldiers, if you neglect their ideological education. Bringing soldiers to class awareness and imbuing them with infinite loyalty to their country and people are the finest guarantee for strengthening our armed forces. When all the soldiers are awakened to their class consciousness and have ardent love of their country and people and burning hatred for the enemy, our armed forces will display greater might.

Since the Security Forces always fight the enemy in direct confrontation, it is all the more important to increase the servicemen's political awareness. If they are to perform their combat mission

successfully, the men must be equipped with a high degree of class consciousness and with ardent patriotism. All servicemen should be politically awakened so that they can clearly understand why they are standing with arms at the post of national defence and for whom they are fighting.

You must step up ideological education to instil in all the soldiers a burning hatred for the enemy. Only when they have deep hatred can they fight the enemy bravely to the last. The Security Forces units should buckle down to the education of soldiers so that all of them can clearly see the aggressive nature of the US and Japanese imperialists, the sworn enemy of our people, and the reactionary character of the traitorous puppet Syngman Rhee clique.

The US imperialists are the inveterate enemy of our people; they have committed aggression against our country since a long time ago. Historically, ever since the USS *General Sherman* incident in 1866 they have invaded our country and actively patronized the Japanese imperialists and helped them to occupy Korea. After the August 15 liberation the US imperialist aggressors entered south Korea in the guise of so-called “liberators” and “helpers” and established a colonial ruling system, repressing the patriotic, democratic forces at the point of the bayonet and enforcing military government. They dissolved by force the people’s committees which had been organized according to the will of the entire people immediately after liberation, outlawed the democratic political parties and social organizations in south Korea, and arrested, imprisoned and butchered large numbers of patriotic and progressive people.

Further fascistizing their colonial rule in south Korea, the US imperialists are now increasing their military bases and continuously reinforcing their puppet army in rabid preparation for an aggressive war against the northern half of Korea to colonize the whole of Korea. They have dispatched many spies and subversive elements to infiltrate into the northern half of Korea and are viciously working to undermine our democratic base and harm the lives and property of our people. We should make all the servicemen fully understand that

the US imperialists are the bitter enemy of our people, who have invaded and plundered our country down through history.

We should also convince them clearly that the US and Japanese imperialists have long conspired and been aligned with each other to invade our country. Under the patronage of the US imperialists, the Japanese imperialists cruelly exploited and oppressed our people for 36 years in the past and slaughtered Koreans wholesale.

Today the US imperialists are scheming to revive and rearm the Japanese militarists, the sworn enemy of our nation, and use them in their aggressive moves against our people. You should fully explain to all the soldiers the criminal acts of aggression and barbarous massacres which were and are being perpetrated against our country by the US imperialists and Japanese militarists.

In addition, the soldiers should be thoroughly informed of the reactionary nature of the Syngman Rhee puppet regime propped up by US imperialism. This puppet regime is composed entirely of landlords, comprador capitalists, and reactionary bureaucrats. It is a reactionary, anti-popular regime which harshly oppresses and exploits the people in the interests of a handful of landlords, capitalists, and reactionary bureaucrats; it is nothing but a tool faithfully carrying out the colonial policy of US imperialism. You must clearly reveal this reactionary character of the puppet regime to the soldiers so that all of them will have a stronger hatred for the enemy and fight uncompromisingly against him.

Also important in ideological education is to adequately explain the exploitative nature of landlords and capitalists as well as the superiority of our social system.

In former days the landlords and capitalists worked the workers and peasants like cattle and cruelly exploited and oppressed them. The workers were forced to toil 10 to 12 hours or more a day, and were mistreated and humiliated in every way by the capitalists. They were not paid regularly even the minimum wages and compelled to live in dire poverty. The peasants who farmed by the sweat of the brow had all their harvests taken away by the landlords in autumn

and, left with nothing, their families lived in tears and with sighs, cursing the world.

The landlords and capitalists are still swaggering about in south Korea and harshly exploiting the people under the aegis of the US imperialists. Broad sections of the south Korean working people including the workers and peasants are suffering from double and treble exploitation and oppression by the US imperialists, landlords, and comprador capitalists. They have even been deprived of elementary rights and liberties and are maltreated and downtrodden like animals.

In contrast, in the northern half of Korea the workers, peasants, and other working people, freed from exploitation and oppression by the landlords and capitalists, have become the masters of the country; they are guaranteed all political rights and liberties and live happily. With pride and self-respect as masters of the country, our people have rallied as one in the worthwhile struggle to build a prosperous, democratic new Korea. Through the vigorous struggle of the liberated working masses, our country is flourishing and developing day by day, and the people's living standards are improving.

Now, the enemies bitterly hate our Republic whose masters are the working people; they are viciously manoeuvring to obstruct our people's struggle to make our country rich, strong and advanced. True, in the northern half of Korea the landlord and comprador capitalist classes who oppressed and exploited the people have already been liquidated. But their remnants still remain among us. The remnants of the overthrown exploiter classes do not give up their sinister attempts to regain their old positions, pinning their hopes on the US imperialists and the puppet Syngman Rheeites. They are making every frenzied effort to destroy our democratic base. The real nature of the exploiter classes will never change till they die.

We should acquaint the servicemen thoroughly with this class nature and reactionary character of the landlords and capitalists as well as the true advantages of our social system so that all of them will love our Republic ardently, actively support and defend it and,

with arms firmly in hand, fight more bravely against the imperialists, landlords, and capitalists who attempt to harm this splendid system.

Another important aspect of ideological education is to inspire the soldiers with firm confidence in victory. In our past armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists, we could overcome manifold difficulties and obstacles and liberate the country because we fought with steadfast faith in victory; we firmly believed that Japanese imperialism would inevitably perish, that the Korean revolution would certainly be victorious, and that our country would become independent. The October socialist revolution in Russia was also victorious because the Russian working class fought with the firm belief that capitalism was doomed and that socialism would surely win. We must fully convince the soldiers of the truth of imperialism's inevitable downfall and of the triumph of socialism and communism in accordance with the law of social development; this will be effective in making all soldiers fight for the revolution to the last, bravely overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, with a strong conviction of revolutionary victory.

Next, the commanders and cultural service workers of the Security Forces units must improve their method and style of work.

As sons and daughters of the workers and peasants, they were deeply trusted by the Party and the people and have been promoted as cadres. Therefore, the leadership personnel of the Security Forces units are duty bound to serve their country and people with loyalty and work in real earnest for the rank and file; they have no right to shout at their men and engage in bureaucracy. All our men volunteered for armed service to defend the country; they are the nation's priceless treasure. The commanders should run their units not by reprimanding and shouting but by persuasion and education.

Some time ago I visited a Security Forces battalion on the 38th parallel and found that the battalion commander had never gone out to look after the men of a detachment which was carrying on guard duty far away from the battalion; he had a large guardhouse built and was running his unit by means of punishment. The men were having a

hard time due to the lack of sleeping quarters, but his office was unusually large.

If a commander runs his unit through punishment only, instead of giving thought to educating the soldiers, it will be little different from the method used by imperialist armies. This practice is intolerable in our Security Forces, an army of the people. Other Security Forces units should never follow suit.

When we were waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle before, we had no guardhouse nor could there be such a thing. But the guerrillas voluntarily observed discipline, and even in difficult situations the superiors and subordinates fought, helping and leading each other forward and rallying each other as one man. Voluntary discipline and revolutionary unity could be guaranteed in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army by constantly educating all its members to have confidence in revolutionary victory and to understand the aim and justness of the armed struggle: they could also be guaranteed because the commanders shared life and death, the sweet and the bitter with their men.

If the commanders and cultural service workers are bureaucratic, dictate to their subordinates peremptorily without acquainting themselves with the specific situation at lower echelons and only punish the men, unity between the superiors and subordinates will not be achieved. This will in the long run weaken the units' combat power and prevent them from performing their missions satisfactorily. All the unit cadres must have a correct viewpoint of the rank and file and serve them faithfully.

The cultural service personnel in particular should cherish and love the men and look after them with kindness as they would their own children and brothers. If even they do not love and only reprimand the men when their unit commanders work bureaucratically, then the men will not follow their commanders and cultural service workers nor will they display spontaneous enthusiasm in their military service. If, at home, both father and mother only scold their children without educating them, they will not open their

hearts to their parents nor will they like them. In the end, such children will go wrong because of a lack of proper education.

In the units cultural service workers must be just like mothers who are tender to their children and educate them by persuasion. Cultural service workers should always go deeply among the soldiers both in their daily life and in combat situation, get to know their mentality and desires and their problems, and if they have any knotty problem, must help them solve it in time. As for the shortcomings revealed in their lives, you should explain them convincingly so that they themselves realize and correct their mistakes.

This is the only way to lead the servicemen to abide by military discipline of their own accord and perform their guard duties with a high sense of responsibility and enthusiasm. Only then will they open their hearts to their cadres and follow them, only then will there be real unity between the superiors and subordinates.

To continue. The commanding officers and cultural workers should give close attention to the supply service work and provide the soldiers with adequate conditions for all aspects of their lives.

Ensuring good living conditions for the servicemen through the improvement of the supply service work is very important for increasing the units' combat efficiency and heightening the men's morale. A satisfactory supply service will encourage them to display voluntary enthusiasm in the fulfilment of their security mission and better serve their country and people.

Generally speaking, our country is not yet affluent, but the Party has provided the servicemen with every possible condition for living without inconveniences. However, in some units the soldiers are not provided with the material and cultural conditions as envisaged by the Party. This may be due partly to the fact that the foundations for the soldiers' living are not yet fully laid in keeping with the rapid expansion of the Security Forces, but the main reason is that their commanders and cultural workers are not considerate enough for the men's life. Because commanding officers and cultural service workers are not sufficiently interested in the living conditions of the

soldiers, the benefits from the Party and state fail to reach them in time. We must combat resolutely the indifference of commanding officers, cultural and supply service personnel to the organization of supply service work and to the living conditions of the soldiers.

True, the men in uniform may have some difficulties and hardships in their lives because our economy is still underdeveloped as a consequence of the evil Japanese imperialist colonial rule, and also because our country is not yet reunified. But you can fully overcome these difficulties and hardships by yourselves, if you better organize your work with a higher sense of responsibility. From now on all the leadership personnel of the Security Forces should conduct the supply service work meticulously and in a responsible manner and deal with the difficulties in time. When difficulties arise in and out of work, the cultural personnel in particular must be the first to strive to solve the problems and overcome the hardships by the combined efforts of all the soldiers.

You must ensure that the soldiers refrain from wasting state and army property. You should educate all the soldiers to place the interests of society above those of the individual, and to actively look after and economize on state and army property. Thus you will prevent the servicemen from misappropriating and wasting property and see to it that all of them carefully cherish and economize on state and army property, lighten the burdens on the people and help towards the nation's economic construction.

Next you must energetically carry out military training. You must intensify tactical training in particular. If you shed much sweat in training you will shed little blood in battle to defeat the enemy. In other words, only when you acquire swift combat movements and adroit tactics through intensive tactical and other battle training in peacetime, will you be able successfully to destroy the enemy in war without the slightest confusion whatever the circumstances.

The Security Forces troops should diligently study military manuals and combat regulations and conduct substantial tactical training in accordance with the regulations. In particular, they must to

a man profoundly study the tactics applied during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and learn guerrilla tactics as well as the combat techniques of modern warfare. The Security Forces must allocate more time to tactical training than any other subjects in their training programme to be prepared in the future, so that all the soldiers become fully versed in tactics, swift in combat movement, and quite ready to destroy a large enemy force with a small friendly force.

Since they must fight the internal and external enemies all the time, the Security Forces should provide themselves with effective mobility training so as to be ready for mobilization at any time and place.

They must also step up marksmanship training. No matter how skilful in tactics and how swift in movement, you cannot crush the enemy and win the battle unless you are good at shooting. Only when ingenious tactics and quick combat movement are combined with crack marksmanship can you defeat any formidable enemy.

In order to improve your marksmanship you should master the theory, become well versed in your weapons and tirelessly practise in aiming. You must also learn from the experience of skilled snipers and take care of your weapons like the apple of your eye. Even the best weapons would not be fully effective without proper maintenance. So in former days the guerrillas treasured and loved their weapons like the apple of their eye in whatever adversity. You should make sure that all the servicemen treasure and take loving care of the valuable weapons given them by their country and people and become crack shots through hard marksmanship training.

You must intensify the physical training of the soldiers and make them physically strong. Unless you are physically strong, you cannot satisfactorily carry out your mission of national defence. War imposes especially heavy physical burdens on the soldiers. The units should toughen the soldiers physically by regularly conducting heavy gymnastics, such as training on the horizontal bar and parallel bars, and by training them in hand-to-hand combat and through obstacles and barriers so that they can withstand the physical burden of the battlefield and splendidly perform their combat mission.

Combat training in the units should be oriented to guaranteeing cohesion of military action and movement. This cohesion is vital to military operation. Nevertheless, the Security Forces do not seem to achieve this cohesion sufficiently in their combat training. The other day I inspected the units deployed along the demarcation line of the 38th parallel, and found that there is not sufficient cohesion in their drill. For instance, the way the front-gate sentries presented arms by way of salute differed from unit to unit. This is mainly due to the lack of cohesion in military training, though partly to be attributed to the commanders' failure to give the necessary education. Our Security Forces are a regular army. Regular army units should not act differently like this. In future, lessons, model lessons, and short training courses should be organized at regular intervals for the commanders of different echelons so as to ensure cohesion of military action and movement among the units and soldiers.

Elevating the commanders' role is important in improving military training at the units. The commanding officers at different levels must not only execute the training in person but also go to the training ground from time to time to inspect the training of the soldiers, help them to correct their mistakes and see to it that combat training is effective. Especially, cultural service personnel should work skilfully on the training ground. They should not only strive to increase their own military knowledge by taking an active part in combat training; they should also go to the training ground to conduct political work efficiently and educate all the men to be zealous in combat training. They should help efficiently the commanding officers directly responsible for training, to make the training really effective.

Iron discipline and order should be established in the units.

As long as the soldiers perform their assignments individually or in small units, the Security Forces can never carry out their mission satisfactorily, unless discipline and order is tightened.

Cultivating a conscious attitude among the soldiers is essential to strengthening discipline. Discipline in our army is fundamentally different from that in capitalist armies. Our army composed of the

children of workers and peasants has a self-imposed discipline, whereas the capitalist armies enforce a coercive discipline which is maintained by clubs. So, if you are to strengthen discipline in the Security Forces, the army of the people, you must by all means increase the political awareness and spontaneous enthusiasm of every serviceman through explanation and persuasion and induce him to observe military discipline himself.

A rigid order and command system is also needed to tighten discipline. Without orders, an army cannot manipulate its units and fulfil its combat mission. In all Security Forces units it should be made a point to execute the superiors' orders promptly and to the letter.

Next, state and military secrets should be guarded strictly. This is one of important guarantees for exposing and smashing in time all enemy provocations and subversive elements' manoeuvres and for firmly defending the country and the lives and property of the people.

At present, the US imperialists and their stooges are smuggling numerous spies and subversive elements into the northern half of Korea to obtain our state and military secrets. The enemy is also trying to bribe our soldiers stationed along the 38th parallel demarcation line for secret information and working insidiously to lure and kidnap them. The enemy is watching for a chance to take advantage of our slackening vigilance and order and system. That is why you must further heighten your vigilance and tighten discipline and order so that you can prevent even the slightest divulgence of our state and military secrets.

You must enable the soldiers to sharply see through the enemy's acts by fully informing them of the moves of enemy spies and subversive elements and their crafty methods of work. In this way you will make sure that enemy spies and subversive elements are spotted and crushed to the last man.

I believe that, fully aware of your revolutionary mission and its importance, you will fight more devotedly for the country and people and fulfil with credit the revolutionary tasks entrusted to you by the Party.

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH IS THE BASIC TASK OF THE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE ORGANIZATIONS

**Speech at the Third Congress of the Democratic
Youth League of North Korea**

November 13, 1948

Dear comrades,

I warmly congratulate all democratic youth as well as the delegates present at this congress on the great feats they have performed since liberation in the struggle to build an independent and democratic state.

I join you in sending greetings and support to all the patriotic youth in south Korea who are unceasingly and heroically struggling against the forces of reaction at home and abroad for the freedom and independence of the country.

I also extend warm greetings to the Young Communist Leaguers of the Soviet Union and other democratic youth all over the world who are fighting for world peace and democratic rights and liberties for young people.

Dear comrade delegates,

The Third Congress of the Democratic Youth League of North Korea is being held at a momentous time, when our people have achieved a historic victory in their struggle for freedom and independence. Some time ago, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was founded—an event which the entire Korean people had anxiously awaited—and now

our country has established diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet Union and other democratic states, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and the People's Republic of Mongolia, and entered the international arena as a full-fledged independent state.

The selfless struggle of our democratic youth contributed very much towards this great victory. Since its founding, the DYLNK has waged a heroic struggle for the reunification, independence and democratization of the country, for the building of an independent national economy and the flowering of our national culture, and it has achieved immense successes. In the course of this struggle, it has grown and become strengthened organizationally and ideologically and has been tempered and seasoned.

In scoring these brilliant successes, you have performed great feats for the country and the people and have laid a sound basis for winning even greater victories in the future.

I will not go into details about the successes you have achieved. I would like to take this opportunity of outlining to you what you should do for the future of the country and the people and how to perform still greater feats.

Comrades,

The achievements and successes we have scored up till now for the country and the people, no matter how great, are only like a bud which has yet to come into full bloom and only represent the initial step in the work before us. We are confronted with still more difficult and complex tasks.

Today we are living in an era of great prosperity for our country and nation. We are entrusted with the honourable task of paving the way to eternal prosperity for our country and a happier future for our people. The destiny of our country and nation depends on our struggle. We are immensely happy that we were born in this age and are able to take part in such a glorious struggle.

To enjoy this honour and happiness to the full, however, we have to bravely surmount all difficulties and discharge our historic mission successfully.

If we who live in the sternest period in the history of our nation fail to carve out the destiny of the country and nation in the right way, we will bring about great misfortune, not only for our own generation but also for our posterity, and commit a crime indelible for all time. If we correctly carve out the destiny of the country and nation at this solemn juncture, we will ensure happiness for all generations to come and our exploits will shine for ever in the history of our country.

Comrades,

We have now entered a new stage in the struggle for the reunification, independence and democratization of the country.

It was according to the will of all the people in north and south Korea that the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea, our highest organ of state power, was elected, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proclaimed and the Central Government of the Republic set up. The Soviet Government, which always respects the liberties and rights of the peoples of other countries, has acceded to the request of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea and decided to withdraw its troops from our country by the end of this year. The Soviet troops are now returning to their country.

Today, when a legal central government enjoying the support of the entire Korean people has been set up in our country and the Soviet troops are withdrawing from our territory, no conditions can exist and no excuses whatsoever can be made for the US troops to remain in south Korea. If the US troops are not withdrawn but continue to hang on there, it becomes more and more clear that the US imperialists are manoeuvring to meddle in our internal affairs and to realize their aggressive designs on Korea. The Korean people will never tolerate such a US policy of aggression.

The US imperialists say in their propaganda that they are "worried" about a "civil war" and "disorder", as if they had concern for the Koreans. But the fact that the vast majority of the Korean people in the north and the south took part in the general elections of August 25 and established their Central Government, has convincingly proved that there will be no disorder or confusion, even

when the foreign troops withdraw from our land.

If the Americans were really “worried” about a “civil war” and “disorder”, they should quit our territory as soon as possible. People all over the world know that it is precisely in south Korea under US imperialist domination that a state of disorder and confusion has been created. Of late, extreme confusion and disorder has prevailed in south Korea, and a large-scale mutiny broke out in the puppet army, too. This testifies to the fact that so long as US troops are stationed in south Korea and the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation rule there, disorder and confusion are inevitable. This grave situation in south Korea is due entirely to the presence of US troops there and to the reactionary rule of the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation.

The situation in our country is still complex, and we have an enormous amount of work to do. The founding of the Republic and the establishment of the Central Government are no more than an initial victory in our struggle for full independence, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of our country.

We cannot for a moment forget that the reactionary puppet government in south Korea, made up of pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, is selling out the country and the people to foreign aggressors and plunging the people into dire distress. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the conditions in which we struggle for the reunification and independence of the country will become more difficult and complex after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from our country.

In this situation, the DYL should unite the entire youth firmly in its ranks and fight more vigorously for the reunification and independence of the country.

Comrades, the basic tasks confronting the DYLNK are, first, firmly to equip the youth politically and ideologically.

This means educating them to love their country and people and arming them with scientific, advanced ideas and theory.

The young people are the future masters of our country. It can be

said that the future of any nation depends largely on how its youth are educated, trained and prepared. The education of the young people, therefore, has been one of the most important problems for all nations down the ages.

The long years of Japanese imperialist rule had an evil effect on the growth of our youth. The Japanese imperialists imbued them with servility and prevented their ideological and cultural development so that they could make servants of them and work them as they pleased.

But we are now living in a new society, and our young people have a happy future and broad prospects before them. We are now provided with all the conditions for educating our young people, who were denied the opportunity of education and humiliated in the past, and bringing them up to become educated and cultured men and women of a new type.

If we are to bring our youth up as fully qualified masters of the new era, we must, first of all, eradicate survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas in their minds and imbue them with love for the country and the people. We must help the youth understand thoroughly that they should fight with all their ability and energy, not for any privileged class but for their country and people.

To this end, we must arm the youth with advanced thinking and theory, namely, Marxism-Leninism. We must teach them the laws of the development of human society, get them to study and assimilate the valuable experience gained in struggle by the people of the world and the best in the treasure house of world civilization, and we must see to it that they study the past and present of our country and the history of our people's struggle.

Second, the DYL should educate the youth through labour and construction, through the struggle to overcome difficulties.

The publication of a lot of science books and school education alone are not enough to arm our youth with advanced scientific theories. Books and school only impart knowledge and provide young people with conditions for acquiring the progressive world outlook. If knowledge obtained from books and at school is to become a

powerful weapon in transforming both nature and society, it must be linked with real life and the youth must be tempered in practical struggle for the country and the people. Only when young people are educated through labour and practical struggle will they be able to overcome any difficulty and weather any storm they might encounter in this struggle and march forward valiantly.

The league organizations should get the young people to play the role of shock brigade in economic construction and educate them to become models for the working people through their devotion and creativity.

Our young people should love labour, think it the greatest honour to work and consider it shameful to loaf and live a life of idleness. No matter what kind of labour we do, it is all part of the honourable work of building our country and carving out our destiny for ourselves. It is only in the course of labour that we can become true builders of a new society and highly qualified persons. The league organizations must wage an unyielding struggle against the degenerate and backward idea of hating to work and seeking to live at the expense of others' labour, which remains in the minds of some young people.

Third, it is important to educate our youth to hate the enemy and fight him uncompromisingly.

The US imperialists now occupying the southern half of our country resort to every conceivable intrigue and machination to turn our country into a colony.

They are madly trying to rearm Japanese imperialism, the sworn enemy of our nation, and even to draw it into the struggle against our people. It is not an accident that the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation installed in the south Korean puppet government are seeking to conclude the so-called "ROK-Japan agreements".

We should widely impress on our youth how the Japanese imperialists exploited and oppressed our people and what cruel atrocities they perpetrated to exterminate our nation, and we should help the young people heighten their vigilance against the Japanese imperialists' present-day manoeuvres to invade our country again

in league with other aggressive forces.

We should educate the youth to defend the state and fight devotedly for the country and the nation so that the painful history of our colonial slavery is never repeated.

We have enemies not only abroad but also at home. Those who lived in luxury by squeezing the people—the expropriated landlords, pro-Japanese elements, traitors to the nation, etc.,—are conspiring with external forces of aggression and plotting to overthrow our people’s power and wreck our work of building democracy if an opportunity arises. We must therefore see to it that the youth maintain sharp vigilance against the enemy and we must teach them to know the enemy and be able to detect, expose and crush him.

Complacency and indolence are most harmful for us. We should always remember that we are waging an acute struggle against a heinous enemy.

In the three years since liberation, we have been advancing triumphantly and have achieved great successes in building democracy. So some comrades, carried away by victory, think, “Everything is plain sailing,” and reckon as if our enemies have all been wiped out and everything will proceed of its own accord without a hitch once a decision has been taken and entered into the records.

This is a very dangerous tendency. Indolence and complacency blind the people in the struggle against the enemy, dampen their hatred and paralyse their vigilance against him.

The fact that the DYL has grown into a powerful mass organization with a membership of over 1,300,000 is no ground for conceit. The history of all countries and all ages provides us with many instances where a powerful army which brags of its invincibility is taken unawares and perished when, carried away by a victory, it makes light of the enemy and neglects to prepare for battle.

It is very dangerous to be caught unawares. When one fails to stand in constant readiness and is taken by surprise, he loses his head, is thrown into confusion, and may be defeated before he can make full use of his strength. It is therefore important to be vigilant against

the enemy at all times, maintain oneself in readiness to crush any enemy attack, keep a sharp watch on every enemy movement and foil his intrigues and manoeuvres in advance.

We must educate the youth to repudiate depravity and indolence, constantly maintain an alert posture, frustrate every sinister machination of all internal and external enemies and defend to the hilt the interests of their country and people.

Fourth, it is important in ideological education to imbue the youth with internationalism.

Genuine patriotism is inseparable from internationalism. We should bring up the youth to love their country, treasure its revolutionary traditions and wage a devoted struggle to liberate the country and the people from the aggressors and exploiters. At the same time, we must teach them to respect the freedom and equality of other nations and strengthen friendship and solidarity with the freedom-loving people throughout the world in the struggle against the international forces of reaction that oppress and exploit other peoples.

We should bring home to the youth the fact that friendship and close cooperation with the freedom-loving people of the world, particularly with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries of the democratic camp, constitute an important guarantee of victory in our people's struggle for the country's freedom, independence and democratic advance.

Fifth, an important task confronting the organizations of the league today is to get all the youth to master advanced science and technology.

Liberated from long Japanese imperialist colonial rule, our people, with their ravaged economy and backward culture and technique, have embarked on the road of building a new country. It is of prime importance to master science and technology in order to lift the economy and culture rapidly out of their backwardness and to build a new, rich and strong country.

Without technology we can neither build our industry nor

rehabilitate and develop the economy speedily. Without science and technology we can neither administer the state nor run the factories.

The most important and sacred task facing our youth at present is to study science and technology. All should study, and study tirelessly, to equip themselves with advanced science and technology.

With regard to the need for the youth to master science, Comrade Stalin has said, "In order to build, we must have knowledge, mastery of science. And knowledge entails study. We must study perseveringly and patiently....

"Before us stands a fortress. That fortress is called science, with its numerous branches of knowledge. We must capture that fortress at all costs. It is our youth who must capture that fortress, if they want to be builders of the new life, if they want to be real successors of the old guard."

Our youth must capture the fortress of science in order to do away with the ignorance left over from the past, accomplish their tasks well as the true masters of the state, and build a prosperous country.

Our fast-developing metallurgical, electrical, chemical, mining and textile industries, railway transport, and so on, call for an ever-increasing number of technical cadres, skilled workers and specialists equipped with advanced science.

The DYL organizations should promote the passing on of technique extensively among the working youth under slogans such as "Let us learn technique!" and "Let us become skilled workers mastering the machines entrusted to us!" We must organize the youth to march on to master techniques and knowledge in all branches and capture the fortress of science.

Comrades,

Last, I should like to say a few words on how DYL members should do their part in building economy and culture.

As you know, our people have to carry out the difficult task of building their economically, technically and culturally backward country into a rich, powerful and cultured one while waging a fierce struggle against our enemies at home and abroad. The unflagging

efforts of the entire people, and, particularly, the heroic struggle on the part of the youth who constitute an important force in building the country, are required to overcome all the difficulties lying before us and fulfil the task of national reconstruction set forth in the political programme of the Government of the Republic.

Next year we will set out on a Two-Year National Economic Plan of great significance in the building of democracy in our country. To carry this out successfully, we must first fulfil or overfulfil the national economic plan for 1948. All league members ought to become model workers and fulfil their assigned tasks, no matter what field of the national economy they work in.

Young factory workers should become expert at operating the machines in their charge and proficient at their jobs, economize on materials, steadily raise labour productivity and become standard-bearers of the movement for innovations and inventions.

Young miners should master advanced coal cutting and mining methods, make innovations and produce still larger quantities of coal and ores so as to develop the country and make it prosperous.

Young transport workers should learn advanced technique for railway and marine transport and become able engineers, assistant engineers, locomotive drivers and ships' captains, thus putting themselves in the van of the struggle to improve transport.

The young people working in the rural areas should take the lead in learning agricultural science, introducing advanced farming methods and raising the cultural level in the countryside, and they should make every effort to supply the country and the people with more food and raw materials. DYL members should strive devotedly to disseminate scientific knowledge among the peasants, to give them cultural enlightenment through the democratic publicity halls and clubhouses and to rid our rural areas rapidly of their cultural backwardness.

The league organizations should be mobilized to take an active part in the preparatory work for the introduction of universal compulsory primary education in 1950. In order to introduce

universal compulsory primary education schools should be constructed and expanded through an all-people movement in north Korea in 1949. Naturally, the DYL members ought to stand in the forefront of this movement.

As you see, DYL members are confronted with weighty tasks in the struggle for national reunification and independence and the building of democracy. The Government of the Republic and the entire people put great hopes in the young people. I am convinced that our DYL members, deeply conscious of the honour implicit in the tasks assigned to them, will display patriotic devotion and heroism in all fields and courageously surmount all difficulties and obstacles. In this way, they will win brilliant victories and fully live up to the high expectations of the state and the people.

SOME TASKS TO IMPROVE THE PEOPLE'S MATERIAL AND CULTURAL STANDARDS

**Concluding Speech at a Meeting of the Presidium
of the Central Committee of the Workers'
Party of North Korea**

November 22, 1948

It is our aim and the ruling principle of our Party's activity to create a life of happiness and plenty for the entire people. Our Party's struggle to build a rich and strong, independent, sovereign and democratic state is aimed, after all, at providing the people with a bountiful and cultured life. And only by doing so, can our Party enjoy their support and win the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, in all spheres of Party work and activity we should always pay primary attention to improving the people's well-being.

Since liberation our Party has carried out democratic reforms and introduced a planned national economy, with the result that it has stabilized and improved the people's living standards and created the conditions and the opportunity to steadily raise the people's material well-being.

At present, however, Party organizations and officials show such little concern for the people's well-being that they are unable to improve it which otherwise they would be able to do.

Needless to say, the working people's material and cultural standards rise accordingly as the national economy is rehabilitated and developed and the economic foundation of the country is

consolidated. Our country's economy is not yet sufficiently well-developed to satisfy the people's daily requirements; what is more, the economic foundation is weak as yet.

Even in the present situation, however, if our officials responsible for the people's daily lives worked harder and ran the economy more diligently, they could raise the working people's living standards far more than now.

Let me take for example the question of daily necessities. Our country is still unable to meet the people's requirements in this respect. So, if we produce many articles which can be made at home and export them and import the daily necessities we need, we shall be able to solve a lot of problems. But our officials do not organize this sort of work.

Indifference to the people's daily lives can be seen also in the fact that foreign trade is being conducted without a plan, merely for profit. Officials of the Ministry of Trade only import expensive high-quality suiting instead of the cotton fabrics badly needed by our working people. This is because our officials lack a sense of responsibility towards the people's everyday life and a spirit of faithfully serving the working people.

An important task facing us today is to solve the question of improving the people's daily lives in the present situation. We must overcome every wrong expression of indifference to the people's lives as soon as possible and strive to further enhance their material and cultural standards.

To do this, our officials should first rectify their wrong ideological viewpoint, that is, unconcern for the people's lives.

Party organizations at all levels must tirelessly educate officials of Party, state and economic organizations to consider it their first and foremost duty to take responsible care of the material and cultural aspects of the working people's life as servants of the people. At the same time, they must strongly combat the unjust tendency of being indifferent towards the working people's life.

In order to improve the people's standard of living the drive for

increased production should be intensified in all spheres so that output grows rapidly and more daily necessities are turned out. Only when output is increased and plenty of high-quality goods are produced can the working people's lives be improved and essential goods be imported through foreign trade.

Party organizations must see to it that all factories and workers carry out their production assignments without fail, increase the assortment of goods and raise their quality. It is necessary, in particular, to develop local industries so as to produce large quantities of various daily necessities using raw and other materials obtainable in plentiful supply locally.

Improving the supply of goods is very important in raising the people's living standards. In the sphere of trade efforts must be made to rationalize the trade network and improve the supply of goods so that distribution to the working people is the same everywhere. Priority should be given especially to the shops in the factories and enterprises where workers are concentrated.

The workers' housing problem should be solved.

At present the construction of housing is not going well and the workers' housing problem has not been solved in good time. This is because the Ministry of Industry launched this work without a plan and the trade union hampered it. If the ministry had built houses according to a plan and the trade union had actively roused the workers to participate in this undertaking, the housing problem would have already been solved. But this was not done; as a result we are trying to build houses at a disadvantage: the cold winter is near at hand and transport is strained to the limits. The responsible officials of the Ministry of Industry should not just talk but do something about it.

In order to solve the question of workers' housing, a concrete plan should be worked out and housing construction conducted through a mass movement. While building new dwellings, it is necessary to repair and keep in good condition the existing houses. Government bodies at all levels should not divert or hoard housing construction

funds and materials designated for repairs and maintenance but supply them as required and in good time.

The cultural education of the working people should be conducted actively.

This is not being done well. The major shortcoming is that this work is being concentrated in towns and is not conducted on a broad enough scale in the factories, enterprises, farming or fishing villages.

In the past years officials of the Ministry of Culture and Information have not done any cultural education worth mentioning, except running a few theatres and the newspaper *Minju Joson*. Even so they have not been able to achieve any results worth mentioning. The officials of the Ministry of Culture and Information are responsible for the unsatisfactory state of affairs in cultural education at factories, enterprises and farm villages.

The ministry should make sure that cultural education is conducted systematically not only in the towns but also at factories, enterprises and farming and fishing villages. Films and art performances should be shown wherever workers and peasants are employed: at factories, mines, collieries, farm villages. Actors and actresses should not confine their performances to the towns but should also tour the places where the working people are on the job.

Trade union organizations should make arrangements for a variety of mass cultural activities such as art circles, film shows and the popularization of songs and also develop mass physical culture and sports.

Enhancing the role of trade union organizations has a great bearing on improving the people's material and cultural standards.

The trade union is our Party's conveyor belt; it is a political organization which rallies the working masses around the Party and actively organizes and mobilizes them for carrying out the Party's line, decisions and directives. That is why the trade unions should correctly encourage them to implement thoroughly Party decisions and directives on improving the people's lives.

Some union officials, however, do not understand correctly the

duties of the trade unions and fail to play their role satisfactorily. Some officials of the trade union central committee do not help but obstruct government workers in their efforts to improve the people's lives. For example, trade union officials shut their eyes to the economic situation in the country and put forward unreasonable demands for a supply of daily necessities which is still beyond our power, claiming that this is for the benefit of the workers. And yet, they make no attempt to find solutions which are quite within their power if only they would organize and mobilize the workers. Trade union organizations are insisting that the organs of people's power build dwelling houses which they themselves can build if only they activate the workers. This means that the officials of the Central Committee of the GFTU do not fully understand the duties and role of the trade unions under a people's power and that their political outlook is shaky.

All Party organizations should intensify the political education of trade union officials so that they carry out their duties correctly. Short training courses should be arranged to educate the officials of the Central Committee of the GFTU and trade union work should also be inspected. Thus, trade union organizations will be made to contribute actively to the improvement of the workers' material and cultural standards.

ON THE MAJOR TASKS OF THE TWO-YEAR NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN

**Concluding Speech at the 10th Plenary Meeting
of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's
Republic of Korea**
November 25, 1948

Today we have discussed the Two-Year Plan (1949-50) for Development of the National Economy.

This Two-Year Plan will be approved by the Supreme People's Assembly. I do not think there will be any great change in the control figures even though the plan has to be considered at the SPA. These figures have been pointed out in the directive on the guidelines for drawing up the Two-Year Plan.

All ministries must have confidence in the plan which has been discussed today and make good preparations from now on to carry it out.

I am going to touch upon a few major tasks that will call for extra efforts during the period of the Two-Year National Economic Plan.

First, we must lay self-supporting foundations for our industry.

This is one of the most important tasks of the Two-Year Plan. During the Two-Year Plan period we should completely rebuild the factories and enterprises which have not yet been rebuilt, expand the existing ones and build essential factories and enterprises, so as to further perfect the structure of our industry. Particularly, in order to develop the engineering industry, we must quickly rebuild and

enlarge the Pyongyang Machine Plant and the electric motor works and build a rolling-stock factory, a shipyard and others.

In order to make industry self-supporting we should solve the problem of raw materials on our own. We should actively exploit the natural resources abundant in our country during the period of the plan so that we will obtain the raw materials needed for industrial production basically by our own efforts. If necessary, we must import machinery and equipment for the development of our natural resources so as to solve the raw material problem.

Second, we must produce daily necessities in large quantities and fully guarantee a balanced economic development.

Immediately after liberation our country had an acute food shortage. But we made efforts to increase grain production, so that the output of grain grew rapidly, and from 1947 onwards we have had no food crisis. This year we went a long way towards solving the food problem and grain prices were lowered considerably.

However, since production in light industry is lagging behind now, we have not enough daily necessities and prices are high. The prices of fabrics, in particular, are very high. Therefore, light industry must make rapid strides so that daily necessities are produced in greater quantities.

First, the production of fabrics must be increased as soon as possible.

A textile mill must be built come what may so as to more than double the production of artificial silk fabrics and quickly increase output of other fabrics, too. At the same time, measures should be taken to import some of the fabrics in short supply. We could export fertilizer and other goods produced in our country now in exchange for imported fabrics.

In this way, we must lower fabric prices during the plan without fail and solve the clothing problem for the people. If we solve it satisfactorily, the people will like and support our democratic system still more.

It is necessary to produce more footwear. Footwear factories

should produce plenty of rubber shoes and a wide range of footwear so as to fully solve the people's footwear problem. The state should develop stock-breeding in the future so that more leather is supplied for footwear production.

Special attention should be paid to the production of school things.

At present the northern half of Korea has 1,700,000-2,000,000 pupils and students. Compared with the size of the population this is not a small number by any means. If the state is to provide all of them with school things, it will be a considerable burden. But even if we do have difficulties, we should, nevertheless, devote great efforts to the education of the rising generation and provide students with enough pencils, notebooks and other school things.

So as to supply plenty of notebooks, the factories concerned must increase production, while the print shops and other enterprises which use paper must economize to make notebooks. The branches concerned should produce 2,000 tons of paper according to plan for the production of notebooks.

We should improve the packing of goods.

Our packing is of low grade. Because of our poor packing we cannot export some of our commodities. The fertilizer made in our country is of high quality but because of the rough packing it does not sell well abroad. This is also the case with our apples. Packing is an easy task to solve, if we envisage it in our plan and work assiduously. The question is that our officials do not work out a detailed plan or organize things well. We should pay special attention to packing during the plan period so as to make definite headway in the packing of goods.

In order to increase the production of consumer goods women should be drawn actively into this sphere.

In the field of light industry factories where women can be employed should be built in all places so as to draw in as many women as possible and step up consumer goods production quickly.

If we are to enable women to take an active part in production, we should build up factory nurseries well enough to guarantee adequate

conditions for women to work. Meanwhile, education must be strengthened so that people in general will have a correct understanding of the role women workers can play.

We should improve guidance to consumers' and producers' cooperatives.

At present some officials do not correctly understand the importance of consumers' and producers' cooperatives, and neglect guidance of them. From now on, the Ministry of Trade and other organizations concerned should correctly guide and assist them in their work under a specific plan.

Third, we must solve the housing problem.

At present housing construction cannot keep pace with the rapidly increasing population. Housing construction should be financed by the state budget and also with the funds owned in common by cooperatives which we must form.

In order to build housing on a big scale special attention should be paid to the production of cement and timber and the construction work must be organized properly. The way factory buildings and houses are being built at present clearly shows that our officials fail to organize the work correctly. From now on, we should organize construction in such a way as to build factories in country districts at low cost and houses of high quality in the major cities. In particular, we must combat the tendency of building offices and give priority to the building of factories, schools, and houses for factory and office workers.

While stepping up the construction of factories and schools during the plan, the building industry has to concentrate on dwelling houses so as to ease the housing shortage.

Fourth, we must increase agricultural output and finish the Phyongnam irrigation project.

The Phyongnam irrigation project, the first of its kind in our country, is a colossal undertaking of immense importance. Therefore, the branches concerned must thoroughly reexamine the technical problems to prevent any hitches in the works and complete them in the time scheduled.

When the Phyongnam irrigation project is completed we must plan for the reclamation of 200,000 hectares of tideland along the west coast. We should make good preparations for this, conducting partial experiments to convert the tideland into paddy fields.

It is necessary to increase the production of industrial crops.

Attention should be given to the production of cotton and castor-oil plants. To increase cotton production we should make contracts with the peasants and see that they guarantee the contracted output without fail.

Positive measures should be taken to augment the production of wool and silk cocoon. To increase the output of silk cocoon we must plant mulberries on a wide scale. We must make the planting of mulberries an important task and prepare an adequate amount of saplings. We may mobilize students for mulberry planting.

As for the production of sugar beet the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry had better work out a separate plan and put it into effect. It would be a good idea to build a sugar-beet processing plant next year to lay the foundation of sugar production and from 1950 on to cultivate and process sugar beet in large quantities. With this aim in view the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry must reexamine the plan for sugar beet production.

State farms should be formed to improve the methods of agricultural management. A state farm should be organized first in Hwanghae and South and North Phyongan Provinces respectively which produce grain in large quantities.

Proper arrangements must be made for afforestation. While planting trees on a large scale, the practice of felling trees at random must be stopped. Burning the mountainside for farming must be prohibited and the output of charcoal must be reduced. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry must establish a strict system of inspection over timber production.

In the fishing industry marine products must be processed better. At present the processing work is not organized well, with the result that fish supplies to the population are insufficient. Eight thousand

tons of mackerel are being piled up now. Fish processing must be organized actively so that the fish can be processed in time. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry should produce plenty of barrels for fish processing.

Proper guidance to fishing cooperatives is of great political importance. The leading officials of fishing industry should improve their guidance to the fishing cooperatives and demonstrate that the cooperative method of production is far superior to that of private fishermen.

Two hundred thousand tons of salt were produced this year, and special attention should be paid to maintaining this amount next year. The officials concerned should strive to raise the production of salt in the future.

Fifth, we should increase our transport capacity.

In the field of transport proper arrangements should be made for repairing locomotives and supplementing motor vehicles so as to fully satisfy the growing demands. Along with this, we should develop marine transport to take the strain off the railways. Therefore, we must import some of the ships we need.

Sixth, we should build many schools of all levels and further develop public education.

Great stress must be put on the building of primary schools. In the countryside, it must be arranged for sub-county and ri to build primary schools for themselves. West Pyongyang and East Pyongyang each need one more senior middle school and teachers training colleges must be opened in the provinces where at present there are none.

Also, we should make extensive arrangements for the publication of textbooks.

Seventh, we should systematically train public health workers so that there will be no sub-county without doctors.

Eighth, we must carry on effective information work on the Two-Year National Economic Plan.

The success of this plan depends on how the broad masses of the

people are organized and mobilized to carry it out. Information workers and leading officials should step up information work on the Two-Year National Economic Plan among the working people so that they all turn out as one man to put it into effect.

I feel sure that every official present here at this meeting will strive for the successful implementation of the Two-Year National Economic Plan.

**BE THE COUNTRY'S FINEST WORKERS
FOLLOWING THE WILL OF OUR
REVOLUTIONARY FORERUNNERS**

**Speech Delivered before the Teachers and Pupils
of the Mangyongdae School for Bereaved
Families of Revolutionaries**

December 11, 1948

In spite of a busy life, today I have spared the time to visit your school. It is not long since our country was liberated from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism and we have many things to do, so, although it is a short distance away, I have been unable to come to your school often. I think in the future when our work becomes a little easier, enough time will be found and there will be many opportunities to visit your school.

We have just seen the performances of your art circles given by the companies. In the past we have also seen your artistic performances several times, but the performances by your companies this evening are way better than the ones given before. If one were to mark them, it would be hard to say they are excellent, but they are above average. In future you should practise diligently and raise your artistic level. This school should excel in the activities of art circles and be superior to other schools in everything.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to tell you a few things.

While fighting in the past in the armed struggle together with us against the villainous Japanese imperialists on Mt. Paektu and in the wilderness of Manchuria, your parents were killed in anger before they could see the liberation of the country. All of your parents bequeathed me their wish to educate you, their sons and daughters, after the country's liberation in the future and to bring you up to be fine revolutionaries. Remembering this wish all the time, I had long thought of building a school for the sons and daughters of revolutionaries. Under the warm care of our Party and the Government of the Republic and thanks to the sincere efforts of our people, a fine school was built here at Mangyongdae for the bereaved children of revolutionaries. Thus, your parents' wish has at last been realized.

I am very glad to see you, the bereaved children of the revolutionaries, leading a vivacious and cheerful life in the school acquiring modern knowledge to your hearts' content.

In bygone days just because their parents were destitute and were revolutionaries, the bereaved children of our revolutionaries, far from going to school, had to wander the streets aimlessly with an empty stomach, while the children of the rich were well-fed and were studying. Indeed in the past, you were subjected to all sorts of humiliations by the Japanese imperialists. That is why today our Party and the Government of the Republic have built such a fine school for you and are giving you education, feeding and dressing you as well as everybody else; they treasure, value and love you, regarding you as being as precious as gold granules.

Under such conditions it is possible that you, bereaved children of revolutionaries, could grow idle and forget your former plight. If you forget your lot of days past, you will become persons oblivious of the revolution and the country.

Today the American imperialists who are occupying the southern half of our country have banded together a handful of landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and other national traitors and have set up the puppet

regime, and are preparing like mad for a war against the northern half of Korea. Even now, there are thousands of children in the southern half who find themselves suffering the same fate as you in the past. We should drive the American imperialists out of south Korea as soon as possible and bring close the day when all people in north and south Korea will live a harmonious and happy life like a family.

Even in the difficult and trying circumstances of the anti-Japanese armed struggle your parents did not cease from revolutionary struggle but fought resolutely to the last minute of their life for the liberation of the country and the happiness of the people. You, bereaved children of revolutionaries, should inherit the lofty revolutionary spirit of your parents and become ardent revolutionaries.

If you are to become revolutionaries, you must have a passionate love for your country and people as the anti-Japanese guerrillas did and you must arm yourselves with an indomitable revolutionary spirit of fighting to the end against whatever odds, for the victory of the revolution. In particular, you must hate class enemies, you must always keep a sharp lookout for the aggressive schemes of the American imperialists and their lackeys and must diligently train yourselves both in body and in spirit to be able to fight against the enemy with determination.

To this end, first of all, you must study hard. You should study politics and military affairs and many other subjects in the field of general science. Remembering that you had no opportunity of learning in the past, you must study harder than anyone else. Thus you should become able cadres for political, military and various other types of work.

You should take good care of state property and treasure it. When they were fleeing from our country, the Japanese imperialists demolished all the factories, even though they were insignificant. At present our working people, including the working class, are stepping up production, tightening their belts, to build a new life.

But our country is not yet abundant in all supplies. Although the country's situation is difficult, our Party and our people have provided this school with everything in abundance because they love and treasure you, bereaved children of revolutionaries, like gold granules. Therefore, you must spare even pieces of thread or a nail instead of throwing them away, wear clean clothes and wear your shoes with care. You should cultivate from childhood the quality of prizing and caring for the property of your country and people.

All of you pupils should love work, be well-disciplined, display the beautiful spirit of helping and pulling one another along and thus build the school into a fine collective of revolutionaries. You should obey your teachers and be exemplary in your life in the organization so as to grow up to be reliable pillars of our new country.

The teaching staff should bring up our precious pupils with care. In the past the pupils of this school lived in humiliation as orphans, and so some of them are dejected. Therefore, it is essential to heighten their self-respect. The teachers should love them like real brothers and look after their studies and all other aspects of their life with meticulous care.

At present all pupils, big and small, are given an equal amount of food in the dining hall, so the younger pupils leave some of it while the bigger ones appear to feel that their appetites are somewhat unsatisfied. The teaching staff of the school should attach meticulous care even to the dietary life of pupils like that. In my opinion it is advisable to regulate the quantity of meals properly, giving the younger pupils as much as they can eat and providing the older ones with some more if they wish, instead of serving the same portion of rice to all pupils. In this way we would make sure that all pupils are eating their fill and are growing up strong and healthy.

An ample supply of living necessities should be guaranteed for the teachers. The teachers should always be neatly dressed and be of good appearance. If they are slovenly in their dress, they cannot

maintain their dignity before the pupils. They are teachers in charge of bringing up the bereaved children of revolutionary martyrs, and so we must see to it that they are well-dressed. In view of the nature of this school, I think it will be good to put them in military uniform. If the teachers wear military uniform, it will help the education of the pupils as well.

To sum up, I hope that all of you pupils will be healthy and study hard and become fine workers of the country following the will of the revolutionary forerunners.

